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The Provincial Cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir:
A Comprehensive Study of Tomb Models
Dating from the Late Old Kingdom to the Late Middle Kingdom

by

Karin Roberta Kroenke

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Near Eastern Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Carol A. Redmount, Chair
Professor David Larkin
Professor Jean Pierre Protzen

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Abstract
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Dr. Carol Redmount, Chair

In her 1989 study of ancient Egyptian tomb models and related material, Angela Tooley noted that, although models are known to have originated in northern Upper Egypt between the sites of Naga ed-Deir and Rifeh, few models from the region are actually published. In her analysis she was able to include only eight models excavated from the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries, which were documented in a few unpublished excavation photographs. As a result, not only were Tooley's specific findings on the Naga ed-Deir model corpus limited, but some of her general conclusions regarding the chronological and regional developments of tomb model types were problematic.

The collection of tomb models from Naga ed-Deir is significant because it is extensive, it spans the major phases of model production from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom, and it is well documented. The tomb models were recovered during the excavations lead by George A. Reisner under the auspices of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition and the joint Harvard University/Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition between 1901 and 1924. Tomb models were found in 62 documented tombs and other unrecorded contexts. The entire known corpus of models from Naga ed-Deir is included in the present study: 25 single statuettes, 15 scenes and 553 fragments of single, paired and grouped compositions. The majority of the models occur in Tooley's established core repertoire: boats, people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens. Other less common categories of models not in Tooley's core group are entertainment, craft production, military combat, priests and overseers. Most of the models are today housed in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; additional material is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The goals of this dissertation were twofold: first, to produce a detailed analysis of the tomb models in each phase of production represented at Naga ed-Deir; and second, to compare this material with Tooley's chronological scheme for Egypt as a whole and her identification of regional patterns for Upper Egypt, in order to determine how Naga ed-Deir conformed to, or differed from, her identified trends. I studied the archaeological context of the Naga ed-Deir models, noting patterns in tomb distribution, grave types and tomb inscriptions, as well as the

quality and range of the associated burial goods. In addition, I noted trends in the disposition of the models within the tombs. My study revealed patterns in social status and gender of ownership, typology, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, qualities and quantities for the models. I analyzed changes in these patterns over time to illustrate the evolution of the tomb model corpus at this site.

In my comparisons of the Naga ed-Deir data with Tooley's findings, I observed many similarities in the social ranks and genders of model owners. While some model disposition patterns at Naga ed-Deir are comparable to Tooley's findings, there also seem to be differences in model placement and orientation. Since my analysis was based on limited data, however, the results cannot be more conclusive. In my investigation of the models themselves, I found some aspects of the Naga ed-Deir corpus to be comparable to those from other sites, and others to be unique to Naga ed-Deir. In particular, it is the prevalence of a variety of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period model types that makes the tomb model repertoire from this provincial site so significant.

My examination of the extensive and well-documented Naga ed-Deir tomb model corpus is significant because it fills a void in our knowledge of tomb model corpora in the northern region of Upper Egypt. My findings reinforce some of Tooley's general conclusions regarding the chronological development of model production throughout Egypt and the regional patterning that occurs within Upper Egypt, and contradict others.

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Museum Abbreviations

Aberdeen	Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, Scotland
AEIN	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark
ÄIUT	Ägyptologisches Institut Universität Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany
ÄMB	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, Germany
ASH.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England
BM	British Museum, London, England
BMFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA
Bremen	Übersee Museum, Bremen, Germany
Bristol	City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol, England
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn, NY
Brus.	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Belgium
Cairo	The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt
Castle Norwich	Castle Museum Norwich, Norfolk, England
CG	Catalogue Générale, the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt
Copenhagen	National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark
ECMM	Myers Museum, Eton College, Windsor, England
Edin.	Royal Museum of Scotland Edinburgh, Scotland
Fitz.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England
Hildesheim	Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, Germany
J.E.	Journal d'Entrée, the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Kensington	British Museum of Natural History, South Kensington, England
KUL	Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, Belgium
Leicester	Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, England
Leiden	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden Netherlands
Leipzig	Ägyptologisches Museum Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany
Limoges	Musée Municipal de l'Évêché Limoges, Limoges, France
LM	Liverpool, Museum, Liverpool, England
Louvre	Musée du Louvre, Paris, France
MAHG	Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, Switzerland
Manchester	Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, Manchester, England
Marseille	Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille, France
Neuchâtel	Musée d'ethnographie Neuchâtel, Neuchâtel, Switzerland
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY
Munich	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München, Germany
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
PAHMA	Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, CA
Peabody	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Phil.	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Rostock	Museum der Stadt, Rostock, Rostock Germany

SAOS	School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, England
Sunderland	Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens, Sunderland England
Turin S.	Museo Egizio Torino (Turin), Italy
UCL	Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, London, England
Vienna	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Wien), Austria
WAG	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD
YPM	Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, CT

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Egyptian Tomb Models

Today the term “model” generally is used to denote a “miniature representation of something” or “a pattern of something to be made”.¹ However, when Egyptologists use the word “model” to define ancient Egyptian small-scale funerary depictions of objects and people from everyday life, the term has a rather different connotation. As Dorothea Arnold asserted, Egyptian tomb models were not “tools meant to demonstrate something, but were magically potent objects in their own right.”² Tomb models fulfilled an important symbolic role in ancient Egyptian funerary practices. While tomb models contain narrative elements derived from actual structures, locations and occupations, the components were combined in ways that did not reflect reality accurately. Instead, tomb models are idealized constructs imbued with complex layers of meaning that exceed the predominantly secular activities they portray. Most basically, single figures (i.e., serving statuettes)³ and grouped compositions depicting individuals performing a variety of tasks were included among the funerary goods to act as substitutes not only for those responsible for the perpetuation of the mortuary cult, but, by extension, for the products that they manufactured and the services that they performed for the deceased. The inclusion of models in burial assemblages was indispensable for ensuring a continual supply of both necessities and luxuries for the deceased in the afterlife, especially important should the living cease to leave real offerings in the tomb chapel. Three dimensional models also supplemented scenes and texts on funerary stelae and coffins, and frequently replaced those on tomb walls, which fulfilled the same functions.

Four main groups comprise an established core tomb model repertoire: 1) water transportation (boats); 2) the processing and production of food and drink (kitchens); 3) the transport of food, drink and other products (offering bearers and porters); and 4) the storage of cereal grains and fruit and vegetable seeds (granaries). In addition to this core group, seven major categories of miscellaneous scenes are represented less frequently as models: agriculture, craft production, entertainment, combat, domestic activities (excluding kitchen scenes), houses/gardens and personal transport (other than boats). These different model types supplied the dead with various goods and services. Boats form the majority of all model types. The importance of water travel in ancient Egyptian society was transferred to the afterlife, as the dead used boats to journey to sacred sites on pilgrimages, to go his or her final resting place, to join the company of gods in the next world and to continue basic transportation after death. Among the other model groups, the most common theme is the production, storage and transmission of food and drink (bread, beer, oxen and fowl) presented to the deceased in the offering ritual. Additional models provided the deceased with both utilitarian and luxury goods manufactured in weaving, carpentry and pottery workshops. Still other model figures provided the dead with

¹The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2004: 463).

²Do. Arnold (2005: 6).

³ The term serving statuette, rather than the more traditional servant statuette, is adopted in the current study, following Ann Macy Roth. She suggested that the former term better describes the general function of these figures in the tomb, i.e. performing a variety of tasks for the deceased in the afterlife (Roth 1995: 57; and Roth 2002: 103). On the other hand, the latter term implies an inferior social status that does not apply uniformly to all of the participants, as noted by Roth, who contrasts the role of a domestic or household worker, such as a musician or dancer, with that of a servant involved in food preparation (Roth 2002: 104-105).

assistance in the afterlife. Military models offered protection from the dangers of the underworld, while priests performed the rituals that took place at the tomb chapel during the funeral ceremony and the offering ritual, and which were necessary for the continued survival of the deceased.

Tomb models also may have served as markers of the deceased's elevated social status in the afterlife. For example, model granaries represented stored wealth. Scenes of human figures processing food and beverages and manufacturing goods also may have reflected the deceased's wealth in his ability to employ domestic servants in his household to produce quantities of luxury, as well as essential, items. On yet another level, tomb models probably were linked to the cosmic cycle of death and rebirth in the afterlife.⁴ This cycle was tied into the agricultural calendar, and was symbolized by a variety of models: agricultural scenes, in which men ploughed and hoed fields; granaries housing stored cereal grains and fruit and vegetable seeds; kitchens, in which men and woman baked bread and brewed beer from cereal grains; and offering bearers who transported the final food and beverage products to be donated to the funerary cults. Additionally, models of dancers and musicians not only provided the tomb owners with entertainment in the afterlife, but also evoked rebirth and rejuvenation. Similarly, model houses and gardens that contained pools ensured renewal in the afterlife, as water symbolized both purification and creation.⁵

Although often named as the beneficiary in texts inscribed on models, tomb owners appear infrequently in the scenes themselves, and then primarily on boats, where they are represented as either live figures or mummies, or personified as biers, coffins, sarcophagi or empty chairs.⁶ Most frequently, the single figures and groups of individuals participating in the activities depicted in tomb models represented actual family members, specific servants or generic workers, depending on the time period in which the model was manufactured. Traditionally, these figures all have been considered anonymous servants who performed a variety of menial tasks for the deceased in the afterlife, and, as such, represented an ideal standard of living in the next realm.⁷ More recent work on serving statuettes of the Old Kingdom has suggested that family members and dependents sometimes were represented in the role of servants who participated in the funerary cult of the deceased, not only to guarantee the perpetuation of offerings for the deceased in the next world but also to enable themselves to accompany the deceased into the afterworld.⁸ For example, four sets of limestone serving statuettes from four 5th Dynasty tombs at Saqqara and Giza include figures that were inscribed

⁴ Adams (2007: 14).

⁵ Do. Arnold (2005: 47).

⁶ Merriman (2009: 255-259). One granary model that may include a depiction of the male tomb owner is BM2463, a 12th Dynasty granary model from Thebes. This man sits on a chair inside a small structure on the roof of the storage magazines. His identification as the tomb owner is based on his posture, the scepter that he holds and his painted broad collar (Roik 1988: 36, and Pl. 49; and Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n. 112). Another possible example is Castle Norwich 37.2.1, a late 11th Dynasty clay model granary from Salmiya. This model depicts two named noblemen, *Intf* and *Mri*, playing the board game *snt*. *Intf* may be the granary (and tomb) owner (Blackman 1920: 206ff, Pl. 19, 20; Vandier 1978: 229-230, Pl. 21.1-3; Stoof 1981: 81, Fig. 4; Bourriau 1988: 104-105, no. 91, and Pl. I.2; Roik 1988: 193: Fig. 308; and Tooley 1989: 116-117).

It is important to note there that, for the Egyptian names, titles and phrases incorporated into the current study, the system of transliteration reflects traditional Egyptological practice, after Gardiner (1988).

⁷ Breasted (1948: 1).

⁸ Schneider (1977: 22f); Tooley (1989: 84f); Hill (1999: 386-389); and Roth (1995: 57; 2002: 103-121).

with the name of the deceased's children and other dependants.⁹ Whereas Roth considered all Old Kingdom serving statuettes to be cult statuettes that represent the deceased's family members and dependents, Tooley made a distinction between inscribed and uninscribed statuettes, viewing the latter as a representative of generic servants and not specific individuals.¹⁰ Furthermore, the distinction between whether the inscribed statuettes represent actual family members and dependents of the tomb owner,¹¹ anonymous workers with the added names of the donors responsible for the perpetuation of the mortuary cult,¹² or both, simultaneously,¹³ is a fine one, as Roth herself noted.¹⁴ This distinction is, perhaps, not even relevant, since by virtue of the inscriptions, the named individuals would benefit automatically from the cult offerings. In any case, there seems to be a slight modification in the identity of serving statuettes after the Old Kingdom.

As in the Old Kingdom, the majority of human figures represented in models in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom are uninscribed; when inscriptions are found, however, they now include either the name of the deceased in the beneficiary formula or, less frequently, the names and titles of workers. For example, two wooden offering bearers from the late 12th Dynasty Theban tomb of the *imy-r3 pr Mntw-htp* (the steward/overseer of the house, Mentuhotep) includes the offering formula with the name and title of the deceased written on the baskets and one statue base.¹⁵ On both wooden boat models from the same tomb, all the human figures are inscribed with their names and those of their mothers. For example, the female miller is *S3t-Imn irt n Hri* (Sat-Amen, born of Hori) and the male brewer is *Sbk-htp ir n Ity* (Sobek-hotep, born of Ity).¹⁶ Tooley suggested that the rare inclusion of titles, names and filiations on two late Middle Kingdom offering bearer statuettes from the tomb of the Two Brothers at Rifeh indicates a particularly favored role in the household: the *wb3yt Iki ir<t> n ddw* (the housemaid, Iki, born of Dedu), and the *kyt [...]r ir<t> n Hntn* (the maid servant, [...]r, born of Henten).¹⁷ Another rather unique example is an 11th Dynasty granary model from Salmiya, which includes not only the names of two noblemen shown playing *snt*, but also the granary scribe and workers.¹⁸ The names are written on the sides of the granary in hieratic, and only some remain legible: *Intf* and *Mri* (the noblemen), *Intf* (the scribe) and *Hwns*, *Grhi* and *Hw* (three male workers). The minor figures were the tomb owner's dependents who accompanied him into the afterlife. Therefore, as these few examples show, not all people portrayed in models after the

⁹ Mastaba D20 of *Wr-irni* at Saqqara, the mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr* at Giza, mastaba G2088 of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth* at Giza and the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group presumably from an unknown tomb at Giza (Roth 2002: 103-121).

¹⁰ Tooley (1989: 85).

¹¹ Roth (2002: 110).

¹² Tooley (1989: 84-85; 1995: 20).

¹³ Schneider (1977: 23).

¹⁴ Roth (2002: 116).

¹⁵ *ÄMB* 13 and 22 (Tooley 1989: 245).

¹⁶ *ÄMB* 12 and 14 (Steindorff 1896: 36; *Aegyptische Inschriften* 1901: 249; and Tooley 1989: 138).

¹⁷ Manchester 4738 and 4734 (Petrie 1907: 12; Murray 1910: Pl. 17, Nos. 3 and 4; Tooley 1989: 245; and Tooley 1995: 21, Fig. 11).

Note that [...] are used in the current study to represent text that is missing, and, whenever possible, which has been restored by the translator. In addition, <...> are used to indicate amended text.

¹⁸ Castle Norwich 37.2.1, mentioned above (Blackman 1920: 206ff, and Pls. 19, 20; Vandier 1978: 229-230, Pl. 21.1-3; Stooft 1981: 81, Fig. 4; Bourriau 1988: 104-105, no. 91, and Pl. I.2; Roik 1988: 193: Fig. 308; and Tooley 1989: 116-117).

Old Kingdom were anonymous workers. Known individuals were represented, albeit infrequently.

As will be seen in the current study, in these later periods human figures depicted in models were not uniformly of a lower class, since they represented a wide variety of occupations that included not only boat officers and crew members, and granary and kitchen workers, but also administrators, craftsmen, members of the military, dancers, musicians and priests. In real life, people who held these occupations were members of both the middle and lower social classes.¹⁹ I would, therefore, also consider these later figures serving statuettes and would not revert to the term “servant statuettes”.²⁰ Nevertheless, the increase in the number of models produced in these later periods, combined with the infrequency of inscriptions, suggests that generic workers were represented most frequently. In fact, all of the serving statuettes in the current study are uninscribed. The importance of these figures lies in the actions represented, therefore, rather than the specific people performing the tasks. It also follows that individual figures within group models are not necessarily representative of the number of servants in the tomb owners’ households.²¹ For example, as Tooley noted, large numbers of model figures have been found in some tombs of relatively low-ranking people, who obviously could not have afforded to employ a huge staff of domestic servants.²² Another reason to support this argument is that a single servant may be repeatedly shown in different stages of work production in the group scenes typical of the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.²³ Thus, it is the activity being performed and the final products, not the number of servants, which may reflect the deceased’s elevated status in the afterlife.

1.2 The Current Project

1.2.1 Project Goals and Methods of Analysis

Angela Tooley’s dissertation is the most comprehensive work to date that dealt with the corpus of tomb models excavated from sites throughout Egypt.²⁴ In her study, she included both intact and fragmentary models, focusing on those from securely dated archaeological contexts. She also incorporated unexcavated models when she was able to use stylistic features to determine date and site of origin. Tooley arranged the model corpus into a chronological sequence, defining five main phases of development: the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5); the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-7); the First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 8 through Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes); the early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12); and the late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17). Within each phase, she noted distribution patterns of different model types at various sites throughout Upper

¹⁹ The categorization of different social classes is recorded in the Wilbour Papyrus. Although written in Dynasty 20, this document provides comparative socio-economic information on two cross-sections of Egyptian society in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. According to this record, priests, military officers and artisans (likely including musicians and dancers) were lesser bureaucrats who were members of the middle class, while soldiers, minor officials, other priests, kitchen workers and farmers made up the the lower classes (Trigger et al. 1983: 192, 194; and Merriman 2009: 264-266).

²⁰ Contra Roth (2002: 118).

²¹ Contra Schneider (1977: 24).

²² Tooley (1989: 85).

²³ Bourriau (1988: 106).

²⁴ Tooley (1989).

and Lower Egypt. She then focused on the most popular types of models and related objects that were the most subject to change over time-- granaries, offering bearers, boats, offering trays and "concubine" figures -- and identified functionality, regional patterns and chronological markers established by stylistic attributes and disposition patterns within tombs. As part of her conclusions, she also looked at the social distribution of models in general and observed differences among the classes of people who were interred with models. In addition to models made of wood, she also considered other media (e.g., stone, clay and faience) as indicators of regional preferences, date and social status.

Tooley found that, within the five chronological phases of model production, the greatest number and variety of model types occurred in the early Middle Kingdom.²⁵ Tooley also noted patterns over time in the materials and forms in which tomb models were manufactured. Although wood first was used in the late 5th or early 6th Dynasty to construct model boats,²⁶ it was not until the mid 6th Dynasty that wood began to replace the use of limestone for single and paired figures.²⁷ Composite models, made of wood combined with limestone elements, also first appeared in the 5th Dynasty, but were more common during, and immediately after, the 6th Dynasty, where they marked a transition to wooden forms.²⁸ Complex scenes made entirely in wood became widespread in the succeeding early First Intermediate Period, but tapered off in the latter part of the Middle Kingdom.²⁹ By the mid 12th Dynasty, limestone was used again for serving statuettes and model boats, now generally smaller and cruder than their Old Kingdom counterparts.³⁰ In all periods, clay was a less costly substitute for wood or limestone, and was used to manufacture a limited range of model types, including single statuettes, boats and granaries.³¹ Tooley also determined that the greatest concentrations of models were found in cemeteries associated with the southern provincial capitals located in the highly productive agricultural region between Naga ed-Deir and Beni Hasan.³² Although some royal examples exist,³³ she concluded that tomb models of all types were manufactured predominantly for

²⁵ See, for example, Tooley (1989: 60, Table 4).

²⁶ The earliest known wooden boat models are from the late 5th or early 6th Dynasty tomb of *Itti/nh-ir.s* (tomb D63) at Saqqara, found by Mariette in the *serdab* of chamber B (Mariette 1889: 357-9; Breasted 1948: 74; and Tooley 1989: 2).

²⁷ Tooley (1989: 6, 12, 14, Table 2). The earliest documented single limestone figures from datable contexts are those from the tombs of queens *Mr.s-nh* III and *H^c-mr-r-nbty* II at Giza, both dated late Dynasty 4-early Dynasty 5 (Reisner 1937: 64-79; Breasted 1948: 25, 26, 30, 32, 35 and Pls. 25b, 29b, Pl. 32d; Stevenson Smith 1949: 43, Figs. 14a,b, and 98, 100; Dunham and Simpson 1974: 23; Tooley 1989: 2; and Hill 1999: 386).

²⁸ Tooley (1989: 6-7, 15). A 5th Dynasty example of a limestone element (stacked bread molds) from a wooden model derives from Giza tomb G 2004 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 69, 93-94, and 98).

²⁹ Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3; 60, Table 4).

³⁰ For a summary of known limestone genre figurines of humans, animals and boats from various sites (e.g., Abydos, Beni Hasan, Lisht) and from unknown contexts, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 145-146, 161-168).

³¹ Examples include a 4th Dynasty granary (Ash. E.408), from the 4th Dynasty mastaba of *K3-mni* at El-Kab (Quibell 1989: 4, 19, Pl. VI.2; Badawy 1948: 119, Fig. 130; and Tooley 1995: 37, Fig. 34), a 13th Dynasty miller from Qila' el-Dabba (Balat) in the Dakhla oasis (Tooley 1995: 28), and a late Dynasty 11 boat now in the British Museum, BM50695 (Landström 1970: 89, Fig. 272; and Merriman 2009: 461, Cat. 299).

³² Tooley (1989: 382-384). See my Map 1.

³³ For example, the crude wooden models of boats, granaries, etc. found at Deir el-Bahri in the burial chamber (pit 14) of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II (Naville 1913: 31; Di. Arnold 1972: 13-31; Di. Arnold 1981: 14-44; and Do. Arnold 1991: 25-32, Figs. 28-29, 34).

private individuals of varying ranks who held positions in the state, temple and local administrations.³⁴

In her analysis of regional model groups, Tooley noted that the corpus from sites in northern Upper Egypt -- Naga ed-Deir, Hawawish, Akhmim, Qau el-Kebir, Mostagedda and Rifeh -- appeared scant because of the lack of publications on this excavated material.³⁵ As for Naga ed-Deir, she had not been able to travel to the United States to personally examine the archaeological and archival material from the site, relying instead on unpublished photographic documentation provided to her by museum personnel.³⁶ Understandably, therefore, Tooley's analysis of the corpus of models from Naga ed-Deir was very limited because it was based on only eight excavated examples. There are several additional types of models not included or not explicitly discussed in her study. In fact, the corpus of tomb models from Naga ed-Deir is extensive, albeit highly fragmentary, spans the major phases of model production from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom and is well documented. This material provides a unique opportunity to examine the development of the tomb model repertoire in the local cemetery of a southern provincial capital and to add to our knowledge of Upper Egyptian regional model groups.

The goals of this dissertation were twofold: first, to produce a detailed analysis of the tomb models in each phase of production represented at Naga ed-Deir; second, to compare this material with Tooley's chronological scheme for Egypt as a whole and her identification of regional patterns for Upper Egypt, in order to determine how Naga ed-Deir conformed to, or was different from, her identified trends. In studying the archaeological contexts of the Naga ed-Deir models, I observed patterns in tomb distribution, grave types, titles and names preserved in the tomb inscriptions and quality and range of the associated burial goods. In addition, I noted trends in the disposition of the models within the tombs. My study revealed patterns in social status and gender of ownership, typology, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, qualities and quantities for the models. I analyzed changes in all these patterns over time to illustrate the evolution of the tomb model corpus at this site. In my comparisons of the Naga ed-Deir data with Tooley's findings, I observed many similarities in the social ranks and genders of model owners. While some model disposition patterns at Naga ed-Deir are comparable to Tooley's findings, there also seem to be differences in model placement and orientation. Unfortunately, since my analysis was based on limited data, the results cannot be more conclusive. In my investigation of the models themselves, I found some aspects of the Naga ed-Deir corpus to be comparable to those from other sites, and others to be unique to Naga ed-Deir.

The entire known corpus of models from Naga ed-Deir is included in the present study, consisting of 25 single statuettes, 15 scenes and 553 fragments of single, paired and grouped compositions. This total consists of 24 single statuettes, 15 scenes and 508 fragments excavated from 62 documented tombs, in addition to one statuette and 45 fragments of single and grouped compositions from unrecorded contexts at the site. The majority of the models occur in Tooley's established core repertoire: boats, people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens. Other less common categories of models not in Tooley's core group are entertainment, craft production, military combat, priests and overseers. Since the majority of the Naga ed-Deir models consist of

³⁴ Tooley (1989: 373-375).

³⁵ Tooley (1989: 73).

³⁶ Tooley (1989: xiii).

broken fragments, these pieces had to be reconstructed, at least theoretically, for the purpose of defining the quantity and range of represented types from the site. Serving statuettes and group scenes are considered complete when at least 50% intact, even if the individual elements are no longer attached to one another. When less than 50% of a model survives, even when the type can be identified, it is considered fragmentary (e.g., crew members and equipment from a boat, beer jars and vats from a brewing scene, arms and a basket from an offering bearer statuette). In establishing the typology of models for Naga ed-Deir, I reconstructed missing elements of the artifacts, whenever possible, by making comparisons with similar three-dimensional examples from other excavated sites in order to clarify specific functions. When this material was limited, I used comparisons with two-dimensional representations (scenes depicted on tomb walls, stelae and coffins) from Naga ed-Deir and other sites.

Unfortunately because of the fragmentary nature of the finds, it was impossible to ascertain the original number of complete tomb models and the full range of types from the site. Although parts of boat models are recognized easily in the archaeological record,³⁷ identifying other model types is more problematic. In many cases it is also difficult to determine whether model fragments represent single figures or paired or grouped scenes, such as the case with a little wooden jar that may have originated either from a boat or from a number of different kitchen scenes, i.e., baking, brewing or butchering (or a combination of all three), and so forth. For the human figures, this question is partly resolved by size: the larger statuettes (ca. 20-40 cm) are generally assumed to be serving statuettes and the smaller figurines (ca. 8-20 cm) are typically seen as belonging to paired or grouped scenes.

The major features used in this study to distinguish between serving and *k3* statuettes are body and arm positions. *K3* statuettes exhibit frontality, and are represented in two main, static poses: standing and sitting, with their arms and hands in specific positions.³⁸ For example, when striding, male *k3* statuettes traditionally look forward and either maintain both arms straight at their sides, clenching cylindrical objects (*steinkern*), or bend one arm upwards, holding a staff in the same hand and a scepter in the opposite one. They may also leave the left hand open or clenched, while the right grasps the side of the kilt. When sitting, the hands are generally placed open or fisted on the knees. Women stand with the feet together, or the left leg slightly advanced, and the arms held straight at their sides with the opened palms flat against the thighs. The hands are placed flat on the knees when sitting. In contrast, serving statuettes are shown in poses of arrested movement and therefore have a wider variety of body poses and arm positions that suit the activity being performed.³⁹ In addition to sitting and standing, these figures also squat, kneel or bend over to perform a variety of tasks, such as cooking, grinding grain or straining beer mash. Furthermore, both serving and *k3* statuettes were manufactured primarily of wood during the periods under consideration in this study, with separate elements pegged together. Due to natural deterioration from exposure to moisture and pests, and damage caused by looters, these statuettes rarely survive intact and frequently only pieces remain in the archaeological record. In these cases, arms are particularly important in identifying serving statuettes. For example, in contrast to *k3* statuettes, when striding, both male and female serving

³⁷ Such as oars, rudders or papyrus umbels once attached to the prow or stern of a boat. Rowers are also easily identified by their small size (ca. 8-15 cm in height), seated, kneeling or squatting positions (with the knees drawn up) and holes drilled into the legs or fists to secure oars.

³⁸ Robins (1997: 71ff).

³⁹ Robins (1997: 75).

statuettes may hold their arms out in front of the body, either straight upwards or bent, in order to carry objects such as boxes or jars. Even when the arms have become separated from the torsos, the arm pose, the position of the palm of the hand relative to the shoulder joint and the presence or absence of pegs in the hands for the attachment of objects is enough to distinguish between *k3* and serving statuettes.

In order to establish the number and types of serving statuettes, models and fragments from Naga ed-Deir and the tombs in which they were originally deposited, it was necessary to sort through the original documentation and compare these records with the archaeological material currently housed in the collections of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology,⁴⁰ the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. I first examined the archival material for all the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries and created two lists of the models and their provenances, one taken from the written field reports (i.e., tomb cards, notebooks, daily journals and object register log books), and the second derived from the objects illustrated in the expedition photographs and the descriptions provided in the photograph registers. I combined these two lists, compared them against one another to resolve any discrepancies, and then incorporated the models recorded in two museum Filemaker Pro and TMS (The Museum System) databases⁴¹ to create a single, master list comprising my own object database. In tabulating this database, I faced four major problems that required further research: 1) incomplete and inaccurate expedition accounts; 2) original written documentation that had disappeared since the excavations ended; 3) tomb models and serving statuettes recorded in the original field notes and photograph registers that could not be located in museums; and 4) errors in the museum database records. When one or more sources of documentation was lacking, I relied on the others to fill in missing information, whenever possible.

During the process of constructing my database, I excluded material from 18 tombs because of inconclusive evidence. When intact, the field notes for these graves contain only vague references to wooden fragments or parts of wooden statuettes. In most of these cases, the issue is further complicated because there are no expedition photographs and the objects themselves have not survived. For example, one tomb card records “six pieces of wood”, which was accompanied by two unidentifiable sketches.⁴² For another tomb described in one of the expedition notebooks, the excavator included a drawing of an oblong object, described as “wood, painted yellow.”⁴³ An entry in one of the object register log books lists “3 fragments of model (?)...wood”, without any associated illustrations.⁴⁴ The field records for several tombs also document the remains of (broken) wooden statuettes⁴⁵ and fragments of others, including legs and arms,⁴⁶ feet,⁴⁷ heads,⁴⁸ and bases,⁴⁹ which could belong to either serving statuettes or *k3*

⁴⁰ Hereafter, abbreviated Hearst Museum.

⁴¹ I was not able to access the records in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁴² Tomb N.81 (Reisner 1901-03b: n.p.).

⁴³ Tomb N.105 (Reisner 1901-03a: 22).

⁴⁴ Tomb S.F.5015. Object Register Number (Ob. Reg.) 23-11-19. Although identified as a “model figure” in the 1923-24 Object Register Log (23-11-14 and 23-11-22), the standing wooden female figure from this tomb is clearly a *k3* statuette and was, therefore, excluded from the current study.

⁴⁵ Tombs N.3604, N.3769, N.3774, N.3900 and S.F.5415. For these statuettes, see Mace (1901-03b: 29; 1901-03d: 141, 31; 1901-03e: 63) and Ob. Reg. 23-12-107.

⁴⁶ Tomb N.3920 (Mace 1901-03e: 117).

⁴⁷ Tombs N.248, S.F.5203, N.3604 and N.3971. For these statuette fragments, see Expedition Photograph (Ex. Ph.) C8879; Ob. Reg. 23-11-601b; and Mace (1901-03b: 29; 1901-03e: 156).

statuettes. In contrast, small wooden figures documented in the written field reports of a few tombs⁵⁰ were incorporated into the present study because they are assumed to be human figurines from paired or group scenes; with one exception,⁵¹ however, the model types and exact quantities cannot be determined. The database utilized in this dissertation reflects the extant archaeological evidence. It is quite likely, therefore, that the corpus of models and serving statuettes manufactured for burials in the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries originally was even more extensive.

I also excluded one serving statuette and a group scene from my tomb model corpus because the Naga ed-Deir provenance is suspect. According to the Hearst Museum catalogue cards, Reisner found an offering bearer statuette⁵² at Naga ed-Deir between 1901 and 1903; there is, however, no original documentation for it. The statuette has no tomb number written on it, it was not described in any of the expedition field notes or tomb cards and it was never photographed. Furthermore, idiosyncrasies in the stylistic features and manufacturing techniques suggest that it is a fake, likely purchased by Reisner during this period. After the excavations at the site ended, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York purchased a model weaving scene from a Cairo dealer, said to have been obtained in the neighborhood of Girga.⁵³ Although it is possible that this model workshop came from one of the cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir,⁵⁴ it is excluded from the current study because this provenance cannot be proven.

1.2.2 Organization of the Present Study

This dissertation is organized into nine chapters. Chapter One, the introduction, defined the general function of tomb models, introduced the model corpus from Naga ed-Deir and established the goals and methods of analysis in the current study. Chapter Two covers the background information on Naga ed-Deir, including the site description, the history of George Reisner's excavations, the original documentation and work method of its excavators, and a brief summary of the current locations of the archaeological material recovered during his expeditions at the site and the archival material regarding its documentation. Chapter Three introduces the tomb models from the site, including the number of complete and fragmentary models that comprise the corpus, the specific cemeteries and tombs from which they originated, the present locations of this material and previous research on the collections. Chapter Four provides a summary of the sources for dating tombs with models and a discussion of the chronology used by the current study. The information in the succeeding chapters is arranged chronologically, separated into four general phases corresponding to the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8), the First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes), early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12) and late Middle Kingdom (mid

⁴⁸ Tombs N.42, N.3604, S.F.5201/S.F.5203, S.F.5202, S.F.5415 and S.F.189. For these fragments, see Reisner (1901-03a: 14); Mace (1901-03b: 29); and Ob. Reg. 23-11-443, 23-11-458, 23-11-533, 23-12-105 and 13-3-371.

⁴⁹ Tombs N.42, N.3737, N.3916, S.F.5201 and S.F.170. For these fragments, see Reisner (1901-03a: 14); Mace (1901-03d: 59; 1901-03e: 69); Ob. Reg. 23-11-457f; and West (1913a: 59).

⁵⁰ Tombs N.408, N.450, N.3558, N.3579 and N.3945. For these wooden figures, see Reisner (1901-03b: 1.) and Mace (1901-03a: 45; 1901-03b: 90; 1901-03e: 85).

⁵¹ Based on one other model fragment found in N.408, the figure is assumed to be from a boat.

⁵² PAHMA 6-17158.

⁵³ MMA 30.7.3. For a description of this model, see Clark (1944-45: 24-28).

⁵⁴ Suggested by Tooley (1989: 34-35).

Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17). Chapter Five covers archaeological context, analyzing tomb distribution, architecture (including variations in form and scale), decoration and inscriptions, in conjunction with burial goods and human anatomical remains, in order to determine the gender and status of the model owners. Chapter Six is the last section on archaeological context, dealing with patterns of model disposition with the tombs. Only those models from well-documented and intact or relatively undisturbed contexts are discussed in detail.

Analysis of the tomb model corpus, divided into types based on function, is presented in Chapters Seven through Eleven. In these five chapters, the corpus of tomb models from Naga ed-Deir is separated into specific type categories that are organized into two main groups: the standard or core model repertoire and the atypical models. The core repertoire, which represents the majority of model types, consists of transportation by boat (Chapter Seven), people carrying supplies (offering bearers and porters) (Chapter Eight), food storage (granaries) (Chapter Nine) and food preparation and processing (kitchens) (Chapter Ten). Notably, three of the four categories in this core group pertain to the transportation, storage and production of food and beverages that comprised the staple diet of the ancient Egyptians. Chapter Eleven deals with the second group of models that represent more unusual and less popular activities, including entertainment (dancers and musicians), industries (brick-makers), military combat (soldiers), priests and overseers.

Within each type category presented in Chapters Seven through Eleven, the models are discussed in chronological order; within each chronological discussion the complete models and serving statuettes are presented first, followed by the more fragmentary material. Models of uncertain provenance and date are included at the end of each category. Miscellaneous provenanced human figures and model fragments whose exact functions could not be identified are excluded from these chapters, but are listed in Appendix F. In each chapter's conclusion, I compare the Naga ed-Deir material with Tooley's corpus of model types for Upper Egypt (including her preliminary findings for Naga ed-Deir), in order to illustrate in what ways Naga ed-Deir conforms to, or differs from, her regional trends. Having established which types are most and least popular at Naga ed-Deir in each phase, and traced the development of the model repertoire from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom, I then compare these results with Tooley's chronological scheme for Egypt as a whole to demonstrate whether or not Naga ed-Deir exhibits the same trends in model preferences over time.

The final chapter of the dissertation, Chapter Twelve, presents a summary of the information provided in Chapters Two through Eleven on the Naga ed-Deir tomb models, including their archaeological contexts, typology, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, qualities and quantities. I also provide a synthesis of the Naga ed-Deir data, noting both similarities and differences with Tooley's chronological scheme of tomb model development for Egypt as a whole, and spatial regional patterning for Upper Egypt.

Eleven appendices follow the summation and provide information that is too detailed to be included in the body of the text. Three appendices (A, B and D) deal with archaeological contexts of the models. Appendix A is a printout of the index of tomb cards, arranged into tables according to phases of production. The information for each grave is separated into five categories: tomb description, tomb owner(s), models, inscribed and decorated associated finds (e.g., stelae, coffins) and uninscribed associated material (e.g., pottery, stone vessels, jewelry, furniture, cosmetic items, specialized implements and organic material). Each tomb description

includes the grave location, form, orientation and dimensions. The names and titles (derived from the tomb inscriptions) are provided for the tomb owner(s), when known, along with the human anatomical remains and identifiable gender(s). For each object listed in the final three categories, a brief description also is accompanied by its sources of documentation, including the date collected, expedition written and photographic records, museum inventory numbers and/or object register log book numbers. For the models, this information also contains the illustration numbers assigned in the current study.

Appendix B is a list of the material excavated from Sheikh Farag cemetery 200 -- primarily pottery and stone vessels-- that is currently housed in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge,⁵⁵ here organized by museum catalogue number. Most of this information was excluded from Appendix A because I was not able to match the museum records with the corresponding material excavated from the tombs in this cemetery. It is important to include these artifacts in this dissertation, however, because some of them derived from the same tombs that contained models and serving statuettes. It therefore helps to establish general parameters of archaeological context, which in turn enables the tombs to be dated. The quantities and types of pottery were not described in detail in the expedition records for cemetery S.F.200, and the packing lists no longer exist (if they were ever sent to the museum), which would have helped to identify the provenances. It is very likely that the excavators recorded the tomb numbers on these objects; many of the numbers may have been washed off, however, when the boxes in which they were packed were water damaged during transport. In the future, a comparison of these artifacts housed in the museum with the expedition photographs could help to determine the provenances; unfortunately, it was not possible for me to visit the Peabody Museum.

Appendix C is the timeline established for the current study, with the tombs arranged in relative chronological order within each phase of occupation, beginning with the late Old Kingdom and ending with the later Middle Kingdom. Appendix D lists the evidence for gender of the model-owners at Naga ed-Deir, including inscriptions and depictions of people recorded on tomb chapel walls, funerary stelae and/or coffins, human anatomical remains and grave goods typically associated with either men or women. The last appendix covering archaeological context is Appendix E, the table of tomb model disposition. This table, which charts the placement of models within five major locations in the tombs at the time of their discovery and indicates whether they were found in primary or secondary (i.e., disturbed) contexts, is separated into four chronological periods. The complete list of models from Naga ed-Deir is provided in Appendix F, where they are arranged chronologically by type into a table and assigned new catalogue and illustration numbers used in the current study. This appendix also includes more detailed descriptions of the models than those provided in the tomb cards, with the addition of (maximum) dimensions and construction materials. The entries are arranged by type within each phase of production rather than by tomb number (i.e., archaeological context). Some of the information is cross-listed with the tomb cards, however; as with Appendix A, a tomb number, a museum inventory and/or object register log book number and new catalogue and illustration numbers are included for each model or model fragment.

⁵⁵ Hereafter, abbreviated Peabody Museum.

Appendix G contains four tables that illustrate the frequencies of the different model types from Naga ed-Deir from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. Appendix H are the tomb plans, also arranged by time period. These plans were adapted from graves recorded on the expedition maps and sketched in the tomb cards. Appendix I is the list of male and female titles of the model owners at Naga ed-Deir, arranged in Egyptian alphabetical order. The categories include the titles in both transliteration and translation, along with the model owners' associated tomb numbers and names, which are separated by chronological period. The final appendix, Appendix J, is a list of provenanced model kitchen scenes from sites other than Naga ed-Deir that served as parallels for reconstructing the Naga ed-Deir data.

The appendices are followed by maps and figures. Maps of Egypt, the site of Naga ed-Deir and key cemeteries are included. For the cemeteries for which no maps have been located, I instead relied on the preliminary plans provided in the tomb cards and field journals. The figures contain expedition photographs and sketches, in addition to digital photographs of the models taken in the museums in which they are currently housed. The expedition photographs include general views of the cemeteries in which models were excavated, exterior views of a few select tombs and illustrations of models and some associated finds, both as discovered in the burials and Reisner's groupings of object types from different tombs. Because the excavators photographed so few of the models recovered from the Sheikh Farag cemeteries, I incorporated sketches of model fragments from the expedition object register logs into my figures. The figures also include recent photographs that supplement the original photographic documentation: detailed and alternate views of models shown in the expedition photographs and illustrations of models that Reisner never photographed. Most of these new photographs were taken by the author; however, a few others were reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

Chapter Two: George Reisner's Excavations at Naga ed-Deir

2.1 Site Description

Naga ed-Deir (26° 22' 40" N. Latitude, 31° 54' 10" E. Longitude)⁵⁶ is located on the east bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, about 28 km downriver from Abydos,⁵⁷ and includes the eponymous modern village, a Coptic monastery, the tomb of a local Islamic holy man (Sheikh Farag) and a series of ancient cemeteries.⁵⁸ Alluvial slopes and limestone cliffs (*gebel*), the latter divided by three large ravines or *wadis* that open onto the cultivation, characterize the local topography. The site extends from just north of the tomb of Sheikh Farag to the Coptic monastery⁵⁹ and modern village to the south, a distance of about 2 km.⁶⁰ The neighboring sites of Mesaed⁶¹ and Mesheikh,⁶² respectively, lie further south. The Naga ed-Deir cemeteries contained thousands of tombs of various types originally dating between the Predynastic Period and Middle Kingdom. Many of the tombs, however, were reused in the Second Intermediate Period, New Kingdom, Greco-Roman and later Coptic Periods.⁶³ Based on funerary inscriptions at the site, this necropolis was used at least as early as the Old Kingdom by the residents of the town of *Tny* (Greek This/Thinis and Coptic *Tin*), which served as the capital of the 8th Upper

⁵⁶ Engelbach (1931: n.p.).

⁵⁷ See Maps 1 and 2, i.e., maps of Egypt and the Thinite nome, respectively.

⁵⁸ Reisner grouped a continuous series of cemeteries into two main sections, although there is no real dividing line between the two areas of N. (Naga ed-Deir) and S.F. (Sheikh Farag). All together there are 17 cemeteries, designated (from northwest to southeast) Naga ed-Deir (N.) cemetery 10,000, Sheikh Farag (S.F.) 500, S.F.200, N.9000, S.F.5000-5400, N.3500, N.2000, N.2500, N.3000, N.3100, N.100-400, N.1000, N.1500, N.1800, N.500-900, N.7000, as well as a small group of tombs located at the base of cemetery N.100-400 (no cemetery number).

⁵⁹ For a brief discussion of the 12/13th century monastery at the site, see O'Connell (2001: 30-31).

⁶⁰ See Map 3, for the cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir. The north end of the site is close to the Nile, but between the area of the sheikh's tomb and the modern village, the edge of the desert angles away from the river in a southeasterly direction.

⁶¹ The remains date primarily to the Predynastic Period, consisting of cemetery M.100-900 (also considered one continuous cemetery); however, there is some later occupation, evidenced by a New Kingdom rock-cut tomb with papyrus bud columns located behind this site (see Reisner Ex. Ph. C5159-C5160).

⁶² The site includes Predynastic cemeteries Mes.1000, Mes.2000, First Intermediate Period cemeteries Mes.100 and Mes.2500, and Greco/Roman cemetery Mes.500. There is also a mud brick temple, which was begun during the reign of Amenhotep III and completed by Merenptah (Fisher 1913: 22; Porter and Moss 1962: 29). Additional New Kingdom remains consist of two rock-cut tombs, belonging to two individuals: the *whmw nswt n Šw, h^ct, f imy-is n Šw Tfnwt, hm-ntr tpy n In-hrt, imy-r3 hm-ntrw wr-m3w n R^c m Tny, hm-ntr tpy n nbw Tny, and imy-r3 hm-ntrw n ntrw wrw T3-wr, Inhrt-Ms* (the royal herald of Shu, one who appears as councilor of Shu and Tefnut, high priest of Inheret, overseer of the greatest of seers of Re in This, high priest of the lords of This and overseer of priests of the great gods of Tawer, Inheret-Mes), and the *sš nswt n nb n t3-wy, Imy-Sb3* (the royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Imy-Seba) (Sayce 1890: 62, 65; Porter and Moss 1962: 28-29, n. 1).

⁶³ Ca. A.D. 600-900. O'Connell (2001: 18, 21- 29, Tables I-III) estimated over 400 tombs reused for monastic habitation in the Coptic Period. The reoccupied tombs are predominantly in cemeteries N.500-900, N.1500 and N.2000 (Brovarski 1980: 312). As O'Connell also noted (2001: 25, n. 92) there was some confusion about whether to assign some of these tombs to cemetery N.100-400 or N.500-900, as some of the same numbers were used in both cemeteries, for example 42, 69, 83 and 111, which are all listed in Reisner (1932: 365-366) and shown on his expedition map of cemetery N.100-400). All of the tombs listed in O'Connell's Tables IIa-b are from cemetery N.500-900; however, tombs N.74, N.83, N.89 and N.111, included in her discussion on page 26, are located on the upper terrace of cemetery N.100-400, as recorded in the original documentation. There is also a *deir* (walled monastery) at the site dedicated to the archangel Michael, which dates to the 12th or 13th centuries (O'Connell 2001: 24, 30f, Pl. 7).

Egyptian Nome, *T3-wr*.⁶⁴ Although it has been associated with the modern sites of Girga, el-Birba, and Naga at-Tina, all located on the west bank of the Nile, the exact location of *Tny* is unknown.⁶⁵

2.2 History of Work at the Site

Scientific investigation of Naga ed-Deir began with a series of excavations lead by George Andrew Reisner. J. E. Quibell, then Chief Inspector of the Department of Antiquities, first drew Reisner's attention to the site after discovering in the summer of 1900 that the site had been badly looted in recent years and was in danger of further destruction.⁶⁶ In addition, many of the tombs had suffered denudation and flooding from the Nile, particularly those situated on the lower reaches of the alluvial slope that extends out from the cliffs to the edge of the cultivation.⁶⁷ The site also had been greatly disturbed by the *sebakhin* who excavated the mud brick, which was valued as fuel because of the organic matter it contained.⁶⁸ To Reisner there were two important reasons for excavating Naga ed-Deir. First, the cemeteries represented an unbroken sequence of development lasting almost six thousand years, thus providing information about the development of Egyptian civilization in its entirety.⁶⁹ Secondly, the tombs contained well-preserved skeletal material, particularly in the Predynastic cemetery,⁷⁰ which could be analyzed to determine race- an interest that was typical of scholars of this period. Unlike many other scholars of his day, however, Reisner disdained the idea of randomly selecting museum-quality objects from tombs at the expense of archaeological context; rather, he argued for the systematic excavation and documentation of whole sites and cemeteries because he believed that only by examining the entire body of evidence, including ordinary and unremarkable finds, could one gain a complete understanding of the past.⁷¹

Reisner was granted the concession for Girga (i.e., Naga ed-Deir) in October 1900.⁷² In February 1901 his team began excavations at the site, which were to last intermittently until 1924, initially under the auspices of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition⁷³ and, beginning in 1910, for the Joint Harvard University/Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition.⁷⁴ Phoebe Apperson Hearst had founded the Hearst Expedition in the spring of 1899 in order to conduct historical and archaeological research in Egypt and to collect artifacts for the planned Egyptian museum at the University of California in Berkeley, California.⁷⁵ The Hearst Expedition worked at Naga ed-Deir from February 1901 to August 1904. During this first phase of archaeological work at the

⁶⁴ Gomaà (1986: 189-197).

⁶⁵ The identification of Naga ed-Deir's metropolis with the various modern sites is based on a combination of archaeological, geographical and etymological evidence, with Girga as the favored locale. For a general discussion of possible city locations, see Brovarski (1985: 475-487) and O'Connell (2001: 10, 12-18).

⁶⁶ Reisner (1899-1901: 1-2; 1900-1901: 24).

⁶⁷ Reisner (1904b: 105; 1908: 1-3); Mace (1909: 1).

⁶⁸ Reisner (1932: 3).

⁶⁹ Reisner (1905b: 132).

⁷⁰ Cemetery N.7000.

⁷¹ Reisner (1899-1901: 6; 1908: viii).

⁷² Reisner (1932: 1)

⁷³ Hereafter abbreviated Hearst Expedition.

⁷⁴ Hereafter abbreviated Harvard-Boston Expedition.

⁷⁵ Reisner (1908: v). Between 1899 and 1905, Reisner worked at six sites (El-Ahawaiwah, Ballas, Deir el-Ballas, Shurafa, Naga ed-Deir, and Giza) and purchased material from both local dealers and *fellahin* at these sites and three others (Coptos/Qeft, Qenah, and Tukh) for Mrs. Hearst, in order to acquire objects for this venture.

site, from February to May 1901, Reisner's field directors were Albert Lythgoe, who worked on the Predynastic cemetery N.7000, and Frederick W. Green, who assisted with excavations in the Early Dynastic and First Intermediate Period cemetery N.3000-3200.⁷⁶ Arthur Mace joined the expedition in November of 1901, replacing Green, and was responsible for excavating Early Dynastic, late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom and Coptic Period tombs in cemeteries N.2000-2500,⁷⁷ N.3500⁷⁸ and N.9000.⁷⁹ Reisner excavated Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom graves in cemeteries N.1500, N.3000 and N.500-900, late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs in cemetery N.100-400⁸⁰ and early New Kingdom burials in N.10000.⁸¹ In 1902, G. Elliot Smith, a professor of anatomy at the Khedivial Medical School in Cairo, visited the site for several weeks to assist in sexing and aging the human skeletal material, predominantly from cemetery N.7000. From 1903-05, Norman de Garis Davies also copied scenes from the decorated tombs in cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500.⁸² Between March of 1903 (when Reisner left to begin work at Giza)⁸³ and August of 1904, Lythgoe and Mace were left to finish mapping cemeteries N.7000, N.3500 and N.2000 at Naga ed-Deir and to photograph the last of a variety of small objects.⁸⁴ Reisner also trained a crew of local Egyptian workmen to assist in record keeping, which included the production of archaeological photographs, leaving the field directors more time to oversee the work and conduct research.⁸⁵

⁷⁶ Reisner (1904b: 107; 1908: vi-vii); and Mace (1909: v).

⁷⁷ First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom and Coptic Period tombs.

⁷⁸ Early Dynastic, late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs.

⁷⁹ This cemetery contained primarily Middle Kingdom tombs, many of which were reused in the early New Kingdom. Mace is listed as the excavator of N.9000 on the back of a roughly-sketched site map in one of Reisner's diaries, which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. He also photographed tombs N.9040, N.9043, N.9091 and N.9096 in various stages of excavation, which took place during 1902-03 (Ex. Ph. C897, C898-C900, C895-896 and C902-C909, respectively). Although he did not specifically mention this cemetery by number, Green had cleared a few tombs in this area previously, in May of 1901, as recorded in his unpublished diary notes on Naga ed-Deir (1900-01: 6-11).

⁸⁰ Two gangs of workmen began preliminary work on the southwest side of the high slope to the east of the expedition camp in February of 1901 (Reisner 1932: 2).

⁸¹ This cemetery contained only eleven tombs, which are located in an area near the modern village of Awlad el-Sheikh, about a mile north of the Sheikh Farag hill. Reisner doesn't list this cemetery in any final reports. However, there is a note on the first page of the tomb card for N.10001, in which he writes that he sent four gangs of men to investigate an area "1/2 km north in <a> small *khor*" (i.e., a local term for *wadi*), where he had discovered two corbel vaulted tombs situated on the south and north hills (Reisner 1901b: 1). He later numbered the north tomb N.10001. There are additional tomb cards for only N.10502 and N.10501, the latter of which may be the south tomb. Reisner also photographed a few of these tombs (including N.10001) during excavations in April and May of 1901.

⁸² Reisner (1908: vii). The penciled facsimiles of the tomb reliefs made by Norman De Garis Davies and photographs of these drawings, made in the 1950's, are housed in the Department of Egyptian, Ancient Near Eastern and Nubian Art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (hereafter abbreviated Egyptian Department, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The photographs have expedition or EG negative numbers, to distinguish them from Reisner's photographs (e.g., Peck 1958: 92, n. 2).

⁸³ Reisner (Undated b). The first full season of work at Giza began in December 1903 (Reisner 1899-1905: 7).

⁸⁴ Reisner (1905a: 132).

⁸⁵ For the Hearst Expedition, Reisner had a trained staff of about 75 workmen, drawn from eight local families, divided into 11 work gangs who oversaw crews of about 100 additional unskilled workers. A different crew of young men was responsible for much of the photographic work, including developing negatives and making prints, tasks which, in that period, were normally reserved for Europeans (Reisner 1901b: 1-3; Reisner 1908: vi;

Reisner returned to Girga several times between 1910 and 1923, under the auspices of the Harvard-Boston Expedition.⁸⁶ During these later excavations, Reisner selected artifacts from each season's work that he felt would benefit either the Museum of Fine Art's Egyptian collection or the archaeological collections in Harvard's Peabody Museum. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston would have the first choice of objects, primarily statues and reliefs, with duplicates of archaeological material already represented in their collection-- including pottery, stone vessels, and anatomical remains-- to be given to the Peabody Museum.⁸⁷

During this second phase of work at Girga, Reisner's team excavated the Predynastic cemetery at Mesaeed in 1910⁸⁸ and 1913,⁸⁹ the Predynastic, First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom and Greco-Roman Period cemeteries at Mesheikh in the spring of 1912,⁹⁰ and First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs in the cemeteries of Sheikh Farag in the spring of 1913⁹¹ and the winter of 1923-24.⁹² In 1912, Reisner's team divided their work between Mesheikh and one of the areas that had been formerly under the Hearst concession, located in the slope north of the expedition house at the base of cemetery N.100-400. In this latter area, the workmen cleared 36 badly-destroyed tombs ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom.⁹³

In addition to Reisner, members of the 1910-13 seasons included Oric Bates, Clarence S. Fisher, L. C. West, and L. Earle Rowe. During this time, Reisner divided his time between Naga ed-Deir and Giza, leaving his assistant directors, West and Rowe, to oversee excavations at Mesaeed and Mesheikh.⁹⁴ Members of the 1923-24 season included British Egyptologist and archaeologist Alan Rowe, Reisner's chief archaeological assistant, and Dows Dunham. This team excavated the last tomb at Sheikh Farag in December 1923, but remained at the site until January 1, 1924, during which time they finished mapping cemeteries S.F.200, S.F.500, S.F.5000-S.F.5400 and photographing artifacts.⁹⁵ The last work done at the site, on January 10, 1924, was entering into the object register a number of coffins that had been excavated at Naga ed-Deir 1901-03 and photographed in 1904 by Mace, but left in storage at the site.⁹⁶

Reisner 1932: 1-3). Said Ahmed Said was Reisner's foreman at Naga ed-Deir and continued to work with him for the later expeditions at the site (Reisner 1942: viii).

⁸⁶ Financial considerations forced Mrs. Hearst to withdraw her sponsorship in 1905.

⁸⁷ Reisner (1905c: 1, 3); Reisner (1912c: 1); and Reisner (1913c: 2).

⁸⁸ Fisher (1913: 22).

⁸⁹ Mesaeed was excavated from March 21st-26th, April 2nd-6th, and April 10th (West 1913a: 61-64, 69-71 and 73-79).

⁹⁰ From March 31st through June 2nd the team cleared Predynastic cemeteries Mes.1000, Mes.2000, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom cemeteries Mes.100, Mes.2500, and the Greco-Roman cemetery Mes.500 (Rowe 1912a: 34-82).

⁹¹ Work in cemetery S.F.200 took place from February 22- March 20, 1913, March 28- April 1, 1913, and April 7- 15, 1913 (West 1913a: 45-61, 64-69, 72-82).

⁹² Work in cemeteries S.F.200, S.F.500 and S.F.5000-5400 took place from October 10, 1923 to January 12, 1924 (Dunham 1923-24a: 1-91; 1972: 28, 29, 34).

⁹³ Fisher (1913: 22). For a detailed description of excavations in this part of the site, see Reisner (1912a: 106-125; 1912b). Reisner did not assign a cemetery number to this area, but designated it N/12 (i.e., Naga ed-Deir 1912), to distinguish the tombs objects from those numbered under the auspices of the Hearst Expedition (Reisner 1912a: 108). For the location of the expedition house, see Reisner (1932: 1).

⁹⁴ Fisher (1913: 19, 22); Reisner (1912a: 106-107; 1942: viii).

⁹⁵ Dunham (1923-24a: 89).

⁹⁶ Dunham (1923-24a: 88, 91).

2.3 The Original Documentation

The primary documentation for the Hearst and Harvard-Boston Expeditions at Naga ed-Deir includes written records, maps and photographs of the excavated cemeteries and tombs. Reisner's goals were as follows: the mapping and systematic excavation of the cemeteries and associated buildings to determine the chronological succession of the tombs and structures; the detailed recording (through photography and written accounts) of the recovered objects to establish the basis of the chronology; and the creation of a set of tomb cards that provided sketches of the tomb plans and recorded information about the tomb contents.⁹⁷ To Reisner, written and photographic documentation was important, not only for future scholars to research the material from the site, but also for the general public to learn about ancient Egyptian culture. In one report to Mrs. Hearst, Reisner outlined his specific plans for the planned Egyptian museum in California.⁹⁸ He wanted to create a permanent exhibit in which photographs of objects *in situ* were displayed with the artifacts themselves to illustrate archaeological context. Like the photographs, the displayed artifacts were to be divided into two groups, one half to represent tomb groups and the other half arranged into typologies, such as pottery, to illustrate stylistic developments over time.

2.3.1 Written Sources

During the early years of Reisner's work at Naga ed-Deir, the written reports consisted of field notes and tomb cards that documented the clearance of the tombs. Beginning in 1910, the team incorporated two additional recording systems: a journal, into which they wrote daily events, and an object register log.⁹⁹ The object log book recorded the most complete information to date about tomb contents. An entry was recorded for each artifact that included a sequence number,¹⁰⁰ brief description (often with a sketch), material, measurements, date, provenance and (sometimes) the corresponding negative number of the expedition photograph, which was listed under "remarks".¹⁰¹ However, not every artifact was included and, occasionally, errors were made.¹⁰² In general, the field notes produced during the later excavation seasons also are less detailed than those made during the Hearst years, and rarely record the original locations of the artifacts, likely because the assistant directors were kept busy with the additional work.¹⁰³ They now had to spend time updating the object registers and making daily entries in the field journal,

⁹⁷ Reisner (1901b: 5-6; 1908: viii).

⁹⁸ Reisner (1901b: 6-7).

⁹⁹ Dunham (1958: 24).

¹⁰⁰ For example, the mirror from S.F.25 is Ob. Reg. 13-3-12; i.e., it was the twelfth object recorded in the log book in March of 1913.

¹⁰¹ The negative numbers were added most consistently in the 1912-13 entries for the site.

¹⁰² Pottery was not listed in the entries for the 1910-1913 seasons at Sheikh Farag, Mesaeed and Mesheikh. Instead, the types and approximate quantities of ceramics were simply noted on the corresponding tomb cards along with the associated finds. In the final 1923-1924 season at Sheikh Farag, however, each piece of pottery was recorded separately in the object log book. In this last season, Dunham also assigned wrong tomb numbers to a few objects, including the coffin from N.4172 (Ob. Reg. 23-12-194), which was misattributed to tomb N.4173, and the coffin from N.3755 (Ob. Reg. 24-1-3), which actually came from N.3751.

¹⁰³ During the Hearst years at Naga ed-Deir (1901-04), the excavators usually indicated the find spots of the archaeological material on the tomb plans. In the first season of work at Sheikh Farag (1913), the tomb contents were listed on the corresponding cards, but the original locations were not indicated on the plans. In the last season of work at the site (1923-24), the finds were no longer recorded on the tomb cards, and only entered into the object register log.

in addition to writing up the tomb cards, taking photographs and mapping the cemeteries and tombs.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, the majority of the expedition records from cemetery N.100-400 are now missing. Out of 321 excavated tombs, the only surviving records are one field notebook that contains entries for 11 tombs and 49 tomb cards, with overlapping information on three tombs. The remaining field diary (or diaries) and the majority of the tomb cards most likely disappeared sometime around 1928 when Reisner put his draughtsman, Mr. Joseph Bonello, and a typist, a Ms. Lasbrey, to the task of transcribing them for publication.¹⁰⁵ Shortly afterwards, Reisner ended work on this project, because of his busy schedule and his wife's illness.¹⁰⁶ The complete set of records may have been intact as late as 1934. In a letter to Dr. G. Roeder, who was being considered for the position of curator of the (planned) Egyptian museum at Berkeley, Reisner wrote that he would be willing to supply him with the notebooks, tomb cards and maps for him to work on the remaining unpublished cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir; however, he did not specifically mention the material for cemetery N.100-400.¹⁰⁷ In the early 1950's, Caroline Peck found the surviving tomb cards for this cemetery in Boston, which had been mixed in with the expedition records for the 1912 season at Naga ed-Deir and the 1913 season in the Mycerinus Quarry at Giza.¹⁰⁸

During the Hearst and Harvard-Boston Expeditions, the excavators produced maps of the site and some of the cemeteries. A general site plan, preliminary sketches of the south end of the site, drawn without accompanying tomb numbers,¹⁰⁹ and detailed maps of cemeteries N.1500,¹¹⁰ N.500-900,¹¹¹ N.7000,¹¹² and the lower part of N.3500¹¹³ appeared in the University of California Publications in Egyptian Archaeology.¹¹⁴ Unpublished maps of cemeteries N.100-400, N.2000 and the upper part of N.3500 were also completed for the Hearst Expedition.¹¹⁵ In May, 1901, Green sketched the northern end of the site in the vicinity of the sheikh's tomb in his

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Rowe (1912a: 52, 60, 66, 69, 70), Reisner (1912a: 108, 111), West (1913a: 53, 65) and Dunham (1923-24a: 86-91).

¹⁰⁵ Reisner (1928a: 2). The surviving notes for cemetery N.100-400 are typed versions of the originals that were copied at this time. There are quite possibly errors in the transcriptions, which cannot be corrected without comparing them against the (missing) originals. In comparing the typed and hand written versions of notes on other cemeteries (e.g., tombs N.3737 and N.4003 in cemetery N.3500) there are some minor discrepancies in the measurements and descriptions of tomb contents, caused by reading Mace's handwriting incorrectly during transcription.

¹⁰⁶ Reisner (1930a: 1).

¹⁰⁷ Reisner (1934: 1). Reisner also wrote that he thought a copy of the photographic register had been sent to California in 1925-1928, although in fact it had not.

¹⁰⁸ She made a note of this fact on her own copies of the tomb cards stored in her notebooks now in the offices of the Egyptian Department, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁰⁹ See for example, the two preliminary maps that include cemeteries N.100, N.2000, N.500-900, N.1500, N.1800 and N.3000 in Reisner (1932: 2-3, Figs. 1-2).

¹¹⁰ Reisner (1908: Pl. 58).

¹¹¹ Reisner (1932: sheets i-iii).

¹¹² Lythgoe (1965: back cover).

¹¹³ Mace (1909: Pl. 58).

¹¹⁴ Hereafter, abbreviated UCPEA.

¹¹⁵ The exact dates of the maps' completion are unknown; however, for bibliographical purposes, they are here dated to the final season of the Hearst Expedition and attributed to the excavator of each cemetery. For the unpublished maps of cemeteries N.2000 and N.3500, see Mace (1904a; 1904b). For the unpublished map of cemetery N.100, see Reisner (1904a).

unpublished diary notes on Naga ed-Deir; although he did not indicate N.9000 on this map, the cemetery is located in this general area.¹¹⁶ There are no extant maps of this cemetery, nor any preliminary sketches or references to such a map in Mace's notes. If a map of N.9000 was ever made during the excavations, it has since disappeared. None of the detailed maps for the cemeteries excavated at the site for the Harvard-Boston Expedition have yet been located, although they are presumed to exist and are likely housed in the Museum of Fine Arts. In his 1912 journal, Reisner sketched two preliminary maps of the area below cemetery N.100-400, which he excavated in that season.¹¹⁷ West drew three preliminary maps of cemetery S.F.200 in the 1913 expedition diary.¹¹⁸ He made more detailed drawings of this cemetery on five sheets of graph paper, which are included with the tomb cards from the same year of work in this cemetery. In the 1923-1924 field journal, Dunham made two sketches of the northern end of the site showing the location of work in cemeteries S.F.500 and S.F.200 for that season.¹¹⁹ Near the end of this journal, Dunham recorded that the tombs in cemeteries S.F.200 and S.F.500 had been mapped, leveled and surveyed, and that many in S.F.5000-5400 still remained to be mapped.¹²⁰ Finally, there are also two loose sheets of paper from a field notebook with recorded surveying levels from cemeteries S.F.200, S.F.500 and S.F.5000-5400, which are now stored in the archives of the Egyptian Department in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Additional information on the excavations at Naga ed-Deir can be gleaned from Reisner's written correspondence with Mrs. Hearst, as well as with a number of important Egyptologists in the United States and Europe and historical figures at the University of California, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Peabody Museum. The early documentation found in the catalogues, accession files and registers of the museums in which the collections from the site are housed is another important source of information. These early letters, reports and museum records are crucial, not only because they contain details about the work methods of the two expeditions not mentioned in the final publications, but also because these sources provide information pertaining to the current locations of the archaeological material and expedition records, i.e., how this material arrived at its final destinations and possible explanations for the whereabouts of the lost material.

Other important sources of documentation on Naga ed-Deir include notes and photographs made by visitors to the site after the excavations ended. Walter Wreszinski made a trip to the site soon after the excavations ended, during which time he took a photograph of the offering scene in Naga ed-Deir tomb N.71 and the rear wall of the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr*.¹²¹ From the mid-1940's to the mid-1950's, curators of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston revisited the site to relocate several tombs, make necessary corrections on Reisner's expedition maps and record in more detail the scenes and inscriptions in the rock-cut tombs in Naga ed-Deir cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500 copied by Davies. In the winter of 1946-47, four-and-a-half

¹¹⁶ Green (1900-1901: 7). See Map 5.

¹¹⁷ Reisner (1912a: 108, 110). The sketches include three major areas where Reisner's team worked, labeled A, B and C on the maps.

¹¹⁸ Two rough sketches show the Sheikh Farag promontory and its location with respect to other hills to the east and south (West 1913a: 46 and 58). The third map shows a more detailed portion of the cemetery extending from the sheikh's tomb to the east, including many, but not all, of the excavated tombs (West 1913a: 50). For this latter map, see Maps 6 and 7 in the current study.

¹¹⁹ Dunham (1923-24a: 2, 23). See Map 4.

¹²⁰ Dunham (1923-24a: 87).

¹²¹ Wreszinski (1927: Pls. 23 and 24).

years after Reisner's death, William Stevenson Smith made his first trip to Naga ed-Deir to visit several rock-cut graves in cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500, where he made notes of the tomb inscriptions.¹²² In his own initial visit to Egypt in 1950, Bernard Bothmer traveled briefly to Naga ed-Deir and photographed a few tombs in cemetery N.100-400.¹²³ In 1951, Stevenson Smith, in Egypt for a year under a Fulbright grant, returned to the site. At this time Smith relocated and remeasured several tombs in cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500.¹²⁴ Ricardo Caminos and T.G.H. James also spent a day at the site in 1955, reinvestigating the decorated rock-cut tombs in cemetery N.100-400 and comparing Bothmer's photographs and Smith's notes with the surviving scenes and inscriptions to make any necessary final modifications.¹²⁵ In the mid-1950's Caroline Peck consulted not only Reisner's expedition records, but also the notes and photographs of these later visitors and, in turn, added her own personal insights. These latter analyses are contained in her unpublished notebooks that are also housed in the Egyptian Department in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

2.3.2 Photographs

In addition to the written records, the expedition photographs are an important source of original documentation for the Naga ed-Deir excavations, consisting of 8,391 images of the Naga ed-Deir and Sheikh Farag cemeteries, tombs and artifacts combined.¹²⁶ Reisner was a pioneer in the field of archaeological photography.¹²⁷ He used photographs to document the major stages of excavation, including views of the site before digging began and the progressive clearance of the cemeteries. The final stage was the documentation of individual tombs; i.e., archaeological features, such as tomb walls, burial pits and chamber floors, both with and without the tomb contents shown *in situ*.¹²⁸ The artifacts were also photographed at the expedition camp. These photographs included views of objects from a single tomb (i.e., a tomb group) and assemblages of related objects of similar type or material (i.e., typologies) from various tombs.¹²⁹ The objects were grouped together according to tomb number for the photograph, (sometimes) accompanied

¹²² Stevenson Smith (1949: ii). Smith's notes are housed in the Egyptian Department, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Much of this material was also included in Peck's (1958) and Brovarski's (1989) dissertations.

¹²³ Bothmer (2003: 80-82, 85-86, Figs. 55, 58). Bothmer's photographs (the BB negatives) are currently stored in the archives of the Brooklyn Museum of Art (Bothmer 2003: xiv).

¹²⁴ Peck (1958: 1, n. 2); Brovarski (1989: 316); Bierbrier (1995: 397). Stevenson Smith undoubtedly decided to revisit the decorated tombs in cemetery N.100-400 because he had discovered after examining the original expedition records (housed in the Museum of Fine Arts since 1947) that the majority of the tomb cards documenting this cemetery were missing and that there were errors on the expedition maps. A traced copy of cemetery N.3500, with Stevenson Smith's corrections, is housed in the archives of the Museum of Fine Art's Egyptian Department.

¹²⁵ See for example, Caroline Peck's unpublished notes on N.11 and N.361; and Peck (1958: xxi, 70).

¹²⁶ There are 7,607 photographs of the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries and 784 of the cemeteries at Sheikh Farag (Personal communication with Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, September 2003). Another 1,000 photographs, the "M" series, are also housed in the Museum of Fine Arts. This set includes both duplicates and alternate views of cemeteries, tombs and archaeological material from Naga ed-Deir (personal communication, Peter Der Manuelian, July 2001). Although this new set of photographs has not yet been catalogued, it is possible that they are Arthur Mace's. Some of Mace's photographs of the Naga ed-Deir material are listed in Peck's notebooks, but have not yet been located, as, for example, pictures of the wall scenes in tombs N.41 (negative numbers M2349/G436) and N.71 (M2627/G436 and M2627/G7899).

¹²⁷ Der Manuelian, ed. (1992: 2) and Knudsen and Podzorski (1994: 63).

¹²⁸ See for example, Reisner's manuscript on methods of archaeological fieldwork, which was published in part by Der Manuelian, ed. (1992: 10, 14).

¹²⁹ Reisner, in Der Manuelian, ed. (1992: 28).

by a label identifying the provenance(s).¹³⁰ Their arrangement varied: they could be lined up horizontally, vertically or grouped in clusters, on different occasions.¹³¹ The expedition teams used three different sizes of glass plate negatives in photograph production, to facilitate proper storage and prevent breakage: A was the largest (18 x 24 cm and full-plates), B mid-sized (13 x 18 cm and half-plates) and C was the smallest (9 x 12 cm and quarter plates). Often, different-sized plates were used to photograph the contents of a single tomb. Sometime later, the photographic documentation was entered into registers.¹³² This information included a serial negative number, tomb number, brief description of photographic content, site, photographer, date, plate size, object scale, general remarks and (later) object placement in the photograph.¹³³ During the Hearst Expedition, the plates were entered into the registers in the same numerical series, regardless of plate size; later, the team incorporated a triple register system with separate entries for each sized plate.¹³⁴ Owing in part to the fact that various team members recorded the photographic and written documentation (and at different times), errors were made occasionally, in which the contents of different tombs were switched in the registers.¹³⁵ In addition, when the

¹³⁰ Labels were used most consistently in photographing pottery. For example, in Ex. Ph. B7105, the pottery from tombs N.9090 and N.2032 was separated into two groups, divided by metal rods, and identified by tomb numbers.

¹³¹ Such as Ex. Ph. B10698 (see Fig. 35). For this photograph, some of the contents of tombs N.283, N.241 and N.263, which included wooden model fragments, were set up on shelves and arranged into three vertical clusters. In this case, there are no labels or indications of division among the tomb groups. In other photographs, the artifacts themselves were used to demarcate the tomb groups. In Ex. Ph. C8908, for example, two sandals were positioned to mark the vertical separation of the contents of tombs N.51 and N.71 (see Fig. 29).

¹³² Reisner, in *Der Manuelian*, ed. (1992: 27). Today they are referred to as the Old Series Photograph Registers (OSPR). Reisner (in *Der Manuelian*, ed. 1992: 27) recorded that the prints were arranged in chronological order in the registers, having been collected periodically and assigned sequential negative numbers. However, the Hearst Expedition registers were apparently completed later, because batches of entries for Naga ed-Deir are consistently written in the same hand and because prints produced in different seasons at the site are inter-mixed in these records. For the Hearst Expedition registers, see Reisner and Mace (1906). For the Harvard-Boston Expedition entries for the Sheikh Farag cemeteries, see West (1913c) and Dunham (1923-24c).

¹³³ This practice of recording object placement was adopted at Naga ed-Deir in 1913, when artifacts were consistently set up on risers and arranged in rows. After each negative number, the photographer added a lower case letter and number, the former written above the latter, to indicate the exact position of each item in the photograph. The letters refer to the rows, from the top down, and the numbers indicate the exact position, counted over from the left. For example, in Ex. Ph. B1812, c/13, the steering oar of a model boat is situated in the third row down, and is the 13th object from the left.

¹³⁴ *Der Manuelian*, ed. (1992: 27, 32).

¹³⁵ For example, in Ex. Ph. C11317 (taken in 1904-05), Mace mistakenly attributed jewelry and a mirror from N.453 to N.408, both tombs that Reisner excavated in 1901-03. There is also a great deal of confusion between the contents of N.408 and N.410 in the expedition photographs, which has been corrected after comparing the pictures with the tomb plans and object descriptions provided in Reisner's tomb cards. The confusion may be due, in part, to the fact that both are rock-cut tombs and are located in close proximity to one another. In both tombs, the coffins containing bodies of adults had been interred in the subterranean part of the tombs: in N.408, two coffins were in the single burial chamber; and in N.410, three coffins were in the burial chamber, while the fourth was squeezed into the burial shaft. The chapel in N.408 also housed a small coffin with the skeleton of a child inside. Reisner labeled the coffins in N.408 "a-c" and those from N.410 "I-IV" on the tomb plans. However, he mistakenly attributed the majority of the contents from N.410, including coffins I-IV, a reed flute, pottery, four rolls of papyri and a wooden toilet box, to N.408 in Ex. Ph. A9744-A9745, B9039-B9058 and C9591-C9607 (taken in January-April 1903). Mace also misattributed mummies interred in coffins I and III and the reed flute, which was found in coffin II, to N.408 in Ex. Ph. B8634-B8636, B8710-B8712 and B8744 (taken in 1904-05).

contents of two tombs were photographed together, there are instances when the tomb numbers were reversed in the register entry.¹³⁶

2.4 Methods of Work

Before excavating, Reisner assigned numbers to the cemeteries at the site, appending N. (Naga ed-Deir) to those excavated during the years of the Hearst Expedition and, later, S.F. (Sheikh Farag) to those at northern end of the site that were cleared by the Harvard-Boston Expedition.¹³⁷ He further divided the cemeteries into numbered strips and then assigned gangs of Egyptian workmen to excavate the tombs in each section. Individual tombs were given a site, cemetery and grave number.¹³⁸ A few rock-cut tombs have more than one number because collapsed walls and roofs made it difficult to distinguish plans, and, in some cases, individual pits that were initially assigned separate numbers turned out to belong to single tombs after clearance.¹³⁹ For each tomb, the excavators recorded the measurements of the archaeological features, noted the relative positions of the tomb contents (prior to the 1913 season) and provided descriptions and sketches of many of the artifacts in the field records.¹⁴⁰ Photographic plates

¹³⁶ For example, Mace labeled Ex. Ph. C8771 (taken in 1904-05) “pottery from N.241 + N.232” in the photograph register. However, the pottery is actually grouped with the contents of N.232 and N.241 illustrated on the left and right sides of the photograph, respectively. These two tombs were excavated by Reisner in 1901-03. Although there are no labels in the picture, the mistake is clearly evident when comparing the photograph with the pottery housed in the Hearst Museum.

¹³⁷ For example, S.F. (Sheikh Farag) 500 and N. (Naga ed-Deir) 9000. Tombs located behind the expedition house at the base of cemetery N.100-400, which were excavated in 1912, were not assigned a cemetery number. Reisner sometimes combined cemetery numbers, as with N.500-900, which he believed was one continuous cemetery (1932: 3). While Dunham (1923-24a) listed the cemeteries in the S.F.5000 sequence independently in his field diary, for the purposes of this study, I consider S.F.5000-5400 to be one cemetery. I also refer to N.100-400 as one cemetery since 498 is the highest documented tomb number, although Reisner designated the cemetery simply as “N.100” in the Hearst Expedition accounts and on the cemetery map (see, for example, Reisner 1904a).

¹³⁸ For example, N.43 refers to tomb number 43 located in Naga ed-Deir cemetery 100-400, while S.F.187 refers to tomb 187 in Sheikh Farag cemetery 200. For the higher-numbered cemeteries, the tomb and cemetery numbers were combined. For example, N.3737 is tomb 237 located in Naga ed-Deir cemetery 3500.

¹³⁹ The majority of these tombs are in cemetery N.100-400: tomb N.67, which contained pits N.67 and N.69 (hereafter referred to as N.67/69); tomb N.71, with pits N.66, N.68, N.70 and N.71 (hereafter abbreviated N.70/71); N.90, with pits N.91, N.92 and N.93; N.301, with pits N.302 and N.303; N.304, with pits N.305, N.306 and N.307; N.308, with pits N.309, N.310 and N.311; N.317, with pits N.313, N.314, N.315, N.316 and N.317; tomb N.318 with pit N.319; and joint tombs N.325/N.326, N.327/328, N.329/330 and N.454/461, each with two pits labeled with the corresponding number. One joint tomb in cemetery S.F.5000-5400 is S.F.5201/5203.

¹⁴⁰ Arthur Mace’s notes are by far the most meticulous of those of all the excavators who worked at the site. His tomb plans contain an incredible amount of information that includes measurements of all the archaeological features (e.g., walls, doorways and shafts), and frequently show the original placement of the artifacts. Additionally, they often include detailed descriptions and sketches of the tomb contents, ranging from the inscribed stelae and coffins to the more mundane artifacts, such as pottery, stone vessels, tools and weapons, beads and amulets and parts of wooden models. In contrast, Reisner’s notes on cemetery N.100-400 are not as detailed and there are a few errors. The contents of two or more tombs were occasionally combined in the field notes, resulting in further confusion when the material was later recorded in the photograph registers. For example, Reisner cleared tombs N.361, N.402(?) and N.403 in 1901-03, recording the archaeological material from all three tombs on one card, which he labeled N.361(403). For Reisner’s photographs of the coffin fragment (Ex. Ph. A9753, A9754 and A9759), which were taken in January-April of 1903, the provenance is listed as N.403. However, when Mace took an additional photograph in 1904-05 (Ex. Ph. C8942), he attributed it (correctly) to N.361. (The latter provenance is also listed in the 1923-24 Sheikh Farag object register log, Ob. Reg. 23-12-193.) In addition, although Reisner’s photographs A9755, C9530 and C9531 actually depict the pottery from N.361, he recorded the provenance as N.403

produced during a tomb's clearance were inspected by Reisner, after which time prints were made from the approved plates and returned to the photographer, who wrote the date the picture was taken and the grave number on the back of each one. Subsequently, one set of prints was given to the person in charge of the tomb cards, who added further details pertaining to the excavations (such as object descriptions) and used this information to assist in the written documentation.¹⁴¹ Once removed from their original contexts, the burial goods were photographed again, in many cases immediately after the tomb was excavated but, in other instances, during later seasons at the site.¹⁴²

The excavators also made a plan of each tomb after it was cleared. During the early years, these plans were simply sketched in notebooks or on tomb cards. By 1913 these plans were drawn on graph paper, at a scale of 1:50. When work in each cemetery was completed, the plans were copied onto the cemetery map (this time at a scale of 1:200). The cemetery was divided into 10 meter² quadrants, with the individual tomb locations within each square designated on the map by a combination of capital letters and numbers. Not all of the excavated tombs were recorded on the expedition maps, however, quite probably because these tombs contained little or nothing of importance.¹⁴³ There are also a few errors on these maps, which Stevenson Smith corrected in the early 1950's.¹⁴⁴

During the Hearst and Harvard-Boston Expeditions, the rock-cut chambers of the offering chapels of the larger tombs were labeled on the tomb plans, usually with capital letters.¹⁴⁵ Pits

in the photograph register. The pottery from the two tombs can be separated because each piece (now in the Hearst Museum) has Reisner's tomb number written on it. Finally, in 1904-05, Mace photographed a wooden cosmetic spoon with a handle carved in the shape of a duck (Ex. Ph. C8904-C8905). Although he attributed it to N.402 (undoubtedly confused by Reisner's tomb card), the spoon most likely belongs to N.361, because Reisner had written the latter tomb number on it during his excavation of the tomb in 1901-03.

¹⁴¹ Reisner, in Der Manuelian, ed. (1992: 27). The other set was used to create a separate album, in order to illustrate the stages of excavation of the entire site.

¹⁴² For example, Reisner photographed the excavation of N.10001 in April-May of 1901 (Ex. Ph. A2224-A2227, B2172, C2070-2071 and C2074-2075). (He also mistakenly attributed the latter four photographs simply to cemetery N.10000 in the photograph register, an error that I corrected after comparing the pictures against the tomb card for N.10001.) Reisner then photographed a scribal palette from the tomb two seasons later, in January-April of 1903 (Ex. Ph. A9765). Mace photographed some of the other tomb equipment, including beads, a kohl container and a shabti, in 1903-04 (Ex. Ph. C8849), and later, pottery, in 1904-05 (Ex. Ph. C11325). Mace also photographed the scribal palette separately, in May of 1904 (Ex. Ph. B10650-B10651).

¹⁴³ Since 498 is the highest recorded tomb number for cemetery N.100-400, it indicates that 498 numbers were assigned to tombs. Of this number, 23 "tombs" were actually pits inside larger rock-cut tombs, reducing the total to 475. Out of this new figure, only 321 tombs were excavated. Of these 321 tombs, 209 were photographed, 57 (extant) received written documentation and 154 were recorded on the expedition map.

¹⁴⁴ There are many unnumbered tombs on the Reisner's original map of cemetery N.100-400. For example, the plan of N.11 was drawn on the upper terrace (G6) without an accompanying tomb number; however, Stevenson Smith later was able to identify it. Likewise, Stevenson Smith found that N.111, which is also located in this area (H4/5), had been copied (and labeled) in the wrong location by Reisner, who placed it in the lower part of the cemetery (D12/13). Reisner also labeled some tombs incorrectly, including N.440 for N.449 (K12) and N.95 for N.85 (D10). Still other tombs in cemetery N.3500 appear on the maps twice, including tombs N.3550 (C7, E5), N.3556 (L4, L3), N.3950 (LM2, O1), N.4200 (L2, Q1) and N.4738 (O1, and the lower part of the cemetery, no quadrant number) with different tomb plans, and N.3588 (NO3, Q1/2) with the same plan. For the tombs included in the present study, N.11, N.111 and N.449, see Appendix H, Pls. 1, 7, 12.

¹⁴⁵ As with tomb N.3567 in cemetery N.3500 (Mace 1901-03b: 76) and tomb S.F.167 in cemetery S.F.200 (West 1913d: n.p.). See Appendix H, Pl. 6.

cut into the floors of the offering chapels typically were designated by lower case letters.¹⁴⁶ During the Hearst Expedition, site, cemetery, grave and (sometimes) sequence numbers were often written on the individual artifacts, or on labels attached to them, in pencil or India ink.¹⁴⁷ During the later seasons at the site, the object register number was recorded on each artifact in India ink, along with the combined site, cemetery, and grave number. The amount of time necessary for tomb clearance and documentation differed, depending on individual tomb size and state of preservation. While empty tombs were cleared in a single day, tombs of average size (i.e., shaft and chamber or pit tombs) required three days, and larger (rock-cut) tombs could take as many as 12 days.¹⁴⁸

2.5 Current Locations of the Archival and Archaeological Material

Today almost all of the original archival material of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition is housed in the Egyptian Department in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reisner sent a few photographs, but no written documentation pertaining to Naga ed-Deir to California.¹⁴⁹ The Anthropology Department at the University of California received one case of maps from the Hearst Expedition on October 8, 1902,¹⁵⁰ which did not include any Naga ed-Deir material. The documentation from Naga ed-Deir initially remained at the site when the excavations ended. In a letter addressed to a Mr. Lane in 1905,¹⁵¹ Reisner wrote that he had left Giza to spend a few days at Girga, from November 29th to December 2nd, “to look over my plans and manuscripts for the volume now in press”, i.e., his first publication on the Naga ed-Deir material¹⁵² in the UCPEA Series. After numerous requests, which began soon after Mrs. Hearst’s death in 1919,¹⁵³ Reisner finally sent some of the Hearst expedition records to California in 1928; however, the majority of the records for Naga ed-Deir still were not included.¹⁵⁴ Reisner later kept the records from both the Hearst and the Harvard-Boston Expeditions at the site at Harvard House in Giza. In an undated letter to a Mr. Iddings, he asked for help in moving the “large quantity of antiquities and a vast store of irreplaceable [glass plate] negatives, notes and maps [which] is the property of Harvard University and part of it belongs to the University of California”... “in view of the

¹⁴⁶ For example, tomb N.3907 in cemetery N.3500 (Mace 1901-03e: 128). See Appendix H, Pl. 6.

¹⁴⁷ Thus, for example, the number N.43.1, assigned to a large piriform jar, denotes the first recorded object that came from Naga ed-Deir tomb 43 in cemetery N.100-400. Likewise, N.361.37, a tall, shouldered jar, is the thirty-seventh object labeled from tomb 361 in cemetery N.100-400. Although Reisner claimed that every artifact had an identifying tomb number, this is not actually the case for the material excavated during the early years (Reisner 1921; and Reisner 1934). It is also important to note that some archaeological material from the site now in the Hearst Museum has tomb numbers written on them in blue pencil. When the objects were accessioned, these numbers were added by museum personnel in cases where the original penciled numbers were almost illegible (see, for example, Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Undated Document).

¹⁴⁸ Reisner, in Der Manuelian, ed. (1992: 33).

¹⁴⁹ He did send Mrs. Hearst several contact prints in conjunction with his summary reports on the excavations (Reisner 1934: 1). These old sepia prints, which include images from cemetery N.7000 at Naga ed-Deir as well as from cemeteries at El-Ahawaih and Giza, are now housed in the registrar’s office in the Hearst Museum.

¹⁵⁰ Hearst Museum Accession Record Number 54; and Kroeber (1903: 1).

¹⁵¹ Reisner (1905b: 1).

¹⁵² Reisner (1908).

¹⁵³ See, for example, Kroeber (1919); Kroeber (1924: 1f); and Sproul (1926).

¹⁵⁴ The records that he sent contained copies of the unfinished manuscript for cemetery N.500-900, cemetery maps (pre-publication maps of cemetery N.500-900, Ballas and Deir el-Ballas), tomb cards and field notes on Ballas, Deir el-Ballas, El-Ahawaih and Shurafa, along with a selected number of photographs from cemetery N.500-900 and Deir el-Ballas cemeteries 1-258 (Reisner 1928b; Gifford 1928: 1; and Reisner 1934: 1).

serious political situation”; i.e., perhaps referring to an internal Egyptian political crisis.¹⁵⁵ After Reisner’s death on June 6, 1942, the camp and its records remained under the authority of the American Embassy until the end of World War II.¹⁵⁶ In the fall of 1946, Dows Dunham and William Stevenson Smith of the Museum of Fine Arts went to Egypt to close down the Harvard-Boston Expedition. When Dunham finally cleared Harvard House in the spring of 1947,¹⁵⁷ the glass plate negatives, photograph registers, expedition maps and written accounts went to Boston.¹⁵⁸ The Hearst Museum did not obtain copies of the field notes, tomb cards and photograph registers from the Hearst Expedition at Naga ed-Deir until 1980, when Dr. Frank Norick, the museum’s principal museum anthropologist, traveled to Boston to Xerox the original documentation.¹⁵⁹ In 1992, the Hearst Museum received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to make 35mm copy negatives and contact prints of all the photographic material from the Hearst Expedition, including the original glass plate negatives and prints for which no negatives survived.¹⁶⁰ The original maps of the unpublished cemeteries N.100-400, N.2000 and the upper part of N.3500 remained forgotten in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston until 2001, when they were rediscovered and digital copies were made for the Hearst Museum.

The bulk of the archaeological material from Reisner’s excavations ultimately went to four museums: the Hearst Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The majority of the archaeological material from the Hearst Expedition was shipped to California at the time of the excavations: between 1901 and 1903, or shortly thereafter.¹⁶¹ The Egyptian Antiquities Organization also selected a few, choice artifacts at the end of each season for the Egyptian Museum.¹⁶² Reisner also held back some of the archaeological material, including papyri and skeletons, for his own continued research and to aid in editing his final publications.¹⁶³ In 1912, after returning to Naga ed-Deir

¹⁵⁵ Reisner (undated a).

¹⁵⁶ Dunham (1972: 38).

¹⁵⁷ Dunham (1972: 44, 47).

¹⁵⁸ Between 1936-1940, when researching *A History of Egyptian Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom* (hereafter, abbreviated *HESPOK*), Smith used Reisner’s contact prints and Davies’ facsimile drawings, which he noted were taken both from the files of the expedition and from the Museum of Fine Arts, as his primary sources of information for the site (1949: iv-v, and 222, n. 1). Therefore, Reisner must have sent some of this archival material to Boston prior to his death in 1942.

¹⁵⁹ Funding for this project was provided by a grant from the Hearst Foundation.

¹⁶⁰ Knudsen and Podzorski (1994: 63).

¹⁶¹ The Anthropology Department at the University of California received 177 cases of artifacts on December 1, 1902; two further cases of artifacts are dated January 7th, 1903 (Hearst Museum Accession Record Numbers 56 and 63); and Kroeber (1903: 1). A third shipment, containing 185 boxes of material from Giza and Naga ed-Deir, excavated in the 3rd and 4th seasons of the Hearst Expedition, was received on January 3, 1906 (Hearst Museum Accession Record Number 195).

¹⁶² I have not yet been able to determine the exact amount of the Hearst material now in the Egyptian Museum; at a minimum, however, a wooden statuette of a probably dancer (J.E. 37756) from N.297 and a coffin (J.E. 45967) belonging to a man named *Tby* buried in N.3765 were accessioned by the museum during this period. Some objects from the site were distributed later to the regional museums in Egypt. In May 2006, for example, I came across an Old Kingdom travertine headrest (J.E. 37759) from Naga ed-Deir in the Museum of Mummification in Luxor.

¹⁶³ Kroeber (1924: 2). Several years after their discovery in 1902, Reisner sent a number of papyri from Naga ed-Deir to Dr. Hugo Ibscher in Berlin for conservation. This material included two Letters to the Dead (from N.3737 and N.74) and four rolls of papyri from N.410. The papyri from N.410 are early 12th Dynasty administrative documents concerning the organization of men involved in the construction of a temple and work logs and crew lists of men working in the dockyards of *Tny*, now known collectively as Papyrus Reisner I-IV. Work on the complete

for the Harvard-Boston Expedition, he sent a small number of excavated finds to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹⁶⁴ The next year, he sent a greater quantity of material, consisting of pottery, human bones and “other objects of archaeological interest”-- selected and arranged according to tomb group-- to the University of California, Berkeley,¹⁶⁵ the Egyptian Museum, Cairo,¹⁶⁶ the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹⁶⁷ and the Peabody Museum.¹⁶⁸ On route to Boston, the S.S.

set of papyri was never finished, but Papyrus Reisner I was sent to the Museum of Fine Arts in January, 1938. The other papyri remained in Europe until the early 1960s, at which time they were also given to the Museum of Fine Arts. In October of 2006, the four Reisner papyri (BMFA 38.2062=P. Hearst 02, BMFA 38.2064=P. Hearst 03, BMFA 38.2119=P. Hearst 04, BMFA 38.2120=P. Hearst 05 and numerous unaccessioned fragments), Letters to the Dead from N.3737 (BMFA 38.2121) and N.74 (BMFA 04.2059), the oracle petitions (Eg. Inv. 1749, 1744, 1746, 1747, 1750 and 1753), and a number of unpublished papyri fragments from several tombs were returned to their rightful place in California, and are now housed in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Another Letter to the Dead (BMFA 47.1705) from cemetery N.3500 remains in Boston on permanent loan to the Museum of Fine Arts. The other papyri, dated to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, are referenced further below, in n. 232.

¹⁶⁴ According to the museum’s catalogue cards the artifacts from this season include four shabtis, three kohl jars, two throw sticks, five game pieces, a model bronze chisel, a button seal, the head of a wooden statuette, and a small amount of jewelry, all of which was accessioned on December 5, 1912. Although Reisner also found pottery, skeletal material and coffins, none of this material was sent to Boston in 1912; however, it is likely that the boxes of pottery and bones sent to various museums the following year also included finds from this season.

¹⁶⁵ This shipment of 24 cases included human anatomical material and wooden staves (Hearst Museum Accession Record Number 462; Reisner (1913a, where Reisner listed only 15 boxes). The human remains from Naga ed-Deir now in Berkeley, which represent only a small percentage of what was excavated, consist of 147 museum catalogue entries for disarticulated skeletons from cemeteries N.7000, N.500-900, N.100-400, N.2500, N.3500 and N.9000. In 1902 Reisner sent a collection of bones to the Khedivial School of Medicine in Cairo to be studied by Dr. G. Elliot Smith for a medical conference in 1903 (Reisner 1899-1905: 4-5; Reisner 1904b: 108f; and Reisner 1908: vii). Elliot Smith returned to England in 1909, and the planned study never occurred (Smith and Jones 1910: 26). While some of this material was forwarded to California in 1913, the rest of it remained in Egypt and was likely destroyed in 1924. Reisner also left human remains behind at Naga ed-Deir in 1904, which he packed up when work began again in 1912 and had transported to California the following year (Reisner 1912a: 108).

¹⁶⁶ This material included a minimum of 12 boxes of pottery, a limestone statuette of a harpist (J.E. 44419) from S.F.132 and two copper battle-axes (J.E. 44602 and J.E. 44603). The pottery is specifically mentioned in one letter (Reisner 1913e: 1). For the limestone harpist see Reisner (1920: 117-118, and Pls. 14, 15.1-4). The axes are referenced in Davies (1987: 37, n. 5). Mirrors from tombs S.F.42 (J.E. 45607) and S.F.165 (J.E. 45608) also went to the Egyptian Museum at this time (Lilyquist 1979: 38, n. 435).

¹⁶⁷ He did not include human skeletal material as it was not considered desirable for exhibition in the museum (Reisner 1912c: 1). Out of 142 boxes, some of “other” objects that he sent were wooden headrests, mallets, baskets, kohl jars, alabaster vessels, slate palettes, beads and amulets, wooden paddle dolls, an inscribed offering stand, bows and arrows, a bronze axe, a limestone shabti, miscellaneous wood, and a small amount of pottery (Reisner 1913e: 1; and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Packing List II/B and Packing List IV/C).

¹⁶⁸ For general information about the artifacts from Sheikh Farag sent to the Peabody Museum, see Reisner’s letters to Professor F.W. Putnam (Reisner 1912c; 1912d; 1913b; 1913c; and 1913d). The complete list of objects, based on the Peabody Museum’s accession records, is included here in Appendix B. The majority of the material in the museum is pottery, although it also includes a headrest, a mummy, four cosmetic palettes, 28 kohl jars (both stone and ceramic) and a travertine saucer. A few items were given to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in a 1944 exchange for more pottery, including a stone kohl jar from S.F.209, Peabody Museum No. B598/BMFA 44.31. Very few records have associated tomb numbers, so the exact provenance of much of the material is unknown (personal communication, Susan Haskell, March 2004). Reisner also intended to include a number of Predynastic and Middle Kingdom skulls and complete skeletons from Naga ed-Deir in this shipment (Reisner 1912d). He apparently never followed through with these plans, however, as none of this material is listed in the museum records. Furthermore, the packing list, which Reisner claimed to have included with the 25 boxes, has not survived, if indeed it was ever sent (e.g., Reisner 1913d; note that in his letter to Gaston Maspero, Reisner listed 31 boxes to be shipped to the Peabody Museum (1913a)). In addition, Dr. Patricia Podzorski specifically looked for

Preussen, which was transporting 25 boxes of archaeological material to the Peabody Museum, caught on fire between the Suez Canal and Hamburg.¹⁶⁹ Eight cartons arrived at the Peabody Museum in November, 1913¹⁷⁰ with the remaining 17 following in December, having suffered smoke and/or water damage.¹⁷¹ The S.S. Preussen also carried material from Sheikh Farag bound for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In his letter to the Peabody Museum, dated November 26, 1913, A.W. Pope advised the personnel to take care in opening the eight cases of material received from the S.S. Preussen shipment, because “if they are anything like the cases at the Museum of Fine Arts, they will open very hard.”¹⁷²

In the years following, Reisner sent additional artifacts from the Hearst concession at Naga ed-Deir to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, including an ivory-handled copper mirror¹⁷³ and an exquisite set of jewelry¹⁷⁴ from Middle Kingdom tomb N.453, and a pleated linen dress¹⁷⁵ from late Old Kingdom tomb N.94, accessioned in 1921 and 1934, respectively. In 1924 most of the excavated material from the final season at Sheikh Farag also went to the Museum of Fine Arts, where it was accessioned in 1924 and 1925.¹⁷⁶ Some of the archaeological material from the Hearst Expedition, which had been left at the site in 1904, was also included in this shipment: two wooden headrests, model fragments, a serving statuette, a broken wooden *k3* statue,¹⁷⁷ and fragments of eight coffins.¹⁷⁸ Reisner did not remove all of the excavated material from Naga

human remains from the Hearst Expedition in the Peabody Museum in 1986, but found none (Podzorski 1990: 10). Interestingly, Reisner did send skeletal material from the Harvard-Boston Expedition’s 1912 season at Mesheikh and Naga ed-Deir to the Anthropology Museum in California, as documented in the Hearst Museum’s catalogue cards: 73 skulls from the former site and a minimum of 110 skulls and other bone fragments from the latter. At this time Reisner also shipped six boxes of human bones from the Sheikh Farag cemeteries to Elliot Smith in England (Reisner 1913a). He also may have sent the human remains intended for the Peabody Museum to Cairo. Some of the Naga ed-Deir material (likely from both expeditions) remained in Egypt until the summer of 1924, when it was destroyed because of a lack of space, as reported by Elliot Smith and noted by A.L. Kroeber (1924: Appendix, page 2). These remains were reportedly thrown into the Nile (Podzorski 1990: 10).

¹⁶⁹ Pope (1913a; 1914).

¹⁷⁰ Pope (1913b).

¹⁷¹ Pope (1913c).

¹⁷² Pope (1913b).

¹⁷³ BMFA 21.10559.

¹⁷⁴ Museum inventory numbers BMFA 21.970 through BMFA 21.985.

¹⁷⁵ BMFA 34.56.

¹⁷⁶ These objects include a large quantity of pottery, seventeen limestone stelae, remains of coffins from nine tombs, wooden staves, wooden furniture fragments and headrests, two bronze spear points, arrows, scarabs and seals, beads and amulets, sandals, mirrors, stone vessels, a wooden statue, models and fragments of wooden statues, and fragments of wood (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Packing List A, dated October-November, 1924). Reisner also gave one coffin (and the mummy contained in it) from S.F.5105 (23-12-179) to Alan Rowe, which the latter offered to the Museum of Victoria on November 1, 1924. It was later shipped in March of 1925 (Hope 1983-84: 25, n. 1).

¹⁷⁷ One of the headrests, a model limestone jar, beer brewer statuette and the broken *k3* statue came from N.89. The museum accessioned the brewer statuette (BMFA 25.1521) in 1998 in preparation for an extended loan to the San Antonio Museum of Art (personal communication with Dr. Sue D’Auria, August 1998). The other headrest is from N.467.

¹⁷⁸ Four side panels belonging to the coffin of *Ppy-im3* from N.4003 (MFA 25.1519.1-4) were assigned inventory numbers on June 21, 1995 (Personal communication with Dr. Joyce Haynes, March 2004). The lid and bottom of this coffin (PAHMA 6-23702a,b) are in the Hearst Museum. The other coffins from the Hearst Expedition, all originally from cemetery N.100-400 and now in Boston, remain uncatalogued. The object register numbers of the seven remaining coffins are 24-1-8, 24-1-10, 24-1-13, 24-1-15, 24-1-16, 24-1-23 and 23-12-193. Only the provenances of the last two are known for certain: N.296 and N.361, respectively.

ed-Deir, however, leaving some of his finds permanently behind. For example, in his field diary for the 1912 season of work at Naga ed-Deir, he mentioned the discovery of the upper section of a stone jar which “fits the bottom of a stone vessel found by the Hearst Expedition in 1902 and left in the magazine here as being of no value.”¹⁷⁹ Several coffins and coffin fragments photographed by Mace in 1904 also remained in storage at the site until 1924, at which time they were entered into the object register log.¹⁸⁰ The better-preserved coffin fragments and whole coffins from both expeditions were subsequently removed to Harvard House at Giza prior to being shipped to Boston, while “all the broken pieces discarded by Dr. Reisner were buried in a tomb just to the west of the (field) house” at Naga ed-Deir, which was located at the foot of the cliff below cemetery N.100-400.¹⁸¹

Not everything removed from Naga ed-Deir in 1924 went directly to Boston: a small amount of archaeological material from both expeditions remained in storage at Harvard House for the next 23 years. In the fall of 1946, four years after Reisner’s death, when Dows Dunham and William Stevenson Smith went to Giza to close down the Harvard-Boston Expedition, they sorted through the storerooms, so that the artifacts could be submitted to the Egyptian Antiquities Service for a second division.¹⁸² In the spring of 1947 the last of the material from Naga ed-Deir went to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston-- along with the glass plate negatives and written accounts from both expeditions-- and was accessioned the same year. Among the artifacts were a Letter to the Dead written on papyrus,¹⁸³ five late Old Kingdom travertine vases,¹⁸⁴ three Roman period glass bottles,¹⁸⁵ a Greco-Roman glass Bes amulet,¹⁸⁶ a New Kingdom faience snake’s head inlay,¹⁸⁷ and three Middle Kingdom paddle dolls,¹⁸⁸ all of which had been excavated in 1901-03 as part of the Hearst concession. The latest artifact from the site included

¹⁷⁹ Reisner (1912a: 116).

¹⁸⁰ Dunham (1923-24a: 88, 91). Because a glass photographic plate of the inscribed coffin fragment from N.361 (23-12-193) was broken during transit to Cairo in January, 1924, it was also photographed again on January 7 (Dunham 1923-24a: 90, 91).

¹⁸¹ Dunham (1923-24a: 89). The material left behind likely includes Hearst Expedition coffin fragments from fifteen tombs that were recorded in the 1923-24 object register log, but not located in the Museum of Fine Arts: Ob. Reg. 23-12-192 (N.3950), 23-12-194 (N.4172), 23-12-223 (N.3984), 23-12-224 (N.3723), 24-1-1 (N.268?), 24-1-2 (N.358), 24-1-3 (N.3755), 24-1-4 (N.5343), 24-1-5 (N.429), 24-1-6 (tomb unknown), 24-1-7 (N.284), 24-1-9 (tomb unknown), 24-1-11 (tomb unknown), 24-1-12 (tomb unknown), and 24-1-14 (tomb unknown). Likewise, unlocated coffin fragments from twenty tombs in the Sheikh Farag cemeteries may have been discarded at this time: Ob. Reg. 23-11-665 through 23-11-668, 23-11-669 and 23-11-670 (S.F.5203), 23-12-62 (S.F.550), 23-12-112 (S.F.5412), 23-12-139 (S.F.5021), 23-12-167 (S.F.254), 23-12-168 (S.F.5109B), 23-12-170 (S.F.538), 23-12-178 (S.F.5015B), 23-12-180 (S.F.5122), 23-12-183 (S.F.5117), 23-12-186 (S.F.526), 23-12-187 (S.F.526), 23-12-195 (S.F.5133), 23-12-196 (S.F.5108), 23-12-197 (S.F.5106), 23-12-199 (S.F.5050), 23-12-200 (S.F.5121), 23-11-184 + 23-12-201 (S.F.5025), 23-12-221 (S.F.5218), 24-1-21 (tomb unknown) and 24-1-22 (tomb unknown).

¹⁸² Dunham (1972: 38-39).

¹⁸³ BMFA 47.1705. The papyrus came from cemetery N.3500, but the exact tomb is unknown.

¹⁸⁴ BMFA 47.1652, 47.1694, 47.1695, 47.1696 and 47.1697. These vessels came from cemetery N.2000, the first one from tomb N.2641 and the remainder from N.2021.

¹⁸⁵ BMFA 47.1684, 47.1685 and 47.1686. The exact provenance of the first bottle is unknown, but the latter two are from cemetery 3500, tomb 3747 and cemetery 2000, tomb 2636, respectively.

¹⁸⁶ BMFA 47.1687. The tomb number is unknown.

¹⁸⁷ BMFA 47.1689, found in cemetery 1500, tomb 1684.

¹⁸⁸ BMFA 47.1691, 47.1692 and 47.1693. All three paddle dolls are from cemetery N.100-400, the former from tomb 232 and the latter two from tomb 428.

in this shipment was a single bronze spear point,¹⁸⁹ which had been excavated during the final 1923-24 season of the Harvard-Boston Expedition.

Having provided the background information on Naga ed-Deir, including the site description, the history and methodology of George Reisner's excavations and a summary of the archaeological material recovered during Reisner's expeditions at the site, in the next chapter, Chapter Three, I turn to the corpus of tomb models from the site. My discussion of the corpus includes the number of complete and fragmentary models that comprise it, the specific cemeteries and tombs from which the models originated, the present locations of the material and previous research on the collection.

¹⁸⁹ BMFA 47.1656, recovered from tomb S.F.5010.

Chapter Three: Tomb Models From Naga ed-Deir

3.1 Corpus of Tomb Models and Serving Statuettes

During three seasons of work at Naga ed-Deir, Reisner's expedition teams recovered a total of 24 serving statuettes, 15 scenes and 508 fragments of single, paired and grouped compositions from 62 documented tombs, in addition to one serving statuette and 45 fragments of single and grouped compositions from unrecorded contexts at the site. In cemetery N.100-400, between 1901 and 1903, Reisner's workmen found 11 serving statuettes, three models and a minimum of 174 fragments in 20 tombs.¹⁹⁰ One additional serving statuette and 45 fragments of serving statuettes and models probably derive from this cemetery; the tomb numbers, however, are unknown.¹⁹¹ Mace's work gangs recovered additional material in cemeteries N.3500 and N.9000: two serving statuettes, 10 models and at least 157 fragments from 18 tombs¹⁹² in the former cemetery and one serving statuette and 10 fragments from three tombs¹⁹³ in the latter. During the 1913 season at Sheikh Farag, the Harvard-Boston Expedition team excavated six serving statuettes, two models and 57 fragments from ten tombs¹⁹⁴ in cemetery S.F.200. In the final season of 1923-24, the team recovered four serving statuettes and 109 fragments from 10 tombs¹⁹⁵ in Sheikh Farag cemetery S.F.5000-5400 and one male figure from a tomb¹⁹⁶ in cemetery S.F.500.

3.1.2 Current Locations of the Collection

Of the 15 serving statuettes, 13 models and 386 fragments excavated from the cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir under the auspices of the Hearst Expedition, the majority is currently housed in the Hearst Museum and includes five serving statuettes, 12 models and 322 fragments that were accessioned in 1902 and 1903.¹⁹⁷ Other locations include a beer brewer statuette and a small stone jar probably once attached to the same base, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,¹⁹⁸ and a probable dancer statuette in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.¹⁹⁹ Of the 10 serving statuettes, two models and 166 fragments collected during the excavations of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, only five statuettes, one model and five fragments are presently housed in the

¹⁹⁰ Naga ed-Deir (N.) 11, N.43, N.51, N.67/69, N.70/71, N.89, N.105, N.110, N.111, N.202, N.241, N.248, N.263, N.269, N.297, N.361, N.408, N.429, N.449 and N.450. In addition to the individual serving statuettes, models and fragments recorded in the tomb cards and field notes, tombs N.408 and N.450 contained an indeterminate number of model fragments simply identified as "wooden figures".

¹⁹¹ This amount was calculated from the unprovenanced model fragments and statuettes housed in the Hearst Museum and illustrated in Ex. Ph. B10697 and C8882 (see Figs. 30 and 37).

¹⁹² N.3558, N.3567, N.3575, N.3579, N.3737, N.3756, N.3765, N.3769, N.3774, N.3795, N.3900, N.3907, N.3916, N.3930, N.3945, N.4003, N.4172 and N.4401. Tombs N.3558, N.3579 and N.3945 also contained remains of "wooden figures", which were recorded in the expedition notes but not described in detail. A boat model fragment in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 6-2762) also is attributed simply to cemetery N.3500.

¹⁹³ N.9090, N.9091 and N.9292.

¹⁹⁴ S.F.18, S.F.25, S.F.64, S.F.95, S.F.132, S.F.167, S.F.170, S.F.187, S.F.209 and S.F.218.

¹⁹⁵ S.F.5010, S.F.5011, S.F.5021, S.F.5025, S.F.5029, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, S.F.5204, S.F.5210, and S.F.5214.

¹⁹⁶ S.F.533.

¹⁹⁷ See above, n. 161, for the Hearst Museum accession records for this material.

¹⁹⁸ Although not specifically mentioned on Packing List A, dated October-November, 1924, the statuette and jar were included in case 260, box BFS 300 that contained "wooden sandals, etc.: Sheikh Farag". This box number is recorded on the associated catalogue card in the Museum of Fine Arts.

¹⁹⁹ On display in room 32, i.e., the "tomb models" room.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The museum accessioned three serving statuettes, a limestone boat model and three small wooden male figures on December 4, 1913.²⁰⁰ A limestone harpist statuette also was given to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo²⁰¹ around this time. Although material from a few of the same tombs in cemetery S.F.200 that contained models²⁰² was sent to the Peabody Museum in 1913, no models are listed in the museum's accession files. Of the material excavated during the 1923-24 season the Museum of Fine Arts received, there were only two serving statuettes and two model fragments from Sheikh Farag cemetery S.F.5000-5400.²⁰³

There are obviously quite a number of models excavated from Naga ed-Deir that are not housed in any of these three museums. While future research may uncover more models in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, because most of the missing material is fragmentary, it is doubtful that the Egyptian Antiquities Organization would have selected much, if any, of it. Instead, it is more likely that fragmentary models from both expeditions were left behind at the site along with the discarded coffin fragments when the excavations ended in 1924, deemed not to be of great archaeological or artistic significance.²⁰⁴ Of the 15 single statuettes, 13 model scenes and 386 fragments excavated under the auspices of the Hearst Expedition, there are eight statuettes, one boat model and 64+ model fragments from a minimum of 25 tombs²⁰⁵ that are not housed in the Hearst Museum. Of this missing material, three statuettes, one boat model and 39+ model fragments were recorded in the field notes. (Two statuettes,²⁰⁶ the boat model,²⁰⁷ and 24 model fragments²⁰⁸ also were photographed.) There is photographic documentation of parts of five serving statuettes and an additional 25 model fragments and from at least 12 tombs²⁰⁹ for which the field notes are either lost or insufficiently detailed enough to identify the provenances. Of the missing models from Sheikh Farag, two serving statuettes, one model boat and 60 model

²⁰⁰ The date is recorded on the Museum of Fine Arts catalogue cards for the material from Sheikh Farag cemetery S.F.200. Case 15, box P106, containing "small boxes" from Sheikh Farag tombs 18 and 25, also is listed on Packing List II/B, dated 1913. The model fragments were likely included in the listing of "miscellaneous wood, etc." from Sheikh Farag, shipped in case 20, boxes 72, P111 and 73, P111, recorded on Packing List IV/C from 1913.

²⁰¹ On display in the "daily life" room 34.

²⁰² Including tombs S.F.25, S.F.170, S.F.187 and S.F.209.

²⁰³ Other material from the 1923-24 season included a large wooden male *k3* statue (BMFA 24.609) and a stela (BMFA 25.676) from S.F.5202, a tomb that also contained 25 model fragments. The two model fragments in the Museum of Fine Arts are not specifically listed on the museum's Packing List A, dated October-November, 1924; however, there is a general reference to "wooden statuette, models, etc." from Sheikh Farag, transported in case MFA 260, box BFS 298.

²⁰⁴ Perhaps, since Reisner had discovered the large cache of over 100 models from the tomb of *Dhwtj-nht* (Djehuti-nakht) at Deir el-Bersha in 1915 (shipped to and accessioned by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1921), he decided that the later, and much more fragmentary, finds from Sheikh Farag were no longer an important addition to the museum's collection and, as such, were not worth saving.

²⁰⁵ N.11, N.51, N.67/69, N.70, N.105, N.110, N.111, N.248, N.269, N.408, N.450, N.3558, N.3575, N.3579, N.3756, N.3765, N.3795, N.3900, N.3737, N.3916, N.3930, N.3945, N.9292 and (at least) two unidentified tombs.

²⁰⁶ Ex. Ph. C330 and C8239 (N.3795 and N.3900, respectively).

²⁰⁷ Ex. Ph. C313 (N.3575).

²⁰⁸ Ex. Ph. C8994 and C9308 (N.111) and C8557 (N.3916).

²⁰⁹ Ex. Ph. C55 and C8191 (N.3737), C8879 (N.248), C8882 (N.105 and provenance not known), C8908 (N.51), C8993 (N.110), C9304 and C9305 (N.11), B9000 (N.269), B10697 (N.67/69, N.70 and provenance not known), B10698 (N.263) and B10699 (N.67/69).

fragments from eight tombs are documented in the expedition photographs.²¹⁰ Most of these models and fragments also were listed and briefly described in the object register logs with accompanying sketches. Therefore, because of the original documentation, I was able to include these models and serving statuettes in my corpus, even though they were not available for close examination and, in some cases, may no longer exist.²¹¹

3.1.3 Previous Research

The corpus of serving statuettes and tomb models from Naga ed-Deir has never been studied or published in its entirety. Reisner spent most of his life in the field, which left him little time to publish his excavations completely. Some of the Egyptian material from Naga ed-Deir appeared in the seven volume UCPEA series -- specifically the numbers concerning the Predynastic Period,²¹² Early Dynastic Period²¹³ and Old Kingdom.²¹⁴ However, very little of the material dating to the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, including statuettes and models, received much attention.²¹⁵ Interest in the inscribed and decorated rock-cut tombs of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period predates Reisner's excavations.²¹⁶ Although Reisner himself was not particularly interested in scenes or

²¹⁰ Ex. Ph. A938 (S.F.170), B1812 (S.F.18, S.F.25, S.F.170, S.F.209), B1896 (S.F.170), B5040 (S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, S.F.5214), B5047 (S.F.5010, S.F.5202) and B5149 (S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202).

²¹¹ Considering that most of these wooden pieces were in poor condition when found, even if the storage magazine at the site is ever located, it is doubtful that the fragments have survived the ravages of time and the elements.

²¹² The Predynastic material has been published most extensively since Reisner's death. Lythgoe's work on cemetery N.7000 was edited by Dows Dunham and published posthumously as volume VII (Lythgoe: 1965). Subsequent work on this cemetery includes Friedman's analysis of pottery assemblages and their distribution to establish the relative chronology (1981), Podzorski's study of the corpus of human skeletal material, including age, sex and pathology (1990), Savage's problematic anthropological perspective on the evolution of power held by different descent groups at the site (1995), Ikram's examination of the faunal material placed in the burials as food offerings (1995), and Delrue's reinvestigation of these earlier works in his own analysis of the social evolution of the cemetery (2001: 21-66). An article on Predynastic cylinder seals now in the Hearst Museum also includes examples from two tombs in the cemetery (Podzorski 1988: 259-268).

²¹³ Reisner (1908); Mace (1909). Sixty-three tombs from cemeteries N.1500, N.3000, N.3500 and N.500-900 were also published through Harvard University Press in Reisner's chronological development of early Egyptian tomb types (Reisner 1936: 35-37, Figs. 25, 26; 46f, 68f, Figs. 51, 129-133, Figs. 56, and 190-194, Figs. 89-93).

²¹⁴ Cemetery N.500-900 (Reisner: 1932).

²¹⁵ Lutz included 31 First Intermediate Period slab stelae, six false doors and an architrave from the site in his first publication for this series (1927: 2-6, 16-20, nos. 18-47, 54-55, and Pls. 10-24, 28; nos. 48-53, Pls. 25-27; and no. 67, Pl. 34, respectively). In his second volume, Lutz included three *k3* statues and one scribe statue of the late Old Kingdom from the site (1930: 15f, 26f, Fig. 28 and Pls. 23b, 24a,b, 25a and 38b). Lutz did not have access to the original field notes or photographic documentation, which led to several errors. For example, in the former publication, his stela no. 47 (Pl. 24), purchased by Reisner, is actually from Gebelein (Fischer 1961: 61-62 and Pl. XIIIb). Likewise, no. 67 (Pl. 34) was not excavated at Deir el-Ballas, but came from Naga ed-Deir tomb N.229. In the later publication, he listed the provenance of the scribe statue as Giza (1930: 16, and Pls. 24b and 25a), a limestone and wooden statue as either Giza or Naga ed-Deir (1930: 16, and Pl. 24a; 26f, Fig. 28 and pl. 38b, respectively) and a second limestone statue as Naga ed-Deir NN 17, i.e., box 17 from the second season of the site (1930: 15, Pl. 23b). The scribe statue is actually from N.3777, the wooden statue from N.202 and the second limestone statue from N.3604. The first limestone statue belonged to a man named *Ggi*, found in the debris of N.90 (for the identification of *Ggi*'s statue, see Brovarski 1989: 387-389, Fig. 32).

²¹⁶ The French draughtsman and archaeologist Nestor L'Hôte copied inscriptions and scenes from several tombs in cemetery N.100-400 on his second journey through Egypt in 1838-1839 (Bierbrier 1995: 253; Porter and Moss 1962: 28). Gaston Maspero later published the findings from two tombs recorded in L'Hôte's MSS in the

inscriptions found in the rock-cut tombs of cemetery N. 100-400,²¹⁷ he did initially plan a volume in the UCPEA series, based on Davies' work in these tombs.²¹⁸ Reisner did recover a great number of models from cemetery N.100-400 and his correspondence indicates that he recognized the significance of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period material from this cemetery, particularly the wooden statuettes. In a letter addressed to Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California dated July 21, 1921, he wrote, "I want to point out to you several members of your collection which are of unusual importance...the wooden statuettes and small objects from Naga ed-Deir."²¹⁹ In a letter to Edward Clark, written in September 1930, Reisner stated that he had plans to "get the notes in order [for] the rock-cut tombs of cemetery 100"²²⁰ In another letter to Clark written one month later, Reisner stated that he expected to begin work on "a report on cemetery 100 for the University of California... for Naga ed-Deir III"²²¹ This material was never included in the final publication.²²² Reisner's sole publication on the statuettes and models from cemetery N.100-400 consists of a preliminary report with a brief mention of "one pit [that] contained nineteen wooden statuettes and figures, grouped about the foot of the coffin" and another "pit [that] contained in a niche two ships of the dead, a group of cooks and a group of brick makers", both located on the upper cliff of the cemetery.²²³ Arthur Mace also discovered numerous models during his excavation of the upper part of cemetery N.3500, which were never published. In his publication on the Early Dynastic material from the lower part of this cemetery, Mace included a brief summary of tomb types and associated finds, along with a list of 110 late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period tombs.²²⁴ He planned to

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 20396 folios 161-162, and mentioned inscribed fragments from a third tomb that he saw on his own visit to the site in 1881 (Maspero 1890: 71-72, tombs N.71 and N.67; 1882: 124, respectively). American businessman Charles Wilbour also visited the site in the latter part of the 19th century and copied the scenes and inscriptions from three tombs, now in his MSS in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (Wilbour Notebook 2K, pages 14, 16; tombs N.41, N.81 and N.82, cited from Caroline Peck's own journal housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). British Assyriologist A.H. Sayce also visited the site on three occasions, beginning in 1883, during which time he recorded inscriptions in four tombs (numbered I-IV) in cemetery N.100-400 along with one tomb at Mesheikh. Sayce's tomb IV is identical to one Maspero identified in L'Hôte's manuscript, i.e., N.71 (Sayce 1884-1885: 172-176; Sayce 1890: 62-65). Other Sayce tombs that Reisner later excavated are the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr* (tomb I) and N.41 (tomb III). As for tomb II, Sayce states only that it was badly destroyed; it cannot be identified with certainty but may be Reisner's tomb N.81 or N.82, since both are located between tombs I and III.

²¹⁷ In two publications he briefly mentioned the existence of four rock-cut tombs on the upper terrace of cemetery N.100-400 which "have scanty inscriptions and reliefs but without any great interest or beauty" (Reisner 1904b: 107; 1908: 2); however, there are at least 15 tombs in this cemetery with preserved decoration and, in most cases, inscriptions. Twelve tombs are located on the upper terrace: N.11 (*Hni*); N.41 (*Inhrt-ikr*); N.67/69 (*Špss/Impi*); N.70/71 (*Imrry*); N.81 (*Sm3*); N.82 (*Hnni*); the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr*; N.89 (*H3gi*); N.90 (*Ggi*); N.95 (*Hpi*); N.105 (*Kky*); and N.112, which belongs to an unidentified individual. Three additional tombs are located in the slope between the upper and lower cliffs: tomb N.259, which also does not preserve the owner's name; N.248 (*Int-kmt*, the wife of *Imrry*); and N.359 (*Tw3w*). For the complete list of decorated tombs in other cemeteries at the site and publications on all these tombs, see below, n. 229.

²¹⁸ Reisner (1899-1905: 9). Reisner never completed this intended project; however, Stevenson Smith based his brief discussion of decorated tombs at Naga ed-Deir in part on Davies' facsimiles (1949: 222, n. 1). Peck (1958) and Brovarski (1989) incorporated Davies' work more extensively in their unpublished dissertations.

²¹⁹ Reisner (1921: 2).

²²⁰ Reisner (1930a: 1).

²²¹ Reisner (1930a: 1).

²²² Naga ed-Deir, Part III is volume VI in the UCPEA series (Reisner: 1932).

²²³ Referencing tombs N. 43 and N.202, respectively (Reisner 1904b: 108, Pls. V, 1; IV, 1).

²²⁴ See Mace (1909: 48-57) for general descriptions and (1909: 57-73) for the catalogue list, arranged according to tomb number.

do a follow-up volume on the tombs of the same periods that are located in the upper part of the cemetery,²²⁵ but never completed the project. As for the later excavations at the site, Reisner's publications of the Sheikh Farag cemeteries consist of one preliminary report on the limestone statue of a harpist, which was found in cemetery S.F.200 during the 1913 season of the Harvard-Boston Expedition,²²⁶ along with brief references to a few objects from the site in his publication on his Kerma excavations.²²⁷

In subsequent years, overviews of Naga ed-Deir have appeared in a few publications, including general discussions of the site topography and chronology, summaries of Reisner's work and brief descriptions of key artifacts, with further references.²²⁸ More specifically, interest has increased in the late Old Kingdom, Heracleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom, although the focus has been on the decorated and/or inscribed material, particularly tomb walls,²²⁹ funerary stelae,²³⁰ coffins²³¹ and funerary and administrative papyri.²³² Excluding tomb

²²⁵ Mace (1909: 2-3, 52).

²²⁶ J.E. 44419. The report also includes a brief discussion of tomb S.F.132, the tomb in which the statue was found (Reisner 1920: 117).

²²⁷ Including copper earrings plated in gold from S.F.203 and S.F.208, a jar from S.F.168, and a number of bowls, tomb numbers not provided (Reisner 1923: 280, 416f). Reisner also included a drawing of one scarab from S.F.5015 (BMFA 24.1596) in his later publication on Naga ed-Deir Cemetery 500-900 (Reisner 1932: 115, Fig. 50.1).

²²⁸ Porter and Moss (1962: 19, 26, 28); Hoffman (1979: 249-253); Brovarski (1980: 296-317); Podzorski (1999: 551-554); and Podzorski (2001: 483-484). Seidlmayer (1990: 354-355) and Lilyquist (1979: 120-122) further challenged the dates of some of Reisner's Old Kingdom material from cemetery N.500-900.

²²⁹ All together, fifteen decorated tombs from cemeteries N.100-400, N.3500 and S.F.5000-5400 have appeared in several publications and unpublished theses. Wreszinski published his own photographs from tomb N.71 and the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr* (1927: pls. 23 and 24). Stevenson Smith included brief discussions and illustrations of six decorated tombs in cemetery N.100-400 (N.89, N.95, N.248, N.249, N.359 and the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr*) in *HESPOK* (1949: 222f, 225f, 267, 270-272 and Figs. 97a, 97b, 98, 100, 101, 140 and Pl. A; N.384 was miswritten for N.248 on page 223). Three additional tombs from two other cemeteries in *HESPOK* are N.3737, S.F.5015 and S.F.5214 (1949: 225, Figs. 91, 226, and 297, Fig. 148; note that S.F.5105 was miswritten for S.F.5015 on page 226). Peck's unpublished dissertation (1958) on the decorated tombs at Naga ed-Deir dealt exclusively with decorated tombs N.359, N.248 and N.3737. Harpur referenced four tombs in cemetery N.100-400 (N.248, N.259, N.359 and the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr*) and discussed the layout of the chapel scenes in tomb N.3737 in cemetery N.3500 in her study on private tomb scenes of the Old Kingdom (1987: 122f, 181, 199f, 218, 281, 338, 341ff, 353, 361ff, 374, 449, 574 and Pl. 144). Also in his unpublished dissertation, Brovarski analyzed fifteen decorated tombs in three cemeteries at the site, making his study the most extensive to date: N.248, N.359, N.71, N.95, N.11, N.67/69, N.81, N.82, the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr*, N.41, N.90, N.89, N.3737, S.F.5214 and S.F.5015 (1973: 455f; 1980: 306; 1989: 266-344, 352-363, 386-390, 418-456, 493-496, 693-695, 944-950 and figs. 23-24, 26-28, 38-47, 88-89, 101-102, 104-109, 111, 117, 146-148, and 178). Most recently, Kanawati included several decorated tombs from the site in comparisons with his comparably-dated private tombs at Akhmim, focusing on N.359, N.248 and N.3737 (1992: 55-61, 107-112).

²³⁰ There are 135 stelae from Naga ed-Deir, which have been dealt with in numerous publications, including translations and various methods of dating. The most significant of these studies are Vandier (1936: 43-52); Dunham (1937); Clère (1950: 19-32); Fischer (1956: 102; 1981: 58-67); Schenkel (1962: 95-104; 1965: No. 231 and No. 284; Settgast (1963: 7-15); Fazzini (1975: 38-39, cat. 29-31); Freed (1981: 68-76; 1996: 303-307); and Leprohon (1985: 103-105, 112-115, and 131-133). For the study of (primarily) feminine titles derived from these stelae, see Galvin's unpublished dissertation on the priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (1981). For artistic analysis, see Hartwig's unpublished M.A. thesis for her examination of the proportional styles of nine Naga ed-Deir stelae (1986). For the most extensive iconographic and paleographic analyses on the stelae, including references to earlier works, see Brovarski's unpublished dissertation (1989).

²³¹ There are at least 100 inscribed coffins documented in the expedition records, very few of which have been published, contra Brovarski (1980: 308, n. 107; 1989: 3, n. 4) who stated there are about 35 coffins from the

models, scattered publications and unpublished theses on other finds from these periods include human skeletons,²³³ statues,²³⁴ furniture,²³⁵ jewelry and scarabs,²³⁶ mirrors,²³⁷ a funerary

site. For a translation of the coffin from N.3765, now in Cairo, see Kamal (1937: 125-128). For discussion and translation of the unprovenanced coffin of *ḥnḥ.n.s-Ppy*, now in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, Columbia (Acc. 61.69), see Fischer (1956: 99-110), who suggested it originated from tomb S.F.5128. The two coffins from S.F.5105, both belonging to men named *Tby*, are now split between the Richmond, VA and the Museum of Victoria, Melbourne Australia (Virginia Museum, Richmond 1973: 23, 24, no. 1; Stevens, Thomas, Bartlett and McDougall 1978: 40-42, Pl. 2; and Hope 1983-1984: 7-28, Pls. 1-5). Coffins from S.F.5114 and S.F.5415 appeared in an exhibition catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (D'Auria et al. 1988: 105-106, Cat. 38; 130f, Cat. 63, respectively). Willems categorized the coffins from tombs N.4003, N.3765, S.F.5105, N.361 (misidentified as N.403), N.9096C, and the coffin of *ḥnḥ.n.s-Ppy* in his typology of Middle Kingdom coffins (1988: 27, 38, 136, and 245, n. 22). Brovarski included inscribed coffins from 32 tombs in his unpublished dissertation, most of which were discussed only briefly: N.296, S.F.5202, S.F.5203, N.3774, S.F.5117, N.3968, S.F.5114, N.3794, N.4003, N.3765, S.F.526, S.F.538, S.F.5106, N.26(?), N.4193, S.F.5122, N.3804, N.170(?), N.3915, S.F.5109, N.3930, S.F.537, S.F.550, S.F.5124, N.3751, S.F.5015, S.F.254, S.F.5105, N.3908, N.3723, N.3587 and S.F.5025 (1989: 393-417, 482, 535, 560, 568, 580f, 589, 645-664, 670-674, 765f, 771, 788, 790, 797, 904, 910f, 915-918, 950-964, 978f and Figs. 33-34, 37, 50, 128, 62-65, 67-68, 73, 75, 79, 81, 84, 170-171, 90, 92, 94, and 96-97, respectively). The coffin he attributed to N.26 is apparently based on the entry in the 1923-24 object register log (Ob. Reg. 24-1-1); however, the provenance is more likely to be N.268. There is an unlocated inscribed coffin from N.268 listed in the photograph register (Ex. Ph. C8945); in contrast, there is no tomb N.26 on the expedition map of cemetery N.100-400 or listed in the extant field notes or the photograph register. Likewise, it is unclear why Brovarski assigned the provenance of another coffin (Ob. Reg. 24-1-6) to N.170 when there is no such tomb number on the expedition map or included in the written or photographic documentation; it may, however, be a typographical error for tomb N.107, which did contain a coffin (Ex. Ph. C4296).

²³² This material includes three Letters to the Dead (from N.3737, N.74, and an unknown tomb in cemetery 3500) and Papyri Reisner I-IV from N.410. For translations and commentary on the funerary papyri see Simpson (1966: 39-52; 1970: 58-64; 1999: 390-394); Fecht (1969: 105-128); Goedicke (1969/1970: 88-90; 1972: 95-98); D'Auria et al. (1988: 106f, Cat. 39); Wente (1990: 212f, No. 343 and 344); Parkinson (1991: No. 57, 143-145) and The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 2002: 106-107, Cat. 49). For the Reisner Papyri, including further references, see Simpson (1963; 1965; 1969, 1973: 218-221; 1984: 157-164; 1986, 1988: 211-212; and 1999: 387-390); Wente (1990: 43f, Nos. 41-43); and Parkinson (1991: No. 27, 85-88).

²³³ Harrington (1992) analyzed 36 crania from 15 tombs in her unpublished M.A. thesis on the skeletal material from cemetery N.100-400.

²³⁴ In *HESPOK*, Stevenson Smith (1949: 88ff, 94f) briefly described 28 *k3* statues (made of wood, limestone and ivory) and one limestone scribe statue from nine tombs at the site: N.3604, N.248, N.241, N.90, N.92, N.202, S.F.5202, N.3737 and N.3777. A few also appeared in subsequent museum exhibit catalogues, including four wooden statues from N.43 and the ivory statue from N.3737 (Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 37, 59f; Fazzini 1975: 37, Cat. 28; Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology 1989: n.p.; and Thomas, ed. 1995: 138f, Cat. 48). Brovarski briefly discussed statues and statue bases from N.43, N.248, S.F.5202, N.90/92 and N.3737 in his dissertation, focusing on those with inscriptions (1989: 138, n. 88; 286f; 366, n. 310 and Fig. 114; 387ff, Fig. 32; 496-501; and 1153, Fig. 120, respectively). The bases of two wooden statues and the back pillar of a limestone statue from N.90/92 were inscribed for the *smr w^cty, hry-ḥbt, imy-r3 ḥnty(w)-š (n) pr-^c3 Ggi*, i.e., the sole companion, lector priest, overseer of the land-tenants/tenant-landholders, attendants of the Great House, Gegi. A statue base from N.248 belonged to the statue of the *ḥmt-ntr Ḥthr rht nswt Int-kmt*, i.e., the priestess of Hathor, royal acquaintance, Inet-Kemet. Finally, the ivory statuette from N.3737 was inscribed for the owner *Mrw/Iy 3w*. Bochi examined the style of clothing on the wooden statue from S.F.5202 and ivory statuette from N.3737 in her article on the evolution of patterned textiles represented in two and three dimensional sculpture (1996: 222, Fig. 2, 229f, Fig. 6, with the photograph caption reversed in Fig. 7). Harvey analyzed 27 statues from the site most extensively in her published dissertation on wooden statuary of the Old Kingdom (2001: 79-83, 97, 99, 103, 324-369, 484-485, 502-503, 538-539, with the list of her catalogue numbers on page 631 and tomb numbers on pages 639-640). There are a few errors, however, in her discussion. Note that the broken wooden head of a male statue, BMFA 12.1234, referenced on pages 80 and 327 is not from tomb "N 12" but was found on the slope below cemetery N.100-400 in 1912. For Harvey's Cat. B66, the "right" statue base from N.90, PAHMA 6-16122b (recatalogued from 6-16134), is the one that belongs with the male statue from this tomb, shown together in her photograph on page 502. Statues

figurine,²³⁸ a pleated linen dress,²³⁹ a female cartonnage mummy mask,²⁴⁰ a reed flute,²⁴¹ stone vessels,²⁴² an incense burner,²⁴³ cosmetic containers,²⁴⁴ pottery²⁴⁵ and weapons.²⁴⁶ A small

PAHMA 6-16122a,b from N.90 and Harvey's Cat. C8 (present location unknown) from N.92 are actually both from the same tomb complex: N.90/92. Two *k3* statues from N.43, which Harvey labeled PAHMA 6-15203 and 6-15208, are not housed in the Hearst Museum (as referenced on pages 80, 329 and 339), but are likely in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Furthermore, catalogue number 6-15203 is actually assigned to a male serving statue, and 6-15208 does not exist in the Hearst Museum database. There are also several errors in Harvey's correlations between Hearst Museum catalogue numbers and Reisner's object numbers. Reisner penciled object numbers on all the artifacts from N.43 and recorded the numbers in his journal and in his photograph register, which accompanied the expedition photographs. The artifacts from N.43 housed in the Hearst Museum also have catalogue numbers written on them. We can, therefore, make the following corrections for seven *k3* statues: Reisner's N43-10 is PAHMA 6-15205 (Harvey's Cat. A111); N43-7 is one of the unlocated male statues (Harvey's erroneous 6-15208 and Cat. A113); N43-15 is PAHMA 6-15212 (Harvey's Cat. A114); N43-17 is PAHMA 6-15213 (Harvey's Cat. A119); N43-14 is PAHMA 6-15215 (Harvey's Cat. A120); N43-18 is PAHMA 6-15218 (Harvey's Cat. A121); and N43-20 is PAHMA 6-15216 (Harvey's Cat. A123). Finally, female statue PAHMA 5-15204 (referenced on Harvey's pages 81-82, 346-347) was not found in tomb N.43. The statue is not documented in any of the expedition written or photographic records; the Naga ed-Deir provenance is, therefore, suspect.

²³⁵ A wooden headrest from S.F.18 was inscribed for the *ḥ3ty-ḥ, smr wḥty, imy-r3 mšc* and *ḥry-tp ʿ3 m sp3t, Ḥnwꜣy*, i.e., the count, sole companion, expedition leader and overlord/supervisor in the nome, Henwy (Brovarski 1989: 381-386, Figs. 31 and 115). For translation and commentary see Fischer (1962: 51, No. 6g) and Brovarski (1989: 381-386, Fig. 31).

²³⁶ The jewelry from the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries includes the set from a female burial in N.453 (Eaton 1941: 94-98; Wilkinson 1971: 61-62, Fig. 39; Andrews 1981: 63, 95, misattributed to Sheikh Farag; D'Auria et al. 1988: 117f, Cat. 44, Fig. 76), in addition to a gold stylized uraeus pendant from N.364, an electrum jackal pendant from N.1576, and two gold bird amulets from N.3526 (Fazzini 1975: 55, cat. 43 and 44, with the provenance for the uraeus pendant miswritten as N.361; Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 58). A gold wire bracelet from S.F.5045 was published in Thomas, ed. (1995: 142, Cat. 50), an electrum oyster-shell shaped ornament from S.F.27 in Stevenson Smith (1942: Fig. 60), and a glazed steatite collar with gold amulets from S.F.43 in Wilkinson (1971: 67-68, Fig. 40), Andrews (1981: 95) and Freed et al. (2003: 130). Scarabs from several tombs appeared in Ward (1978: 10, Plates 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8, his Cat. nos. 40, 44, 119, 125, 167, and 216, from tombs N.2071, S.F.530, S.F.5015, N.567, S.F.42 and S.F. 231, respectively) and D'Auria et al. (1988: 96, Cat. 29b and 29e, from tombs S.F.5006 and S.F.42).

²³⁷ Lilyquist included the mirrors from 14 tombs in her chronological study: S.F.5043, N.600, N.609, N.769, S.F.25, S.F.43, N.94, N.898, S.F.42, S.F.114, S.F.165, S.F.5045, S.F.5412 and N.453 (1979: 11, n. 99, Fig. 90, n.100; 21, nn. 243, 245, 247; 38, nn. 435, 436, 437 and figs. 53-54, respectively). Another mirror (from N.2075) and papyriform handle (from N.683) appeared in a museum catalogue of the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology (1989: n.p.). The mirror from N.453 was also included in Dunham's analysis of copper and bronze objects from Egypt and Nubia that are housed in the Museum of Fine Arts (Dunham 1943: 62).

²³⁸ An uninscribed limestone shabti from S.F.42 (D'Auria et al. 1988: 126, Cat. 56).

²³⁹ From tomb N.94 and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Riefstahl 1945: 8, Fig. 7; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993: 118-119, Pl. 29; Hall 2001: 31, Fig. 20; Freed et al. 2003: 100-101).

²⁴⁰ From S.F.5202 (D'Auria et al. 1988: 128, Cat. 60).

²⁴¹ Manniche (1975: 13 and Pl. XVII, fig. 30). Note that she misattributed the flute to tomb N.408, when it is actually from N.410.

²⁴² Three miniature jars (two quartz crystal and one basalt) inscribed for the *ḥtmtꜣy-bity, Mry* (the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, Mery), and one uninscribed slate jar, all from an "Opening of the Mouth" set from S.F.5203. From the same tomb came two fragments of a travertine jar with the Horus name of Pepy II (*Ntry-ḥꜣw*) (Brovarski 1989: 5, n. 8; 413, n. 422 and Fig. 36a-c, g; 417). Samples of thin sections taken from stone vessels from tombs in cemeteries N.1500, N.3500, N.100-400, N.500-900 and N.7000 were published in Aston (1994: Appendix D). A few diagnostic forms of this date range were also included in her typology, from tombs N.568, N.609 and N.801 (pages 135-136, 138-139).

²⁴³ A copper, double bell censer from S.F.5203, inscribed for the *ḥtmtꜣy-bity, ḥkꜣ ḥwt, Mry*, i.e., the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, estate manager, Mery (Brovarski 1989: 409, Fig. 36d).

number of these works include discussions of tomb groups and archaeological context of objects found in the Naga ed-Deir²⁴⁷ and Sheikh Farag²⁴⁸ cemeteries.

As for the models, relatively few have appeared in scattered publications over the years. In 1935, Macramallah included a post-expedition photograph of the dancer statuette²⁴⁹ in his publication on the mastaba of *Idwt* at Saqqara, noting the similarity between the statuette's hairstyle and that worn by the female tomb owner, as depicted on one chapel wall.²⁵⁰ By examining Reisner's contact prints in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Stevenson Smith was able to include a few models in his 1946 (first edition) survey of painting and sculpture in the Old Kingdom: a female brewer,²⁵¹ the dancer,²⁵² a female miller,²⁵³ two male duck roasters,²⁵⁴ a male porter,²⁵⁵ two cooking scenes,²⁵⁶ offering bearers²⁵⁷ and a funeral bark.²⁵⁸ However, the pieces were listed with little or no description. When Breasted published his comprehensive study of Egyptian servant statues in 1948-- the first work of its kind-- he simply listed four

²⁴⁴ A serpentine kohl jar in the form of a kneeling girl (N.1599) appeared in the *Held in Value* exhibition catalogue of the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology (1979: 19, misdated to the Archaic Period). Several cosmetic items, including a wooden jewelry box (N.284), an ivory cosmetic spoon and anhydrite kohl jar (N.463), travertine perfume bottles (N.2096, N.2103) and serpentine kohl jars (N.1599 and N.698), were published in a later catalogue in conjunction with the *Held in Value* exhibit (1989: n.p.).

²⁴⁵ For the translation and discussion of the Memphite epistolary formula written on the stand found in cemetery S.F.200 (MFA 13.3791), see Simpson (1981: 173-179, Figs. 1-9). A few pieces of uninscribed pottery also appeared in the exhibit catalogue cited in the previous note, including Meydum ware spouted bowls and libation vessels (N.3604 and N.3576), pot stands (N.3807 and N.361), red slipped bowls (N.986 and N.434), perfume bottles (N.752 and N.453), storage jars (N.4540, N.248, and N.219), and tall shouldered jars (N.299, N.420) (1989: n.p.). Seidlmayer (1990: 355) also noted similarities among some of the First Intermediate Period forms published in Mace (1909) with others from Dendera, Qau, the Tarif and Elephantine. In her typology of bread molds, Jacquet-Gordon included examples from Naga ed-Deir, classified as Type A (1981: 12-15, Figs. 1.6, 2.2, 2.3, and 3.5).

²⁴⁶ In his typology of Egyptian axes, W. V. Davies (1987: 37, n. 5) briefly mentioned four unpublished battle-axes that Reisner excavated at Sheikh Farag, object register numbers 13-3-13 (BMFA 13.3572), 13-3-51 (J.E. 44602), 13-3-135 (J.E. 44603) and 13-3-185 (BMFA 13.3725).

²⁴⁷ N.453 (Eaton 1941: 94-98; D'Auria et al. 1988: 117f, Cat. 44, Fig. 76); N.359, N.248 and N.3737 (Peck 1958: 18f, 83-87, 123-127); cemetery N.500-900 (Lilyquist 1979: 120-122); tombs N.3737 and S.F.5015 (Brovarski 1989: 487f, 944f); tombs N.226, N.235, N.283, N.284, N.299, N.312, N.314, N.330, N.413, N.415, N.418, N.442, N.449, N.450 and N.452 (Harrington 1992); and tombs N.43, N.202 (misidentified as one tomb complex, N.43/202) and N.3804 (Knudsen and Podzorski 1994: 67-69).

²⁴⁸ S.F.5105 (Hope 1983-84: 7-28, and Pls. 1-5).

²⁴⁹ J.E. 37756. In the photograph, taken in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, it is apparent that the statuette was attached to a modern base. In the old expedition photograph it is broken at the ankles.

²⁵⁰ Macramallah (1935: 13, Figs. 6, 7 and Pl. 7).

²⁵¹ BMFA 25.1521. Stevenson Smith referred to the statuette both as a woman and as a man (1949: 89, 97, respectively).

²⁵² J.E. 37756. Stevenson Smith (1949: 95) attributed this statuette to tomb N.241; however, it was actually found in the debris of N.297, according to Mace's photograph register entries for Ex. Ph. C8853, C8854, C8855, C8856 and C8857.

²⁵³ PAHMA 6-15202 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 96).

²⁵⁴ PAHMA 6-15200 and PAHMA 6-17159 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 100).

²⁵⁵ PAHMA 6-15203 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 101).

²⁵⁶ PAHMA 6-16164 and 6-17161 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 103).

²⁵⁷ Probably referring to PAHMA 6-23521a,b and 6-16760,p, although it is difficult to tell with certainty, because he did not include descriptions, simply listing "crud[er] figures" from N.3737 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 103).

²⁵⁸ Either PAHMA 6-15584 or 6-17156 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 104).

examples²⁵⁹ already published by Stevenson Smith, because at that time the models from the Hearst Expedition were packed in storage on the University of California, Berkeley campus and therefore inaccessible.²⁶⁰ He included just two additional statuettes from the Harvard-Boston Expedition.²⁶¹ His work was essentially a catalogue, without any discussion of archaeological context.

In subsequent years a few of the models and statuettes have appeared sporadically in various publications, although still accompanied by very brief descriptions. Three models were published in museum catalogues and reports issued by the Hearst (formerly the Lowie) Museum: a bread-making scene,²⁶² a model boat²⁶³ and a brick-making model.²⁶⁴ The beer brewer first published by Stevenson Smith also appeared in a 1999 exhibition catalogue of the San Antonio Museum of Art.²⁶⁵ One boat has also appeared in a typology of ancient model boats manufactured by various cultures around the world.²⁶⁶ Most recently, Merriman included six boats in her new boat model typology.²⁶⁷ Nord mentioned the dancer statuette in her discussion of the *hnr* dancers and their role in Egyptian society.²⁶⁸ Kemp and Merrillees listed the limestone baker and harpist statuettes from Sheikh Farag in a study of Abydos tomb 416, as part of their discussion on dating minor art objects of limestone and faience.²⁶⁹ The limestone harpist²⁷⁰ from Sheikh Farag also appeared in six additional publications, including a catalogue entry in an encyclopedia of art,²⁷¹ one book,²⁷² two articles²⁷³ and a monograph²⁷⁴ on ancient Egyptian musical instruments, and a brief publication on ancient Egyptian models, including their chronology, functions and place in funerary culture.²⁷⁵ A model granary silo²⁷⁶ and a rower from a model boat²⁷⁷ underwent wood analysis as part of a research project to examine wooden

²⁵⁹ These statuettes include a beer-brewer, two duck roasters and a male porter (Breasted 1948: 32, n. 13, 43, 59, respectively). The museum catalogue numbers are BMFA 25.1521, PAHMA 6-15200, PAHMA 6-17159 and PAHMA 6-15203.

²⁶⁰ The Egyptian material remained in storage on the Berkeley campus between 1931 and 1952. In 1931, Dr. Gunther Roeder wrote to Reisner, describing the conditions: "The finds... are all in storerooms, lying on shelves and in wooden cases without glass. Practically nothing is on exhibition, and... inventory numbers have not been marked on the objects and identification was in many cases impossible" (Roeder 1933: 1).

²⁶¹ BMFA 13.3657 and J.E. 44419. The former limestone statuette represents a woman standing before an oven (i.e., a baker) and the latter is a male harpist (Breasted 1948: 106, n. 14, Pl. 98c; and 88, respectively).

²⁶² PAHMA 6-17161 (Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 56).

²⁶³ PAHMA 6-17156 (Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 35; and Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology 1989: n.p.).

²⁶⁴ PAHMA 6-16163 (Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology Spring 2000: 3).

²⁶⁵ BMFA 25.1521 (Scott and Van Sieten 2001: 30, 32, cat. no. 41). The figure is described as a "man making beer", although it is a woman. It is also attributed to the Harvard-Boston Expedition rather than the Hearst Expedition.

²⁶⁶ PAHMA 6-15584 (Göttlicher 1978: 57, cat. 288, Pl. 22; misdated to ca.1300-1100 B.C.E).

²⁶⁷ PAHMA 6-17156, 6-2064, 6-15584, 6-13752, 6-2250 and 6-17160 (Merriman 2009: 342-342, 352-353, 362-363 and 417, Cat. Nos. 92, 108, 110, 131, 132 and 243).

²⁶⁸ J.E.37756. Nord (1981: 140, n. 14) attributed the statuette to tomb N.241, after Stevenson Smith.

²⁶⁹ Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 146, 161, 162).

²⁷⁰ J.E.44419.

²⁷¹ Matar al-Masri (1949: 38, Cat. no.75).

²⁷² Hickmann (1956: Pl. LXIXa).

²⁷³ Hickmann (1954: 310, Fig. 1); and Leibovitch (1960: 53-59).

²⁷⁴ Manniche (1975: 43). Note that she misdated this Middle Kingdom statuette to the Old Kingdom.

²⁷⁵ Tooley (1995: 59, Fig. 62).

²⁷⁶ PAHMA 6-15383 (Rem 1983-89: later dated April 6, 1984).

²⁷⁷ PAHMA 6-1356 (Rem 1983-89: letter dated May 5, 1987).

artifacts in the Hearst Museum.²⁷⁸ A few tomb models have been mentioned in passing in publications and unpublished theses dealing with other archaeological material from the site.²⁷⁹ Since the models lay outside the scope of the studies, their descriptions were brief and taken directly from the original expedition field notes and/or photographs.

Tooley's did include some of the Naga ed-Deir material in her broad study of tomb models and serving statuettes. Because she was not able to examine first-hand the models or the archival documents pertaining to the excavations that are housed in the Hearst Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, however, she could not include a detailed analysis of this corpus in her analysis. Based on the limited photographic data available to her, she simply listed eight wooden examples, i.e., three boat models,²⁸⁰ a male porter,²⁸¹ a group kitchen scene,²⁸² and fragments of at least two offering bearers²⁸³ -- with brief descriptions of two of them²⁸⁴ -- and one limestone statuette of a woman standing before an oven.²⁸⁵ Nevertheless, she included Naga ed-Deir along with other sites in northern Upper Egypt-- Hawawish, Akhmim, Qau el-Kebir, Mostagedda and Rifeh -- as illustrating a regional group, based on the types of models found at these sites. With the exception of the limestone statuette, she also placed the Naga ed-Deir examples together under the time period "late First Intermediate Period to early Middle Kingdom", i.e., the latter part of Heracleopolitan Dynasty 9/10 to reunification in Dynasty 11, or her chronological "phase four".²⁸⁶ In all of the studies concerning the models and serving statuettes from Naga ed-Deir, including Tooley's, the information provided was limited and, for the most part, focused on the few surviving complete examples, with little or no discussion of archaeological context.

Much of the work on the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom archaeological material from Naga ed-Deir discussed in this chapter, particularly those studies that pertain to the inscribed and decorated finds, have served as the sources for dating the

²⁷⁸ Both specimens were identified as *Ficus sycomorus* L., i.e. Sycamore fig (Podzorski, Rem and Knudsen 1985: 122, 124; Rem 1983-89: letter dated May 5, 1987).

²⁷⁹ See for example, the two "much decayed" wooden servant figures from S.F.5011 in Freed's article on an early 12th Dynasty stela (Freed 1981: 69), the six wooden figures and boat fragments from N.3737 mentioned in Brovarski's unpublished dissertation on the inscribed material from the site (1989: 487) and the boat model from N.449 (PAHMA6-13752a-c) in Harrington's unpublished M.A. thesis on the cranial material from cemetery N.100-400 (Harrington 1989: 60-61).

²⁸⁰ PAHMA 6-15584, 6-17156 and 6-17160 (Tooley 1989: 23, 136).

²⁸¹ PAHMA 6-15203 (Tooley 1989: 23, 195).

²⁸² PAHMA 6-17161 (Tooley 1989: 23).

²⁸³ PAHMA 6-15376 and 6-15394 (now PAHMA 6-15376a-e) and probably PAHMA 6-23521a,b. For the latter category, Tooley (1989: 195) cited the same fragments from N.3737 mentioned by Stevenson Smith (1949: 103). PAHMA 6-23521a,b more likely derive from a boat model.

²⁸⁴ Boat PAHMA 6-17156 and the male porter, PAHMA6-15203 (Tooley 1989: 136, 195, respectively). On page 23 she also attributed the models to tomb complex N.202/43 found at Sheikh Farag. However, these two tombs are located in different parts of Naga ed-Deir cemetery N.100-400: the former in quadrant B13 and the latter in DE 8/9. Caroline Peck, in her examination of the tomb cards for cemetery N.100-400 first suggested in her own undated notes that Reisner may have made an error and that the two numbers referred to the same tomb because of the similarity in tomb contents. Someone, perhaps Peck herself, also noted this possibility on the cover page of the field notebook for this cemetery. Although the two tombs are clearly shown on the expedition map in two different parts of the cemetery, this "correction" remains in the field notebook today and was likely the source of Tooley's confusion.

²⁸⁵ BMFA 13.3657, which she attributed to S.F. 96, rather than S.F. 95 (Tooley 1989: 86).

²⁸⁶ Tooley did not include the statuette in her chronological discussion (1989: 86).

tombs in which they were found. This material also serves as the basis for establishing the chronological sequence of the graves belonging to model-owners. A summary of this work and the chronology adopted in the present study are more fully treated in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Dating Criteria

4.1 Inscribed and decorated material: Brovarski's Chronology

The decorated and/or inscribed material at Naga ed-Deir is a key source for reconstructing the relative chronology for the site and is the foundation for the chronology for the current study of the tomb models and serving statuettes. As discussed above, the focus of previous research on Naga ed-Deir has been on the tomb walls, stelae, coffins and papyri. Over the years, scholars tended to study these as individual objects, or classes of similar objects, translating the texts and dating them through paleographical, iconographical and prosopographical analyses. Because of the large number of stelae from the site, this corpus has been examined the most consistently and thoroughly.²⁸⁷ Most recently, in his unpublished dissertation, Brovarski expanded on the work of earlier scholars in his own seriation of the stelae from the site, dividing them into temporal groups ranging from the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8) up to reunification Dynasty 11, based on a combination of paleographic and iconographic features. At the core of Brovarski's chronology are four stela groups of Dynasty 9 placed in the sequential order, from earliest to latest, of: "Red", "Blue", "Polychrome" and "Green" Groups, respectively. The name of each group is derived from the primary colors used to paint the carved hieroglyphs.²⁸⁸ Brovarski's additional groups are dated earlier or later than Dynasty 9 by reference to these four main categories and named after prominent owners on the stelae or other inscribed and/or decorated material from the site (that was presumably) produced by the same artists.²⁸⁹ Based on similarities in paleographic and iconographic features that characterize his stela groups, Brovarski incorporated scenes and texts inscribed and/or painted on tomb walls and other associated material-- primarily coffins, but also a small number of other funerary objects, such as statues, furniture and stone vessels-- in his analysis. Thus, for tombs without any stelae, these other sources become the primary means of establishing dates. His ultimate goal was to link his relative sequence with specific historical events and absolute dates in order to establish the chronology of the First Intermediate Period at the site. His four temporal divisions are the late Old Kingdom, Dynasty 9, early Dynasties 10/11 and late Dynasties 10/11. His estimates for dynasty length include 37 years for Dynasties 6-8 (2251-2214 B.C.),²⁹⁰ 80 years for Dynasty 9 (2214-2134 B.C.), 88 years for early Dynasties 10/11 (2134, the first year of *Intf*I's reign at Thebes, to 2046 B.C., year 14 of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II), and 25 years for late Dynasties 10/11 (2046-2021 B.C., *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II's years 14-39, culminating in the reunification of Egypt).²⁹¹

Of the 62 tombs incorporated into the current study, 22 contained inscribed and decorated material that Brovarski previously analyzed in his dissertation.²⁹² Seven tombs appeared in his discussion of late Old Kingdom groups: N.248²⁹³ (*Imrry* and *Int-kmt* Groups); N.70/71²⁹⁴ (*Int-*

²⁸⁷ See above, n. 230.

²⁸⁸ Settgest (1963: 7-15) coined the terms "Red", "Polychrome" and "Green" Groups, while Fischer (1956: 101: nn. 12, 13) created another category that Brovarski labeled the "Blue" Group for consistency in his study (1989: 10).

²⁸⁹ Brovarski (1989: 3, n.4 and 10ff).

²⁹⁰ Brovarski (1989: 965).

²⁹¹ Brovarski (1989: 45-53, 826, 976-983). See also his proposed chronology chart on pages 987-988.

²⁹² This material is also in Appendix A, listed under the sub-category "Associated Material, Inscribed and Decorated" for each tomb.

²⁹³ Tomb of *Int-kmt*, chapel walls and wooden statue base (Brovarski 1989: 266-287, Fig. 20).

kmt Group); N.11²⁹⁵ and N.67/69²⁹⁶ (*Šm3* Group); S.F.5201/5203²⁹⁷ and S.F.5202²⁹⁸ (*Inḥrt-ikr* Group); and S.F.18²⁹⁹ (Other late Old Kingdom inscriptions). Seven additional tombs were classified into his Dynasty 9 groups: N.89³⁰⁰ (Red Group); S.F.533³⁰¹ (Blue Group); N.3765³⁰² and N.4003³⁰³ (Polychrome Group); N.3900³⁰⁴ (Polychrome and Green Groups); N.3774³⁰⁵ (Green Group); and S.F.5214³⁰⁶ (Other Inscriptions of Dynasty 9). He dated two tombs to early Dynasties 10/11: N.3930³⁰⁷ (*Mryt* Group) and N.429³⁰⁸ (not assigned a specific group). Seven other tombs fell into his late Dynasties 10/11 phase: N.3737³⁰⁹ and N.3907³¹⁰ (*Mrw/Iy 3w* Group), N.3567,³¹¹ N.3769,³¹² N.4003³¹³ and S.F.5025³¹⁴ (Other Late Dynasties 10/11 Group). Three additional tombs not included in his dissertation, but which he dated based on his analysis of the coffins, are N.4172 (early Dynasties 10/11), N.3945 and S.F.5021 (late Dynasties 10/11).³¹⁵

For tombs S.F.18 and N.3737, Brovarski's conclusions differed from those of earlier scholars, who also based their analyses on paleographical and iconographical evidence. Fischer preferred a date comparable to Brovarski's early Dynasties 10/11 for S.F.18, based on the form of the *mšꜥ* sign.³¹⁶ Fischer studied the representation of an archer from a detail in this tomb and argued that this form is found on other late Old Kingdom and Heracleopolitan Period

²⁹⁴ Tomb of *Tmrry*, chapel walls (Brovarski 1989: 305-311).

²⁹⁵ Tomb of *Hni*, chapel wall (Brovarski 1989: 312-316).

²⁹⁶ Tomb of *Šps*, good name *Impy*, chapel wall (Brovarski 1989: 316-322, Fig. 22).

²⁹⁷ Coffin fragments, wooden statue base, model stone jars and copper double bell censer of *Dd-Inḥrt-ꜥnh*, good name *Mry* (Brovarski 1989: 408-417, Figs. 35a-3, g, 36a-g, 37).

²⁹⁸ Coffin and stela of *H3gi* (Brovarski (1989: 399-408, Figs. 34, 35f).

²⁹⁹ Headrest of *Hnwy* (Brovarski 1989: 381-386, Fig. 31).

³⁰⁰ Tomb of *H3gi*, chapel and burial chamber walls (Brovarski 1989: 418-456, Figs. 38-47).

³⁰¹ Stela of *Iy*, found between tombs S.F.533 and S.F.536 (Brovarski 1989: 587).

³⁰² Stela and coffins of *Tby* and coffin fragments of *Hr-nfr* (Brovarski 1989: 619-620, 670-673, Fig. 67).

³⁰³ Coffin and funerary box of *Ppy-im3* (Brovarski 1989: 645-670, Figs. 63-66).

³⁰⁴ Stelae of *Iti-ꜥ3*, *Hti*, good name *Iti i*, *In-it.fꜥ3*, *Mrit*, and an unknown man, and two coffin fragments of *Hnyt* (Brovarski 1989: 620-621, 681-685).

³⁰⁵ Stela of *Hni* and coffins of *Hni* and *Kyt-ikrt* (Brovarski 1989: 479-486, Fig. 50). The stela from N.3774 is listed on his page 676 and assigned catalogue number LMA 6-1847, which actually belongs to N.3794. The correct number is PAHMA (formerly LMA) 6-1256.

³⁰⁶ Tomb of *Wsr*, chapel walls (Brovarski 1989: 693-695).

³⁰⁷ Stela and coffin fragment of *M3ꜥ-hrw* and coffin fragment of *Ikr-itw* (Brovarski 1989: 795-797).

³⁰⁸ He listed the coffin of *Wh3* from this tomb (mistakenly written as N.249) in one footnote, along with a few other coffins dated "from the end of Dynasty 9" that share the common form of the hieroglyphic sign *n* (Brovarski 1989: 832, n. 26).

³⁰⁹ Tomb of *Mrw*, good name *Iy 3w*, chapel walls, Letter to the Dead and ivory statue of *Mrw* (Brovarski 1989: 486-506).

³¹⁰ Coffin fragments of *Inḥrt*[...] and *In-it.f*, a stick incised with the name *P3i* and three stelae belonging to *In-it.f*, *P3i* and [*W*]h[3]i (Brovarski 1989: 850-857, who restored the latter name).

³¹¹ Stela of *Sfhi* (Brovarski 1989: 880-883).

³¹² Stela of *Nfr-iwnw*, good name *Hwy* (Brovarski 1989: 887-888).

³¹³ The stela of NN + *Hꜥ-nfr* (Brovarski 1989: 919-920, Fig. 85).

³¹⁴ Coffin fragment of *Iti* (Brovarski 1989: 978, n. 55).

³¹⁵ Personal communication, Edward Brovarski, April 2002.

³¹⁶ The bow is drawn and the archer does not hold his spare arrows over his shoulder; furthermore, the angle of the bowstring is in front of, rather than in line with, the torso (Fischer 1962: 51, n. 6g; 52, Fig. 3g).

examples.³¹⁷ Fischer agreed with the 9th Dynasty date of the tomb proposed by Peck (to be discussed further below). In his analysis of a Letter to the Dead found in N.3737, Simpson stated that the paleographic style had closer affinities to the signs found at the end of the Old Kingdom (i.e., Old Hieratic) than to the end of the 11th Dynasty. He agreed that Peck's middle range date of Dynasty 9 for N.3737 was likely, but suggested that a slightly earlier or later date was also possible.³¹⁸ Finally, in her analysis of the chapel decoration in N.3737, Harpur concluded that the tomb dated to the First Intermediate Period, based on the orientation of the scenes, particularly the location of the painted false door and possible fishing and fowling scenes flanking the walls on either side of the chapel entrance.³¹⁹ It is important to note the discrepancies in dating these two tombs because, as will be seen further below, the associated uninscribed material corroborates the conclusions of these other scholars. In a few other cases as well, a re-evaluation of Brovarski's findings and the examination of additional evidence also lead me to revise his dates.

Since Brovarski's goal was to establish the relative chronology of the First Intermediate Period at the site, he did not include Middle Kingdom material in his dissertation. However, there is evidence that some of his material is actually post-reunification Dynasty 11 in date.³²⁰ His corpus of inscribed material was vast, and as such he limited his database by focusing on complete objects whenever possible. Finally, since his focus was on dating the inscriptions, he generally did not consider associated diagnostic material, nor did he elaborate on archaeological context.

4.2 Inscribed and decorated material: Additional Evidence

In order to establish the dates of the 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir in which tomb models were found, I began with Brovarski's chronological scheme and expanded both the sources of data and the time frame. First, I looked at all the inscribed and decorated material from the tombs at the site that contained models to identify characteristics that could be used for comparative purposes to date those graves *not* included in Brovarski's dissertation. I also considered fragmentary remains omitted from his study to determine if they corroborated his dates for other material from the pertinent tombs at Naga ed-Deir that he *did* discuss. Finally, I looked at other studies for any inscribed material from the site dating to the Middle Kingdom. All together, there is additional inscribed and/or decorated material from 38 tombs at Naga ed-Deir,³²¹ most of which is fragmentary: N.67/69,³²² S.F.5201/5203,³²³ S.F.5202,³²⁴ N.43,³²⁵

³¹⁷ The bowstring is again not pulled back in line with the body. The spare arrows also point downwards, a feature of the Old Kingdom, although the arrows appear to be grasped in the center, which is more characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. However, in the Middle Kingdom, the arrows point upwards (Fischer 1962: 50, Fig. 1).

³¹⁸ Simpson (1966: 48-49).

³¹⁹ Harpur (1987: 122, 200, 449, plan 144).

³²⁰ From tombs N.3945, S.F.5021 S.F.5025 and N.4003, which are dated here to the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th Dynasty.

³²¹ This material is also in Appendix A, listed under the sub-category "Associated Material, Inscribed and Decorated" for each tomb.

³²² A painted coffin fragment from pit N.69.

³²³ A mud jar sealing with a faint hieroglyphic impression from pit 5201; and, from pit 5203, a wooden scribal palette inscribed for *Mry*, two cloth bags with hieratic inscriptions naming their cereal contents, part of a plastered mummy mask, a broken face from a wooden anthropoid coffin and a coffin fragment inscribed for *In-nht* (?)

³²⁴ Two fragments of a canopic box and a female cartonnage mummy mask.

N.51,³²⁶ N.241,³²⁷ N.105,³²⁸ S.F.533,³²⁹ N.3765,³³⁰ N.3900,³³¹ N.3737,³³² N.3774,³³³ N.3930,³³⁴ S.F.18,³³⁵ N.4172,³³⁶ N.429,³³⁷ N.3907,³³⁸ N.3756,³³⁹ N.3769,³⁴⁰ N.3916,³⁴¹ S.F.5021,³⁴² S.F.5025,³⁴³ S.F.5029,³⁴⁴ S.F.5011,³⁴⁵ S.F.5010,³⁴⁶ N.4401,³⁴⁷ N.3558,³⁴⁸ S.F.5204,³⁴⁹ S.F.25,³⁵⁰ N.408,³⁵¹ N.9090,³⁵² N.9091,³⁵³ N.9292,³⁵⁴ N.361,³⁵⁵ N.450,³⁵⁶ S.F.170,³⁵⁷ S.F.187³⁵⁸ and S.F.209.³⁵⁹ Tombs N.3558, S.F.5011 and N.105 also originally were plastered and painted;³⁶⁰ unfortunately, however, no detailed scenes or inscriptions survived in any of them.

³²⁵ Linen mummy wrappings inscribed for *Tti*.

³²⁶ Two papyrus fragments: one has the remains of a hieratic inscription that dates to the New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period and the other has traces of Coptic writing.

³²⁷ Statue base of *Špst*.

³²⁸ Pottery offering plate and jar inscribed for *Kky*.

³²⁹ Scaraboid with incised fish or scorpion design, stela fragment illustrating part of a male torso.

³³⁰ Male cartonnage mummy mask belonging to *Tby*.

³³¹ Furniture or coffin fragment with traces of hieroglyphs and painted decoration.

³³² Inscribed and decorated coffin fragments, three limestone ostraca with rough inscriptions in black ink, and model tool handles and pieces of a model granary with hieratic inscriptions.

³³³ Female cartonnage mummy mask, broken below the neck, a scarab and plaque depicting a lion.

³³⁴ Broken piece of a cartonnage mummy mask and wig.

³³⁵ Blue painted mummy cartonnage, head fragment with part of an eye.

³³⁶ Male cartonnage mummy mask.

³³⁷ Fragments of a cartonnage mummy case and broken stela depicting two standing figures (names lost).

³³⁸ Inscribed scarab.

³³⁹ Fourteen painted and inscribed coffin fragments and a cartonnage mummy mask with the face gone.

³⁴⁰ Fragments of two coffins, and remains of an elaborately painted coffin.

³⁴¹ Painted coffin fragments, some with hieroglyphs in blue paint.

³⁴² A stela fragment with traces of a standing man and a border inscription [*Wsr*] *nb Ddw*, [Osiris] Lord of Busiris and scarab incised with two human figures flanking a beetle.

³⁴³ Two limestone fragments, incised and painted, from a stela(?), two scarabs and one scaraboid.

³⁴⁴ Scarab with floral design.

³⁴⁵ A scarab with a scroll design, an intact funerary stela and fragments of a second painted stela.

³⁴⁶ Stela fragments, one with part of an illegible inscription and a second with the remains of a painted male figure.

³⁴⁷ Fragments of four coffins, one naming *Inhrt-nht* and the other, *Š3[ny]*.

³⁴⁸ Fragments of two coffins, one belonging to *Hnw.ti*; a stick inscribed for *Inhrt-sn-nfr*; papyrus fragments with traces of the Book of the Dead(?); and remains of two or three other coffins, one with part of an hieroglyphic inscription.

³⁴⁹ Painted coffin fragments.

³⁵⁰ Scarab with crossed line pattern, two fragments of a painted mummy case.

³⁵¹ Male cartonnage mummy mask.

³⁵² Fragments of two or three coffins.

³⁵³ Several painted coffin fragments and fragment of mummy cartonnage with partial offering formula in hieratic.

³⁵⁴ One painted coffin fragment and shoulder pieces of mummy cartonnage with painted design and two additional fragments with inscriptions.

³⁵⁵ Part of the foot board of a coffin belonging to the [...] *im3h.[w] Nht* [...] and wooden beard from a mummy mask.

³⁵⁶ Seven painted coffin fragments and part of a yellow painted coffin with a line of hieroglyphs.

³⁵⁷ Inscribed box fragment, pieces of mummy cartonnage with remains of hieroglyphic inscription and a wooden ear from a mummy mask.

³⁵⁸ Two painted fragments of mummy cartonnage.

³⁵⁹ One coffin fragment with a partial horizontal band of inscriptions, fragments of a mummy cartonnage with remains of a hieroglyphic inscription and two wooden ears from a mummy mask.

In the following section, I will discuss the major categories of additional inscribed and decorated material from the tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models, most of which proved useful for dating. These categories include personal names found on various burial goods, and stelae, coffins, mummy masks and scarabs. The primary sources of information are the expedition field notes, photographs, journals and object register logs for 1913 and 1923-24. These references, as well as detailed descriptions of the artifacts, including their museum inventory numbers (when known), are provided for each tomb in Appendix A.

4.2.1 Personal Names

I analyzed the names of the tomb owner(s) preserved on the fragmentary remains from 38 tombs in order to determine whether they helped to date the original occupancies. Unfortunately, the information proved to be rather ambiguous, as many names were used consistently over time. For example, the masculine name *Kky*, which was inscribed on the pottery offering plate and jar placed in burial pit II in N.105, appears in both Old and Middle Kingdom contexts.³⁶¹ In some cases, the gender of the name may be suggestive of date. While the name *Tti* was used by men in the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, the feminine form generally dates to the Middle Kingdom.³⁶² The feminine form, however, may have appeared earlier in the provinces because it was written on the linen mummy wrappings of a woman named *Tti* buried in tomb N.43, which dates to the late Old Kingdom.³⁶³ Finally, one male individual interred in N.3558 was named *Inhrt sn-nfr*, as attested on an inscribed staff found in the fill of burial pit “a”. Although *Sn-nfr* is not otherwise attested before the Middle Kingdom,³⁶⁴ it is also possible that this name appeared earlier at Naga ed-Deir, as there is no associated funerary material from N.3558 that can be securely dated to this later period.³⁶⁵

4.2.2 Stelae

Tomb S.F.5011 contained an intact stela that Freed dated to the reign of Amenemhat I, based on the analysis of iconographical features in her identification of artists’ workshops in stela production of the early Middle Kingdom.³⁶⁶ Reisner’s expedition teams found fragmentary stelae in tombs N.429, S.F.5021, S.F.5010, S.F.5025, S.F.5011 and S.F.533, which I examined to determine whether enough of the decoration and inscriptions remained to date them according to either Freed’s or Brovarski’s methodology. As noted above, Brovarski dated the

³⁶⁰ During the Hearst Expedition, Mace discovered three fragments of painted mud plaster near the entrance of N.3558, which had fallen off the chapel walls. Members of the Harvard-Boston Expedition later found remnants of white plaster applied over mud and painted in blue, yellow and red on the southeast corner wall of the chapel in S.F.5011. Finally, during one of his visits to the site, Stevenson Smith noted that the shoulder of a figure painted on plaster survived on the back wall of the inner room of the chapel in N.105.

³⁶¹ During the Middle Kingdom, women also could be named *Kky* (Ranke 1977: 349.1).

³⁶² Ranke (1977: 395.24).

³⁶³ For further discussion of the dating of the *k3* statues from this tomb, see below, pages 70-73.

³⁶⁴ Ranke (1977: 309.5).

³⁶⁵ Similarly, the name *Dd-Inhrt-ꜥnh*, a man buried in S.F.5203, is more typical of the Middle Kingdom. Although this exact name is not attested in Ranke, variations from other sites include *Dd.w-Inhrt* and *Inhrt ꜥnh(w)* (1977: 402.15; 35.13). However, based on Brovarski’s paleographical analysis of the inscribed material from S.F.5203, including the coffin upon which this individual’s name and titles were written, the original interment dates to the late Old Kingdom.

³⁶⁶ This stela is part of her “Workshop No. 2, Few Standing Figures” group Freed (1981: 68-76; 1996: 302-307).

coffin from N.429 to early Dynasty 10/11. The stela from this tomb also contains features reminiscent of his early Dynasty 10/11 groups. In the expedition photograph, the decoration is almost illegible, but characteristics include the tall format, polychrome rectangles in the border design, crude execution in the use of paint rather than painted relief, the exaggerated proportions of the standing figures, and the hieratic text listing the deceased's titles.³⁶⁷ The form of *hry-hbt* is also a Middle Kingdom, rather than an Old Kingdom, writing.³⁶⁸ Tomb S.F.5021 contained two fragments of a stela, one depicting a standing male figure and the other with remains of an inscription, [*Wsr*] *nb Ddw*, [Osiris] Lord of Busiris. In this instance, the arrangement of the signs used to write the city name is paralleled in the coffin of *Tby* from S.F.5105C, which Brovarski dated to late Dynasty 11.³⁶⁹ In contrast, stela fragments from S.F.5010, S.F.5025, S.F.533 and S.F.5011, documented in the 1923 object register log, proved too difficult to date. The fragments from S.F.5010 include one piece with a "portion of inscriptions, barely legible in the corners" from chamber A and another with a "crude painting, faintly discernible figure in red" from the tomb debris. Two pieces of "limestone, inscribed and coloured-- sunk relief [in] red, black, yellow" were found in the chapel debris in S.F.5025.³⁷⁰ One fragment of a stela with a "relief figure painted red" with "yellow lines on necklace" was found in chamber D of S.F.533. Finally, five fragments of a second stela painted with red grid lines, one of which also had a single remaining *swt* sign, came from the debris scattered in chambers A and D of S.F.5011.

4.2.3 Coffins

Some of the inscribed and decorated coffins and coffin fragments have characteristics in their design layout that help to date them, and by association, the tombs in which they were found. In Willems' analysis of standard class (i.e., Heracleopolitan) Middle Kingdom coffins, he established 15 types based on exterior decoration, including the layout and content of the bands of hieroglyphic texts.³⁷¹ His Types I, III, V and VI are attested at various sites in Egypt, with examples known from Naga ed-Deir that include tombs incorporated into the current study. A combination Type II/III also was found in a tomb that contained models. Type I coffins are inscribed with a horizontal band of inscriptions around the four sides of the coffin (just below the rim), a single band of inscriptions down the center lid and the *wḏ3t* eyes on the front panel. The

³⁶⁷ The principal figure is a standing man. His wife, represented on a smaller scale, stands behind him with another, small male figure below her, possibly their son or a servant. The titles written on the left side of the stela include *smr-wʿty*, *hry-hbt* and *imy-r3 snt*, i.e., sole companion, lector priest and overseer of disputes. For features of the *Sḏ3* group, see Brovarski (1989: 765-767, 841). A similar example, with the tall format, polychrome border and figure of the son standing behind his father, is the stela of *Im3i* from S.F.509 (Dunham 1937: 22, Pl. 6.1, Dunham 9). For characteristics of the *Mryt* group, see Brovarski (1989: 789-791, 841). An example from this group, with the tall format and the owner and his wife rendered in paint, is the stela of an unnamed man and his wife, *Ṣdits*, from N.3555 (Dunham 1937: 79, Pl. 23.1, Dunham 67). In the stelae of the *Mr-irty.f* and *Hw.n.s* groups, the wife frequently stands in a passive pose, with her arms at her sides. The smaller figure on the stela from N.429 stands with her right arm across her breast and her left arm at her side rather than embracing her husband's shoulder or holding his hand. She also appears to wear a long wig that hangs behind her shoulder and a short skirt that leaves her torso bare, other characteristics of these latter two groups (Brovarski 1989: 223, 773, 805). For a stylistically similar depiction of a woman, see the stela of *W3d-sti* from Mes.101 (Dunham 1937: 17, Pl. 4.1, Dunham 5, and Brovarski's *Mr-irty.f* group).

³⁶⁸ *Wörterbuch III* (395, right column).

³⁶⁹ Brovarski (1989: 829, n. 14f).

³⁷⁰ Although the excavators noted that the fragments possibly belonged to the tomb walls, it is more likely that they are from a stela.

³⁷¹ See Ikram and Dodson (1998: 198f, Figs. 240-243) for illustrations of this typology.

Type I texts contain offering formulae invoking the gods Osiris and Anubis and the names and titles of the deceased.³⁷² These coffins were manufactured from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom.³⁷³ Coffins that are clearly assigned to this type were found in nine tombs at Naga ed-Deir and likely represent the entire time span of Type I, although Brovarski did not date any of them later than reunification Dynasty 11. The nine tombs with Type I coffins included in the current study are S.F.5202, (pit) S.F.5203, N.3765, N.3900, N.3774, N.4172, N.429, N.3737 and S.F.5025.

In contrast, coffin Types II-VI were first manufactured in the 12th Dynasty, while Type VI also continued into Dynasty 13. Chronologically, Type II coffins are placed between Types I and III and, according to Willems, date from the middle of Amenemhat I's reign to the middle of Senusret I's.³⁷⁴ The exterior design layout of Type II coffins consists of the usual horizontal band of inscriptions, line of text down the center of the lid and *wd3t* eyes on the front, but with the addition of either one (Type IIa) or two (Type IIb) vertical text panels on the front and back.³⁷⁵ Type III coffins differ from Type II only in that they have *three* vertical text columns on the front and back and a *single* vertical line of texts centrally placed on the head and foot boards. The content of the vertical texts of both types is usually cosmological or liturgical. More specifically, Type III coffins frequently contain references to the deceased's protection under the goddesses Nut, Isis and Nephthys.³⁷⁶ Type IIIb coffins are further differentiated from Type IIIa coffins by the addition of the false door below the eye panel. Type IIIa coffins date to the reigns of Senusret I and Amenemhat II and Type IIIb to the reigns of Senusret II and III.³⁷⁷ The coffin from S.F.5021 that Brovarski dated to "late Dynasties 10/11" contains a combination of elements found on Type IIa and IIIa coffins. It has three vertical texts on the back like other Type IIIa coffins, but only one vertical text panel on the front next to the eye panel and no vertical texts on either the head or foot, as found on Type IIa coffins. Willems suggested that the coffin from N.4003, which Brovarski dated to Dynasty 9, is a variant Type IIIa coffin, allowing for minor differences in that it lacks the vertical text columns on the ends, and that the contents of the vertical texts on the front and back contain offering formulae.³⁷⁸ I would therefore date both of these coffins to the early part of Dynasty 12, based on Willems' typology.

Type V coffins are a combination of Types III and IV, with the *same* end decoration as the former and *four* vertical text columns on the sides, as found on the latter.³⁷⁹ Type V is likewise further subdivided into Va and Vb, based on the absence or presence of the exterior false door, respectively. As with IIIa, Va and Vb coffins are further categorized by content of the vertical texts, i.e., texts with a religious content that reflects their origins in the Pyramid

³⁷² Willems (1988: 122-127, Figs. 2-3).

³⁷³ Willems (1988: 127); Brovarski (1989: 415, n. 430).

³⁷⁴ Willems (1988: 131).

³⁷⁵ Willems (1988: 127-131, Figs. 4-7).

³⁷⁶ Willems (1988: 131-136, Figs. 8-9).

³⁷⁷ Willems (1988: 135f).

³⁷⁸ Willems (1988: 136). Although Brovarski noted that the development of the exterior layout of Bersha coffins evolved from simple to complex forms, he preferred to date the coffin from N.4003 to Dynasty 9 based on iconographic and paleographic features, despite the similarities in the layout with early 12th Dynasty coffins at Bersha (1981: 23-24, n. 70 and 29, Fig. 13).

³⁷⁹ See for example, Willems (1988: 161).

Texts versus the standard “*im3h.y hr* (deity’s name)” phrase.³⁸⁰ Type V coffins date from the reigns of Amenemhat II, Senusret II and Senusret III.³⁸¹ Coffin fragments from tomb N.361 could be either Type III or V. Unfortunately, their placement within Willems’ coffin typology cannot be refined further. One foot board fragment has the *single* line of vertical text centered on the exterior side, and includes part of the *im3h.y* phrase.³⁸²

Type VI coffins appeared by the end of Amenemhat II’s reign but became common in the reign of Senusret II and were manufactured through the end of the Middle Kingdom.³⁸³ The layout of the vertical texts of Type VI coffins is similar to that of Type IV, with *four* lines of texts on the front and back and *two* text columns placed along the sides of the end boards. The personification of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on the foot and head boards, respectively, of Type VI coffins mirrors the content of both the interior ornamental texts and exterior vertical texts that first appeared on Type IIIaa and IV coffins.³⁸⁴ A fragmentary panel from the debris of pit S.F.5203 is therefore classified as part of a Type VI coffin because it depicts the painted skirt, ankles and feet of one of these standing goddesses on the exterior. Tomb N.3774 also contained a wooden coffin fragment that may derive from a Type VI coffin because it was decorated with the “feet of a figure”, according to Mace’s tomb notes. Another feature distinctive to Type VI coffins is the polychrome decoration and elaborate exterior false door motifs reminiscent of the *serekh* façade.³⁸⁵ Three or four coffin fragments characterized as Dynasty “XVIII: corners painted in yellow, black, white and red chess board design, etc.” were found in N.3907, and fragments of an “elaborately decorated coffin from [Dynasty] XVIII” were discovered in N.3769. The fragments from both tombs actually may be parts of Type VI coffins.³⁸⁶ Wooden inner anthropoid coffins were also first manufactured in the latter part of the 12th Dynasty, and were placed inside the contemporary Type VI rectangular coffins.³⁸⁷ Parts of wooden anthropoid coffins were found in three tombs incorporated into the present study: a lid from N.3907, a broken female face from (pit) S.F.5203, and a pair of bronze eyes inlaid with ivory and stone

³⁸⁰ In other words, the former texts are found on Types IIIaa, Vaa and Vba, and the latter on IIIab and Vab. Willems also identified a third category, Vac, which contains texts listing only the titles and names of the deceased (1988: 161).

³⁸¹ Willems (1988: 161).

³⁸² [...] *im3h.[w] Nht* [...]. Because of the rightward orientation of the hieroglyphs, i.e., towards the deceased’s face, the fragment is identified here as a foot board.

³⁸³ For example, Willems dated coffins Bersha (B)5C and B7C to the reign of Senusret II and Meir (M)19 to Senusret II or III (1988: 77, 89, 163f, Fig. 14). Lapp dated coffins with representations of these goddesses on the head and foot boards to Dynasty 12 (1993: 86, Fig. 98, B29b (= Willems’ B5C) and late Dynasty 12/13 (1993: 64, Fig. 62a, Beni Hasan (BH)3; 113, Fig.137, M36).

³⁸⁴ See Willems (1988: 134-135, 195) for discussion of their inclusion in vertical texts on Type IIIaa coffins and (1988: 136-144) for Type IV coffins.

³⁸⁵ For example, BH1Liv, which Willems dated to Amenemhat II-Senusret III (1988: 66f, 163, fig 13). For examples classified as type Dynasty 12/13, see Lapp (1993: 64, pl. 9c, BH3; 113, Fig.136, M36; 110, Pl. 19d, M33; 171, Pl. 34a, T28). A Type VI coffin was also found in tomb N.9096 at Naga ed-Deir (PAHMA 6-16016), which Brovarski dated to the late 12th Dynasty (1980: 311).

³⁸⁶ The descriptions are provided in Mace’s note cards; unfortunately, however, there are no extant expedition photographs to determine for certain whether these coffins have the *serekh* façade found on Type VI coffins. On 17th Dynasty rectangular coffins, the *serekh* façade is sometimes replaced with a checker-board pattern (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 206, Fig. 262).

³⁸⁷ Willems (1988: 161f); Taylor (1989: 24f); and Rogge (1986: 210f).

from S.F.5011.³⁸⁸ It is also possible, however, that some of these fragments were part of New Kingdom -- rather than Middle Kingdom-- anthropoid coffins, as 18th Dynasty material was recovered from tombs N.3907 and S.F.5203.³⁸⁹

With regards to the interior design layout of coffins, there is considerable variation in the arrangement of the main elements: interior ornamental frames, ornamental texts, object friezes, non-ornamental texts, false doors and offering tables.³⁹⁰ Although all these elements appear on rectangular coffins that range in date from the late Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom, there are differences in the selection and arrangement of specific objects and texts that reflect chronological developments. Regional factors also play an important role in the design layout. Unfortunately, while there are interior decorated and inscribed fragments of several wooden coffins from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.67/69, N.3737, N.3756, N.3774, N.3945, N.450, (pit) S.F.5203 and S.F.5204,³⁹¹ none exhibit any of these specific features that can be used to narrow their date within these general time periods. The coffin from N.4003 is the only one whose interior design layout is intact. Willems argued that the same iconographic and paleographic features Brovarski used to date the coffin from N.4003 to Dynasty 9 can also indicate a Middle Kingdom date.³⁹² More specifically, the selection of items in the object frieze and the block-style arrangement of the texts and scenes show a connection with Lower Egyptian type coffins from Asyut that Willems dated to the early 12th Dynasty,³⁹³ an assignment that is consistent with the dating of the exterior design. This coffin also contains excerpts from the Pyramid and Coffin texts. As Brovarski himself points out, a Dynasty 9 date would indicate an unusually early occurrence for the appearance of the coffin texts if the coffin is placed in his Polychrome Group, as the first appearance on of these texts on coffins from other sites traditionally has been dated to the late 11th Dynasty, after reunification under *Nb-ḥpt-R^c Mntw-ḥtp II*.³⁹⁴ Finally, the interior of the broken foot board from N.361 contains 12 lines of a spell from the Coffin Texts in hieratic. Common spells placed on the foot board are those associated with wearing sandals or treading one's enemies underfoot, or pertain to food-offering scenes

³⁸⁸ The eyes are wedge-shaped with convex fronts, indicating that they fit into an anthropoid coffin rather than a rectangular one. They may also have come from a cartonnage mummy mask, however, of which no traces remained in the tomb at the time of excavation.

³⁸⁹ Including scarabs and pottery discussed below on pages 86-87 and 96-98.

³⁹⁰ Willems (1988: 175-178).

³⁹¹ Fragments from N.450, S.F.5203 and S.F.5204 are identified as head boards by the depiction of the seven sacred unguents on both and bags of eye-paint on the former. For comparative motifs on wooden head boards, see Lapp (1993: 46, Fig. 34a, Saqqara (Sq)11; 66, Fig. 71a, BH10; 106, Fig. 117, M21; 150, Fig. 159a, Akhmim (Ach)24). A portion of the back panel of a coffin from S.F.5203 depicts boxes, *wsḥ* collars and a kilt. Pieces from N.3756 and N.3945 include partial representations of false doors from the front panels. A small fragment from N.67/69 has a remnant of an object frieze. It is difficult to determine the exact representation, but it may be part of a granary and, if so, is likely part of a foot board. For examples of granaries on wooden foot boards, see Lapp (1993: 60-61, Figs. 57a and 61, BH5a; 99, Fig. 110, M20; 106, Fig. 118, M21; 135, Fig. 148, S46a; 150, Fig. 159b, Ach24). Finally, remnants of ornamental text hieroglyphs are found on fragments from N.3737, N.3756 and N.3774.

³⁹² Such as the forms of the wine jars, bird-wing fan and bed with incurved legs (Willems 1988: 245, n.22; cf. Brovarski 1989: 646f). Brovarski himself noted that a real bed similar in type to that represented on the coffin was found in a 12th Dynasty tomb at Hawara (1989: 528, n.73).

³⁹³ Willems (1988: 102-103, 216). For one example with a similar layout see Lapp (1993: Pls. 27c and 28b, the foot and back panels of coffin S65, Lapp's Dynasty 11 Type).

³⁹⁴ Brovarski (1989: 662). See Willems (1988: 244-249) for a general review of the literature on dating of the Coffin Texts, and his discussion of their geographical origins.

depicted above them.³⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the exact spell on this board cannot be determined, because the inscriptions are virtually illegible in some areas, and the top portions of each column are missing.

4.2.4 Mummy Masks

Cartonnage mummy masks that covered the heads, shoulders and chests of the deceased were manufactured first in the Heracleopolitan Period.³⁹⁶ Although these “helmet” masks continued through the Middle Kingdom (and later), certain decorative elements and construction techniques differentiate the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom masks. While cartonnage masks were found in 18 tombs at Naga ed-Deir that also contained tomb models, none survived post-excavation and only a few were documented in enough detail in the expedition records to allow for their analysis.

At least three relatively complete masks recovered from these 18 Naga ed-Deir tombs date to the First Intermediate Period. Excavators discovered masks from N.3765 and N.4172 in place on the male mummies. Another mask derives from the disturbed male burial in N.3756 (chamber b), as extrapolated from the field notes. There are no expedition photographs of the mask from N.3756b, and Mace took only one photograph of the mask from N.3765 *in situ*. According to the field notes, the mask from N.3765 was damaged already when Mace opened the coffin. The mask from N.3756b also was badly destroyed, missing most of its face. Mace photographed the mask from N.4172 during the final stages of the mummy’s unwrapping. Unfortunately, when this mask was removed it fell apart and, for this reason, apparently, was not saved. In the field notes for N.3765 and N.3756b and in the expedition photographs for N.4172, however, it is clear that the front tabs of all three masks extended only over the chests; i.e., the typical length of “helmet” masks dating to the First Intermediate Period. Specifically, Mace recorded that the mask from N.3765 descended 20cm below the chin. The front tabs were painted white to represent the color of the surrounding linen wrappings, without the addition of broad collars or inscriptions. Furthermore, on all three masks, the wigs were composed of double strands of twisted linen threads that had been plastered and painted black to represent real hair, and attached separately to the masks. This wig technique appears to be a First Intermediate Period feature, as similarly dated masks of this type are known from excavated tombs at Naga ed-Deir not in the current study and from tombs at other sites, including Asyut.³⁹⁷

There is further evidence that the masks from N.3765 and N.4172 wore naturalistically painted beards and moustaches and/or false beards. On the tomb card for N.3765, Mace referred simply to a “painted beard” on the mask, which may be a conventional or a false beard. For

³⁹⁵ Willems (1988: 232).

³⁹⁶ Ikram and Dodson (1998: 167); Rogge (1986: 210).

³⁹⁷ Note, for example, the mask found on the male mummy of *Ppy-snb* in S.F.5114, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (BMFA 25.1513) (D’Auria et al. 1988: 105-106; and Ikram & Dodson 1998: 114). Naga ed-Deir tomb N.3723 (chamber a) contained the male mummy of *Ppy-snb* wearing a damaged cartonnage mask with the same wig treatment (Ex. Ph. B8100, B8102, B8117). Inside the coffin from N.3751, Mace found remnants of a badly plundered mummy, including cartonnage fragments and twisted fiber rope 2.5 cm thick, presumably from a mask. The mummy of a woman named *Wpzy*, found inside one of three coffins interred in tomb 17 at Asyut, also wore a mask with an echelon curl wig virtually identical to the one from N.3765. Although no other objects were recovered from tomb 17, the coffin inscriptions are indicative of an early-mid Dynasty 11 date (Chassinat and Palanque (1911: 176-178, and Pl. III, 3).

N.4172, Mace provided a more detailed description of this cartonnage mask, describing the outline of the blue painted face, eyebrows and false beard. He also noted a blue line painted on either side of the nose, possibly representing a conventional moustache. The blue color typically was one means to demonstrate the divine status of the deceased (i.e., deities had hair made of lapis) and as such is not diagnostic; however, Rogge dated masks with full beards and moustaches to the late First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.³⁹⁸

The cartonnage masks from tombs S.F.5202, N.3774 and N.408 (coffin c) were the only ones the excavators photographed out of *situ*, probably because they were the most complete. All three masks date to the Middle Kingdom. The masks from N.3774 and S.F.5202 were female, while the one from N.408c was male. Excavators found both female masks in disturbed contexts. The presence of a possible Type VI coffin fragment found with the cartonnage mask in the chapel of N.3774 suggests the mask does not belong with the original, First Intermediate Period interment of the woman interred in pit “a”, but with a later, intrusive Middle Kingdom burial. Excavators found pieces of the second female mask in the debris of the northern burial pit in S.F.5202 and in the fill of the pit in the adjacent tomb S.F.5201.³⁹⁹ The remaining portions of both masks include the faces and parts of a polychrome striped headdress. While the colors used on the mask from N.3774 are unknown, the headdress of the mask from S.F.5202 is painted in alternate bands of red, green and blue, separated by narrow stripes of yellow. The striped head-covering is unusual, particularly for female masks, as tripartite wigs painted black or blue are a standard feature of private masks belonging to both sexes throughout the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁰⁰ The only other known, excavated examples of masks with striped headdresses derive from male burials at Thebes, Kafr Ammar and Saqqara, all of which date to the early Middle Kingdom.⁴⁰¹ On the mask from N.3774, the orientation of the stripes-- radiating back from the brow-- is reminiscent of the royal *nms*, reflecting the adoption of royal iconography by private individuals in the Middle Kingdom in order to identify themselves with Osiris.⁴⁰² The mask from N.3774 and S.F.5202, therefore, are dated to the Middle Kingdom, based primarily on stylistic similarities with provenanced examples.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁸ Rogge (1986: 214-215, n.726, Pl. 38, examples cited from BH6 and BH20). The mummy mask of *Ppy-snb* from S.F.5114 (cited previously) also wears a naturalistic beard and moustache, painted black.

³⁹⁹ They also recovered pieces of an inscribed canopic box and painted mummy wrappings in pit S.F.5202, which may belong to the same burial as the mask.

⁴⁰⁰ Rogge (1986: 217).

⁴⁰¹ The three known examples are from the tomb of *W3h* at Thebes (Winlock 1940: 253-259), the grave of a man of unknown name buried in tomb 497 at Kafr Ammar (Petrie and Mackay 1915: 31, and Pl. 28), and the burial of a man named *Ipi-ḥr.s-snb.f* from tomb HMK69 at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 55, Fig. 61 and Pl. 32c). *W3h*'s striped headdress was painted blue and green, while *Ipi-ḥr.s-snb.f*'s was blue, black and gold. The headdress from Kafr Ammar had stripes painted in red, black and green.

⁴⁰² Rogge (1986: 218, n.760). For a similar example, note the striped *nms* headdress on the wooden anthropoid coffin case of a woman named *Hnm-ḥtp*, daughter of *šit-Inhrt*, from the mid-late 12th Dynasty tomb of *Hnm-ḥtp* at Rifeh (Petrie 1907: 12, Pl. XI, top right; Rogge 1986: Pl.57, (R)2;). This latter headdress is painted in blue, green and red. Unfortunately, because Mace did not provide a detailed description of the mask from N.3774, the color scheme is unknown.

⁴⁰³ Rogge also dated the mask from S.F.5202 to the Middle Kingdom, based on these criteria (Rogge, in D'Auria et al. 1988: 128, Cat. 60).

Reisner found the male mask from N.408 in place inside the mummy wrappings, with the face, wig and the tabs that extended over the torso in the front and back all intact.⁴⁰⁴ The lengths of these tabs measured 32 cm and 28 cm, respectively, as recorded in the field notes. While the face was painted yellow, the background of the remainder of the mask was white. Below the broad collar were four horizontal yellow bands and, below them, two winged, falcon-headed deities-- probably two Sokars-- facing one another and presenting ankhs.⁴⁰⁵ The front of the mask terminated below the gods' feet (at the mummy's hip level), with the bottom edge decorated with a band of painted rectangles separated by thin black lines. The back tab had a counterpoise painted with alternating colored blocks in red, yellow and blue against the white background, and topped by a falcon's head (probably representing Sokar again). The length of this mask suggests an early Middle Kingdom date. In the reign of Amenemhat II, some mummies had extended cartonnage masks that covered the torso and legs, defining an intermediary phase between the earlier helmet masks and the later anthropoid coffins.⁴⁰⁶ The false beard with a chin strap on the male mask from N.408 is also a characteristic feature of mid 12th Dynasty masks, which differ from those of the late First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom in that they lack the full beard and moustache.⁴⁰⁷ The white background of the body decoration is diagnostic for the early-mid Dynasty 12; later examples, which occur in the reign of Senusret II, may have a black or polychrome net decoration.⁴⁰⁸

Masks from the remaining thirteen tombs at Naga ed-Deir were very fragmentary, consisting of wooden false beards,⁴⁰⁹ wooden ears,⁴¹⁰ parts of the face and/or wig,⁴¹¹ torso and shoulders⁴¹² and bits of painted mummy case.⁴¹³ Although there is not much evidence for dating these fragments, tombs N.3900 and N.3907 contained remnants of twisted linen cord, presumably from cartonnage wigs. If so, these masks were likely of First Intermediate Period date. Some of the other pieces contained inscriptions, such as offering formulae and religious texts (i.e., spells from the Pyramid or Coffin Texts), that may provide a *terminus ante quem*. These texts were placed in vertical columns in the open area below the broad collar. Their use became popular in the reign of Senusret I; after the early 12th Dynasty, virtually all masks carried inscriptions.⁴¹⁴ Cartonnage fragments from S.F.170 and S.F.209 contained remnants of spells from either the Pyramid or Coffin texts, which excavators transcribed in the field notes.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁴ Unfortunately, however, the mask must have fallen apart after it was removed from the mummy because there is no evidence that it survived.

⁴⁰⁵ As I have not found any parallels from other sites that contain this image, the decoration may reflect a local, Thinite style.

⁴⁰⁶ Rogge (1986: 210). See for example, the extended mask from BH3 in Pl. 37.

⁴⁰⁷ Rogge (1986: 215, Pls. 37, 49, 57, with examples cited from BH2, BH3, M7, and R1).

⁴⁰⁸ Ikram and Dodson (1998: 202); Rogge (1986: 227). For examples, see BH2 and R1 (Rogge 1986: pls. 37, 57).

⁴⁰⁹ N.4003 and N.361.

⁴¹⁰ S.F.170 and S.F.209. It is also possible that the ears originally were attached to wooden anthropoid coffins, of which no fragments survived in either tomb.

⁴¹¹ Pit S.F.5203, S.F.18, N.3900, N.3907 and N.3930.

⁴¹² N.9091, N.9292, S.F.170 and S.F.209.

⁴¹³ S.F.5202, N.429, S.F.25 and S.F.187.

⁴¹⁴ Rogge (1986: 210, 224-226).

⁴¹⁵ The fragments from S.F.170 read [...] *m ht dwt m rn* [...], behold, evil thing in [...] name and [...] *hr.k m rn.s*, [...] your head, in her name [...]. One cartonnage fragment from S.F.209 reads [...] *rmṯ ḥsst ntrw r spr r š3 n m3ṯ pri m s*[.....], [...] people whom the gods praise, to reach the Lake of Truth, going forth in [...]. The Lake of

Pieces from N.9091 and N.9292 were documented in the expedition photographs. The fragment from N.9091 contained part of a central, vertical inscription with the offering formula,⁴¹⁶ while the signs on the one from N.9292 are illegible. The more complete mask from N.408 was uninscribed; however, the four horizontal bands painted in yellow below the collar likely indicate the intended placement for the texts. The use of horizontal bands is a feature generally characteristic of the later Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period,⁴¹⁷ but may be earlier at Naga ed-Deir, as the other stylistic features of this mask support a date of early-mid Dynasty 12.

4.2.5 Scarabs

Scarabs can be grouped chronologically according to analyses of stylistic features that include measurements (length, width and height), design classes, head-, back- and side-types, and materials of construction. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to conduct an in-depth analysis of the scarabs and scaraboids found in the tombs included in this study, a brief examination of the types, design classes and materials provided some suggestions both for their dating and for the tomb deposits in which they were found, even while acknowledging the fact that individual motifs were used for long periods of time and that dating on the basis of design alone can be misleading.⁴¹⁸ In addition, some scarabs were likely heirlooms that were interred with later occupants when tombs were reused and, as such, cannot provide a fixed date for the original tomb occupation.

No private name scarabs occur in any of the tombs included in this study; there are, however, many scarabs and scaraboids with decorative symbols inscribed on the underside that provide some dating insights. By Dynasty 8, design amulets and scarabs replaced the earlier button seals and were worn as single amulets or combined with other beads. By the end of the First Intermediate Period, the design repertoire included geometric patterns, humans, animals, insects and floral designs, with the images often divided into symmetrical halves.⁴¹⁹ By the Middle Kingdom, in contrast, they were worn as rings, initially tied onto the finger with thread and later worn as bezels on finger rings.⁴²⁰ One example from Naga ed-Deir has a design that may indicate this date range: excavators found a steatite scarab with a representation of two seated human figures flanking a beetle in chamber A of S.F.5021.⁴²¹

In the early Middle Kingdom, the repertoire changed, and scarabs began to be decorated with Egyptian signs and symbols, including the *wꜣꜣt* eye, *nbtj* motif, *smꜣ*-symbol and Red Crown,⁴²² along with scroll and spiral patterns.⁴²³ Many of the same motifs found in the First Intermediate Period appeared in new or more complex forms, including animals and elaborate

Truth is referenced in CT spell 335 (Faulkner 1973: 262-264). The second fragment reads [... *š*]*m.n*[.i] *im spꜣt*[.i] [I have gone] from my nome [...].

⁴¹⁶ All that remains of the phrase is [*ht nbt*] *nfrt*, *wꜣꜣt imꜣꜣw*, written in hieratic, i.e., [... every] good and pure [thing for the] revered one [...].

⁴¹⁷ Rogge (1986: 224, n. 810). For a similar example with horizontal bands of inscriptions see B4, in Rogge (1986: Pls. 40, 41).

⁴¹⁸ Ward (1978: 25).

⁴¹⁹ Ward (1978: 47-54, pls. 1-8); and Andrews (1994: 52).

⁴²⁰ Aldred (1971: 160); and Andrews (1994: 52).

⁴²¹ Ward's design class 1C, human figures. For similar patterns, see Petrie (1925: Pl. I, 44-47).

⁴²² Ward (1978: 24, 55-56, pls. 11-13); and Andrews (1994: 54).

⁴²³ Ward (1978: 54-56, Pls. 9-14).

floral designs (e.g., lotus and papyrus).⁴²⁴ S.F.5011 contained a steatite scarab with a scroll pattern that indicates an early Middle Kingdom date.⁴²⁵ The excavators discovered a steatite scarab with an indistinguishable floral pattern in S.F.5029.⁴²⁶ A faience scarab seal with a combination of Egyptian and floral motifs was recovered from S.F.5025, chamber E.⁴²⁷ Here the design is of a lotus between two *nb* signs. Since this “class 3” scarab was found in a disturbed context, and we know that these designs continued into the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is possible that it is actually from a New Kingdom burial, rather than the original Middle Kingdom interment.⁴²⁸

Indeed, there are definite examples of intrusive scarabs that date to the New Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir. Faience scarabs from N.3774, N.3907 and S.F.5025B were inscribed with Thutmose III’s prenomen, *Mn-hpr-R^c*. Two plaque seals depicting striding lions⁴²⁹ came from N.3774, pit A and S.F.533, chamber C, respectively; the inscription *Imn-R^c nb* is on the reverse of the latter seal.⁴³⁰ In chamber D of the same tomb, the excavators found a faience scaraboid incised with either a fish or scorpion on the underside.⁴³¹ Both motifs were popular in the 18th Dynasty.⁴³²

As for materials, steatite-- followed by faience-- was used most frequently to manufacture design amulets and scarabs in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.⁴³³ Some crude stone scarab amulets are known from the late First Intermediate Period, but the better-executed examples in semi-precious stones (e.g., carnelian, jasper, amethyst, quartz crystal and lapis) date to the 12th Dynasty and are generally uninscribed, although sometimes they have irregular patterns of hatched lines on the underside.⁴³⁴ Excavators recovered a carnelian scaraboid from S.F.5025B and a faience scarab from S.F.25, both with this style of decoration.

4.3 Uninscribed material

As illustrated in the above discussion, in addition to inscriptions, certain objects have diagnostic characteristics (e.g., form, style and material) that serve to identify the period in which they were manufactured. It is necessary to consider the diagnostic material in conjunction with inscribed and decorated objects whenever possible to determine the dates of the tombs in which

⁴²⁴ Ward (1978: 51-53).

⁴²⁵ Ward’s design class 2B, scrolls and spirals: round, interlocking spirals. For similar designs, see Petrie (1925: Pl. VII, nos. 24, 27).

⁴²⁶ Ward’s design class 1E, floral designs.

⁴²⁷ Ward’s design class 3, Egyptian signs and symbols.

⁴²⁸ For late 18th Dynasty scarabs from Medinet Habu with similar hieroglyphic designs, see Teeter (2003b: 62, no. 82, *m³c^t* feather, *hk³* scepter and *nb* sign; and 63, no. 83, *m³c^t* feather and *nfr* sign).

⁴²⁹ Ward’s design class 1D, animals and insects.

⁴³⁰ For similar scarabs depicting striding lions, see Petrie (1925: Pl. XIV, nos. 876-878). For a plaque seal depicting a walking lion from Medinet Habu dated to the early 18th Dynasty, see Teeter (2003b: 23, no. 6). For a late 18th Dynasty scarab from the same site inscribed with *Imn-R^c* and two *nb* signs, see Teeter (2003b: 49, no. 55).

⁴³¹ Ward’s design class 1D, animals and insects.

⁴³² Ward (1978: 53). For similar scarabs with fish and scorpion motifs, see Petrie (1925: 25, Pl. XIV, nos. 923-928 and 930-932). For an 18th Dynasty example from Medinet Habu depicting two scorpions, see Teeter (2003b: 89, no. 136).

⁴³³ Ward (1978: 34, Table 9; 35, Table 10).

⁴³⁴ For a carnelian scarab decorated with crossed lines from Thebes, MMA pit 18, belonging to the princess *Myt*, see Hayes (1953: 229, Fig. 144).

they were found. One problem with relying solely on inscriptional evidence to date individual tombs is exemplified in Kanawati's study on the chronology of Akhmim, in which he examined the evidence from Naga ed-Deir in order to date comparable tombs, based primarily on prosopographical analyses.⁴³⁵ He began with the assumption that many of the richest and best-decorated tombs in the provinces, including those at Naga ed-Deir, had been mistakenly misdated previously to the end of the Old Kingdom (i.e., Dynasty 8) and First Intermediate Period, when they could only have been a product of the stable and more prosperous era of the 6th Dynasty.⁴³⁶ Furthermore, according to Kanawati, some tombs exhibiting poor workmanship may date to the brief period of impoverishment in the reigns of Merenre and the beginning of Pepy II's rather than the First Intermediate Period.⁴³⁷ Kanawati also did not look at the original documentation from Naga ed-Deir in his study nor did he include any diagnostic material to provide archaeological context, arguing that "it is very hazardous to use 'grave goods' as evidence for dating, especially" when they are not "found in an intact burial".⁴³⁸ However, as Martin pointed out in his review of Kanawati, a combination of archaeological, ecological *and* inscriptional evidence is necessary to enhance our understanding of the administration and social history of provincial sites in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.⁴³⁹ And although Kanawati's conclusions were based on the work of some of the same scholars Brovarski cited in his dissertation, he did not reference Brovarski's own monumental study of the site, which had been completed three years earlier. Consequently, Kanawati misdated several tombs from Naga ed-Deir to Dynasty 6,⁴⁴⁰ including eight incorporated into the present dissertation: S.F.18,⁴⁴¹ N.248,⁴⁴² N.89,⁴⁴³ S.F.5202,⁴⁴⁴ N.3737,⁴⁴⁵ N.71,⁴⁴⁶ N.3567,⁴⁴⁷ and N.3774,⁴⁴⁸ in chronological order. These dates are all earlier than those Brovarski established for these same tombs, as discussed above.⁴⁴⁹ And as will be seen further below, the associated finds from all eight tombs in fact support dates later than those suggested by Kanawati.

⁴³⁵ Kanawati (1992: viii).

⁴³⁶ See, for example, Kanawati (1992: 56).

⁴³⁷ Kanawati (1992: 109, 293).

⁴³⁸ In his discussion of Peck's dating of N.3737 (Kanawati 1992: 107).

⁴³⁹ Martin (1994: 185).

⁴⁴⁰ Ann McFarlane, who wrote the final chapter in Kanawati's book, also incorporated his dates for the Naga ed-Deir tombs in her discussion of the holders of priestly titles in provincial temple administration (Kanawati 1992: 199-289).

⁴⁴¹ Kanawati (1992: 61 and 299, reign of Teti (?)).

⁴⁴² Kanawati (1992: 57-60, 265-266, and 299, reigns of Teti-Pepy I).

⁴⁴³ Kanawati (1992: 61, 265, n. 1700, and 298, reigns of Teti-Pepy I).

⁴⁴⁴ Kanawati (1992: 59, n.282, 270, and 298, reign of Pepy I).

⁴⁴⁵ Kanawati (1992: 107-112, 224-225, n. 1372, 267, n. 1711, and 299, reigns of Merenre-early Pepy II).

⁴⁴⁶ Kanawati (1992: 55, nn. 247-248, 266, n. 1708, and 299, reigns of Merenre-early Pepy II).

⁴⁴⁷ Kanawati (1992: 268 and 299, dated to mid-late Dynasty 6).

⁴⁴⁸ Kanawati (1992: 267 and 299, dated to late Pepy II-early Dynasty 8).

⁴⁴⁹ For example, Brovarski differs from Kanawati regarding several key points, two of which it will suffice to point out here. First, they disagree whether the combined titles *imy-r3 hm(w) ntr* (overseer of priests) and *hry-tp 3* (great overlord of the nome) were held by one individual only during Dynasty 6 (Kanawati (1992: 56-57) or after the reign of Pepy II (Brovarski 1989: 1018-1019). Secondly, while Kanawati (1992: 111, 267) prefers to date the first appearance of the title *Iry-p^ct* (hereditary prince/nobleman/keeper of the patricians) to the late Old Kingdom, Brovarski (1989: 1019) argues that this title was rare before Dynasty 9. Further discussion of these (and other titles) held by the individuals who were buried with tomb models at Naga ed-Deir is included below in Section 5.5.1.

In dating the tombs from Naga ed-Deir that contained models, I adopted the same approach used by Caroline Peck in her 1958 analysis of three decorated tombs at Naga ed-Deir. In order to date tombs N.248, N.359 and N.3737, she considered archaeological and architectural evidence, in addition to conducting paleographic and iconographical analyses. For example, in looking at N.248 she studied the architectural plan, iconography of the tomb scenes, historic inscriptions, and associated finds from the tomb, finally deciding upon a date of Dynasty 8.⁴⁵⁰ For N.3737 she looked at the plan, the tomb iconography, paleography and style of painting, associated grave goods, and paleographic analysis of a Letter to the Dead addressed to the tomb owner by his son, which, she felt, suggested a tentative date of Dynasty 9.⁴⁵¹ While Peck acknowledged the ambiguous nature of the evidence in dating the latter tomb, the significance of her work is in her methodology. And since her dissertation was completed, there have been numerous studies on comparative archaeological material from other Egyptian sites that are incorporated into the current study to not only verify her date of N.3737, but to date other tombs at the site. Some of the finds from N.3737 that will be reanalyzed include stone jars, model offering tables and vessels used in the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ ceremony and an ivory statue of the tomb owner, to be discussed further below. Variations in tomb architecture, which will be discussed in the next chapter, reflect differences in the tomb owners’ economic status and the topography of Naga ed-Deir, and as such do not prove to be good chronological markers.

In the following sections, I will discuss the major categories of diagnostic material used for dating the tombs in which models were found. The categories of objects are pottery, jewelry, stone vessels, cosmetic items, furniture, weapons and tools, funerary figures and *k3* statues. The primary sources of information include the expedition field notes, photographs, journals and object register logs for 1913 and 1923-24. Since most of the artifacts are currently housed in the Hearst Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, I also was able to examine many of them first-hand. The references for the expedition records and more detailed descriptions of the artifacts, with museum inventory numbers (when known), are listed in Appendix A under each tomb number, in the sub-category “Associated Material, Uninscribed”.

4.3.1 Pottery

The most important “diagnostic tool” for dating is the pottery that was placed in the tombs to provide the deceased with the food and drink offerings needed for the afterlife, because it was a basic component of all burial assemblages and was subject to changes in material, form, manufacturing technique and decoration over time. Unfortunately, there has been little study of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom pottery from Naga ed-Deir, other than Reisner’s preliminary classification system, which was based on form, ware and surface treatment.⁴⁵² The vessel index (ratio of maximum width to maximum height) has proven to be a useful dating tool at sites other than Naga ed-Deir. At Lisht South, for example, Dorothea Arnold found that throughout the First Intermediate Period, the average vessel index of hemispherical cups was 230; however, by the late Middle Kingdom, the average was 190-150, i.e., the bowls became deeper over time.⁴⁵³ Furthermore, she found that First Intermediate

⁴⁵⁰ Peck (1958: 83-86).

⁴⁵¹ Peck (1958: 123-127).

⁴⁵² Reisner (1923).

⁴⁵³ Do. Arnold (1988: 135, 136, 140).

Period bowls were made of Nile silt B2 (according to the Vienna system),⁴⁵⁴ and were generally thick-walled with an exterior red band of wash. In the early 12th Dynasty, bowls of the same fabric were thinner and completely covered with a red ochre coating. By the late Middle Kingdom the bowls were made of Nile silt B1, plain with a thin red stripe on the rim.⁴⁵⁵ Arnold also noted that southern provincial pottery styles lingered in the 12th Dynasty longer than those in the north. Regional variations developed in the First Intermediate Period and continued through early Dynasty 12. By the mid 12th Dynasty, there was more uniformity in the pottery repertoire, which became increasingly widespread throughout Egypt until the end of the Middle Kingdom, when regional variation again emerged.⁴⁵⁶

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to conduct detailed analyses of the ceramic assemblages at Naga ed-Deir, there do seem to be certain characteristics of form and surface treatment that are indicative of date. Meydum ware, named after the site in which it was first found, was a fine ware produced from Dynasty 3 to the end of the Old Kingdom. This pottery is typified by slipped and polished or burnished vessels that copied metal and stone forms, including deep basins and squat spouted jars or ewers, sharply carinated bowls, deep spouted bowls and tall shouldered jars.⁴⁵⁷ Tomb N.248 contained a Meydum ware ewer.⁴⁵⁸ Reisner discovered a pair of Meydum ware *hs* or libation jars with flared necks, round shoulders and tapered, footed bases in N.11.⁴⁵⁹ One Meydum ware spouted bowl was recovered from N.89 and possibly another round-shouldered *hs* jar.⁴⁶⁰ The examples from all three tombs appear to be red polished or burnished, based on the expedition photographs.⁴⁶¹ Reisner also found a red polished Meydum ware dish with a flat base in N.105, as described on his tomb card and illustrated in one expedition photograph.⁴⁶²

In the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Deir, typical vessel forms are wide-mouthed drop jars (i.e., jars with the maximum diameter below the midpoint of the body), globular jars, tall-shouldered jars with angular shoulders and flat bases (i.e., cruder versions of classic *hs* jars), hemispherical and flat bottomed bowls, coarse, coil-built jars with wide mouths, and pot stands of varying heights. All these vessel forms are found in tombs included in this study, listed in

⁴⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion of this classification system, see Do. Arnold and Bourriau (1993: 168-182).

⁴⁵⁵ Do. Arnold (1988: 140; 1991: 10).

⁴⁵⁶ Do. Arnold (1972: 43-46; 1988: 144).

⁴⁵⁷ Bourriau (1981: 18); and Hope (1987: 33).

⁴⁵⁸ For a similar vessel form from el-Mahasna, tomb M104 dated to Dynasties 4-6, see Garstang (1903: 38, Pl. XXXII).

⁴⁵⁹ For similar jars from burial contexts at Dendera dated to Dynasty 6, see Petrie (1900: 24, Pl. XVI, nos. 11, 22, the latter from tomb 441).

⁴⁶⁰ For similar spouted bowls from Abydos, tomb R19, and el-Mahasna, tomb M349, see Bourriau (1981: 53, no. 88) and Garstang (1903: 38, Pl. XXXII), respectively. For a carinated bowl from Matmar, tomb 3251, see Bourriau (1981: 18f, no. 6). In his publication on the early dynastic cemetery N.3500, Mace (1909: 46, Fig. 105, 3) included a drawing of a *hs* jar from late Old Kingdom tomb N.89, which may be the one depicted in Ex. Ph. B8716, c/1. In both illustrations, the jar is broken at the neck. In addition to N.89, the expedition photograph included pottery from tombs N.95, N.430, N.94, N.248 and an unknown tomb. Since the jars were not labeled individually in the photograph, it is unclear with which tombs they are associated. The same *hs* jar is illustrated in Ex. Ph. C9304, and attributed to tomb N.11 in the expedition photograph register. It is possible, therefore, that the jar attributed to N.89 in Mace's publication is actually from N.11.

⁴⁶¹ It was not possible to examine the pottery first-hand because the current locations are unknown.

⁴⁶² Ex. Ph. C8989, a/2. For a similar bowl from Haraga tomb 125, dated to Dynasty 5, see Engelbach (1923: 8, Pl. XXXI, C).

Appendix A. On bowls, the sharply carinated profile of the Old Kingdom disappeared in the First Intermediate Period and was replaced with either rounded or straight sides.⁴⁶³ According to Seidlmayer, after the end of the Old Kingdom, tall-shouldered jars with flared necks and conical or pointed bases were replaced by drop forms at sites in Middle and Upper Egypt, reflecting changes in manufacturing techniques.⁴⁶⁴ In the present study, jars of the former type were found in tombs N.248 and N.269.⁴⁶⁵ Drop jars with wide mouths are, in turn, generally earlier than globular forms with distinct necks and narrow orifices.⁴⁶⁶ At Naga ed-Deir, drop jars were found in 13 tombs⁴⁶⁷ ranging in date from the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom. Excavators recovered globular forms in 21 tombs of these same periods, in addition to others dated to the late Old Kingdom.⁴⁶⁸ Quatrefoil-mouth globular jars with incised bands of decoration were manufactured from at least (reunification) Dynasty 11 to mid Dynasty 12, through the reign of Senusret II.⁴⁶⁹ Twelve tombs included in the present study contained jars of this form.⁴⁷⁰ However, the three quatrefoil-mouth jars from N.361 also have funnel necks, a characteristic that may place them later in the 12th Dynasty, in the reigns of Senusret II to Amenemhat III.⁴⁷¹ In 31 tombs at Naga ed-Deir, Reisner's expedition teams also discovered tall shouldered *hs* jars, the majority of which have angular shoulders.⁴⁷² Dorothea Arnold suggested this feature is earlier than rounded shoulders, citing examples of the latter type from Thebes that she dated to reign of Senusret I.⁴⁷³ *Hs* jars with more round-shouldered were found at Naga ed-Deir in tombs N.3765, S.F.25 and S.F.170, the former tomb dated here to the First Intermediate Period and the latter two to the Middle Kingdom.

At Naga ed-Deir, therefore, some First Intermediate Period pottery forms continued to be manufactured in the Middle Kingdom, including tall, shouldered *hs* jars, jars in globular and

⁴⁶³ Hope (1987: 33).

⁴⁶⁴ Both forms were made on the potter's wheel, with the lower sections shaped by hand-scraping them; however, the drop forms have less surface area than the high, shouldered forms and so require less work to finish (Seidlmayer 2000: 122-123).

⁴⁶⁵ For similar jars from el-Mahasna, tombs M423 and M460, dated to Dynasties 5-11, see Garstang (1903: Pl. XLII, form R). For the same form of jar from the tombs of *Idw* and *Snni* at Dendera, dated to Dynasty 6, see Petrie (1900: Pl. XVI).

⁴⁶⁶ Hope (1983-1984: 19).

⁴⁶⁷ N.3765, N.3900, N.3774, S.F.18, S.F.25, N.3795, N.429, N.3567, N.3769, N.3579, N.361, N.408 and S.F.170. See, for example, el-Mahasna, drop jars from tombs M18, M40 and M150 (Garstang 1903: Pl. XLI, forms C and F).

⁴⁶⁸ N.11, N.241, N.248, N.111, S.F.18, S.F.25, N.361, N.408, N.429, N.449, N.3756, N.3900, N.3930, N.4003, N.9090, N.9091, N.9292, S.F.170, S.F.187, S.F.95 and S.F.209. For illustrations of typical globular jars from Middle Kingdom tombs at Dendera, see Petrie (1900: Pl. XVII, nos. 186-187, 189-191).

⁴⁶⁹ These jars have been found at numerous sites in Middle Kingdom tombs, including Sedment, tomb 382 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 8, Pl. XXXV, 95), Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: Pl. XII, 10), Hu, cemetery W (Petrie 1901: Pl. XXXIII, 32) and Dendera (Petrie 1900: Pl. XVIII, 193).

⁴⁷⁰ N.3900, S.F.18, N.3756, N.429, N.3567, N.4401, S.F.5021, S.F.5029, N.4003, S.F.25, N.9090 and N.361.

⁴⁷¹ For globular jars with funnel necks from Haraga, cemetery B tomb 354, dated to Amenemhat III, see Engelbach (1923: Pl. XXXVI, 38O, 38T).

⁴⁷² S.F.5201, N.241, N.105, S.F.5210, N.3765, N.3900, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.18, N.429, N.3795, N.3756, N.3567, N.3945, S.F.5021, N.4003, S.F.5010, N.4401, S.F.25, N.361, N.408, N.449, N.450, N.9090, N.9091, N.9292, S.F.95, S.F.132, S.F.170, S.F.187, S.F.209 and S.F.218.

⁴⁷³ From TT 60, belonging to the mother of *Init.f-ikr*, the vizier of Senusret I (Do. Arnold 1991: 9f). For an example of a round-shouldered *hs* jar inscribed for the lady *Hsw* from Qau, tomb 301, and dated to the early Middle Kingdom, see Brunton (1927: 68, Pl. XLI, 3).

drop forms, hemispherical and flat bottomed bowls and pot stands of varying heights. A key characteristic of the Middle Kingdom ceramics, however, is the variety of forms, with new types manufactured alongside the more traditional ones. New pottery forms that indicate a date range of late Dynasty 11-mid Dynasty 12 are bowls and beakers with four-six sections of the rim folded inward⁴⁷⁴ and “flower pots”, i.e., vases or bowls with small jars applied around the rim.⁴⁷⁵ Bowls with folded rims, a form that was manufactured in stone at other sites earlier in the Old Kingdom,⁴⁷⁶ were found in five tombs at Naga ed-Deir: N.361, N.9090, S.F.25, S.F.170 and S.F.187. Two “flower vases” were discovered in S.F.170. Small, carinated drinking cups with pedestal feet have been dated to Dynasty 12, up to the reign of Senusret II,⁴⁷⁷ although it has also been suggested that they were still manufactured in the late 12th Dynasty.⁴⁷⁸ These cups came from nine tombs at Naga ed-Deir: N.263, N.361, N.408, N.449, S.F.25, S.F.170, S.F.187, N.9091 and N.9292. Offering vessels in the shape of flat-based beakers also are known from Middle Kingdom contexts at other sites, including Abydos.⁴⁷⁹ At Naga ed-Deir, excavators found beakers in five tombs: N.3916, N.408, N.449, S.F.95 and S.F.187. Offering vessels with distinctive elongated “peg”-like bases discovered in tombs N.449 and S.F.25 are suggestive of an early Middle Kingdom date.⁴⁸⁰ A 12th Dynasty diagnostic ceramic type is the large, necked ovoid or globular water jar with a small mouth.⁴⁸¹ At Naga ed-Deir, jars of this form derive from tombs S.F.18, S.F.95, S.F.170 and S.F.187. Nine tombs also contained smaller versions of the same form: S.F.18, S.F.25, N.9090, N.9091, N.9292, N.449, S.F.95, S.F.170 and S.F.209.⁴⁸² A red polished, non-carinated pot stand from tomb N.9090 is another Dynasty 12 diagnostic type.⁴⁸³ Finally, a form typical of the later 12th Dynasty are jars or bottles with undulating

⁴⁷⁴ For similar bowls from Haraga, cemetery S, tombs 330 and 396 and Mostagedda, tomb 5122, see Engelbach (1923: Pl. XXXIV, 9M and 9P) and Brunton (1937: Pl. LII, 8E,2), respectively. Kemp and Merrillees compared bowls and beakers from Haraga with those found in cemeteries at Sedment and Beni Hasan (1980: 52-54, and Fig. 21). They believe this form represents a link between the late First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, through the reign of Senusret II.

⁴⁷⁵ Similar examples are known from Beni Hasan tomb 178 (Bourriau 1981: 60, no. 105), Thebes 3234 (Do. Arnold 1991: 10, Fig. 9), and Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 88/IV (Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 205, Fig. 63, no. 12(305), 218, with a list of examples from other known tombs in n. 404).

⁴⁷⁶ Dynasties 1-6. For a list known examples from Lahun, Saqqara and Giza, see Aston (1994: 115f, No. 61).

⁴⁷⁷ Bourriau (1981: 57). For similar cups from Matmar, tomb 491, and Qau, see Brunton (1948: 54, Pl. XLIII; 1930: Pl. III, 10A).

⁴⁷⁸ Hope (1987: 36).

⁴⁷⁹ Richards (1992: 216-217, Fig. 49; *idem* in 2005: 162, Fig. 75).

⁴⁸⁰ Petrie dated examples from temple deposits at Abydos to Dynasty 11 (1903: 39-40, forms 165 and 166). Similar offering vessels were found in Middle Kingdom burials during more recent excavations at Abydos (Richards 1992: 215-216, Fig. 49). One such tomb is E 720 N 890, Burial 7, which was dated to Dynasty 12 (Richards 1992: 224-225, Fig. 50; *idem* in 2005: 183).

⁴⁸¹ Richards (1992: 215-217, Fig. 49; *idem* in 2005: 162, Fig. 75). For similar jars from Haraga, see Engelbach (1923: Pl. XXXVII, no. 41x). Numerous large water jar sherds also were discovered in 12th Dynasty graves at Abydos, including tombs E 830 N 660, Burials 2 and 3 and E 840 N 780, Burials 1 and 6 (Richards 2005: 192-193, 202-203, 206-207).

⁴⁸² Analogous to Engelbach’s jar types 40 at Haraga (1923: Pl. XXXVI).

⁴⁸³ Richards (1992: 102-103, Fig. 8; *idem* in 2005: 107, Fig. 26). The stand from N.9090 is identical to Engelbach’s jar stand type 90H at Haraga (1923: Pl. XL).

profiles, specifically placed in the range of Senusret II to Amenemhat III.⁴⁸⁴ One jar of this type was excavated from N.3900 and probably indicates reuse of a First Intermediate Period tomb.

Although painted decoration is rare in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, bowls with interior designs consisting of white painted cross-line and dot decoration applied with the fingers are found during late Dynasty 12 and the Second Intermediate Period.⁴⁸⁵ Three tombs at Naga ed-Deir contained similarly-decorated bowls: N.111, S.F.533 and N.9091. The first two contained burials of the First Intermediate Period, while the third originally was early Middle Kingdom in date. Red and black bichrome ware also first was manufactured in the reign of Amenemhat III and continued through mid Dynasty 18.⁴⁸⁶ There are examples of both monochrome (in black or red paint) and bichrome decorated pottery from eight tombs included in the present study: S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, S.F.533, S.F.5204, N.3774, N.3567, N.3907 and N.11. The decorated vessels were made of Nile silt (Reisner's Red Ware and Red Brown Ware) and included a variety of forms, such as: a large, piriform storage jar, a three-handled jar, squat carinated jars, single-handled pitchers and a small, two-handled amphora. The three-handled jar found in S.F.533 is decorated with a lotus pattern below the neck, while the other vessel forms have simple linear designs consisting of horizontal and/or vertical stripes. Sherds from piriform storage jars found in N.11 and S.F.5203 have dots painted around the neck in addition to horizontal bands; similarly decorated jars are typical of the 18th Dynasty.⁴⁸⁷ The squat, carinated jars from S.F.533, S.F.5204 and N.3567 date from the late Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III,⁴⁸⁸ while the pitchers from N.3907, S.F.5203 and S.F.5204 are characteristic of early Dynasty 18.⁴⁸⁹ The two-handled amphora from S.F.5202 and the three-handled jar S.F.533 range from Thutmose III to late Dynasty 18.⁴⁹⁰ Drinking (beer) cups were recovered from tombs S.F.533, N.3769, N.3907, N.3756 and N.9090. The latter two examples have black-painted rims, a feature that is characteristic of pottery ranging in date from the late

⁴⁸⁴ Hope (1987: 35). For examples from Hu, tomb W15, and Haraga, cemetery B, tomb 336, see Petrie (1901: Pl. XXXIV, 52; *idem* in Bourriau (1981: 56, no. 95) and Engelbach (1923: Pl. XXXVIII, 49S), respectively.

⁴⁸⁵ Hope (1987: 26); Bourriau (1981: 69) and Richards (1992: 215). For an example of a bowl from tomb E156 at Abydos, see Garstang (1901: 18, Pl. XXVII). For a biconical bottle with exterior dot decoration in white paint from tomb E255, see Garstang (1901: Pls. XVII, XXVII). Similarly decorated bowls and jars were recovered from the North cemetery at Abydos, Z2a and Group W (Peet 1914: 66, Pl. XIII, 1, 2).

⁴⁸⁶ Bourriau (1981: 55, 72).

⁴⁸⁷ For a similarly decorated bichrome ware jar from Balabish, tomb B66, see Wainwright (1920: 55, Pl. XXV). Many other painted piriform jars dating to the reigns of Amenhotep I-Thutmose IV were found at Haraga. For one example from cemetery B tomb 274, see Engelbach (1923: Pl. XLII, 24R).

⁴⁸⁸ For jars with more elaborate vertical and crossed line decoration dated to the late Second Intermediate Period, see Bourriau (1981: 133-135, nos. 261, 263 and 264) for examples from Sedment, Mayana cemetery K, tomb 1270, Qau, tomb 5322 and Hu, tomb W43. For early 18th Dynasty decorated jars from Abydos, tombs E 156, E 158, E 299 and E 100, see Garstang (1901: Pls. XXVII, XXIX). Undecorated jars of the same form from tombs E 102 and E 156 are also shown in Pl. XXVII.

⁴⁸⁹ For examples of single-handled pitchers from Abydos, tombs E158, E288 and D114 see Garstang (1901: Pl. XXIX) and Peet and Loat (1913: 30, Pl. XII, 1), respectively.

⁴⁹⁰ These amphorae with basket or horizontal handles and ring bases are first attested in the reign of Hatshepsut and continue into the Amarna Period (Brovarski et al. 1982: 127, no. 114). For examples from Abydos, tombs E158 and E288, dated to the reign of Thutmose III, see Garstang (1901: Pl. XXIX). Three handled storage jars are contemporary with these amphorae. For marl jars decorated similarly to the one from S.F.533, ROM 910.2.62 and one from an unidentified tomb at Gurob, see Brovarski et al. (1982: 81, no. 60) and Petrie (1891: Pl. XXI, 5), respectively.

Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III.⁴⁹¹ The excavators also discovered body sherds from a large, blue painted jar in S.F.533.⁴⁹²

Additional types of Egyptian pottery dated to the early New Kingdom were recovered from seven tombs at Naga ed-Deir, all of which were undecorated. The forms include squat, carinated jars from S.F.170, N.9090 and N.9091,⁴⁹³ a tall-necked, globular flask from N.3765,⁴⁹⁴ a two handled amphora with a conical base⁴⁹⁵ and a slender, tall-necked flask from N.3907,⁴⁹⁶ and a piriform storage jar with a wide mouth and lines incised around the neck from N.9091.⁴⁹⁷ Mace also recorded a “tiny pot [Dynasty] XVIII” from N.3558 and a “fragment [of a Dynasty] XVIII polished dish” from N.3945 in his field notes. Although he sketched the pot from N.3558, the form is unidentifiable. The excavators also found one example of foreign pottery at Naga ed-Deir. In tomb S.F.5204 they discovered the top half of a Cypriote base-ring juglet, a type of ware imported into Egypt in the late Second Intermediate Period to the mid 18th Dynasty.⁴⁹⁸ Thus, based on all the ceramic evidence, it is apparent that many of the tombs first constructed in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period remained in use by successive generations of people through the early New Kingdom.

4.3.2 Jewelry

Jewelry is useful in dating burials, because it was included among the funerary goods in large quantities and was subject to changes in material and style over time. Almost all of the tombs included in the present study were robbed before Reisner excavated them. Only in tombs S.F.25 and N.408 was the jewelry was found in place inside the mummy wrappings and on one skeleton, respectively. However, scattered remnants of loose beads and amulets were found in the majority of the tombs. The jewelry includes what was worn in life (and as such, could also represent family heirlooms), along with scarabs and certain forms of amulets that had a funerary function, i.e., were made specifically for the burials. The most popular forms of jewelry consisted of masses of plain beads that were carved out of stone or manufactured in faience in a variety of shapes (e.g., spherical, barrel, biconical, disc, tubular, etc.), as well as examples made of organic materials, such as pierced shells and seeds. These types of beads are numerous in the Naga ed-Deir tombs. While the most of them are “non-diagnostic”, some beads and amulets

⁴⁹¹ For an example from Deir el-Ballas, PAHMA 6-8557, see Brovarski et al. (1982: 78, no. 52). For other examples from Balabish, tomb B157, see Wainwright (1920: 59- 60, Pl. XXV, nos. 71 and 72).

⁴⁹² The decoration consists of blue bands outlined in black against a red wash. Simple linear designs are characteristic of pottery dated to mid Dynasty 18 (Brovarski et al. 1982: 88). For a similarly painted, wide-mouthed piriform jar with a tall neck from Balabish, tomb B101, see Wainwright (1920: 57, Pl. XXV).

⁴⁹³ The same form as the jars discussed above on page 96, n. 542.

⁴⁹⁴ For a similar form from Abydos, tomb E255, dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, see Garstang (1901: Pl. XXVIII).

⁴⁹⁵ The handles differ from the one found in S.F.5202. See for example, a similar jar from tomb 160 at Rifeh, dated to the reign of Thutmose I (Petrie 1907: Pl. XXVII F, no. 167) and one from tomb E178 at Abydos, dated to the mid 18th Dynasty (Garstang 1901: Pl. XIX).

⁴⁹⁶ For an identical jar from tomb 127 at Rifeh, dated to the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, see Petrie (1907: Pl. XXVII K, no. 382).

⁴⁹⁷ For a similar jar from Balabish, tomb B157, dated to the New Kingdom, see Wainwright (1920: Pl. XXV, no. 75).

⁴⁹⁸ For examples from Balabish, tomb B157, and Riqqeh, see Wainwright (1920: 59-60, Pl. XXV) and Bourriau (1981: 126, no. 250), respectively. Many juglets of this type were also found at Abydos, in tombs E255, E268, E294 and E178 (Garstang 1901: 12-14, Pls. XVII, XVIII and XIX).

assist in dating the tombs in which they are found, either in their composition or stylistic features. For example, at other sites, in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, people (predominantly women and children) were still buried with gold or silver beads and bangles, and beads and amulets of semi-precious stones; the majority of amulets and drop pendants were made of faience, however, with carnelian being the second most common material. The faience amulets are simple and often indeterminate in shape.⁴⁹⁹ Stone and faience amulets of human body parts, particularly heads, hands, and legs and feet, are also common in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.⁵⁰⁰ Although found in other tombs at Naga ed-Deir,⁵⁰¹ no such amulets were found in any of the burials that contained tomb models. In fact, there was not much jewelry discovered in the earlier tombs included in the current study. The material primarily consists of faience ring, spherical and tubular beads from necklaces, bracelets, anklets or girdles that comes from nine tombs.⁵⁰² Seven tombs also contained a few, scattered carnelian beads in spherical, barrel, tubular and ring forms.⁵⁰³ However, Mace found a crude faience lotus pendant in N.3765 and a tiny carnelian *dd* pillar amulet in N.3769, both of which may date to the First Intermediate Period. In the outer chamber of tomb N.3567, he recovered the remains of a necklace composed of a series of faience ring beads and amulets, including another crude lotus pendant, four roughly-molded, openwork *wḏ3t* eyes and two amulet-shaped beads, one of which resembles a *tit* knot.

In contrasting the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, in general, there is more and better-quality jewelry in the latter period. Over time, there was a gradual increase in the use of semi-precious stones to make beads and amulets, including carnelian, garnet, lapis, feldspar, beryl and jasper.⁵⁰⁴ In the Middle Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir that are included in the current study, excavators found greater quantities of carnelian beads than in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period burials. In 17 tombs, they discovered carnelian beads in forms identical to those from the earlier graves.⁵⁰⁵ Large quantities of amethyst also began to be used for beads, amulets and scarabs in the 12th Dynasty.⁵⁰⁶ Spherical and biconical amethyst beads were found in 10 tombs at Naga ed-Deir.⁵⁰⁷ Tombs N.361, N.450 and S.F.170 contained garnet beads in these same forms, while agate ball beads were recovered from S.F.5025 and S.F.25. A square lapis bead with an incised cross pattern from N.3930 may date to the early Middle Kingdom.⁵⁰⁸ Other common Middle Kingdom amulet forms are “ball-vases”, similar to

⁴⁹⁹ Andrews (1981: 47); Ward and (1978: 36).

⁵⁰⁰ Andrews (1994: 69-72, Fig. 74c). For examples, see Petrie (1914: 9, 11, Pls. I, 2a-f, 11a-g, 15a-f).

⁵⁰¹ For example, PAHMA 6-11565 is a (restrung) anklet from N.3548, which is composed of agate ring beads and various amulets, including two agate legs, an agate shell and a carnelian face.

⁵⁰² N.67/69, N.241, N.248, S.F.18, S.F.533, N.3737, N.3774, N.3930 and N.429.

⁵⁰³ N.248, N.3774, N.3930, N.3916, N.3907, N.3567 and N.3756.

⁵⁰⁴ Andrews (1981: 61).

⁵⁰⁵ S.F.5025, S.F.5011, S.F.5010, N.3579, S.F.25, N.263, N.361, N.408, N.449, N.450, N.9091, S.F.95, S.F.132, S.F.167, S.F.170, S.F.187 and S.F.218.

⁵⁰⁶ Aldred (1971: 34f); Ward (1978: 84-86); and Andrews (1981: 61; 1990: 40).

⁵⁰⁷ N.248, N.3900, S.F.5021, N.263, N.361, N.449, N.450, S.F.170, S.F.187, and S.F.209.

⁵⁰⁸ For a Middle Kingdom necklace from Abydos, which is composed of similarly patterned square beads in faience, see Andrews (1981: 70, Cat. 479 and Pl. 35). Square faience amulets decorated with the same pattern also come from S.F.5010 and N.361.

one made of garnet from S.F.170,⁵⁰⁹ and shell-shaped amulets like those made of carnelian or faience from S.F.25, N.450 and S.F.64.⁵¹⁰

As mentioned previously, uninscribed stone scarab amulets also were popular in the 12th Dynasty.⁵¹¹ Five tombs included in the present study contained blank scarabs made of semi-precious stones: N.361 (carnelian), N.450 (amethyst), S.F.64 (amethyst), S.F.95 (green jasper) and S.F.187 (green jasper). In this period, the same types of stones were used to make large quantities of amulets in the forms of various animals, many of which were also represented as figurines in stone or faience and inscribed on contemporary magical rods and knives.⁵¹² Baboons or monkeys were particularly common.⁵¹³ At Naga ed-Deir crouched monkey amulets made of amethyst, carnelian and beryl were found in tombs N.361, N.449, N.450, S.F.170, N.9091,⁵¹⁴ S.F.64 and S.F.209. N.450 and S.F.170 also contained amethyst, beryl and carnelian hippopotamus head amulets.⁵¹⁵ Bovine head amulets include one made of green stone from N.3900 and a faience example from N.449.⁵¹⁶ Falcon amulets of carnelian and beryl were discovered in N.449, N.450 and S.F.170, while (pit) S.F.5203, N.449, N.450 and S.F.218 also contained faience examples.⁵¹⁷ Other bird amulets include a beryl duckling from S.F.64 and a beryl vulture from N.95.⁵¹⁸ The occupant of tomb N.361 was buried with a small beryl amulet

⁵⁰⁹ For similar amulets, see Petrie (1914: 28-29, Pl. XV, 129e and Pl. XLIII, 129a,b). For a ball-vase amulet from Salmiya, see Andrews (1981: 66, Cat. 435, Pl. 37).

⁵¹⁰ The species of the shell amulets found in these two tombs cannot be identified from the field notes; however, *cardium edule*, *Nerita crassilabrum* and *Conus* shells were often copied in semi-precious stones in the Middle Kingdom (Andrews 1981: 91; Petrie 1914: 27, Pl. XIV, 111c-j, 108a-c and 110a-d, respectively). Examples of shell amulets are known from Beni Hasan tomb 487, in carnelian (Garstang 1907: 113, Pl. V, figs. 104-105) and Haraga tomb 124, in carnelian, lapis lazuli, and green felspar (Engelbach 1923: 16, Pl. XV, 3).

⁵¹¹ For examples, see an obsidian scarab from Abydos, tomb 1818, and a lapis scarab (possibly) from Thebes, see Andrews (1981: 67, cat. nos. 440 and 441).

⁵¹² Bourriau (1988: 156, Cat. 176 and 177).

⁵¹³ See, for example, Andrews (1981: 61; 1994: 66f, Fig. 71) and Petrie (1914: 43, Pl. XXXVII, 206a). For amuletic string necklaces (presumably) from Thebes containing amethyst baboons, see Andrews (1981: 65, Cat. 423, Pl. 33 and 66, Cat. 431). Vervet monkey or baboon amulets were also found at Qau (Brunton 1928: Pl. XCIV, class 14).

⁵¹⁴ A baboon amulet is shown in expedition photograph C8236, which may be the same amulet described in the field notes as a carnelian Taweret.

⁵¹⁵ For this type of amulet, see Petrie (1914: 47, Pl. XL, 237d-p). For examples of felspar and carnelian hippopotamus-head amulets from Hu, tomb Y168, Salmiya, and Hu, tomb W48, see (Andrews 1981: 65, Cat. 422; and 65, and Cat. 429; and Bourriau 1988: 151, cat. 165, respectively).

⁵¹⁶ Although Mace identified the amulet from N.3900 as a bull's head, the exact form is unknown because he neither sketched it in his notes nor photographed it. Reisner described the amulet from N.449 as a ram's head and drew it in his notes. Frontal bovine head amulets in faience are known from the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994: 62).

⁵¹⁷ For similar falcon amulets, see Petrie (1914: 48-49, Pl. XLI, 2451-q). For a felspar falcon amulet (presumably) from Salmiya, see Andrews (1981: 65, cat. 429). A necklace that included a carnelian falcon was found in tomb W48 at Hu (Bourriau 1988: 151, Cat. 165a). Several similar falcon amulets (identified as hawks) were also found at Qau (Brunton 1928: XCVII, class 45P).

⁵¹⁸ For similar duckling and vulture amulets, see Petrie (1914: 14, 25, Pl. III, 29a, b and Pl. XII, 94a, respectively). For a faience vulture amulet from tomb 306 at Matmar, dated to Dynasties 9-11, see Brunton (1948: 38, Pls. XXXII and XLI, class 68). For a Dynasty 6 faience vulture amulet from Mostagedda tomb 10002, see Brunton 1937: Pl. LXV, class 46H9).

that may represent Taweret.⁵¹⁹ Finally, faience lions were recovered from N.3774 and S.F.132.⁵²⁰

Gold, electrum, copper and silver, in particular, were also used in larger quantities beginning in Dynasty 11 to make bangles, rings and a variety of beads and pendants.⁵²¹ Mace found two large, spherical metal beads from a necklace in the chapel of N.3579, which likely dates to this period.⁵²² Reisner recovered a large, gold biconical bead from one burial chamber in 12th Dynasty tomb N.449. Remains of metal jewelry also were found in seven Middle Kingdom tombs in the Sheikh Farag cemeteries. Tomb S.F.5011 contained one spherical gold bead. Silver jewelry was discovered in five tombs: rings of wire from S.F.25 and S.F.167; a wire *hh* amulet from S.F.170;⁵²³ the lower part (i.e., *nb* basket) of a wire uraeus pendant from S.F.187;⁵²⁴ and a perforated disc amulet from S.F.5010.⁵²⁵ A piece of bent copper wire also came from S.F.170. Copper jewelry, consisting of a ring, wire fragment and an oyster shell-shaped ornament was recovered from S.F.218.⁵²⁶ Another characteristic feature of Middle Kingdom jewelry is the capping or banding of stone or faience beads with metal.⁵²⁷ In N.248, a reused late Old Kingdom tomb, Reisner found a large, tubular lapis bead banded by a single gold disc bead on either side.

⁵¹⁹ For similar amulets from Kahun, see Petrie (1914: 47, Pl. XLV, 236o).

⁵²⁰ For examples of faience couchant lions, see Petrie (1914: 45, Pl. XXXVIII, 219d). Middle Kingdom couchant lion amulets are known from many sites and made of a variety of materials, including a steatite lion from Haraga, tomb 306 (Engelbach 1923: Pl. XIV, 3), a silver lion from Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904: Pl. XII, 2) and a faience lion from Haraga, tomb B244 (Engelbach 1923: Pls. XX, 50 and L-LII). Numerous glazed lions and dog amulets were also found at Qau (Brunton 1928: Pl. XCV, class 15). The lion amulet from S.F.132 was identified as a crouching dog in the 1913 object register log.

⁵²¹ Andrews (1981: 59, 61).

⁵²² Mace did not identify the type of metal in his field notes. For a necklace composed of hollow gold beads from the 11th Dynasty tomb of *Myt*, Deir el-Bahri, MMA pit 18, see Winlock (1942: Pl. 11; Thomas, ed. (1995: 145-146, Cat. 53). An identical necklace was found at Thebes in the burial of *W3h*, who died at the beginning of Dynasty 12 (Winlock 1942: Pl. 32; and Roehrig 2002: 19, Fig. 23).

⁵²³ For this type of amulet, see Petrie (1914: 19, Pls. IV, 59a-c, XLVI, 59e). Examples in gold, silver and electrum are known from tombs of this period at many sites, including el-Mahasna, tombs M87 and M435 (Garstang 1903: 35, Pl. XXXIV), Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904: 8, Pl. XII), Haraga, tomb 183 (Engelbach 1923: 9, Pl. IX) and Matmar (Brunton 1948: Pl. XXXII, type 81).

⁵²⁴ For another example, see Petrie (1914: 18-19, Pl. XLIV, 58q,s). For illustrations of gold and electrum uraei pendants of unknown provenance, see Andrews (1981: 63-64, nos. 412 and 413, pls. 30-31). Identical amulets derive from Middle Kingdom contexts from Abydos, cemetery V (Ayrton et al. 1904: Pl. XV, 12), Matmar (Brunton 1948: Pl. XXXII, 110) and Naga ed-Deir, tombs N.364 (Fazzini 1975: 55, cat. 43) and N.453 (BMFA 21.973 (Eaton 1941: 94-98; Wilkinson 1971: 61-62, Fig. 39; Andrews 1981: 63, 95, misattributed to Sheikh Farag; and D'Auria et al. 1988: 117f, Cat. 44, Fig. 76).

⁵²⁵ For examples of metal discs from Abydos tombs S12 and E45, dated to the 12th -13th Dynasty, see Peet (1914: 44-45, Pl. IX) and Garstang (1901: 5, Pl. I), respectively. The 12th Dynasty female burial in N.453 (cited above) also included a pierced silver disc (BMFA 21.974). Another disc pendant, this time carved from ivory, was found in S.F.5203.

⁵²⁶ Andrews (1994: 11). For inscribed shells, see Petrie (1914: 27, Pl. XIV, 112c-d). Many uninscribed metal oyster-shell amulets are known from Middle Kingdom contexts, including one of electrum from Abydos tomb E108 (Garstang 1901: 4, Pl. 1), three of gold from Haraga tomb 154 (Engelbach 1923: 13, Pl. XXII, 2), one of gold from Rifeh (Petrie 1907: 13) and one of electrum from S.F.27 (Stevenson Smith 1942: Fig. 60).

⁵²⁷ Andrews (1981: 61; 1990: 94, 96, Fig. 74a,b). For an example of faience beads capped with gold from Abydos, tomb E105 see (Garstang 1901: 5, Pl. III). Tomb 308 at Haraga, located in cemetery B, also contained an amulet of cylindrical quartz beads strung with gold caps on copper wire (Engelbach 1923: 12, Pl. XIV, 4).

Throughout the Middle Kingdom, faience continued to be used for a variety of bead and amulet forms. Fancy or irregularly-shaped faience beads, reminiscent of amulets, are typical of this period.⁵²⁸ Loose fancy beads were recovered from 11 additional tombs at Naga ed-Deir included in the present study.⁵²⁹ In the chapel of N.3579, Mace also found the remnants of a knotted flax string with carnelian ring beads, faience tubular and drop beads and four faience amulet beads, one of which may be a *tit* knot. Excavators recovered a blue faience amulet likely representing a seated god from the chapel in S.F.5010.⁵³⁰ Other types of faience beads found in Middle Kingdom contexts include turquoise blue colored bicones with darker blue or black spiral designs⁵³¹ and new forms of crumb beads.⁵³² Spiral-design faience biconical beads were found in N.449, N.450 and S.F.218, while N.361 contained one crumb bead. Cowrie-shaped beads made from a variety of materials, frequently strung on girdles, are also known from Dynasty 12 contexts.⁵³³ At Naga ed-Deir, Reisner discovered two faience cowrie beads strung on the ends of a double-strand shell disc bracelet, which was still on the wrist of the female occupant of tomb N.408.⁵³⁴

There is also evidence of New Kingdom reoccupation of First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs, based on the remains of certain types of beads and amulets. Large, faience disk beads that were originally strung on short necklaces (reminiscent of gold *shebyu* collars) were found in burial pit A of N.3774, the offering chapels of N.3765 and N.3916 and an unrecorded location in N.3737.⁵³⁵ A tiny lapis lazuli fish amulet found in the chapel of N.3765 may also date to this later time period.⁵³⁶

⁵²⁸ Andrews (1981: 61). See for example, faience beads from tomb 700 at Dendera (Petrie 1900: Pl. XX, gn, bottom left) and Brunton's unidentified forms at Qau and Mostagedda (1928: Pl. XCIX, class 74; 1937: Pl. LVII, class 74). These beads were also sometimes classified as degraded forms (Engelbach 1923: 5, Pl. LI, 41B-K and 42A-T).

⁵²⁹ N.3756, N.3900, N.3916, N.3907, N.263, N.449, N.450, N.9091, S.F.64, S.F.187 and S.F.5010.

⁵³⁰ Although difficult to distinguish from the sketch in the 1923-24 object register log, the amulet form is identified as that of a seated god in the catalogue records in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have not yet had the opportunity to examine the amulet in person.

⁵³¹ These spiral beads first appeared in the Middle Kingdom. Examples are known from Dendera, tomb 700 (Petrie 1900: 25, Pl. XX), Qau (Brunton 1928: Pl. CII, 80T, 3), Haraga (Engelbach 1923: Pl. XV, 3) and Abydos, tomb S44, dated to the 12th Dynasty (Peet 1914: 45, Pl. IX, 2). They have also been found in Second Intermediate Period contexts. For example, "bulbous beads with spiral glaze" were found in conjunction with the Ramesseum Papyri, dated to this later period (Lilyquist 1979: 36, n. 402e, and 127).

⁵³² Andrews (1981: 59). For an example of purple biconical beads with blue "crumbs" from Abydos tomb 416, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 152-153, Fig. 47). A similar form of bead of dark blue faience with lighter blue "crumbs" was found in tomb D9 at Abydos (Peet 1914: 48, Pl. IX, 11).

⁵³³ Aldred (1971: 148, n. 36); and Andrews (1981: 61; 1990: 141). Metal examples include ten electrum cowries from Abydos, tomb E108 (Garstang 1901: 4, Pl. I), silver cowries from Beni Hasan, tomb 287 (Garstang 1907: 222) and gold and silver cowries from Haraga, tombs 211 and 124 (Engelbach 1923: 16, Pls. XIV, 5 and XV, 5). For examples of real cowrie shells strung as beads from Abydos tomb G62, see Andrews (1981: 76, cat. 559).

⁵³⁴ For similar faience beads from el-Mahasna, tomb 448, see Garstang (1903: 35, Pl. XXXIX).

⁵³⁵ For an example of this type of necklace from tomb 21 at Rifeh dated to Dynasty 18, see Petrie (1907: Pl. XXVIIA). For remains of the same types of beads from Abydos, tombs E143 and E178, see Garstang (1901: 13-14, Pls. XVIII and XIX).

⁵³⁶ For a similar form of amulet, see Petrie (1914: 50, Pl. XLV, 258a), i.e., his "electric fish", which he dated to Dynasty 18). It is possible that the amulet from N.3765 dates earlier, however, as fish amulets were popular in the Middle Kingdom. Gold and silver examples are known from Abydos, tomb E30 (Garstang 1901: 4, Pl. I), Beni Hasan, tomb 487 (Garstang 1907: 113, Pl. V, figs. 104-105) and Haraga, tomb 306 (Engelbach 1923: 12, Pl. XIV, 3). Non-metal examples include a lapis lazuli fish found at el Lisht, MMA 22.1.1398 (Andrews 1981: 93), an

4.3.3 Stone Vessels

Several of the burials at Naga ed-Deir that contained tomb models and serving statuettes also included stone vessels among the funerary equipment, having been used primarily to store cosmetic oils and ointments. As with pottery, certain materials, forms and stylistic features are indicative of date. Some of these stone jars from Naga ed-Deir are dated to the Old Kingdom, including a travertine dish with a round bottom and flaring, recurved rim-- similar in form to Meydum ware pottery-- which was found in N.67/69.⁵³⁷ Miniature stone jars from 'Opening of the Mouth' sets were also found in three tombs: N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203⁵³⁸ and N.3737. The jar forms include beakers with flared sides and flat bases and tall, necked vases with piriform bases, which were the two types of vessels typically paired in these sets.⁵³⁹ In all three tombs, the vases were made of quartz crystal, except for N.3737 which also had one in limestone, painted white to imitate the harder stone. The two beakers found in S.F.5201/5203 were made of basalt, while the two from N.3737 were of limestone, painted black and white, respectively, to imitate other stones. The jars from N.3737 are the smallest and crudest. Similar sets, comprised of model vessels, *psš-*kf** instruments and knives that fit into tables, are known primarily from Dynasty 5 and 6 tomb contexts.⁵⁴⁰ In general, however, there are fewer stone vessels in late Old Kingdom tombs than in preceding periods and even less in the subsequent First Intermediate Period. At Naga ed-Deir, Reisner found a travertine cosmetic jar in N.3900, chamber A, and two similar limestone jars in N.3567. All three examples have squat, carinated forms with wide rims, characteristic features of jars dating from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom.⁵⁴¹

In the Middle Kingdom stone vessels reappeared in greater quantities as grave goods. Two typical forms frequently made of travertine include concave-sided, tapering beakers⁵⁴² and shouldered jars with short necks and projecting rims.⁵⁴³ Vessels of the former type were found in tombs N.3579, N.449, S.F.5011 and N.263. N.449 and N.3579 also contained beakers that

anhydrite fish from Hu, tomb W43 (Bourriau 1988: 151, cat. 165a) and carnelian fish pendants from Rifeh (Petrie 1907: 13).

⁵³⁷ See Aston (1994: 133, no. 112) for examples from Mostagedda tomb 2635, El-Kab and the Sahure pyramid temple at Abusir, all of which are dated to Dynasties 4 and 5).

⁵³⁸ The jars from S.F.5201/5203 were inscribed. For the reference to this material, see above, n. 297.

⁵³⁹ Roth (1992: 115).

⁵⁴⁰ See Petrie (1900: 8, Pl. 21) for a set from the tomb of *Idw* I at Dendera, dated to the end of Dynasty 6. For further examples from Giza, G2381A, Saqqara Mastaba E, Abydos, tomb E 21, and Zawiyet el-Mayetin 14, all dated to the 6th Dynasty, see Aston (1994: 140, nos. 137 and 138). For an example of a (reconstructed) complete set of model equipment from 6th Dynasty tombs G2382, G2381A and G7550B at Giza, see D'Auria et al. (1988: 80, Cat. 11). Mace also found the remains of other sets (as yet unpublished) in tombs N.3122 and N.3606 at Naga ed-Deir, the former of which are illustrated in Ex. Ph. C9793 and B9147 (*in situ*). Two rock crystal jars from N.3606 (not photographed) are housed in the Hearst Museum, catalogue numbers PAHMA 6-11600 and 6-11601.

⁵⁴¹ For similar jars from Hu, tomb W83, dated to Dynasties 6-10, and Matmar, tomb 583, dated to Dynasties 7-8, see Petrie (1901: Pl. XXVIII) and Brunton (1948: Pl. XL, 5), respectively. For a list of these and other known examples, see Aston (1994: 140-141, no. 140). This vessel form was also frequently imitated in pottery. Many ceramic examples were found in tombs at Naga ed-Deir, including N.3579 and N.449. Reisner also discovered one made of wood inside a toilet box that had been buried with the female occupant of N.408.

⁵⁴² For an illustration of this form of jar from Abydos tomb 416, dated to late Dynasty 12-13, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 127-128; Fig. 41; and Pl. 12; jars no. 39, 51 and 52). For additional examples from Abydos, tomb E30, and Dendera, tomb 700, see Garstang (1901: Pl. 1) and Petrie (1900: Pl. XX), respectively. For the list of other known examples, see Aston (1994: 105, no. 36).

⁵⁴³ For examples from Hu, tombs Y448 and Y361, see (Petrie 1901: Pl. XXX). For a list of other known examples dated to Dynasty 12, see Aston (1994: 138-139, no. 135).

were more cylindrical in form, although the sides of the former were slightly concave.⁵⁴⁴ Vessels of the second type derive from N.3579, N.449, N.450 and S.F.64.⁵⁴⁵ A Middle Kingdom type of cosmetic jar is the three- or four-legged cylindrical vessel with conical lid that fastened on one side with a peg. These jars were made of a variety of materials, including not only travertine and quartz crystal,⁵⁴⁶ but also ivory⁵⁴⁷ and wood,⁵⁴⁸ frequently with incised horizontal bands of decoration. The excavators found these jars in three of the same tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained tomb models: N.9091 (stained ivory), S.F.95 (travertine) and S.F.209 (quartz crystal). One last form to be discussed here is the squat stone kohl jar with a straight-sided rim, which was introduced in the 12th Dynasty.⁵⁴⁹ Examples in travertine were found in tombs N.450, S.F.64 and S.F.209, while S.F.170 contained a more elaborate jar in anhydrite, carved with its own stand.⁵⁵⁰ Fragments of this type of kohl jar were discovered in tombs N.9091, S.F.5203 (pit debris) and N.9292 and include lids made of dark stone from the first two tombs, and a basalt rim from the latter.

4.3.4 Cosmetic Items

There are a small number of other cosmetic items with stylistic features that help to date them, and by association, the tombs at Naga ed-Deir in which they were found. All of the examples discussed in this section are dated to the Middle Kingdom or later. In the 12th Dynasty, stone cosmetic palettes were typically carved into rectangular shapes, frequently with a shallow, oval-shaped depression in the center, and used in conjunction with dome-shaped pestles.⁵⁵¹ At Naga ed-Deir, the excavators found one such slate palette in S.F.187 and two in S.F.5011, one made of travertine and the other of sandstone. A “granite paint grinder with traces of paint” was discovered in N.3945, according to Mace’s field notes. He found another “piece of granite used as <a> paint grinder” above the secondary burial pit that was located in the courtyard of N.3737.⁵⁵² The funerary goods from tomb S.F.5011 also included a “small, cylindrical piece of

⁵⁴⁴ Reisner found an identical jar made of wood inside the same toilet box from N.408 mentioned above, in n. 590. For the same form of travertine jar found at Rifeh and Hu, tomb Y34, dated to the 12th Dynasty, see Petrie (1907: Pl. XIA, 215; 1901: Pl. XXX).

⁵⁴⁵ For similar jars from Hu, tombs Y448 and Y361, dated to Dynasty 12, see Petrie (1901: Pl. XXX, top). For a list of other known examples, see Aston (1994: 138-139, nos. 134-135).

⁵⁴⁶ For a travertine example from Qubbet el-Hawa, tomb 88/IV, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 184, Fig. 52, no. 19(319), 216-217). For a list of other known examples, see Aston (1994: 145, no. 155).

⁵⁴⁷ Ivory jars were found in tombs E108 at Abydos and 487 at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1901: 5, Pls. 4, 11; 1907: Pl. 5, Fig. 107).

⁵⁴⁸ There is one example from tomb N.9096 in the Hearst Museum, PAHMA 6-15031.

⁵⁴⁹ Other examples are from Dendera, tomb 700 (Petrie 1900: Pl. XX, bottom right), Hu, tomb W72 (Petrie 1901: Pl. XXIX) and Abydos, tomb E3-3 (Garstang 1901: Pl. X). For the complete list of known examples, see Aston (1994: 145, no. 157).

⁵⁵⁰ For a similar jars from Abydos, tomb E143 and Haraga, cemetery A, tomb 72, see Garstang (1901: Pl. XVIII) and Engelbach (1923: 14, Pl. XLVII, 53), respectively.

⁵⁵¹ Brunton found this type of palette in tombs 723, 748 and 756 at Mostagedda, the first two of which he dated to Dynasty 11 and the third to Dynasty 12 (1937: Pls. LXVII and LXVIII). Additional examples are known from 12th Dynasty tombs at Abydos, tomb E3-3 (Garstang 1901: Pl. X) and Dendera, tomb 700 (Petrie 1900: XX). For examples from tomb 416 at Abydos dated to Dynasty 12-13, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 123-125, Fig. 40; Pls. 10, 11 and 12; palettes no. 3 and 32). For a complete list of known examples from these and other sites, see Aston (1994: 144, no. 151).

⁵⁵² On his tomb card, he also noted a “flint” (i.e., siltstone palette) with traces of green pigment that was found in the main burial chamber, inside *M^rw*’s coffin. Unfortunately, he did not provide further descriptive details,

granite”, as recorded in the object register log, possibly another pestle. In S.F.25, Reisner found a “degenerate slate palette”, similar to the “slate slips” Petrie discovered at Dendera, also dated to the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁵³

After a lull in the First Intermediate Period, ivory was used again in greater quantities to make luxury cosmetic items in the Middle Kingdom. While examples from other tombs at Sheikh Farag are known in ivory, an elaborate wooden cosmetic spoon with a handle carved in the shape of a duck’s head was found in N.361.⁵⁵⁴ One type of toilet box was decorated with strips of ivory incised with circular patterns that were veneered over the wood, a form that continued to be manufactured into the Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁵⁵ While no complete boxes of this type were found in any of the tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained tomb models, pieces of ivory veneer were found in S.F.5203, S.F.25, S.F.95 and S.F.209, and inlaid box fragments in S.F.5202 and N.3907. A final Middle Kingdom form of wooden toilet box to be discussed here is one that held a removable tray with eight drilled holes that served as compartments for travertine vessels containing oils and perfumes.⁵⁵⁶ Reisner found the tray from one such box in N.263.

New Kingdom cosmetic items found at Naga ed-Deir include distinct forms of kohl tubes. A single wooden reed kohl tube from N.3907 and a double-reed kohl tube from (pit) N.69 illustrate tomb reoccupation in the New Kingdom, as kohl containers shaped like single reeds or bundles of reeds bound together are 18th Dynasty in date.⁵⁵⁷

4.3.5 Furniture

Certain classes of furniture found in tombs at Naga ed-Deir contain stylistic features that are indicative of date. Sets of model copper offering tables and vessels that date to the late Old Kingdom are placed in this category. These miniature sets served a funerary function, including ewers and basins for ritual washing, vessels that were used to hold food and drink offerings, and other forms that held sacred oils and unguents for the deceased.⁵⁵⁸ Mace photographed a

and its present location is unknown. It is possible that the palette is the small, rectangular object illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8565, a/2. However, if it is the palette from N.3737, the shape is not diagnostic.

⁵⁵³ In tombs 488 and 700 (Petrie 1900: 26, Pls. XX and XXII). For a similar object from Haraga, tomb 124, dated to the 12th Dynasty, see Engelbach (1923: 16, Pl. XV, 10). In this instance it was identified as a toilet spoon.

⁵⁵⁴ Tomb S.F.162 contained an ivory spoon in this form (BMFA 13.3727a,b). For similar spoons made of ivory from other sites, see examples from Haraga cemetery W2, tomb 539 dated to Dynasty 12 (Engelbach 1923: 2-3, Pl. LXII; *idem* in Bourriau 1988: 145, Cat. 153).

⁵⁵⁵ For ivory wands decorated with circular incised patterns from Thebes and Abydos, the former dated to Dynasty 11 and the latter to the 12th Dynasty or “just later”, see Winlock (1942: 207, Pl. 40) and Garstang (1901: 10, Pl. XIV), respectively. Remains of identically-patterned ivory veneers from boxes were also found at Balabish, tomb B154, in conjunction with Second Intermediate Period pottery and a ceramic female figurine (Wainwright 1920: 56, Pl. XIX, no. 3).

⁵⁵⁶ Killen (1994b: 41). For a complete, but unprovenanced, example of this type of Middle Kingdom toilet box, see Louvre N1392 (Vandier 1972: 39-40, Fig. 107; Killen: 1994a: 28, Pl. 14).

⁵⁵⁷ For similar examples from Abydos, tombs E 294 and E 178, see Garstang (1901: Pls. XVIII and XIX).

⁵⁵⁸ Petrie found a copper set consisting of a table whose top was shaped like the *htp* hieroglyph, a hoe, an axe, a fan-shaped tool and four bowls in tomb 304 at Dendera, which he dated to Dynasty 6 (1900: 7, 25, Pl. XXII). He also found a set of miniature copper vessels at Abadiyeh, tomb D7, similarly dated to the 6th Dynasty (1901: 37, Pl. XXV). Reisner discovered about 40 miniature copper vessels and a table inside a wooden box in tomb G2381 A at Giza, which he dated to the reign of Pepy II (Freed et al. 2003: 99).

miniature set that included two tables, a ewer and basin, a *hs* jar, a spouted *hs* jar, a second basin with its own stand and eight bowls that he found in the burial chamber of N.3737.⁵⁵⁹ Although many forms of headrests remained unchanged for long periods of time, wooden headrests with splayed legs have been dated to the late Old Kingdom.⁵⁶⁰ Reisner photographed one such headrest that he discovered in N.105. Typical Middle Kingdom types of furniture are wooden stools with tapered legs with square-sectioned waists that flare out below, ending in large, squared feet.⁵⁶¹ Stool legs of this form were found in the pit debris in S.F.5204 and S.F.5025E. This type of leg evolved into a distinctive form of tapered, cylindrical-legged stool common in the early New Kingdom. The later form also had a restricted waist and was decorated with horizontal rings of incised decoration.⁵⁶² Remains of this latter type of stool were recovered from tombs S.F.5202 and S.F.5025, indicating continued use or reoccupation of earlier tombs.

4.3.6 Weapons and Tools

In many tombs at Naga ed-Deir, the owners were buried with tools and weapons, some of which were functional and others that symbolized magical or religious protection in the afterlife. A few of these objects are diagnostic, with stylistic features that help date them. As for tools, Reisner photographed two copper models of adze blades that he found in N.67/69. They have flared bodies and straight cutting edges with rounded tops that are necked, characteristic features of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period adzes.⁵⁶³ The excavators also documented several examples of weapons from Naga ed-Deir. The owner of S.F.25 was buried with a copper hemispherical battle-axe, a form that evolved out of similar axes used both for carpentry and as weapons in the Old Kingdom and continued to be manufactured through the Middle Kingdom. This specific type of axe, with the deep, segment-shaped blade, hooked lugs and three perforations drilled near the butt for lashing to a wooden handle, most likely dates to late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12.⁵⁶⁴ At Naga ed-Deir excavators also recovered copper spear points from tombs S.F.5010, S.F.5011 and N.4003; the latter, which had been buried with its owner, was still hafted to a wooden shaft. The blades are leaf-shaped with midribs and flat tangs that widen out at the end for insertion into a wooden handle. Based on these features, the spear

⁵⁵⁹ Mace discovered the remains of similar table sets in other tombs at Naga ed-Deir, including N.3122, N.3606, N.3779, N.4130 and (near) N.5103. Two sets from N.3737 had been interred along with the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ equipment that was mentioned above, in n. 585. The two tables from N.4130 and (near) N.5103 were published briefly in Mace (1909: 56-57, Pl. 56d), both of which he dated to Dynasties 6-9. The tables from N.3606, N.3779 and N.4130 are now in the Hearst Museum, catalogue numbers PAHMA 6-1571, 6-1863 and 6-2098, respectively.

⁵⁶⁰ For examples from Mostagedda, tomb 500, dated to Dynasty 6 and Haraga, tomb 174, dated to Dynasties 5-6, see Brunton (1937: Pl. LXII, 15) and Engelbach (1923: 8, Pl. VIII, 3), respectively.

⁵⁶¹ For illustrations of this form of leg from Beni Hasan, see Killen (1980: 39, pls. 51-53).

⁵⁶² For a discussion of round legged stools dated to Dynasty 18, see Killen (1980: 48-49, Pls. 79-84); Der Manuelian (1981: 125-128, figs. 1-5); and Brovarski et al. (1982: 69-70, cat. 40).

⁵⁶³ Scheel (1989: 49, Fig. 53d). See also Petrie (1917: 16, Pl. XVII, forms 77-81). A set of model copper tools that included a similar adze blade was found in tomb W84 at Hu, which Petrie dated to pre-Senusret I (1901: 43, Pl. XXXII, 5-8). Brunton found similar sets in tombs 914, 4973, 321 and 974 at Qau and tombs 1621 and 5132 at Mostagedda, which he dated to Dynasties 8-9 (1927: 60, Pl. XXXVIII, 19, 20, 22, 24; 1937: 109, Pl. LXI, 2,4).

⁵⁶⁴ W.V. Davies (1987: 23, 37). For similar axes from Hu, tomb Y162 and Rifeh, tomb 195, the former one dated to Dynasty 11 and the latter one to Dynasties 9-12, see Petrie (1901: 52, Pls. XXXII, I and XXVII, 162; 1907, Pls. XII and XIII, 3 and 4), respectively.

points likely date to the late First Intermediate Period-early Middle Kingdom.⁵⁶⁵ Models of maces are also known from early Middle Kingdom contexts.⁵⁶⁶ Although not preserved, Mace photographed a clay model funerary mace head bound with straw (to imitate gold) that he found in tomb N.4401. Mace also discovered an ivory inlay from the handle of a dagger in N.9091. This form of dagger, with the crescent-shaped pommel at the upper end and riveted, tanged copper blade, is characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁶⁷ Reisner recovered a wooden model funerary dagger of similar type from N.449, which dates to Dynasty 12.⁵⁶⁸

4.3.7 Funerary Figurines

In four tombs at Naga ed-Deir, the owners were buried, not only with tomb models, but with funerary figurines to aid them in the afterlife. Tombs S.F.25 and N.449 both contained wooden “paddle dolls”, as documented in the field notes and expedition photographs. This form of female fertility figurine, with its abstracted body, summary modeling of the face and head, braided plaits of hair frequently represented with clay beads, and painted patterns that illustrate patterned textiles or body tattooing, is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom, first appearing in Dynasty 11 in Upper Egyptian contexts.⁵⁶⁹ Three anepigraphic shabtis from the Sheikh Farag cemeteries were also recorded in the 1913 object register log: a damaged wooden figure from S.F.170, depicted with modeled arms crossed over the chest and a false beard, and two stick shabtis, each with its own wooden coffin, from S.F.167. The date range of all three shabtis is the Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom.⁵⁷⁰ All of them may have had inscriptions painted on them originally; however, no traces of any texts remain.

4.3.8 *k3* Statues

Although the excavators found numerous remains of *k3* statues in the same tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained tomb models, only 25 of them are complete enough to be dated

⁵⁶⁵ Shaw (1991: 36, Fig. 25A). For similar points from Mostagedda, tomb 1920 and Matmar, tombs 586 and 1309, see Brunton (1937: 108, Pl. LXII, 1; 1948: Pls. XXXV, 17, 18 and XXXVI), respectively. Although Brunton dated these examples to Dynasties 6-8, Hayes noted that this form is also typical of the early Middle Kingdom (1953: 278-279).

⁵⁶⁶ Reisner discovered a wooden model mace in tomb 10A at Bersha, dated to late Dynasty 11 (D’Auria et al. 1988: 117, Fig. 74). Garstang found a model mace in tomb 125 at Beni Hasan with a faience head attached to a wooden handle (Garstang 1907: 146-147, Fig. 145). Reisner also recovered a wooden model mace from (unpublished) tomb N.283. The mace, which is now housed in the Hearst Museum, is catalogue number PAHMA 6-14051.

⁵⁶⁷ See for example, Petrie (1917: Pl. XXXIV, 42-47). Examples of similar daggers are known from Abydos, tombs E243, E256 and E 320 (Garstang 1901: 11, Pls. XIV, XVI) and Hu, tombs Y211 and Y237 (Petrie 1901: Pl. XXXII).

⁵⁶⁸ For an identical wooden dagger from Haraga, tomb 280, dated to Dynasty 12, see Engelbach (1923: 12, Pl. XVII, 3, 4).

⁵⁶⁹ Bourriau (1988: 126-127, cat. 121). For an example from Western Thebes, Asasif tomb 816, which is dated to Dynasty 11, see Capel and Markoe (1996: 65-66, cat. 14). For three other Theban “dolls” of the same date, see Winlock (1942: Pl. 38). Garstang also found two figures at Beni Hasan, dated to the Middle Kingdom (1907: 152, Fig. 150).

⁵⁷⁰ For two similar, but unprovenanced, stick shabtis, see Bourriau (1988: 126, cat. 55 and 130, cat. 62). For Theban examples dated to Dynasty 17, see Stewart (1995: 15, Fig. 6) and Schneider (1977: 27-28, Pl. 7, Cat. 2.1.1.7). For an example similar to the one from S.F.170, possibly from Abydos and dating to Dynasty 17 or 18, see Schneider (1977: 30, Pl. 8, Cat. 2.2.1.3).

stylistically. Intact wooden statues of both men and women were found in tombs N.43, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.241, N.248 and N.202. Tomb N.43 contained seven female statues (six of which are nude), representing the tomb owner, and nine of her husband. Two female statues (the first of which is nude) came from N.241 and N.248. Excavators discovered an intact striding male statue in each of tombs S.F.5202, (pit) S.F.5201 and N.202. Tombs N.241, N.248 and S.F.5201/5203 also contained broken wooden statues. These latter remains include a partial female torso from N.241 and the right halves of a male head from each of tombs N.248 and (pit) S.F.5201. Finally, a small ivory statuette attached to a wooden base was recovered from tomb N.3737.⁵⁷¹

In her analysis of the wooden statues from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.43, S.F.5202, N.241 and N.248, Harvey considered a combination of three features-- coiffure, dress and arm position -- in dating all of them to the end of the Old Kingdom.⁵⁷² She further argued that tomb N.43 likely dated to the reign of Pepy II, because the numbers of male and female statues placed in female burials expanded during this period.⁵⁷³ On all of these statues, body proportions and facial features are also indicative of the “second” Old Kingdom style, which had its origins at the end of the 5th/early 6th Dynasty at Saqqara and spread out to provincial sites during the 6th Dynasty; localized versions of this style appeared on statuary manufactured throughout the First Intermediate Period.⁵⁷⁴ Characteristic features include over-large heads and faces that are defined by very large, wide eyes and emphasized naso-labial folds, which give the faces a drawn look. While the cheekbones are broad, the faces are short, and the lower portion tapers to a small, pointed chin. The mouths are full-lipped and sometimes slightly upturned. Women and (less frequently) men are also depicted nude. Although the overall system of proportion established in the Old Kingdom was maintained, by slimming down the torsos the effect was to make them look longer. This impression was further emphasized by lengthening the limbs, reducing the musculature and adding over-large feet and hands with long, attenuated fingers.⁵⁷⁵

The style of the kilts worn by two of the male figures from Naga ed-Deir may also help in dating them. An 8th Dynasty date for the statue from S.F.5202, belonging to *H3gi*, has been suggested by his long, horizontally pleated kilt with a projecting front panel or apron, which he grasps on the right side.⁵⁷⁶ Although this type of garment is found on statuary ranging in date from the reign of Pepy II to the early 12th Dynasty, according to Bochi the division of the panels using diagonal or slanted incised lines is characteristic of Dynasties 6-8.⁵⁷⁷ Based on this criterion, the ivory figurine of the male owner of N.3737, inscribed for a man named *Mrw*, may be later than the example from S.F.5202. As with the wooden statue of *H3gi*, he wears a long, horizontally-pleated kilt with a projecting front panel; unlike *H3gi*, however, *Mrw*'s right hand is held flat against his kilt, although he is clearly meant to be grasping it because the apron is pulled

⁵⁷¹ This statuette was formerly housed in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 6-17307). Unfortunately, it was stolen from the museum (then known as the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology) shortly after the 1966 Egyptian exhibit (personal communication, Joan Knudsen, May 2005).

⁵⁷² Harvey (2001: 328-345, 348-365, 368, and 484; Cat. nos. A108-A116, A118-A126, A128 and B57).

⁵⁷³ Harvey (2001: 5).

⁵⁷⁴ Russmann (1995: 269-279).

⁵⁷⁵ Harvey (2001: 5-6).

⁵⁷⁶ Brovarski (1989: 364, n. 310).

⁵⁷⁷ Her type A pattern (Bochi 1996: 222-224, Fig. 2). This style corresponds to Harvey's type D.3a, a projecting panel kilt which extends to the mid calf (2001: 26, Fig. 3). Unlike Bochi, however, Harvey did not consider the style of pleating as a chronological feature.

to the side.⁵⁷⁸ Bochi dated this figurine later than *H3gi*'s, possibly to the late Tenth or Eleventh Dynasty, based on the method of representing the pleats, which are now indicated by horizontal, incised lines.⁵⁷⁹ I am not certain that this distinction is so clear, however. Most importantly, Bochi's corpus for comparison is small, and the other statues she placed in this category did not come from secure archaeological contexts;⁵⁸⁰ in fact, she dated them based on stylistic similarities with *Mrw*'s figurine. Although Brovanski had previously noted similarities in the horizontal pleating between *Mrw*'s kilt and the same statues cited by Bochi, he also argued for a late 10th Dynasty date based on the stocky body and close-cropped hair. The facial features he described are characteristic of the "second" style, however.⁵⁸¹ There is no reason to assume that this statuette cannot date prior to late Dynasty 10, as the same rendering of this garment and close-cropped hair style is also found on earlier wooden statues that are dated to the end of Dynasty 6.⁵⁸² Finally, *Mrw*'s squat body proportions are likely due to the small size of the figurine, which is approximately 9 cm in height, and, as such, are not a good indication of date. I would therefore suggest a date range of the late Old Kingdom to the early First Intermediate Period for this figurine.

A striding male *k3* statue recovered from the (pit) S.F.5201 is known only from one expedition photograph, and is damaged, which makes it difficult to analyze all the stylistic features of dress and physiognomy.⁵⁸³ He does, however, share a few characteristics with both excavated and unprovenanced statues that Harvey dated to Dynasty 6: he wears a short, echelon curled wig that leaves the ears exposed, a *wsh* collar and a short kilt. According to Harvey this hair style is rare, with only six known parallels-- including the statue of *H3gi* from S.F.5202-- that range in date from the reign of Teti to the end of Pepy II's reign.⁵⁸⁴ The beaded collar is fairly typical of Old Kingdom statues, of which Harvey cites 28 wooden examples.⁵⁸⁵ The exact form of the kilt, which differs from *H3gi*'s, is difficult to discern from the photograph, but may be Harvey's short kilt with a rounded cross-flap in front and a protruding tab.⁵⁸⁶ This kilt style is found on six other Old Kingdom wooden statues, all ranging in date from the middle to the end of Pepy II's reign.⁵⁸⁷ The arms of the statue from (pit) S.F.5201 appear to have been held straight at his sides; because they are broken below the elbows, however, it is impossible to know the original hand positions, which may have been open or clenched. While the upper part of the face is badly damaged, the mouth and chin appear to lack the exaggerated facial features typical of the "second" style, which are found on *H3gi*'s statue. The better-preserved head

⁵⁷⁸ Contra Brovanski, who stated that this hand was hidden inside the garment (1989: 498). In Ex. Ph. C864 and C867, the hand is clearly visible outside the kilt.

⁵⁷⁹ Bochi (1996: 229-230, Fig. 6, image reversed with Fig. 7). She places this figurine into her Type C category.

⁵⁸⁰ Her four examples are Louvre E17365 (possibly from Saqqara), BMFA 03.1651 (from Asyut), WAG 71.509 (probably from Asyut) and Hildesheim 67 (possibly from Asyut) (Bochi 1996: 229-232, Figs. 7-10).

⁵⁸¹ Brovanski (1989: 496-501).

⁵⁸² See for example, two statues from Saqqara, tombs 6001 and D6 (Harvey 2001: 286-287, Cat. no. A87, JE 64905; SR 222; and 234-235, Cat. no. A61, JE 88578; SR 1446).

⁵⁸³ Obj. Reg. 23-11-454, Ex. Ph. B5040, b/2.

⁵⁸⁴ Harvey's wig type 1.a (2001: 11, Fig. 1a). Her other excavated example with this wig style derives from Saqqara and dates to the reign of Teti (Harvey 2001: 64, Cat. no. A36). The broken head of another male statue buried in tomb complex S.F.5201/5203 also has the same wig style: Obj. Reg. 23-11-443 + 23-11-458.

⁵⁸⁵ Harvey (2001: 47).

⁵⁸⁶ Dress type D.2e (Harvey 2001: 24, Fig. 3).

⁵⁸⁷ Harvey (2001: 24). The two provenanced statues (Cat. nos. A70 and A72) were excavated from tomb 24 at Dahshur (Harvey 2001: 72, 252-253 and 256-257).

fragments from the second male statuette excavated from (pit) S.F.5201 provide a possible reconstruction. These latter facial features include large, deeply incised eyes, a long, straight nose, a rounded chin and full lips, lacking the pronounced naso-labial fold that is found on statues exhibiting features of the “second” style.⁵⁸⁸ The physiognomy of the more complete statue also differs slightly from the wooden statues excavated from S.F.5202 and N.43. While the body does exhibit some characteristics of the “second” style, such as the pinched-in waist, the shoulders are rather wide, the arms and legs more muscular and the torso thicker. This body type is similar to two wooden statues from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.90 and N.3777, both of which, Harvey also dated to the end of the Old Kingdom.⁵⁸⁹

The male *k3* statue from N.202 has many of the same features as two late Old Kingdom statues from N.43:⁵⁹⁰ the echelon-curl wig with several short layers that cover the ears and a single layer of bangs across the forehead, the long kilt with a projecting panel and knot inserted just above the waistband, and the arms held straight at the sides, with the left hand clenched and the right hand grasping the side of the kilt.⁵⁹¹ Like the statues from N.43, the figure from N.202 also exhibits the physiognomy found on statuary made in the “second” style. However, as noted above, all of these characteristics continued into the First Intermediate Period. More importantly, he sports a beard and moustache, typical features of male representations dating to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.⁵⁹² I would, therefore, date this statuette later than the N.43 examples.

The broken head from a male *k3* statue found in N.248 likely dates to the Middle Kingdom, although Harvey assigned it to the late Old Kingdom based on the wig type, i.e., the vertically layered echelon-curl wig revealing the earlobes.⁵⁹³ Other scholars have noted, however, that the style of wig, with its pearl-shaped curls, is more typical of Middle Kingdom statues.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, the facial features, although damaged, do not possess characteristics of the “second” style, as seen on the statues from the other tombs discussed above. Although there is evidence that the grave was constructed originally in the late Old Kingdom, the presence of additional Middle Kingdom material⁵⁹⁵ can be explained by the fact that the tomb was reused over several generations.

⁵⁸⁸ Obj. Reg. 23-11-443 + 23-11-458.

⁵⁸⁹ PAHMA 6-22886, from N.3777 and PAHMA 6-16122, from N.90 (Harvey 2001: 79, 99, 324-325, 502-503, Cat nos. A106 and B66).

⁵⁹⁰ Harvey (2001: 80, 328-331, Cat. nos. A108 and A109).

⁵⁹¹ These stylistic features would be categorized as Harvey’s wig type W.5, dress type D.3a and arm position A.8a (2001: 15, 26 and 37).

⁵⁹² As found on contemporary cartonnage mummy masks, discussed above. The statues from N.43 and N.202 also obviously were made by different artists, noticeable in the eye treatment. The eyes are much rounder on the statue from N.202, with large corneas with tiny black dots, representing the pupils, painted in the center.

⁵⁹³ Wig style W.8 (Harvey 2001: 16, 366-367; Cat. no. A127). This is the only example she found of a statue with this hair style from an excavated context that she believed dates to this period.

⁵⁹⁴ Stevenson Smith (1949: 90), first noticed the discrepancy in the dates of the material from this tomb, contrasting the later style of the wooden statues with the travertine vessel fragment with the damaged *nbtj* name of an Old Kingdom king, a distinction later followed by Brovarski (1989: 286). For further comparison, see the 12th Dynasty wooden statue from Bersha, possibly from the tomb of *Gw3*, illustrated in Russmann (2001: 95-96, cat. no. 24). Although the head from N.248 has straight bangs, both wigs have short, curly wigs composed of vertical layers that leave the earlobes exposed.

⁵⁹⁵ See, for example, the jewelry discussed above on page 64.

4.4 Tomb Chronology

Establishing the dates of the tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models and serving statues has not proven straightforward. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, I began this process by analyzing all the inscribed and decorated material from these graves in order to see if there were any characteristics that could be used to comparatively date the relevant tombs summarily discussed in Brovarski's dissertation as well as those that he omitted from his study, and to expand his chronology for the site through the Middle Kingdom. I did find additional material useful for dating, namely stelae, coffin and cartonnage fragments and scarabs. However, in all periods, many of the remains are fragmentary and, as such, are difficult to use. Furthermore, in some cases the original documentation is limited, consisting of short descriptions and/or transcriptions of hieroglyphs recorded in the field notes; if there are extant inscriptions shown in the expedition photographs, they are incomplete or illegible. And because Reisner did not save much of this fragmentary material, I could not examine it first-hand. Finally, not every tomb owner was buried with these high-status items. In a few instances, for example, even well-to-do people were buried in plain wooden coffins.⁵⁹⁶ In comparison with the earlier periods there is little inscribed late Middle Kingdom material, and no stelae or decorated tombs. Thus, even considering the additional evidence, only 33 of these 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir contained inscribed and decorated material that could be used to date the tombs in which they were found. For the remaining 29 tombs, I relied on comparisons between the associated finds, i.e., diagnostic material, with securely dated archaeological remains excavated from other Egyptian sites.

Even with all the combined evidence, there are difficulties in establishing the dates of the tombs. Most of the tombs constructed in the Late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period were used by successive generations through the early New Kingdom. There are occasional breaks in the archaeological record, which may indicate that tombs were adopted by different families in the later periods or, alternatively, that the gaps in the sequences are simply due to the activities of ancient tomb robbers. A summary of a few tombs will suffice. Late Old Kingdom tombs N.248, S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 all contained remnants of Middle Kingdom material, including statues, jewelry, toilet/cosmetic boxes, cartonnage masks and coffins. Reisner's expedition teams also found pottery dating to the Second Intermediate Period through 18th Dynasty in tombs N.11, S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202, a New Kingdom wooden kohl tube in (pit) N.69 and parts of 18th Dynasty chairs in the burial pit debris in S.F.5202. While the stela of *Iti* ʿ3 from N.3900 may be evidence that the tomb was constructed in Dynasty 9, the pottery and jewelry from the chapel and debris of one burial shaft prove that the tomb was used continuously through the mid 12th Dynasty. The stela and coffins from the chapel and burial chambers, respectively, in N.3774 indicate a Dynasty 9 date; however, the cartonnage mask found in the chapel likely dates to the 12th Dynasty, while pottery, scarabs and beads discovered in the chapel and in the fill of one burial shaft date to the 18th Dynasty. In addition to First Intermediate Period stelae, the chapels and/or burial shafts in tombs S.F.533, N.3765, N.3567, N.3769 and N.3907 contained funerary equipment that dates to the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom, including pottery, cosmetic items, coffin fragments, beads and scarabs. Likewise, tombs N.3945, S.F.5025 and N.9091, which appear to have been used first in the early Middle Kingdom, have similar remains from Second Intermediate Period and early New

⁵⁹⁶ The occupants of N.43, S.F.25 and N.408 were all buried in undecorated coffins; the tombs obviously belonged to fairly wealthy individuals, however, as illustrated in the amount and quality of the associated funerary goods (to be discussed further below, in Chapter Five).

Kingdom burials. Brovarski stated that there is little evidence of material at the site that dates to these two later periods, and that Naga ed-Deir was essentially abandoned by the latter part of the 12th Dynasty.⁵⁹⁷ If the small sampling of tombs presented in the current study is representative, however, then this provincial necropolis is fairly typical in that it remained continuously in use into the early 18th Dynasty.

Another problem with reconstructing the tomb chronology at Naga ed-Deir is due to the degree of disturbance at the site. Tombs originally excavated in the rough limestone *gebel* and in the gravel of the alluvial slopes were not architecturally stable, even at the time of their construction.⁵⁹⁸ Subsequently, as exemplified by tombs S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5210, N.3567, N.3900, N.3756, S.F.5011, S.F.5029 and N.4401, many of the ceilings of the rock-cut offering chapels collapsed, damaging the tomb contents and exposing them to further deterioration from natural elements and pests. Periodic rain storms also caused flash floods that eroded the slopes and washed gravel and other debris down into the tombs. For example, shaft-and-chamber tomb S.F.5204 contained remnants of Middle Kingdom furniture and early New Kingdom pottery that was recovered from the shaft fill. Since it is not likely that a tomb of this size would be reused extensively, this material most likely originated from a grave higher up the slope, possibly complex S.F.5201/5203. Throughout the site, looters exacerbated the situation in their search for precious materials; a practice that began already in ancient times. For example, Mace's plan of N.3737 shows the roughly-cut robbers' tunnel leading from the courtyard underneath the rock-cut chapel to the burial shaft. His field notes further record that he found remnants of plaster that had been used to seal the entrance in ancient times. When the tombs in the older cemeteries were reoccupied in the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom, it is likely that many of them were robbed for materials. Beginning in the 6th century, Christian ascetics also took up residence in the chapels of rock-cut tombs at the site, greatly altering the original architecture by building kitchens and cutting walls to make new living spaces.⁵⁹⁹ In the process, they further destroyed the ancient archaeological remains, or at the very least, disturbed their original contexts. Coptic material from tombs that also contained models includes coins from (pit) N.69 and N.89, papyrus fragments from N.51, rush matting and a pottery jar from N.111 and a jar with a Coptic inscription from S.F.5203. Reisner also found the remains of a mud-brick Coptic period hearth that had been constructed over burial pit II in N.105.

Despite these difficulties, after carefully sorting through all the extant archaeological evidence, I established the chronological sequence of the 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models, based on the dates of the earliest burials. Rather than assigning the tombs to individual dynasties with specific dates, I instead grouped them into four phases, allowing for some overlap of the material culture between each one: Phase I (the late Old Kingdom, Dynasties 6-8); Phase II (the First Intermediate Period, Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes); Phase III (the early Middle Kingdom, late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12); and Phase IV (the late Middle Kingdom, mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17). As presented in the chart in Appendix C, 14 tombs are assigned to the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), 20 tombs to the

⁵⁹⁷ Brovarski (1980: 311-312). Podzorski (1999: 554; 2001: 483) did, however, point out that these later burials are scattered throughout the site in cemeteries N.500-900, N.1000, N.1500, N.1800, N.3500, N.9000, Spur 3, S.F.5000-5400 and N.10000. Cemeteries N.100-400, S.F.200 and S.F.500 must now be added to this list.

⁵⁹⁸ The *gebel* is composed of a conglomerate of irregular limestone masses with inclusions of flint nodules (Dunham 1923-24a: 2).

⁵⁹⁹ O'Connell (2001: 18-19, 24-27).

First Intermediate Period (Phase II), 21 tombs to the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III) and seven tombs to the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV). For those tombs that contained inscribed and decorated material, Brovarski's paleographic and iconographic analysis of this material has proven invaluable for refining the chronology. For example, following Brovarski I arranged tombs N.248, N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 in relative chronological order within the late Old Kingdom phase. On the other hand, based on the nature of the archaeological evidence, I could only date tombs N.43, N.51, N.241, N.297 and N.105 more generally to the late Old Kingdom; their exact relation to each other and to the other, more securely dated, tombs cannot be determined. In Appendices A, C, D, E, F and G I separated the tombs into two major categories within Phases I-III. The tombs that have been placed in sequential order, based primarily on Brovarski's data, are listed first. Those that fall within the general period, dated mainly on the basis of diagnostic archaeological material, are listed second. Since there is so little inscribed material in the Middle Kingdom, I could not further refine the chronological order of the tombs placed in Phases III or IV.

Although I began with Brovarski's chronology of the site as my reference for dating the tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models, after examining the entire body of evidence for each tomb, I made some modifications to his proposed timeline. I retained his late Old Kingdom period (Dynasties 6-8) as my Phase I; however, I did not find sufficient changes of any significance in the material culture in the tombs to feel confident in sub-dividing the remainder of his First Intermediate Period into three distinct phases. There is a great deal of continuity in the cultural material in the tombs he dated to Dynasty 9 and early Dynasties 10/11; therefore, I grouped these two periods together in my Phase II. Additionally, although tombs N.3907, N.3567 and N.3769 may date to the late First Intermediate Period, the remainder of the tombs he placed in his late Dynasties 10/11 phase-- N.3945, S.F.5021, S.F.5025 and N.4003 -- appear to date to the early Middle Kingdom. For the purposes of the current study, therefore, I placed the former three tombs in my Phase II, and the latter four tombs in my Phase III.

I made some further revisions to Brovarski's proposed dates of individual tombs. I placed N.89 at the end of Phase I, dating it to the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8) rather than the early part of Dynasty 9 (Red Group), considering both the ceramic evidence and the tomb decoration/inscriptions. Furthermore, I reversed his order of tombs N.3737 and S.F.18. The bulk of the archaeological evidence from N.3737 seems to indicate an early First Intermediate Period date; therefore, I redated this tomb to Dynasty 9, placing it in the middle of my Phase II. Because the pottery and cartonnage mummy mask from S.F.18 more likely date to the end of the Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasty 10) rather than the late Old Kingdom, I placed the latter tomb near the end of my Phase II. Although I retained Brovarski's dates for tombs N.3930, N.429, N.4172, N.3907, N.3567 and N.3769, I consider them to fall within the late First Intermediate Period and, therefore, placed them in the latter part of Phase II, as well. Brovarski also separated the tomb contents found in N.4003, dating the coffin and funerary box to Dynasty 9 (Polychrome Group) and the stela to late Dynasties 10/11; however, I believe the combined evidence supports an early Middle Kingdom date for the tomb. Subsequently, I placed N.4003 in my Phase III.

Since a primary goal of this study was to determine how the corpus of models from Naga ed-Deir fits into Tooley's established chronology for models excavated from other Egyptian sites, I also considered her dating scheme as a source of comparison against my own. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, her model sequence has five main

chronological phases: the early Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5), the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-7), the First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 8 through Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes), the early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11 through early Dynasty 12, i.e., up to the reign of Senusret II) and the late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17, i.e., the reign of Senusret II to the end of the Middle Kingdom). She further subdivided the First Intermediate Period into an early and a late phase: Dynasties 8 to 9, and Dynasties 9/10 to 11.⁶⁰⁰ I did not incorporate a separate phase for Dynasties 4-5 into my chronology, since none of the tombs at Naga ed-Deir considered in the current study fall within this period. Furthermore, since Tooley's early First Intermediate Period is based on archaeological evidence from only two sites,⁶⁰¹ I eliminated this phase from my chronology. Instead, I grouped Dynasties 6-8 together as part of the late Old Kingdom (after Brovarski), and shifted all of Dynasty 9 into my First Intermediate Period, combined with Dynasty 10, the latter of which is coeval with pre-unification Theban Dynasty 11. However, the remainder of my chronology is essentially identical to hers.

Having established the chronological sequence of the tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models and serving statues, this timeline serves as the framework for organizing the information presented in the remainder of this study. In the next chapter, I will examine archaeological context in further detail, including the location and distribution of the different tomb types, the names and titles provided in the tomb inscriptions and associated finds, and the range and quality of grave goods, in order to determine the status and gender of the model-owning classes.

⁶⁰⁰ Tooley (1989: xvii).

⁶⁰¹ Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa (Tooley 1989: 17-18).

Chapter Five: Tomb Model Owners, Gender and Status

5.1 Introduction

One often can determine the status and gender of the tomb owners buried with tomb models at Naga ed-Deir by analyzing archaeological context. In this chapter, as part of this analysis, I will consider four factors: 1) the spatial location of the tombs; 2) the size, type and quality of each grave; 3) the types and materials of the funerary goods; and 4) the sex of the individuals interred in the graves. While wealth and status are not precisely the same, in general the two do coincide. In analyzing the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models, individuals of high rank clearly had more wealth than those of lower social standing. This wealth provided them with the means to construct large, frequently decorated rock-cut tombs in prominent areas in the upper cliff faces and to acquire a variety of luxury goods for their burials. In these same periods, mid and lower ranking people could afford only smaller shaft-and-chamber or pit tombs, which were placed lower in the alluvium at the base of the cliffs or clustered around the rock-cut tombs situated at higher elevations. These smaller tombs were generally undecorated and contained few funerary goods. Tomb inscriptions, which were restricted to rock-cut and (occasionally) shaft-and-chamber tombs, also usually convey information about the rank and professional offices of the model-owning classes. Gender is determined primarily from the names provided in the inscriptions, and, secondarily, from analysis of key types of burial goods and human skeletal remains.

5.2 Cemeteries with Tomb Models

As noted previously, Reisner's expedition teams recovered 24 serving statuettes, 15 models and 508 fragments from 62 documented graves scattered throughout six cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir: S.F.500, S.F.200, N.9000, S.F.5000-5400, N.3500 and N.100-400. Before looking at the distribution of the different tomb types, I will discuss the cemeteries in which they are found, including their locations and the time periods in which they were in use, along with the total number of tombs in each cemetery and the percentage of graves that contained models. By combining the tomb numbers recorded on the expedition maps and in the written and photographic records, I counted 1,697 graves dating from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom in the six cemeteries that contained models. I then calculated the percentage of tombs with models within each cemetery. Unfortunately, because the chronology of the entire site (i.e., for all 17 cemeteries) has not yet been established and the total number of tombs that date to the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, early and late Middle Kingdom is yet unknown, I was unable to calculate the percentage of graves with models for each chronological phase.⁶⁰²

It is important to note here that although the excavators used "true" (i.e., magnetic) north when orienting graves drawn on the tomb cards, they frequently referred to local north in their field journals, using the river instead to orient the cemeteries with respect to topographical

⁶⁰² To further complicate matters, many of the older cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir were reused in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom (for example, Early Dynastic cemetery N.1500 and Old Kingdom cemetery N.500-900).

features of the site, the modern village of Naga ed-Deir and the expedition house.⁶⁰³ For the sake of consistency, in the following discussion I also use “true” north when discussing the orientation of individual tombs with models at Naga ed-Deir, but use local north when orienting the six cemeteries in which these graves are located. South of the area of the sheikh’s tomb at the site, the edge of the desert angles away from the river in a southeasterly direction. For the graves with models in cemeteries S.F.5000-5400, N.3500 and N.100-400, local north (based on the directional flow of the river) and “true” north are in fairly close alignment. The distinction between local north and “true” north, therefore, is not as relevant for tombs in these cemeteries as compared with those located in cemeteries S.F.500 and S.F.200.

For a complete map of Naga ed-Deir showing the locations of all the cemeteries discussed in this section, see Map 3. Maps 4-7 are the excavators’ preliminary maps of cemeteries S.F.500 and S.F.200. Figures 1-7 and 8-11 are expedition photographs that include general views of the cemeteries and exterior views of a few, select tombs, respectively.

5.2.1 S.F.500

Cemetery S.F.500 is situated next to the riverbank at the north end of the site. The cemetery occupies the north and west alluvial slopes of a hill above a small *wadi* that lies just north of a second, larger *wadi* leading east to a modern stone quarry (Map 4).⁶⁰⁴ For a general view of the south slope of the hill, looking north, see Fig. 1.⁶⁰⁵ The tombs in this cemetery date to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Dunham’s field diary for this cemetery documents 51 graves, both rock-cut and pit tombs, which were excavated in October of 1923.⁶⁰⁶ Only one tomb, S.F.533, contained remnants of wooden models, 2% of the total number of graves in this cemetery.

5.2.2 S.F.200

Cemetery S.F.200 lies to the south of S.F.500, on the other side of the gully that leads to the stone quarry and on top of a spur of limestone (Maps 4 and 5).⁶⁰⁷ For a general view of the south slope of the Sheikh Farag hill, see Fig. 2.⁶⁰⁸ In February-April of 1913, the expedition team cleared rock-cut tombs in five main areas of the cemetery: along the south face of the large promontory topped by the tomb of a Sheikh Farag, up the alluvial slope to the east of this tomb, on the north slope of another high bluff to the south (i.e., the area marked “25” on the site map), on the west side of another hill to the east and in the lowlands at the base of the hills.⁶⁰⁹ For a

⁶⁰³ For example, compare Dunham’s tomb cards for the graves in cemeteries S.F.500 and S.F.5000 with his description of the location of these cemeteries (Dunham 1923-24a: 1-2, 35).

⁶⁰⁴ For the two preliminary maps showing the location of this cemetery, see Dunham (1923-24a: 2, 23). Dunham’s latter sketch is included in the illustrations in the present study as Map 4.

⁶⁰⁵ Ex. Ph. B4597.

⁶⁰⁶ Dunham (1923-24a: 1-28).

⁶⁰⁷ For the location of S.F.200, see also Dunham’s preliminary map (1923-24a: 23). Green’s sketch of the north end of the site includes the cemeteries later designated S.F.500 and S.F.200 (1900-1901: 7). Green’s map is included here as Map 5.

⁶⁰⁸ Ex. Ph. A889

⁶⁰⁹ West (1913a: 15-82). For the three preliminary maps produced in 1913, the latter of which includes some tomb numbers, see West (1913a: 46, 50 and 58). West’s map on page 50 is reproduced here as Maps 6 and 7. For a general description of the cemetery, see Reisner (1904b: 105; 1908: 1; 1920: 117).

general view of the Sheikh Farag valley photographed in 1903, see Fig. 3.⁶¹⁰ In October of 1923, the team first excavated additional tombs on the north slope of hill “25”, and then worked further up along the east face of the same hill and on the west slope of the hill situated east of the sheikh’s tomb (area “AA” on Dunham’s map).⁶¹¹ The tombs in cemetery S.F.200 range in date from the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom, with the majority dating to the latter period.⁶¹² In all, Reisner’s teams excavated 254 tombs in this cemetery: 226 tombs were cleared in 1913⁶¹³ and 28 more in 1923.⁶¹⁴ Only 11 tombs excavated in 1913 contained tomb models: S.F.18, S.F.25, S.F.64, S.F.95, S.F.132, S.F.167, S.F.170, S.F.177, S.F.187, S.F.209 and S.F.218. This total represents about 4% of the graves in this cemetery.

5.2.3 N.9000

Cemetery N.9000 is located in the 100-meter wide depression at the base of the Sheikh Farag promontory and another hill that lies to the south (marked “25” on the map). Shaft-and-chamber graves originally were excavated in the alluvial deposit of the *wadi* and covered with mud brick mastaba superstructures. In addition, rock-cut tombs were cut down into the slopes of the hills on the north and south sides of the *wadi*.⁶¹⁵ N.9000 is, therefore, contiguous with cemetery S.F.200.⁶¹⁶ Because no expedition maps of N.9000 have survived, however, the demarcation between the two cemeteries is unclear. The tombs in N.9000 range in date from the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom, with the majority falling into the latter period.⁶¹⁷ Mace cleared 59 tombs in this cemetery in 1902 and 1903.⁶¹⁸ Three tombs in cemetery N.9000 contained tomb models and serving statues: N.9090, N.9091 and N.9292. This total represents about 5% of the graves in this cemetery.

5.2.4 S.F.5000-5400

S.F.5000-5400 is located on the valley face of the cliffs next to the cultivation, about one third of a mile south of hilltop S.F.200 (i.e., hill “25”) and 200 yards north of cemetery N.1300-1400 (part of the Hearst concession).⁶¹⁹ The cliff slopes contain a series of rock-cut, shaft-and-chamber and pit tombs that date from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom, with the majority dating to the First Intermediate Period and later. The expedition team subdivided this cemetery into five sections, numbered roughly from north to south. For general views of

⁶¹⁰ Ex. Ph. B883

⁶¹¹ Dunham (1923-24a: 23-35). Dunham’s preliminary map of the north end of the site also shows the location of the 1923 excavations (1923-24a: 23).

⁶¹² Reisner (1920: 117).

⁶¹³ West (1913a: 69).

⁶¹⁴ Tomb numbers S.F.231 through S.F.258 (Dunham 1923-24a: 23-35).

⁶¹⁵ Reisner (1904b: 105; 1908: 1).

⁶¹⁶ See, for example, Reisner (1899-1901: 6), for his description of the site, in which he says “the sixth spur” (i.e., N.9000) “contained only a few graves of the 6th to 8th dynasties, and belongs really to the cemetery of the slope of the high desert on which we began this season’s work”. The latter area to which he refers is below the sheikh’s tomb, where Green conducted preliminary excavations in May of 1901, and which was to become S.F.200 in the 1913 season. Furthermore, in his notes on the expedition photographs from Naga ed-Deir, Mace listed stone vessels from seven tombs in cemetery N.9000 that he noted were located in the Sheikh Farag area (Ex. Ph. C8198).

⁶¹⁷ Reisner (1908: 1).

⁶¹⁸ Mace (1902-03).

⁶¹⁹ Dunham (1923-24a: 35). See also Map 3.

cemeteries S.F.5000, facing southeast, and S.F.5200, looking south, see Figs. 4 and 5.⁶²⁰ Excavators cleared 126 graves in this cemetery, which was badly destroyed from quarrying and erosion, in October-December of 1923: 54 tombs in S.F.5000, 34 tombs in S.F.5100, 18 tombs in S.F.5200, one tomb in S.F.5300 and 19 tombs in S.F.5400.⁶²¹ Eleven tombs contained models: S.F.5010, S.F.5011, S.F.5021, S.F.5025, S.F.5029, S.F.5201, S.F.5202, S.F.5203, S.F.5204, S.F.5210 and S.F.5214. This total represents about 9% of the graves in cemetery S.F.5000-5400.

5.2.5 N.3500

Cemetery N.3500 is located on the south side of the mouth of Reisner's first *wadi*.⁶²² For a general view of the cemetery, taken from the Nile bank, see Fig. 6.⁶²³ In the Early Dynastic Period, tombs were constructed on the low alluvial slope that extends about twenty-five meters up the side of this *wadi*.⁶²⁴ In the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, the area continued in use as a burial ground. These later graves included simple burials cut into the surface debris, pits, shaft-and-chamber and rock-cut tombs.⁶²⁵ The latecomers often reused walls of the Early Dynastic tombs for their own superstructures or, conversely, destroyed sections of the earlier superstructures to make room to cut their own shafts.⁶²⁶ Rock-cut tombs of the late Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom are located in the gravel banks above the Early Dynastic cemetery, in the area where the *wadi* bends sharply to the northeast. Cemetery N.3500 also continues up the steep slope on the south side of the *wadi*, and joins with the area designated cemetery N.2000, a low alluvial mound on the north side of Reisner's second *wadi*. This section of cemetery N.3500 contains pit burials, which were covered with rough rubble mastabas or mounds, of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period date on the lower part of the cliff face. Rock-cut tombs of the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom also were cut into the upper cliff face.⁶²⁷ All together, between 1901 and 1903 Mace excavated 886 tombs in cemetery N.3500. The team found models in 18 tombs: N.3558, N.3567, N.3575, N.3579, N.3737, N.3756, N.3765, N.3769, N.3774, N.3795, N.3900, N.3907, N.3916, N.3930, N.3945, N.4003, N.4172 and N.4401. This total represents only about 2% of the graves in this cemetery.

5.2.6 N.100-400

Cemetery N.100-400 lies between Reisner's second and third *wadis*. For a general view of the cemetery, with the expedition camp below, see Fig. 7.⁶²⁸ A low limestone shelf slopes about 100 meters to the edge of the cultivation, bordered by an alluvial strip between 10 and 20 meters wide. Behind this shelf to the north, the cliffs rise in two terraces, with almost perpendicular faces separated by a steep slope about 40 meters in width.⁶²⁹ Reisner subdivided

⁶²⁰ Ex. Ph. A3261 and B5071, respectively.

⁶²¹ Dunham (1923-24a: 35-85, 87).

⁶²² See Map 3.

⁶²³ Ex. Ph. C1955.

⁶²⁴ Reisner (1904b: 105-106; 1908: 1); and Mace (1909: 1-3).

⁶²⁵ Mace (1909: 48-49).

⁶²⁶ Mace (1909: 2).

⁶²⁷ Reisner (1904b: 106; 1908: 1).

⁶²⁸ Ex. Ph. C1962.

⁶²⁹ Reisner (1904b: 106; 1908: 1-2). See Map 3 for the cemetery location.

the cemetery into four sections, and numbered them from north to south. On the upper cliff face (N.100) are the large, decorated rock-cut tombs that belonged to officials who lived at the end of the Old Kingdom and the early First Intermediate Period. Clustered below the rock-cut graves are a few shaft-and-chamber tombs of the same periods. N.100 represents the continuation of the Old Kingdom cemetery N.500-900, located in the alluvial mound between the hill above cemetery N.1500 and the third *wadi*.⁶³⁰ The middle, slope section between the upper and lower terraces (N.200-300) contains rock-cut and shaft-and-chamber tombs dating from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom. The lower cliff face (N.400) contains uninscribed rock-cut and shaft-and-chamber graves of the First Intermediate Period and (predominantly) Middle Kingdom.⁶³¹ All together, Reisner cleared 321 tombs in cemetery N.100-400 from 1901-1903. Twenty tombs contained models: N.11, N.43, N.51, N.67/69, N.70/71, N.89, N.105, N.110, N.111, N.202, N.241, N.248, N.263, N.269, N.297, N.361, N.408, N.429, N.449 and N.450. This total represents about 6% of the graves in this cemetery.

5.3 Tomb Distribution

As noted above, in Chapter Two, no completed expedition maps have yet been located for cemeteries S.F.500, S.F.200, N.9000 and S.F.5000-5400. The locations of all but one grave in cemetery S.F.200 and three graves in cemetery N.9000 are known, however, from descriptions provided in the field journals, a few expedition photographs and the preliminary maps of cemetery S.F.200, all produced during the 1913 and 1923-24 seasons. The known locations of the 58 tombs with models are discussed in the next section, which is arranged by chronological period. In each phase, there are consistencies in where model owners' placed their tombs within the different cemeteries. In considering tomb placement from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom, however, there are changes in cemetery preferences over time. For the specific locations of tombs in cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500, see the tomb quadrant numbers (taken from the completed expedition maps) provided in Appendix A under the sub-category "Tomb Description".

5.3.1 Phase I

In the late Old Kingdom, the 14 burials that contained models are situated in prime locations in the upper areas of two of the six cemeteries. Six tombs are on the upper cliff face of N.100-400: N.11, N.67/69, N.70/71, N.89, N.51 and N.43 (Fig. 8).⁶³² Five more graves are located elsewhere in N.100-400: N.105 is situated just below this first group, to the southeast (Fig. 9);⁶³³ and tombs N.241, N.248, N.269 and N.297 lie further below, in the middle slope between the two cliff terraces. Three additional graves are on the south end of a high ridge between the old expedition house and the cultivation in cemetery S.F.5200: S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202 and S.F.5210.⁶³⁴ The first two tombs are next to each other, while S.F.5210 lies just north of them.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ Reisner (1932: 3, 190).

⁶³¹ Reisner (1904b: 107; 1908: 2).

⁶³² Ex. Ph. C4314.

⁶³³ Ex. Ph. C4287.

⁶³⁴ Dunham (1923-24a: 56). See also Fig. 5 (Ex. Ph. B5071).

⁶³⁵ Dunham (1923-24a: 73).

5.3.2 Phase II

In the First Intermediate Period, 20 tombs with models are distributed throughout five cemeteries: S.F.500, S.F.200, N.3500, S.F.5200 and N.100-400. All are situated in prominent locations. At the north end of the site, S.F.533 is located on the south slope of the hill that was designated cemetery S.F.500.⁶³⁶ S.F.18 lies on a low hill to the east of the Sheikh Farag promontory in cemetery S.F.200.⁶³⁷ Tombs N.3930, N.3567, N.3769, N.3756, N.3900, N.3907, N.3765, N.3774, N.3737, N.3558, N.3916, N.3795 and N.4172 are located in the upper cliff face of cemetery N.3500 (Fig. 10).⁶³⁸ N.3795 is in the area of N.3500 where it joins with cemetery N.2000, on top of the alluvial mound on the north side of the second *wadi*. N.4172 is situated below (west) of tombs N.3774 and N.3765. Tombs N.3567, N.3769 and N.3930 are located further down the long slope that comprises the main section of cemetery N.3500, and are north of N.3907 and N.3900. In cemetery S.F.5200, S.F.5204 is situated on the south end of a high ridge just below S.F.5201/5203.⁶³⁹ S.F.5214 is part of a cluster of tombs that lie just north of the S.F.5201-5204 group.⁶⁴⁰ Finally, in cemetery N.100-400, three tombs are located on the upper cliff terrace. N.111 is just north of N.11, while N.202 is situated a bit lower and to the southeast, near N.105 (Fig. 11).⁶⁴¹ N.429 is in the lower cliff face at the north end of the cemetery.

5.3.3 Phase III

In the early Middle Kingdom, 21 tombs with models are distributed throughout five cemeteries: S.F.200, N.9000, S.F.5000, N.3500 and N.100-400. The specific locations of tombs S.F.167, N.9090, N.9091 and N.9292 are unknown.⁶⁴² The remaining 16 graves are situated in prominent positions in the cemeteries, as was the case in the preceding periods. In cemetery S.F.200, tomb S.F.25 lies adjacent to S.F.18 on the low hill to the east of the sheikh's mausoleum.⁶⁴³ S.F.187 is located on the west slope of a hill at the east end of cemetery S.F.200.⁶⁴⁴ In cemetery S.F.5000, tombs S.F.5025 and S.F.5029 are close to each other on the slope of the north end of the ridge that comprises cemetery S.F.5000.⁶⁴⁵ Tombs S.F.5021, S.F.5010 and S.F.5011 are just south of this group, and a bit lower down on the hillside.⁶⁴⁶ Tombs N.3945, N.4401, N.4003 and N.3579 are situated in the upper cliff of cemetery N.3500. N.3579 is near N.3795, on top of the alluvial mound where cemeteries N.3500 and N.2000 join. N.4003 and N.4401 are further north of these two tombs. N.4003 is next to N.3916, while N.4401 is below (west of) this pair. N.3945 is further down the slope, and close to N.3900. Cemetery N.100-400 also continued in use in the Middle Kingdom. Tombs N.361, N.263, N.408 and N.450 are located in the middle, slope section between the two limestone terraces. Tombs

⁶³⁶ See Fig. 1.

⁶³⁷ West (1913a: 46). The tomb appears on sheet four of West's preliminary sketch map of cemetery S.F.200, next to S.F.25.

⁶³⁸ Ex. Ph. A719.

⁶³⁹ Dunham (1923-24a: 71). See also Fig. 5.

⁶⁴⁰ Dunham (1923-24a: 73).

⁶⁴¹ Ex. Ph. C4303.

⁶⁴² Although S.F.167 does not appear on any of the 1913 sketched maps of cemetery S.F.200, the NW-SE tomb orientation suggests it may be high on the hill slope that rises to the east from the mausoleum. The orientation of the entrance corridor is the same as in S.F.218, which is located in this area (see below, n. 649, and Pls. 11, 13).

⁶⁴³ West (1913a: 47). The two tombs appear to be part of the same family complex.

⁶⁴⁴ S.F.187 appears on sheet five of West's sketched map of cemetery S.F.200.

⁶⁴⁵ See Fig. 4 (Ex. Ph. A3261). See also Ex. Ph. B5002 for a view of cemetery S.F.5000 looking north.

⁶⁴⁶ For views of cemetery S.F.5000 looking east and southeast, see Ex. Ph. B4598 and B5001, respectively.

N.361 and N.263 are at the south end of the cemetery: N.361 is almost directly below tombs N.110 and N.202, and N.263 is situated below, and further south of, N.361. N.408 is in the north part of the cemetery, above N.429. N.450 is more centrally located, and lies below N.269. N.449 is in the lower cliff face in this part of the cemetery, directly below N.450.

5.3.4 Phase IV

In the later Middle Kingdom, the seven tombs that contained models are located in cemeteries S.F.200 and N.3500. With two exceptions, the tombs are located in fairly prominent positions in their respective cemeteries. Middle Kingdom burials predominate in cemetery S.F.200. Tombs S.F.170 and S.F.209 are next to each other on the west slope of the hill at the east end of the cemetery, below S.F.187. S.F.64 is on the same hill, to the south of this group.⁶⁴⁷ S.F.95 is located on the south slope below the sheikh's tomb.⁶⁴⁸ S.F.218 is high on the hill slope that rises to the east from the mausoleum, next to S.F.217.⁶⁴⁹ S.F.132 is a low-lying tomb situated on hill "25".⁶⁵⁰ In cemetery N.3500, N.3575 lies in the lower part of the alluvial slope, close to the old Early Dynastic cemetery on the south side of the mouth of the first *wadi*.

5.4 Tomb Typology

Three major tomb types are found in the six cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir that contained tomb models. Type I consists of pit graves, simple pits that are deep depressions without burial chambers. Type II comprises pits with end chambers; i.e., shaft-and-chamber tombs with rectangular or square rooms that open off the bottom of the shafts. Type III are rock-cut tombs with an offering chapel and one or more burial chambers cut into the *gebel*. The classification system adopted here is based primarily on Reisner's typology of graves in the Sheikh Farag cemeteries, as summarized in one unpublished report⁶⁵¹ and differs from the one he incorporated into his publications on the earlier cemeteries at the site.⁶⁵² I also have adapted Reisner's Sheikh Farag tomb typology to include Mace's more detailed classification of shaft-and-chamber tombs, which he based on his work in cemetery N.3500.⁶⁵³ In the following discussion, information that is too detailed for the body of the text is included in the appendices. Appendix A provides the tomb type, orientation and dimensions for each grave under the sub-category "Tomb Description". Appendix H contains the tomb plans, organized by chronological period: late Old Kingdom (Plates (Pls.) 1-3); First Intermediate Period (Plates 4-7); early Middle Kingdom (Plates 8-12); and late Middle Kingdom (Plates 12-13).

5.4.1 Type I

Type I tombs (pit graves) were the simplest to construct and belonged to less wealthy members of society. Such graves date from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom and are

⁶⁴⁷ For the specific location of S.F.170, see West (1913a: 59). S.F.170, S.F.209 and S.F.64 also appear on sheet five of West's sketched map of cemetery S.F.200.

⁶⁴⁸ On sheet one of West's preliminary map of cemetery S.F.200 (Map 6)

⁶⁴⁹ On sheet two of West's preliminary map of cemetery S.F.200 (Map 7).

⁶⁵⁰ Reisner (1913f: 10; 1920: 117).

⁶⁵¹ Reisner (1913f: 6-11).

⁶⁵² See, for example, Reisner (1908; 1932; 1936).

⁶⁵³ Mace (1909: 49).

scattered throughout Naga ed-Deir.⁶⁵⁴ They are found in the level ground between the hill slopes, higher up in the alluvium below the Type III rock-cut tombs and even sunk into the courtyards of these latter tombs. In some cases Type I graves even intrude into the mud-brick walls of Type II and III tombs and, in one example in S.F.200, into the entrance passage of a Type III tomb.⁶⁵⁵ Type I tombs were usually designed to hold single burials. Only one model-owner at Naga ed-Deir was buried in this type of grave: N.3575 (Pl. 12). The dimensions of this pit are 0.80 (width) x 1.78 (length) meters. Although the depth was not recorded in the field notes, the other measurements are typical of the smaller burial shafts in Type II and III tombs.

5.4.2 Type II

Type II shaft-and-chamber tombs first appeared during the Old Kingdom and continued in use throughout the Middle Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir. These tombs are also scattered throughout the site, found in similar locations as Type I graves. Larger than Type I, Type II tombs belonged to mid- and lower- ranking members of Egyptian society. They usually contained single burials; some tombs have paired chambers, however, one opening off each end of the shaft to hold burials of men and their wives.⁶⁵⁶ Although most were plundered in antiquity, a few intact tombs show that the doorways were filled in with stone blocks.⁶⁵⁷ And, although the superstructures rarely survived, all Type II tombs likely had *mastabas* constructed of solid mud-brick or stones covered in mud plaster (i.e., *balat*) over the burial shafts.⁶⁵⁸ These superstructures were horse-shoe shaped, with sloping sides and either flat or slightly-rounded tops. In the lower parts of the cemeteries, where the Type II tombs were excavated into the gravel slope, the lower ends of the *mastabas* were built up on a loose stone or rubbish foundation in order to keep them level.⁶⁵⁹ In some cases, a funerary stela was placed inside a niche cut into the east side of the superstructure.⁶⁶⁰

Mace further subdivided Type II shaft-and-chamber tombs into five categories.⁶⁶¹ These categories differ in the shape and position of the burial chamber in relation to the shaft, which he believed changed over time. His earliest form is Type II1, with a square pit and a burial chamber of varying size opening off one of the sides, which he dated to Dynasties 3-6 because bodies were buried in contracted positions during this time period. His other four types, which he dated from Dynasties 5-9, have rectangular burial shafts and chambers of roughly equal width.⁶⁶² Changes in the size of the shaft and chamber likely reflect new burial practices, with bodies now buried in extended positions inside rectangular coffins.⁶⁶³ With Type II2 tombs, the burial chamber opens off the long side of the pit. In Type II3, the burial chamber is no longer in direct

⁶⁵⁴ Reisner (1913f: 6); Mace (1909: 48-49). In these periods, the poorest people were buried in shallow depressions placed in the gravel and alluvial deposits at the base of the cliffs, with the bodies placed in reed bundles, or stick or basket coffins.

⁶⁵⁵ Reisner (1913f: 6).

⁶⁵⁶ Reisner (1913f: 7).

⁶⁵⁷ For example, N.4904 (Mace 1909: 49).

⁶⁵⁸ Mace (1909: 50); and Reisner (1913f: 7).

⁶⁵⁹ See for example, tombs N.4907 and N.4904 (Mace 1909: 50-51, Figs. 111, 115).

⁶⁶⁰ The stela from N.4748 was found in position when the tomb was excavated (Mace 1909: 51, Figs. 119, 120).

⁶⁶¹ Mace (1909: 49, Fig. 110).

⁶⁶² Mace (1909: 49).

⁶⁶³ Mace (1909: 54-55).

alignment with the side of the pit, but leads off one corner. In Types II4 and II5 tombs, the burial chamber is situated off the short end of the shaft: in the former type, the burial chamber lies perpendicular to the shaft, while in the latter, the chamber continues straight off the end. Mace believed Types II3 and II4 were transitional forms between Types II2 and II5, with the latter introduced last, being in use from Dynasty 7 onward. Type II5 is also the most common form in the Late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.⁶⁶⁴ As Brunton later suggested, based on his excavations at the site of Qau, these variations in shaft-and-chamber tombs likely reflect experimentations with different construction techniques that were intended to stabilize the burial chambers.⁶⁶⁵ With the burial chambers open along the whole length of one side of the shaft (as in Mace's Type II2 tombs), the ceilings did not have enough structural support and were more likely to cave in. By tunneling the burial chamber directly off the short end of the shaft (as in Mace's Type II5 tombs), the entrance was narrowed and the width of the span reduced, so that the chambers were more structurally stable and the threat of collapse was lessened.

Five model owners at Naga ed-Deir were buried in Type II tombs in cemeteries N.100-400, S.F.5000-5400 and N.3500. In cemetery N.100-400, late Old Kingdom tomb N.43 is Type II2, with a single chamber opening off the north side of the shaft (Pl. 2). Reisner identified late Old Kingdom tomb N.269, also in cemetery N.100-400, as a "pit with chamber" on his tomb card (Pl. 3). It is difficult to tell the exact grave type from his section drawing on the tomb card and from the plan on the expedition map, but from Reisner's sketched tomb plan provided in the extant set of field notes from cemetery N.100-400, it clearly is a Type II5. First Intermediate Period graves S.F.5204 and N.4172 (in cemeteries S.F.5000-5400 and N.3500, respectively) are Type II5, with single burial chambers leading off the north ends of the shafts (Pls. 5 and 6). Tomb N.4172 preserved its rubble *mastaba* superstructure to a height of 1.40 meters on the southwest side, i.e., the lowest part of the slope. In this case, there was no niche cut into the *mastaba* to hold a stela. Mace also found the doorway to the single burial chamber still blocked with large stones that projected 15 cm into the pit. Finally, Reisner did not indicate the burial chamber of early Middle Kingdom tomb N.110 on the map of cemetery N.100-400. However, in the section drawing that he included on the tomb card for N.110, the burial chamber opens off the right side of the shaft. Based on the topography of this part of the cemetery, therefore, N.110 is likely Type II2, with the burial chamber cut into the *gebel* off the north wall of the tomb shaft (Pl. 10).

In all five Type II tombs that contained models, the dimensions of the burial shafts range from 0.75 to 1.10 meters in width and 2.00 to 2.65 meters in length. The dimensions of the burial chamber in N.110 are unknown; in the other four tombs, however, the burial chambers are just a bit larger than the tomb shafts, ranging from 0.84 to about 3.00 meters in width and 2.13 to 3.20 meters in length. The burial chamber height in N.269 is unknown. In both of tombs N.43 and N.4172 the chamber height is 0.90 meters; and in S.F.5204 it is 1.12 meters.

5.4.3 Type III

The remaining 56 graves at Naga ed-Deir belonging to model owners are Type III rock-cut tombs. Tombs of this form became numerous at Naga ed-Deir in the latter part of the Old Kingdom and were constructed, along with the other tomb types, in virtually every area of the

⁶⁶⁴ Mace (1909: 49, Fig. 110); and Reisner (1913f: 7).

⁶⁶⁵ Brunton (1927: 45).

site throughout the remainder of its history.⁶⁶⁶ The earliest Type III tombs are located in prominent positions high in the limestone cliffs of cemetery N.100-400. In these graves, the entrances were cut into the vertical walls of the limestone cliffs. The excavators also used the term "rock-cut" in a more general sense to refer to tombs of the same type that were built into the alluvial slopes, including the areas below the cliff terraces in cemetery N.100-400 and on the lower end of cemetery N.3500. In these cases, the tomb entrances were cut into the sloping sides of the bed-rock or *gebel*, which lay beneath a 100+ cm deposit of gravel and sand.⁶⁶⁷

Because Type III tombs are the largest and most complex in plan, they probably belonged to the elite members of society buried at Naga ed-Deir; i.e., those who could afford to commission such tombs. The basic Type III tomb plan consists of an exterior courtyard and entrance corridor leading to a square or rectangular offering chapel, with one or more burial chambers opening directly off this room. Although many of the courtyards of the tombs included in the current study were not well-preserved, there is evidence that they often were paved and, along with the tomb facades, were lined with plastered mud-brick retaining walls. For example, in N.3795 and N.3579, the south tomb façades and east and west walls of the paved courtyards were built up on the *gebel* with mud-brick, which served to fill in imperfections in the sides of the walls and to level the top surfaces (Pls. 7 and 9). The mud-brick facing also defined the tomb entrance, setting it apart visually from the surrounding rock and from the neighboring graves. Long, sloping corridor entrances allowed the tomb chapels to be excavated further back into areas of better-quality rock. For the tombs that contained models, the lengths of the entrance passages range from 0.50 meters (S.F.5201/5203) to 6.30 meters (N.9091) (Pls. 1 and 11). These passages typically have downward sloping floors. In one tomb, S.F.5011, the west entrance to the chapel is approached from below by a long flight of steps cut into the bedrock (Pl. 9).

Within 53 of the rock-cut tombs with models, the number of rooms in the chapel varies from one to four. These rooms range in size from 7.20 x 10.40 meters in width and length (N.51) to 1.20 x 2.00 meters in width and length (N.105, room A), both late Old Kingdom tombs located in cemetery N.100-400 (Pls. 2 and 3). Forty-one tombs dating from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (i.e., my Phases I-IV), have single-chambered offering chapels.⁶⁶⁸ More complex tombs have multi-roomed offering chapels, with the burial chambers opening off the innermost room. Nine tombs of these same periods have two main chambers in the offering chapel.⁶⁶⁹ Three Middle Kingdom tombs in cemeteries S.F.200 and N.100-400 are the most complex in plan, with three⁶⁷⁰ or four⁶⁷¹ rooms in the chapel, respectively.

The plans of three other tombs, N.202, S.F.18 and N.450, are rather nebulous. First Intermediate Period tomb N.202 is an anomalous Type III, consisting of a vertical shaft with a serdab opening off the bottom: there is no extant chapel (or burial chamber) associated with this

⁶⁶⁶ Reisner (1913f: 9).

⁶⁶⁷ Mace (1909: 2, n. 1; 52).

⁶⁶⁸ Tombs N.248, N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.297, N.51, N.241, S.F.5210 (Phase I); S.F.533, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.3930, N.3795, N.3916, N.3756, N.3769, N.3907, N.3558 (Phase II); N.3945, S.F.5021, S.F.5025, S.F.5029, N.4003, S.F.5011, S.F.5010, N.3579, N.4401, N.263, N.408, N.9090, N.9292, S.F.187 and N.361 (Phase III); and S.F.64, S.F.132, S.F.95 and S.F.218 (Phase IV).

⁶⁶⁹ Tombs N.105 (Phase I); N.3765, N.3900, N.429, N.111, N.3567 (Phase II); N.9091, S.F.167 and N.449 (Phase III).

⁶⁷⁰ Tombs S.F.170 and S.F.209 (Phase IV).

⁶⁷¹ Tomb S.F.25 (Phase III).

grave number (Pl. 7). The plan of First Intermediate Period tomb S.F.18 is difficult to reconstruct, but originally may have included a two-roomed chapel (Pls. 5 and 10). S.F.18 adjoins S.F.25, and was perhaps part of the same family complex. During the construction of S.F.25 in the Middle Kingdom, it is likely that part of S.F.18 was destroyed. On the tomb plans, the extant portion of S.F.18 consists of two parts: a downward sloping passage (Q) that leads to a small subterranean chamber (Q); and, cut into the rock above, room (P), that ends in two level corridors (A and B). One would expect to find another rock-cut room, i.e., the outer room of the chapel, preceding (inner) room P and containing the entrance to corridor Q. The area immediately in front of S.F.18, however, appears to be the courtyard for the later tomb complex S.F.25. Finally, based on Reisner's sketched plan on the tomb card, Middle Kingdom N.450 is comprised of a central room (A) in the chapel and four chambers (B, C, D, and E) that open off it (Pl. 12). Chamber C, located at the east corner of room A, appears to contain a burial pit that leads to a subterranean chamber. B is a single chamber situated at the south corner of A, while chambers D and E (at the north and west corners, respectively) have corridors that open off them to the west. There was obviously some confusion on Reisner's part regarding the final tomb plan, however, as none of these side chambers adjoin the main room A on the expedition map of cemetery N.100-400, and instead appear as separate tombs. Reisner also shifted chamber D so that it opened off E, rather than A. For the purposes of the current study, I consider chambers B, C, D, and E to be part of tomb N.450, even though their exact placements are uncertain.

Because of the nature of the *gebel* at Naga ed-Deir, in many of the tombs included in the current study, ancient workmen used mud-brick, stones and/or mud plaster to fill in irregularities in the interior walls of the rock-cut tomb chapels. For example, in N.4003, two cracks in the *gebel* at the northwest and northeast corners of the chapel were filled in with brickwork (Pl. 8). In S.F.209, the upper sections of the north walls of the vaulted passage in room B were repaired with mud-bricks and plastered over (Pl. 9). And in N.3900, the west wall of room C was built up with stones, leaving squared entrances to corridors 1 and 2 that were subsequently filled in with *balat* (Pl. 4). Irregularities in the walls of room B of the chapel also were filled in with stones embedded in mud and then plastered.

Of the 56 Type III rock-cut tombs with models, 25 were decorated. The chapel walls of some of the larger Type III tombs contained typical Old Kingdom funerary scenes and texts in painted relief or (more frequently) painted on a layer of smooth white plaster that was applied, in turn, over the mud-plastered walls. As noted above, ten decorated rock-cut tombs housed models. These graves are located in cemeteries N.100-200, N.3500 and S.F.5000-5200 and date from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom (i.e., Phases I through III): N.248, N.70/71, N.67/69, N.11, N.89⁶⁷² and N.105 (Phase I); N.3737, S.F.5214 and N.3558 (Phase II); and S.F.5011 (Phase III). Because of the poor quality of the limestone cliffs at Naga ed-Deir, however, tomb decoration was more often restricted to an inscribed and decorated stela.⁶⁷³ As also discussed above in sections 4.1 and 4.2, fifteen tombs with models also contained funerary stelae. These stelae were excavated from graves in cemeteries N.100-400, N.3500, S.F.500 and S.F.5000-5200 that also date from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom: S.F.5202

⁶⁷² In N.89, the walls of the subterranean burial chamber also were decorated with painted scenes.

⁶⁷³ Only four of the ten tombs had painted reliefs in the chapels: N.248 (west wall), N.70/71 (east wall), N.67/69 (west wall) and N.11 (west wall). The chapels of the other six tombs had scenes painted on plastered walls. The side walls of the chapel of First Intermediate Period tomb N.3916 also were covered with mud plaster, according to Mace's field notes. It is possible that this tomb also originally was intended to be decorated.

(Phase I); S.F.533, N.3765, N.3900, N.3774, N.3930, N.429, N.3907, N.3567 and N.3769 (Phase II); S.F.5021, S.F.5025, N.4003, S.F.5011 and S.F.5010 (Phase III). While the majority of tombs with stelae had only one, at least three tombs had more than a single stela: three in N.3907, five in N.3900, two in S.F.5011 and (possibly) two in S.F.533.⁶⁷⁴ Two additional tombs, N.3558 and N.3945, assigned here to Phases II and III, respectively, had niches for the placement of stelae, which were not preserved. Two tombs that originally housed funerary stelae, N.3558 and S.F.5011, also had decorated chapels.

At Naga ed-Deir, the stelae generally were situated in the offering chapels, either above the burial pits-- set up against the wall or into a niche-- or at the sealed entrances to the sloping tunnels or level passageways leading to the burial chambers.⁶⁷⁵ In the tombs included in the current study, with the exception of S.F.533, the intact stelae originally were situated in the former location. For example, S.F.5025 has a stela niche in the east wall in the chapel, behind burial pit E (Pl. 8). In N.3945, the stela niche is in the north wall of the chapel, above the sole burial pit (Pl. 8). In N.3907, Mace found the stela of *In-it.f* in the chapel, just above burial pit "b" (Pl. 6). In N.3900, he discovered two of the five stelae from the tomb (one above the other) over burial pit "a"; a third stela was situated over burial pit "c" (Pl. 4). In N.3774, Mace found the stela of *Hni* above burial pit C (Pl. 5). And in N.3765 the stela of *Tby* had been set in room A of the chapel, in a niche above the south burial chamber excavated off shaft B (Pl. 4). In one tomb, N.3558, the (missing) stela originally was placed in a niche set into the mud-brick façade above the tomb entrance, rather than inside the tomb chapel (Pl. 7).

Reisner further subdivided Type III rock-cut tombs at Naga ed-Deir into three categories, based on the position of the burial chamber relative to the offering chapel: Types IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC.⁶⁷⁶ In Type IIIA tombs, the burial chamber is on the same level as the offering chapel and accessed by means of a level tunnel or corridor. In Type IIIB tombs, the burial chamber is at the end of a downward-sloping passage. Finally, in Type IIIC tombs, a vertical shaft in the chapel floor descends to the burial chamber. Only three tombs with models are Type IIIA, and date to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.⁶⁷⁷ Three additional tombs are Type IIIB, and date to the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom.⁶⁷⁸ From the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom (i.e., Phases I-IV), Type IIIC is the dominant form of rock-cut tomb, with 30 examples.⁶⁷⁹ Throughout the same periods (but prevalent in Phases II-III), combinations of Type IIIB/C rock-cut tombs are the second most common, with 15 examples.⁶⁸⁰ Four hybrid forms found in the Middle Kingdom (Phases III and IV) include two Type IIIA/B/C,⁶⁸¹ one Type

⁶⁷⁴ The exact placement of the intact stela from complex S.F.533-S.F.536 is unknown, as it was found in the debris between the entrances of the two tombs (illustrated in Ex. Ph. C10198). Fragments of another stela were found in chamber D in S.F.533. The intact stela could have come from S.F.533 or S.F.536, as there is an empty stela niche in the chapel of the latter tomb that was cut into the south end of the east wall, above the burial pit.

⁶⁷⁵ Reisner (1913f: 7); Dunham (1937: 2).

⁶⁷⁶ Reisner (1913f: 6-7).

⁶⁷⁷ Tombs N.3567 (Phase II); and N.3579 and N.4401 (Phase III).

⁶⁷⁸ Tombs S.F.5210 (Phase I); S.F.5029 (Phase III); and S.F.95 (Phase IV).

⁶⁷⁹ Tombs N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.297, N.51, N.241, N.105 (Phase I); N.3737, N.3774, N.3769, N.111, N.3558, N.3795, N.3916, N.3756 (Phase II); N.3945, N.4003, S.F.5010, N.408, N.9090, N.9292, S.F.167, S.F.187, N.361 and N.449 (Phase III); and S.F.170 and S.F.132 (Phase IV).

⁶⁸⁰ Tombs N.248 (Phase I); S.F.533, N.3765, N.3900, S.F.5214, N.3930, S.F.18, N.429, N.3907 (Phase II); S.F.5025, S.F.5011, S.F.25, N.263 and N.450 (Phase III); and S.F.218 (Phase IV).

⁶⁸¹ Tombs S.F.5021 and N.9091 (Phase III).

IIIA/B⁶⁸² and one Type A/C.⁶⁸³ Finally, one First Intermediate Period (Phase II) tomb, N.202, is a Type III variant. As mentioned previously, there is no extant burial chamber associated with this grave number.

Within all the Type III rock-cut tombs with models, the burial chambers typically measure 1.50 x 2.50 meters in width and length, and 1.00 meter in height-- just large enough to hold a single coffin and a few grave goods. For Type IIIC tombs, the tomb shafts are on average 1.00 x 2.20 meters in width and length, respectively, and 3-5 meters in depth. While the heights of the corridors in Type IIIA, IIIB and hybrid Type III tombs typically were not recorded, the (known) lengths vary widely from 0.40 meters (N.9091, corridor into room B) to 4.05 meters (N.3579, corridor C) (Pls. 9 and 11). There is a narrower range in corridor width, from 0.56 meters (N.9091, corridor into room A) to 1.15 meters (S.F.25, corridor into room L) (Pls. 10 and 11); the average dimension, however, is about 0.90 meters. In Type IIIB graves, the descent of the corridors leading to the burial chambers ranges from 0.17 meters (S.F.5210, corridor C) to 2.65 meters (S.F.533, corridor D) (Pls. 3 and 4).

Interior stairways are anachronistic features found in the entrances to two burial chambers in rock-cut tombs N.248 and S.F.25. N.248 is unique in that it is the only grave in cemetery N.100-400 with an interior stairway extending (from west to east) down to a large subterranean burial chamber, likely the one intended for the principal tomb owner because of its size (Pl. 1).⁶⁸⁴ This architectural feature may reinforce the late Old Kingdom date of the tomb, as stairways leading to burial chambers are found at other sites in this period.⁶⁸⁵ One early Middle Kingdom tomb, S.F.25, located in cemetery S.F.200, has three rough stone steps inside room F of the chapel that descend (south to north) from the floor level to the top of burial shaft A (Pl. 10).

Of the 25 tombs classified here as Type IIIA, IIIB or hybrid Type III variants, thirteen contained one or more passages that did not terminate in burial chambers, but instead ended abruptly. These graves include Type IIIA tomb N.3567, Type IIIB tombs S.F.5210 and S.F.5029, Type IIIA/B/C tomb S.F.5021, and Type IIIB/C tombs N.3765, N.3900, N.3930, S.F.5214, S.F.18, N.429, S.F.5011, N.450 and S.F.218. As suggested by the human remains and/or burial goods in five tombs, these corridors typically served as unfinished burial chambers.⁶⁸⁶ Mace found two skulls in N.3567D, coffin fragments in N.3930“a”, and four skulls and the remains of three coffins in N.3765C (Pls. 4, 5 and 6). In N.429, Reisner recovered beads from tunnel C and the remains of a matt burial in tunnel D (Pl. 6). Finally, in S.F.5029B,

⁶⁸² Tomb S.F.64 (Phase IV).

⁶⁸³ Tomb S.F.209 (Phase IV).

⁶⁸⁴ Remnants of a scene painted over the doorway to this room also depict the tomb owner, *Int-kmt*, and her husband, *Imrry*, facing each other across an offering table.

⁶⁸⁵ See for example, the tomb of *Idw III* at Dendera (Petrie 1900: 10, Pl. 30). At Naga ed-Deir, *mastaba* tombs with deep burial chambers and long stairway entrances cut into the *gebel* are found in cemetery N.500-900, which Reisner elsewhere categorized as Type IV and dated to the early part of the Old Kingdom (1932: 9, 16-17).

⁶⁸⁶ This evidence is corroborated further by intact coffins found in corridor-chambers in other tombs at the site. For example, in Type IIIB/C tomb S.F.5105, excavators found one wooden coffin interred inside the chamber that opened off the northeast end of the tomb shaft, and another in a sloping corridor that descended to the northeast from the chapel (Hope 1983-84: 10, Fig. 2). S.F.5102, another Type IIIB/C tomb, preserved four burials. The expedition team found one coffin in a chamber that opened off the bottom of the tomb shaft to the northeast. They discovered the three other badly decayed wooden coffins inside corridors that opened off the northeast and southeast walls of the tomb chapel (Dunham 1923-24a: 57, 60, 62).

excavators discovered part of a wooden stool, sherds of a faience vessel and a wooden kohl stick, in addition to wooden model fragments (Pl. 9). The (known) lengths of the passages used as burial chambers in these 13 tombs vary from 1.28 meters (N.3765, corridor H) to 5.46 meters (N.3900, corridor 2) (Pl. 4). Likewise, there is a range in passage height from 0.75 meters (S.F.218, inner corridor) to 2.94 meters (S.F.5011, corridor E) (Pls. 9 and 13). The corridor widths are more consistent, and average 0.90 meters. The reasons why people chose to be buried in these passages, rather than in finished burial chambers, may be explained, perhaps, by a lack of resources, insufficient space due to the close proximity of the neighboring tombs⁶⁸⁷ or the poor quality of the surrounding *gebel*.

Although all the burials were robbed, some rock-cut Type III tombs of model owners still had partially intact plastered stone or mud-brick walls blocking the entrances to the burial chambers when excavated. For example, in N.3900, the entrances to corridors 5 and 6 in room C of the chapel originally were filled in with *balat* construction, based on 12 cm thick remnants of plaster on the sides of the doorway (Pl. 4). Mace also found evidence of mud plaster on the side wall and on the ground outside the entrance of N.3930“a” and at the doorway to N.3765C (Pls. 4 and 5). In S.F.187, doorways “h”, “g” and “f”, leading into burial chambers B, D and E, respectively, had been filled in with large stones, while door “k” of burial chamber G had been blocked with mud-brick (Pl. 11). In N.449, a stone or mud-brick wall once closed off the inner burial chamber that opened off the bottom of a vertical shaft (Pl. 12). Finally, S.F.5214 also contained *serdabs* off burial chamber A and tunnel B, which had been closed off with stone and mud-brick walls, respectively (Pl. 5).

The number of burial chambers in these Type III rock-cut tombs varies; however, the majority have either one or two chambers that originally housed the burial of a single individual or two (presumably related) individuals, respectively. The remainder consists of communal tombs with multiple burial chambers that housed generations of family members or unrelated people who sought to economize by reusing existing tombs. Of 55 tombs with models,⁶⁸⁸ 17 each were constructed with a single shaft or corridor that led to one burial chamber. The dates of these 17 tombs range from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), but predominate in Phases I-III: N.89, N.297, N.51 and N.241 (Phase I); N.3737, N.3567, N.3795 and N.3916 (Phase II); N.3945, S.F.5010, N.3579, N.4401, N.408, N.9090 and N.9292 (Phase III); S.F.132 and S.F.95 (Phase IV). An additional 20 Type III rock-cut tombs with models have two burial chambers each. While it is generally assumed that the separate chambers were used for male tomb owners and their wives, they also may have housed separate burials of the principal tomb owner and one other family member.⁶⁸⁹ The dates of these 20 graves date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-V), but also predominate in Phases I and II. Of these 20 tombs, 18 each have two rooms reached by separate shafts or corridors: N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, S.F.5210 and N.105 (Phase I); N.3774, S.F.5214, N.3930, S.F.18, N.111, N.3558, N.3756, N.3769 (Phase II); N.361 and N.449 (Phase III); and

⁶⁸⁷ During the construction of new corridors, however, workmen sometimes did run into older tombs. For example, in excavating a tunnel off the east wall of the chapel in N.3907, they broke into the existing corridor (1) on the west side of the chapel of the earlier tomb N.3900, and reused it as a room, i.e., tunnel C, in the new tomb.

⁶⁸⁸ Excluding, of course, N.202, which has no known associated burial chamber.

⁶⁸⁹ For example, the two burials in S.F.5105, mentioned above in n. 679, belonged to adult men named *Tby*. The fact that one man was identified specifically as *Tby* ʕ3 (the elder) on his coffin suggests perhaps they were father and son (Hope 1983-84: 13).

S.F.170 and S.F.218 (Phase IV). N.3774 has two separate shafts, A and B, which lead to two finished burial chambers: “a” and “b”. The tomb also contains one pit, C, with well-chiseled walls, but no chamber at the bottom. It is likely that although the tomb was intended originally to house three burials, it ultimately contained only two. Two tombs both have single shafts that open to two separate chambers. In N.263 (Phase III), one burial chamber is located off the west corner of the chapel, and opens off a corridor with a downward slope of 0.30 cm. There is also a shaft sunk into the chapel floor, which descends 2.50 meters and opens to two chambers off the southwest and northeast walls. The tomb plan does not indicate, however, whether both rooms are situated at the bottom of the shaft or whether one room was excavated higher than the other. The northeast chamber measures only 1.80W x 1.60L x ?H, and has a very irregular plan; it is likely, therefore, that this third burial chamber was never finished. In tomb S.F.167 (Phase III), two chambers open off the east and west side walls of the single shaft (Pl. 11). This tomb plan also does not reflect whether both rooms open off the shaft at the bottom or at different levels.

The remaining 18 Type III rock-cut tombs with models each have multiple burial chambers-- varying from three to nine-- that housed generations of people. Although these graves date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), they predominate in Phases II-III. Seven tombs, representing the majority, have three burial chambers each: S.F.533 and N.3907 (Phase II); S.F.5025, S.F.5029 and N.4003 (Phase III); and S.F.64 and S.F.209 (Phase IV). Five tombs have four burial chambers each: N.70/71 and N.248 (Phase I); S.F.5011, N.9091 and (probably) N.450 (Phase III). One tomb, S.F.25 (Phase III), has five burial chambers. Two additional tombs, N.3765 (Phase II) and S.F.5021 (Phase III), each have six burial chambers.⁶⁹⁰ Only one tomb, S.F.187 (Phase III), has seven burial compartments. Finally, two tombs, N.3900 and N.429 (Phase II), both have nine burial chambers. In 17 of the 18 Type III rock-cut tombs with multiple burial chambers, vertical shafts, level passages or descending corridors lead to single burial chambers. Tombs N.3765 and N.4003 additionally both have one shaft that opens to two chambers at different levels, which presumably housed the burials of married couples or two other closely related individuals. In N.3765, shaft B, located in room A of the chapel, descends to two chambers that open off the north and south sides (Pl. 4). The north chamber opens off the bottom of the shaft at a depth of 3.76 meters, while the entrance to the south chamber is 1.16 meters above the floor of the shaft. In N.4003, shaft “a” descends to a depth of 4.65 meters and opens into room “a” on the east side (Pl. 8). A second, smaller chamber is situated on the west side of the shaft, 30 cm above the floor of the pit. In one tomb, S.F.187, two main shafts (“j” and “c”) in the chapel (room A) descend to an entire complex of seven burials, likely belonging to a family group (Pl. 11). Shaft “c”, located on the west side of the chapel, opens to subterranean chambers B and D to the south and north, respectively. Shaft “j” (located on the east side of the chapel) opens to subterranean chambers C and F to the south and north, respectively. Additional rooms extend off chambers D and F. Chamber D opens into E, situated to the west of the chapel. Chamber F has another shaft that descends to G on the north. Finally, chamber G also has a shaft, “i”, on the east side that descends to burial chamber H on the south.

In four tombs, N.3737, N.3900, N.429 and N.449, excavators also found burials inside pits or shaft-and-chamber tombs located in the courtyards, in addition to those placed inside the tomb chapels. In N.3737 and N.3900 the exterior pits most likely contained later, intrusive

⁶⁹⁰ In S.F.5021, the seventh corridor, G, is unfinished and is too short (0.70 meters in length) to fit a coffin.

burials. On the west side of the courtyard in N.3737, pit B housed two intact, plain wooden coffins (Pl. 4). One coffin had the contracted skeleton of an adult male, and the other had the extended burial of an individual whose sex was not identified in the field notes. The tomb owner of N.3737 and his family are depicted and named in the tomb inscriptions on the interior chapel walls. Because the two coffins from the courtyard are uninscribed, however, these individuals' relationship to the tomb owner, if any, is unknown. In the courtyard of N.3900, Mace discovered a pit on either side of the tomb entrance (Pl. 4). According to his field notes, the pit on the east (right) side of the entrance contained a small coffin with a contracted burial of a woman(?) and, on the west (left) side, a coffin with the skeleton of a child. Because of their locations, their placements in simple pits, the contracted body positions and lack of inscriptions on the coffins, the courtyard burials in N.3737 and N.3900 most likely belonged to lower-class individuals unrelated to, and interred after, those buried inside the tomb chapels.

In contrast, the courtyard burials in N.429 and N.449 are of mid-high status individuals and are likely contemporary with the associated tomb chapels. Reisner discovered a woman's burial in a shaft-and-chamber tomb sunk into the courtyard on the west side of the entrance to N.449 (Pl. 12). Along with her skeleton, he found a quantity of luxury funerary goods.⁶⁹¹ The burial of the (presumed male) tomb owner probably was located originally inside the associated chapel, in a chamber that extended below room B to the northeast (Reisner found the chamber empty). In N.429, the intact mummy of a man had been placed inside an inscribed wooden coffin in a shaft-and-chamber tomb sunk into the west side of the courtyard floor (Pl. 6). There are eight other burial chambers inside the associated tomb chapel, including two subterranean chambers that open off the bottom of shafts sunk into the floor of room B and six corridors that extend off the west, northeast and east walls of room B.

There is evidence from other tombs at Naga ed-Deir that courtyard burials are contemporary with their associated chapels. For example, in S.F.5015, a Type III rock-cut tomb not included in the current study, the burials of the husband and wife tomb owners were interred in shaft-and-chamber graves on the north (pit A1) and south (pit A2) sides of the tomb entrance. The name and titles recorded on the man's coffin are identical to those preserved on the south and west painted walls of the outer room of the chapel.⁶⁹² The courtyard location, therefore, is not always indicative of intrusive burials. For the purposes of the current study, I also consider the courtyard burials in N.429 and N.449 to be contemporary with their respective tomb chapels.

In summary, the majority of Type III rock-cut tombs with models consist of large, single-roomed offering chapels containing one or two burial chambers that were reached by vertical shafts and that housed the burials of the male tomb owners and their wives or other closely related family members. In about one third of the tombs with models, the number of burial chambers was expanded over time to three or more, perhaps representing family complexes. The volume of the burials, i.e., the number and size of rooms in the rock-cut chapels, associated shafts and burial chambers, reflects the tomb owners' wealth in that it indicates a high degree of labor invested by individuals and families in their tomb construction. There is also ample evidence that people undertook repairs to improve the appearance of the chapel exterior facades, courtyards and interior walls. Almost half the rock-cut tombs, furthermore, were decorated,

⁶⁹¹ To be discussed further below.

⁶⁹² The *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, *smr-wꜥty*, *sš ḥtp ntr*, *Ḥni*, i.e., the count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, scribe of the divine offerings, Heni (Brovarski 1989: 944-950).

either with plastered and painted walls and/or with funerary stelae. Therefore, these rock-cut tombs belonged to fairly wealthy individuals who had the resources to excavate substantial, decorated complexes for their own burials and for those of their immediate family members in prominent areas in the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries. Type III rock-cut tombs of model owners, in comparison with Type I and II tombs, involved the greatest investment of labor in their construction, which reflects the higher social status of the tomb owners.

5.4.4 Summary of Tomb Distribution and Types

Distribution patterns of the three grave types at Naga ed-Deir reflect the social status of the tomb owners. Sixty-two out of 1,697 tombs (roughly 4%) dispersed throughout cemeteries S.F.500, S.F.200, N.9000, S.F.5000-5400, N.3500 and N.100-400 contained burials of people who owned models. In all four chronological phases, from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom, the majority of the graves are rock-cut, suggesting that they belonged to members of the upper classes who had the wealth to construct them: 12 out of 14 tombs (ca. 86%) in Phase I; 18 out of 21 tombs (ca. 86%) in Phase II; 20 out of 20 tombs (100%) in Phase III; and six out of seven tombs (86%) in Phase IV. In all four phases, the burials in cemeteries N.100-400, N.3500 and S.F.5000-5200 were placed in the most prominent locations (i.e., up high in the limestone cliffs), so as to have access to the finest quality limestone to construct decorated rock-cut tombs and to reflect their position in the social hierarchy. In the same periods, with two exceptions, tombs that did not contain good quality limestone had their decoration restricted to carved and painted funerary stelae.⁶⁹³ As noted above, the locations of three rock-cut tombs in cemetery N.9000 and are unknown. Only one rock-cut tomb in cemetery S.F.200, tomb S.F.132, was low-lying. In the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (Phases I-II), five undecorated shaft-and-chamber tombs, belonging to lower- and mid-ranking members of society, were clustered around the higher-status tombs located high up on the slopes of cemeteries N.100-400, N.3500 and S.F.5200. One low-status pit tomb, dating to the later Middle Kingdom, is located in the lowest part of the foothills of cemetery N.3500, close to the first *wadi*.

In comparing the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, we can see differences in where the model owners chose to locate their tombs within these six cemeteries. During the late Old Kingdom, they constructed their graves in prominent locations in the upper cliffs in cemeteries N.100-200 and S.F.5200. As more officials were buried in the associated cemeteries of the provincial capitals in which they lived and worked, cemeteries became more crowded. Thus, during the First Intermediate Period, the prominence of Naga ed-Deir increased. In this period, while some of the model owners who constructed new burials also chose similar locations in cemeteries N.100-400 and S.F.5200, others expanded into cemeteries S.F.500, S.F.200 and (predominantly) N.3500. These latter three cemeteries are all located to the north of cemetery N.100-400. The early Middle Kingdom saw the continued expansion of interments of model owners in cemeteries N.100-400 and S.F.200, along with tombs constructed in new cemeteries S.F.5000 and N.9000 at the north end of the site. Fewer tombs were built in cemetery N.3500 in this period, most likely due to a lack of space. People searched for new burial locations in less crowded areas, with the result that the Sheikh Farag cemeteries at the north end of the site came into prominence during this period. In the late Middle Kingdom, there

⁶⁹³ S.F.5011 and N.3558.

are fewer graves belonging to model owners at Naga ed-Deir, all of which are restricted to the older cemeteries N.3500 and (predominantly) S.F.200.

In some cases during the Middle Kingdom, subsequent generations of people reused existing family tombs in cemeteries N.100-200 (e.g., excavating new subterranean pits/chambers in N.70/71 and N.248), S.F.5200 (e.g., reusing chambers in S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202) and N.3500 (e.g., excavating new corridor chambers in N.3900). In other instances, people excavated new tombs lower in the alluvial slopes or limestone cliffs of the older cemeteries N.200-400 (e.g., N.263, N.408, N.361 and N.449) and N.3500 (e.g., N.3575) or inserted new tombs in prominent positions among the older tombs in the upper cliff face of N.3500 (e.g., N.3945, N.4003, N.3579 and N.4401). People also constructed new tombs in the Sheikh Farag cemeteries (S.F.5000, N.9000 and S.F.200) at the north end of the site. While the majority of tombs dating to the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period have one or two burial chambers, presumably originally housing a single interment and burials of two closely-related people, respectively, in the early Middle Kingdom, graves with three or more burial chambers predominate, evidence of more extensive tomb use by family groups over time. In the late Middle Kingdom, the number of burial chambers is more consistent, exemplified by approximately the same number of graves with either one, two or three chambers.

Therefore, we can see a definite shift from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom in which parts of the site of Naga ed-Deir model owners utilized for their burials. In the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, the majority of people selected prime locations high in the cliff faces in virgin areas. By the early Middle Kingdom, individuals were forced (or deliberately chose) to reuse existing tombs in preferred areas of the site, or to look elsewhere. In selecting new burial locations in older cemeteries, they either squeezed their tombs into crowded areas high in the cliffs or constructed their tombs further down the alluvial slopes and lower cliff faces where there was more space. They also searched for prime territory in new, vacant areas at the northern end of the site, resulting in the continued expansion into the Sheikh Farag cemeteries. In the late Middle Kingdom, people continued to look for new locations, predominantly in cemetery S.F.200, in which to place their tombs. The majority of these latest tombs, however, are situated somewhat lower in the alluvial slopes than those of the early Middle Kingdom (but still in fairly prominent positions), again likely due to cemetery crowding over time.

5.5 Tomb Owners

The previous sections of this chapter primarily dealt with architecture of the 62 tombs with models at Naga ed-Deir, considering the locations, size, quality and decoration of the graves as indicators of wealth, and, by association, social status of the tomb owners. The next section focuses on the material interred in these graves, including the human anatomical remains and the associated burial goods, to further analyze not only rank, but gender. This discussion is subdivided into three categories, based on the presence or absence of titles in the tomb inscriptions: titled individuals (26 tombs), presumed titled individuals (17 tombs) and untitled individuals (19 tombs). Titled individuals are model-owners whose names and titularies are recorded in tomb wall inscriptions and/or on key funerary goods, including inscribed stelae and coffins. These inscriptions either illuminate the peoples' functional roles in the local bureaucracy and temple administration in the Thinite nome or simply identify them as members of the elite nobility. The tombs of presumed titled individuals contained only remnants of fragmentary funerary goods

with partially preserved inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions provide names, but none give us titles. Although incomplete, the presence of inscriptions on funerary objects that were usually the prerogative of the elite suggests analogous social status with those of the titled classes. The inscriptional evidence from the tombs of presumed titled individuals is supplemented by the range and high quality of uninscribed funerary goods that are comparable to those found in the tombs of the titled nobility. The final category to be discussed consists of untitled individuals; i.e., those who either originally bore titles, which have not been preserved on any burial equipment recovered from their tombs, or else who were not of the titled class. For these tomb owners, because of the lack of inscribed material, the presence of a wide range of luxury burial items is the only indicator of social status.

In her re-analysis of early 20th century excavations of Middle Kingdom burials at Haraga, Riqqa and Abydos and in her own fieldwork at the latter site, Richards developed a system with which to measure the level of wealth in individual tombs, as expressed in portable grave goods.⁶⁹⁴ She first ranked raw materials, based on the amount of time and energy required to obtain and process them. She considered five factors-- distance, mode of transport, extraction, processing and hardness-- and assigned each material a composite score. She then arranged these same raw materials according to the ancient Egyptians' own perceptions of value, as extrapolated from Middle Kingdom religious texts and commodity values provided in Ramessid Period economic documents.⁶⁹⁵ On both lists, the materials with the highest scores were the most valuable. Despite some differences in values between her two sets of results, the general ranking placed gemstones and metals above hard and soft stones, with organic materials (excluding ivory) clustered at the bottom. Silver, electrum, gold, ivory, carnelian and faience (in this descending order) occurred in higher positions on her second wealth index. This ranking illustrates the importance the ancient Egyptians placed on these resources (based on a combination of social, religious and economic factors), in contrast to other metals and stones, including copper, anhydrite and amethyst, which scored higher with regards to the degree of effort put forth to acquire them (i.e., a purely economic consideration). Richards further argued that not only the presence of valuable materials in graves, but the variety of selected funerary objects, indicates the tomb owners' wealth. In other words, tombs of high status individuals have more diversity in their burial assemblages, which reflects their wealth because of their greater ability to access more resources than lower status people.

In analyzing the tombs of model owners at Naga ed-Deir, like Richards, I found that the graves of high-status individuals contained a wider range of funerary objects as compared with those of the lower classes, including decorated funerary stelae and coffins, pottery, jewelry, furniture, tools and weapons, cosmetic items, stone vessels and statuary. Many of these burial items were manufactured out of semi-precious and precious materials. However, it is important to remember that while Richard's study focused on Middle Kingdom burials, at Naga ed-Deir the tombs under consideration range in date from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom. There are, therefore, differences in the types of both regionally available resources and exotic materials imported into Egypt, to which people had access in different periods at Naga ed-Deir, as discussed in Chapter Four. The Middle Kingdom tombs contained more items made both from regionally available resources and from materials obtained from greater distances than the

⁶⁹⁴ Richards (1992: 109-116, Table 2, Appendix 4; 2005: 109-111, Fig. 28).

⁶⁹⁵ Harris (1961); and Janssen (1975).

graves of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. This evidence suggests that, even among the nobility, in the First Intermediate Period people did not have access to the same valuable materials as did their Middle Kingdom counterparts at this site. For example, in late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs of high status model owners, beads and amulets were made primarily of carnelian and faience, the former gemstone obtained regionally, in the form of small pebbles strewn throughout the Eastern Desert.⁶⁹⁶ Egyptian faience likely was manufactured locally, based on archaeological evidence for workshops at Abydos in this period.⁶⁹⁷ In the Middle Kingdom, high status model owners had access to a variety of regionally available gemstones for their jewelry, including amethyst, garnet, hematite, jasper, felspar, agate, quartz crystal and carnelian, most of which were obtained from sources in the Eastern Desert, as well as more exotic gemstones, such as lapis, which was imported from the area of Badakshan in northeast Afghanistan.⁶⁹⁸ These later individuals also were able to afford more metals obtained from regional and external sources, including gold, copper and silver for their beads and amulets and copper for their weapons. The major gold sources in the Old and Middle Kingdoms include the areas east of Coptos and El Kab in Egypt; during the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptians also mined gold northeast of the Wadi Halfa in Nubia.⁶⁹⁹ After a brief interlude in the First Intermediate Period, in the Middle Kingdom copper was mined again in the Sinai region, in addition to areas in the Eastern Desert.⁷⁰⁰ No confirmed sources of silver ore are known from Egypt; instead, this metal was imported from southern Anatolia and northern Syria from at least the Middle Kingdom.⁷⁰¹

In contrast to the preceding periods, Middle Kingdom tomb owners at Naga ed-Deir were interred with greater quantities of cosmetic items, including jars and palettes made of a variety of hard and soft stones (e.g., granite and basalt, travertine, sandstone and serpentine), wooden toilet boxes with ivory inlays and ivory kohl applicators. While the stones were quarried from various sites between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea,⁷⁰² ivory likely was imported from areas south of Egypt. Although the species of ivory has not been identified from any tomb at Naga ed-Deir, if made from elephant tusks (as opposed to hippopotamus), it would have been imported from the central Sudanese Savanna.⁷⁰³ In general, the Middle Kingdom also was the period which saw the development of new techniques in faience production, with a corresponding rise in the number of funerary objects in this material placed in burials.⁷⁰⁴ At Naga ed-Deir, the tombs of Middle Kingdom model owners had more faience items than earlier burials, including beads and amulets in various shapes and offering bowls.

Pottery and wooden objects were excavated from Naga ed-Deir tombs of the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Pottery is not inherently valuable, being ranked low on Richard's wealth indices. I agree with Richards, however, in arguing that large quantities of pottery interred with the deceased are indicative of relatively higher-status burials-- unless they were given as gifts -- because these jars and bowls contained food and drink

⁶⁹⁶ Aston, Harrell and Shaw (2000: 27).

⁶⁹⁷ Nicholson and Peltenburg (2000: 180).

⁶⁹⁸ Aston, Harrell and Shaw (2000: 5-77).

⁶⁹⁹ Ogden (2000: 161-162).

⁷⁰⁰ Ogden (2000: 149-151).

⁷⁰¹ Ogden (2000: 170-171).

⁷⁰² Aston, Harrell and Shaw (2000: 5-77).

⁷⁰³ Krzyszkowska and Morkot (2000: 320-331).

⁷⁰⁴ Nicholson and Peltenburg (2000: 181-182).

and other offerings necessary for the afterlife.⁷⁰⁵ Because she was not able to identify consistently the various types of wood from the early excavation reports or from ancient Egyptian texts, Richards instead calculated an average value score for wood, which took into account all the possible sources of origin for the different species. I think it is important, however, to consider that there is a range of value among different species of wood. Varieties used for furniture, coffin and statue production included not only locally available sycamore fig, tamarisk and acacia, but also cedar and pine, which were imported from Lebanon and Syria, respectively.⁷⁰⁶ While the cost of wood imported into Egypt from greater distances obviously would be high, one also would expect to find a range of values among local woods, depending on the quality and size of the timber.⁷⁰⁷ At Naga ed-Deir the tombs of model owners preserved a great variety and quantity of wooden objects, albeit fragmentary. The species of wood have been identified as acacia, sycamore fig or cedar. Although only a few wooden objects have undergone analysis, there is preliminary evidence that only Middle Kingdom officials had access to imported woods for their funerary objects.

At Naga ed-Deir, for all periods under consideration I also consider wooden coffins, statues, chairs and beds to be fairly high-quality items that had value, not only because of the different types of wood used in their manufacture, but because of the amount of time and skill necessary to complete the finished products.⁷⁰⁸ For example, wooden coffins of high-status people generally were well-constructed, with boards that were regularly shaped and either veneered with other, higher quality woods or covered in painted plaster; wooden coffins of low-status people, in contrast, typically were more patchwork, made from irregular pieces of wood that were left undecorated.⁷⁰⁹ The quantities of wooden funerary objects recovered from the burials also reflect the tomb owners' wealth. Wealthier individuals were buried with multiple *k3* statues, several pieces of furniture and coffin sets comprised of both inner and outer wooden coffins, in contrast to poorer people who had fewer (or no) statues and furniture and only one coffin.

⁷⁰⁵ See, for example, her discussion of Grave 124 in Cemetery A at Haraga and Grave 67 at Riqqeh (Richards 2005: 94, 102).

⁷⁰⁶ Gale, Gasson, Hepper and Killen (2000: 349, 351).

⁷⁰⁷ Illustrated, for example, in the high cost of a 20th Dynasty coffin manufactured at Deir el-Medina from local tamarisk (a coarse, dense wood), which was 80 *deben* of copper in its undecorated state. For comparison, the cost of a single coffin in this period averaged about 25 *deben* (Janssen 1975: 216, Table XXIX). In addition to tamarisk, woods typically used for Egyptian coffins include acacia and sycamore fig. While acacia is a hard, durable wood, because the trees are small, they yield only enough wood for small timbers. Sycamore fig is a fibrous, poor quality wood (Rowena, Gasson, Hepper and Killen (2000: 335-336, 340-341 and 345).

⁷⁰⁸ We can make a tentative comparison with the relatively high value assigned to these items at Deir el-Medina in the Ramessid period, allowing for the possibility of inflation during the 20th Dynasty. Wooden beds and chairs averaged 15-20 *deben* of copper, while wooden statues cost about 12 *deben* (Janssen 1975: 181-182, Table XVIII; 190, Table XX; 247, Table XXXVII). The average workman's monthly wages was 11 *deben* (Janssen 1975: 534).

⁷⁰⁹ In N.410 (a tomb not included in the current study), the first excavated coffin was the latest interment. Three other coffins were found in the single burial chamber, while the fourth was in the burial shaft, blocking the descent. This latter coffin likely reflects a poor, intrusive burial because it was of inferior quality to the other three coffins. According to Reisner's tomb card, this coffin (I) was made of two smaller coffins, with the end of one knocked out and used as a cover. The two small coffins were held together by a wooden pole placed underneath them, and bound with ropes. In contrast, the other three coffins (II-IV), although undecorated, were better-made. Typical of most mid-high quality coffins at Naga ed-Deir, they were made of regular-shaped planks that were half dovetailed at the corners and secured by round pegs. The lids and bottoms of the coffins had transverse battens, which provided stability, and one (coffin II) was covered with a layer of white stucco.

One deterrent in analyzing the wealth of model owners at Naga ed-Deir is the plundered condition of the majority of graves. There is, therefore, no way to quantify the types of funerary objects interred in all 62 tombs. I can consider only the range of extant funerary goods and the presence or absence of luxury materials in the tombs as indicators of wealth, and, by association, social status. Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to assign grave goods to individual burials because of the significant amount of disturbance. Therefore, in the current study, for tombs with two or more burials, each grave is treated collectively as one unit, reflecting the social and economic status of a pair of individuals, such as a husband and wife, or a family group, comprised of three or more people.

The evidence used to analyze the gender of model-owners at Naga ed-Deir includes human anatomical remains, names and representations of people provided in tomb inscriptions and scenes, and a few significant funerary objects. Unfortunately, there are often insurmountable problems with incorporating the human remains. Due to the plundered state of the burials, excavators found few bodies intact inside their coffins. Furthermore, many of the tombs remained in use over several generations in antiquity, illustrated by the large number of human bones-- predominantly skulls-- recovered from them.⁷¹⁰ It is, therefore, impossible to determine how many burials originally were interred in most of these graves, based solely on the skeletal remains. In addition to 16 (relatively) intact mummies excavated from 13 tombs of model owners, Reisner's expedition teams found partial human skeletons in 25 tombs. They removed the linen wrappings of six mummies to expose the skeletons beneath, but only recorded the sex of four in their field records. They also sexed bone fragments from only one tomb.⁷¹¹ The Hearst Museum houses only a few human bones excavated from these 38 burials. More recent examinations of two skulls did lead to the identification of their sex. As noted in Chapter Two, most of the skeletal material from the graves included in the present study, however, has been lost post-excavation. Because of all these factors, therefore, opportunity for analyses of the human remains can be described only as limited.

The primary evidence for determining the gender of the model-owners consists of the names provided in the inscriptions of 26 tombs belonging to members of the titled class and three graves of presumed titled individuals. It is important to note here that a few names of model owners at Naga ed-Deir could be used by both men and women. Gender can be established, in some cases, through paleographical analysis, e.g., the form of the determinative when it appears after an individual's name. Based partly on the names written on mummy wrappings and inscribed on pottery from their tombs, *Tti* (N.43) and *Kky* (N.105) are identified as female and male, respectively.⁷¹² The genders of these two individuals also are suggested by the grammatically feminine version of *Tti*'s honorific title, which was held by both men and women, and *Kky*'s honorific title, which was restricted to men. In other cases, when determinatives were used, gender still can be ascertained from the titles themselves. For example, although neither *Tti*

⁷¹⁰ The large quantity of skulls is evidence for extensive tomb reuse and/or cache burials.

⁷¹¹ During the Hearst Expedition, G. Elliot Smith assisted in sexing and aging the human skeletal remains at Naga ed-Deir. He may have been responsible for the identifications of these five individuals, who were buried in graves in cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500.

⁷¹² While these names were generally held by men in the Old Kingdom, they were popular for both men and women in the Middle Kingdom (Ranke 1977: 395.24 and 349.1).

(S.F.5025) nor *Tbi* (N.4172) have male determinatives written after their names, both have male honorific titles recorded on their coffins.⁷¹³

At Naga ed-Deir, the 15 remaining tombs of presumed titled individuals and all 18 tombs of untitled people buried with models belonged to unnamed individuals. In these cases, gender is tentatively identified by some burial goods that were typically (although not exclusively) associated with either men or women. These items include functional weapons and tools, walking staves, certain forms of amulets and scribal palettes.

In the following sections, for titled individuals, the evidence for social status and gender is arranged by rank and title, rather than by chronological period, to better discuss the model owners' roles in the local government bureaucracy and temple administration. The evidence for social status and gender of presumed titled and untitled individuals, however, is categorized by chronological period, in order to observe potential changes over time. The objects that serve as the primary sources of information for determining rank and gender are included in the tomb cards provided in Appendix A under the sub-categories "Associated Material, Inscribed and Decorated" and "Associated Material, Uninscribed" for each tomb. The tomb owner(s) titles, names and human remains are listed in Appendix A for each grave under the sub-category "Tomb Owner(s)". The evidence used to determine the gender of the model owners is summarized in Appendix D. Finally, male and female titles also are listed separately in Appendix I, with the titles arranged in Egyptian alphabetical order according to their transliterations.

5.5.1 Titled Individuals

Forty-five titled individuals (30 men and 15 women) were buried with tomb models and serving statuettes in 26 tombs at Naga ed-Deir.⁷¹⁴ All together, Reisner's expedition teams found seven intact mummies and one partially destroyed mummy in eight tombs belonging to these members of the titled class: N.43, N.3765, N.3737, N.4172, N.3907, N.3558, N.429 and N.4003. The excavators unwrapped the mummies from N.43, N.429 and N.4172, but recorded the sex of only the man interred in N.4172 in their field notes.⁷¹⁵ Based on the inscribed wooden coffins or, in one case, the mummy wrappings, we can identify six bodies. One belonged to the woman named *Tti*, who was interred in tomb N.43 in cemetery N.100-400. Five others belonged to men buried in cemeteries N.3500 and N.100-400: *Mrw* (N.3737), *Tby* (N.3765), *Tbi* (N.4172), *Ppy-im3* (N.4003) and *Wh3* (N.429). While Mace found one of the original burials in chamber "b" of tomb N.3907, he could not identify this individual because the inscribed sides and lid of the coffin were no longer *in situ*. Burial shaft "b" contained coffin fragments inscribed for *Inhrt*- [...], possibly the man interred in the chamber below. The body also may be that of *In-it.f*, however, based on the fact that Mace found his inscribed and decorated funerary stela in the

⁷¹³ While the name *Tti* was used by men in the First Intermediate Period, it was popular for both men and women in the Middle Kingdom (Ranke 1977: 49.17). In contrast, while both men and women were named *Tbi* in the Old Kingdom, it was used only by men in the Middle Kingdom (Ranke 1977: 20.10).

⁷¹⁴ The translations of titles utilized in the following section are adopted from Jones's index of Egyptian titles and epithets (unless otherwise indicated), as it is the most comprehensive source of its kind to date (Jones 2000).

⁷¹⁵ It is not known if the identification was based on examination of the pelvic bones or secondary sexual characteristics. On the tomb card, for example, Mace noted that the mummy, which still preserved soft tissue, had remnants of a short, brown beard.

chapel above the entrance to shaft “b”. With the exception of the intact, but uninscribed, reed matt burial excavated from pit “a” in N.3558, the locations of the skeletal material belonging to the other seven individuals are unknown.⁷¹⁶

None of the burials of the 37 titled individuals (23 men and 14 women) interred in the 18 remaining tombs of model owners were found intact; we cannot, therefore, correlate the people named in the tomb inscriptions and on the inscribed objects with the fragmentary human skeletal material recovered from these graves. And because the excavators sexed only one intact skeleton, human anatomical remains are not useful in determining the gender of all the titled model-owners at Naga ed-Deir. The tomb inscriptions and inscribed funerary items, which preserved the names and titles are, therefore, the primary sources of evidence used to determine not only gender, but also rank, of these 45 tomb model owners.

The 26 tombs of titled individuals range in date from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom, i.e., Phases I-III. Fourteen individuals were buried in 10 late Old Kingdom tombs, including eight men,⁷¹⁷ at least four of their wives,⁷¹⁸ and two women who were buried alone.⁷¹⁹ In the First Intermediate Period, we know the names and titles of 25 people. This total includes 19 men⁷²⁰ and five of their wives⁷²¹ interred in 13 tombs, and one woman buried alone or (possibly) with her husband in a fourteenth tomb.⁷²² The titles of one man and his wife, both of whose names have been lost, are also preserved on the stela recovered from N.3900. The names and titles of two men⁷²³ and the wife(?) of one man⁷²⁴ are preserved in two tombs dating

⁷¹⁶ This low-status burial, which likely reflects an intrusive interment, is currently housed in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 6-1412).

⁷¹⁷ *Imrry* (buried in N.70/71 but also mentioned in the wall inscriptions of N.248, the tomb perhaps given to one of his two wives), *Sfḥ* (N.248), *Hni* (N.11), *Špss/Impy* (N.67/69), *Dd-Inḥrt-ḥnḥ/Mry* (S.F.5201/5203), *H3gi* (S.F.5202), *H3gi* (N.89) and *Kky* (N.105). *Sfḥ*, who is identified in the chapel inscriptions in N.248 and who may have been *Imrry*’s son, perhaps was buried in this tomb along with his mother, for whom he decorated the north end of the east wall of the chapel (Brovarski 1989: 278-279).

⁷¹⁸ *Int-kmt* and *Int-[T3-wr]* (N.248), *Int-[...]* (N.70/71, perhaps *Int-kmt* or *Int-[T3-wr]*, one of the same women from N.248), *Int-kmt* (N.67/69) and *Mry* (S.F.5202). These titled women all are identified as the tomb owners’ wives in the tomb inscriptions.

⁷¹⁹ *Tti* (N.43) and *Špst* (N.241).

⁷²⁰ *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737), *Tby* (N.3765), *Iti-ḥ3*, *Hti/Iti*, *In-it.f ḥ3*, *In-it.f šri* (N.3900), *Hni* (N.3774), *Wsr* (S.F.5214), *M3-ḥrw* and *Ikr-itw* (N.3930), *Hnwy* (S.F.18), *Ibi* (N.4172), *Wh3* (N.429), *In-it.f P3i* and *[W]ḥ[3]i (?)* (N.3907), *Sfḥi* (N.3567), *Nfr-iwnw/Hwy* (N.3769) and *Inḥrt-sn-nfr* (N.3558). In N.3737, three of *Mrw/Iy 3w*’s titled sons, *Hni*, *Rwd [...]* and NN, also appear in the tomb scenes. They obviously were not buried in their father’s tomb, because it has only one burial chamber that housed *Mrw*’s mummy; the sons’ titles, therefore, are not included in this discussion. Two sons (*In-it.f ḥ3* and *In-it.f šri*) who were buried in N.3900 with their parents (*Hti* and *Hnyt*) each had their own funerary stela, which listed their names and titles. *Hni*’s son *Imrry-snb*, who is named on the inscribed funerary stela from N.3774, also may have intended to be buried in burial chamber “c”, which remained unfinished: shaft “c” has smoothly chiseled walls but does not open to a room at the bottom.

⁷²¹ *Htp.ti*, *Hnyt* and *Mrit* (N.3900), *Kyt* (N.3774) and *Idi* (N.3930). In all three tombs, the titled women are identified as the tomb owners’ wives in the stelae inscriptions. *Mrw/Iy 3w*’s titled wife *[Mr].s-[ḥnḥ]* and untitled daughter *Iti* are also depicted in N.3737; however, neither woman was buried in the tomb.

⁷²² *Iy* is depicted on her own stela, found in the debris between the entrances of S.F.533 and S.F.536. Fragments of a second stela, depicting an unnamed man (possibly her husband), were found in S.F.533.

⁷²³ *Iti* (S.F.5025) and *Ppy-im3* (N.4003).

⁷²⁴ *Hḥ-nfr* (N.4003). The stela from N.4003 depicts two titled women, one of whom is identified as *Hḥ-nfr*. Although her exact relationship to the tomb owner is unknown, for the purposes of the current study she is considered to be his wife, and is, perhaps, to be identified as the person buried in the west chamber off shaft “a” in the tomb.

to the early Middle Kingdom. One of these later tombs also preserves the titles of an unnamed woman, perhaps the tomb owner's daughter.⁷²⁵

Many of these men and women interred with tomb models at Naga ed-Deir had high-ranking honorific titles, which in themselves serve as a sign of noble status but do not indicate a particular office with actual responsibilities. By the end of Dynasty 5 in the Memphite capital, lower-echelon male officials began to appropriate high-ranking titles of their former supervisors; these titles were now used as a symbol of personal success and favor with the king, rather than to denote a practical function. This practice continued through the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period in the provinces, resulting in an expansion of the number of honorific titles held by officials.⁷²⁶ In their tomb inscriptions, these men recorded their titularies in standard order, combining the honorific titles with those denoting functional offices.⁷²⁷ In some cases, their titularies documented all the positions acquired during their lifetimes and in others, they reflected the titles held at the time the decoration in their tombs was completed.⁷²⁸ At Naga ed-Deir, honorific titles held by many of the men who owned models included (in general descending order of importance) *iry-p^ct* (hereditary prince/nobleman/keeper of the patricians),⁷²⁹ *h3ty-^c* (count, i.e., literally, “foremost of place”),⁷³⁰ *htm(ty)-bity* (sealer of the king of Lower Egypt)⁷³¹ and *smr-w^cty* (sole companion).⁷³² Three men also had titles that reflected personal attendance on the king during the Old Kingdom: *hry-tp nswt* (king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, i.e., literally “he who is under the head of the king”)⁷³³ and *imy-r3 hnty(w)-š (n) pr-^c3* (overseer of land-tenants of the Great House).⁷³⁴ While the titles *htm(ty)-bity*, *smr-w^cty* and

⁷²⁵ The second, smaller woman represented on the stela from N.4003 may be *Ppy-im3*'s daughter, and may have been interred in the tomb's third burial chamber, room “b”.

⁷²⁶ Baer (1960: 2-3, 7-8).

⁷²⁷ The honorific titles were usually recorded in descending order of importance, whereas the actual titles were not. In many instances the last (functional) title before the name is the most important.

⁷²⁸ Baer (1960: 5, 35); Strudwick (1985: 172). For example, the nomarch *Tmrry* gave tomb N.248 to *Int-kmt* (possibly his second wife), as recorded in the tomb inscriptions (Peck 1958: 59(b); Brovarski 1989: 276). However, he still figures prominently in the tomb decorations and inscriptions. In comparing his titularies in N.248 and N.70/71 (his own tomb, which he finished after N.248), the title *s3b ^cd-mr* appears only in the earlier tomb (Peck 1958: 70-71(b)). It is possible that he no longer held this position at the time of his death; alternatively, the title simply was not preserved in the (damaged) tomb inscriptions in N.70/71.

⁷²⁹ N.3737 (*Mrw/Iy 3w*), N.3765 (*Tby*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*, *Hti*, name lost), N.3774 (*Hni*), N.3930 (*M3^c-hrw*) and N.3907 [*W]h[3]i* (?) Phase II; and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*), Phase III. For this title, with further references, see Jones (2000: 315, no. 1157).

⁷³⁰ N.89 (*H3gi*), Phase I; N.3737 (*Mrw/Iy 3w*), N.3765 (*Tby*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*, *Hti*, *In-it.f-^c3*, *In-it.f šri*, name lost), N.3774 (*Hni*), S.F.18 (*Hnwy*), N.3930 (*M3^c-hrw*) and N.4172 (*Ibi*) and N.3907 (*In-it.f*, [*W]h[3]i* (?), Phase II; and S.F.5025 (*Iti*) and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*), Phase III. See also Jones (2000: 496, no. 1858).

⁷³¹ S.F.5203 (*Dd-Inhrt-^cnh*), S.F.5202 (*H3gi*) and N.89 (*H3gi*), Phase I; N.3737 (*Mrw/Iy 3w*), N.3765 (*Tby*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*, name lost), N.3774 (*Hni*), N.3930 (*M3^c-hrw*, *Ikr-itw*), N.4172 (*Ibi*) and N.429 (*Wh3*), N.3907 (*In-it.f*, [*W]h[3]i* (?), *P3i*), N.3567 (*Sfhi*) and N.3567 (*Sfhi*), Phase II; S.F.5025 (*Iti*) and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*), Phase III. See also Jones (2000: 763, no. 2775).

⁷³² N.248 (*Tmrry*, *Sfhi*), N.67/69 (*Špss/Impy*), S.F.5203 (*Dd-Inhrt-^cnh*), S.F.5202 (*H3gi*), N.89 (*H3gi*) and N.105 (*Kky*), Phase I; N.3737 (*Mrw/Iy 3w*), N.3765 (*Tby*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*, *Hti*, *In-it.f-^c3*, name lost), N.3774 (*Hni*), S.F.18 (*Hnwy*), N.3930 (*Ikr-itw*), N.4172 (*Ibi*), N.429 (*Wh3*), N.3907 (*In-it.f*, [*W]h[3]i* (?), *P3i*), N.3567 (*Sfhi*) and N.3769 (*Nfr-iwnw*), Phase II; and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*), Phase III. See also Jones (2000: 892, no. 3268).

⁷³³ N.248 (*Tmrry*), N.67/69 (*Špss/Impy*), Phase I. See also Jones (2000: 788, no. 2874).

⁷³⁴ N.3567 (*Sfhi*), Phase II. On the stela of *P3i* from N.3907, he recorded that the king's *hnty(w)-š*, acting as a delivery agent for the king, gave him his coffin (Brovarski 1989: 854). Fischer and Brovarski suggested that the reference is to *Hni*, the son of *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737), who held this office and is depicted in his father's tomb. They

hry-tp nswt were held by men in the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) at Naga ed-Deir, with one exception,⁷³⁵ the other three titles are found in the tombs included in the present study that date no earlier than Dynasty 9. None of the male owners of models at Naga ed-Deir were *iry ht nswt/rh nswt* (one who is known to the king/king's royal acquaintance), a title held by men who had important positions in the royal court during the early part of the Old Kingdom.⁷³⁶ This title fell out of use in the titularies of provincial officials in Dynasty 6, being replaced by *h3ty-ꜥ*, and reappeared only in Dynasty 12 as an honorific title.⁷³⁷ *H3ty-ꜥ* was popular as an honorific title at Naga ed-Deir in the late First Intermediate Period, when it was held by practically every man of any importance.⁷³⁸ In the Middle Kingdom, when this title again had an administrative function, it is perhaps better translated as "mayor" (because, beginning in Dynasty 11, it was often combined with the name of a city or nome).⁷³⁹ In the Old Kingdom, the title *hnty(w)-š* was held by people attached to the palace or royal mortuary temple.⁷⁴⁰ More specifically, the *hnty(w)-š (n) pr-ꜥ3* were tenants who were designated lands that they managed for the king, receiving an income in return.⁷⁴¹ They also performed a variety of tasks for the king, ranging from singers and musicians assigned to the palace, to escorts in celebrations, military reviews and hunting events, to agents who ensured the delivery of provisions for private funerary cults.⁷⁴² By the end of the 6th Dynasty, however, *imy-r3 hnty(w)-š*, or overseer of land-tenants, had become another honorific title, no longer indicating an actual office.⁷⁴³ In the First Intermediate Period, the few occurrences of this title recorded in provincial cemeteries, including Naga ed-Deir, could therefore be explained on the basis of previous service at the Residence.⁷⁴⁴

Two common honorific titles, both referencing the king, were held by women in the Thinite nome: *iry ht nswt/rht nswt*, one who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance;⁷⁴⁵ and *hkrt nswt (wꜥtt)*, (sole) ornamented one of the king/(sole) lady-in-waiting of the king/lady in waiting (of the first rank).⁷⁴⁶ These titles are the feminine equivalents to *iry ht nswt/rh nswt* and *smr-wꜥty*, respectively.⁷⁴⁷ Unlike its masculine counterpart, *iry ht nswt/rht nswt* was held continuously by the wives and daughters of provincial officials throughout Dynasties 6-8.⁷⁴⁸ At least four women buried with models at Naga ed-Deir held this rank during this time period.⁷⁴⁹

also noted a few paleographic similarities between the tomb inscriptions in N.3737 and the three stelae from N.3907 (Fischer 1968: 170, nn. 723, 724; Brovarski 1989: 856-857). For this title, see Jones (2000: 189, no. 710).

⁷³⁵ N.89, placed on the cusp of the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) and the First Intermediate Period (Phase II).

⁷³⁶ For this title, see Jones (2000: 327-328, no. 1206).

⁷³⁷ Fischer (1968: 71); and Ward (1986: 119-120).

⁷³⁸ Brovarski (1989: 385). See also Jones (2000: 496, no. 1858).

⁷³⁹ Fischer (1968: 71; 1976b: 413-414); and Ward (1986: 117).

⁷⁴⁰ Roth (1991: 178-179).

⁷⁴¹ Eyre (1987: 35-36); and Brovarski (1989: 153).

⁷⁴² Fischer (1968: 171); Eyre (1987: 36); Brovarski (1989: 154); and Roth (1991: 184).

⁷⁴³ Baer (1960: 3).

⁷⁴⁴ Fischer (1968: 171). Contra Brovarski (1989: 982), who suggested that the Heracleopolitan rulers continued to bestow this office on men in order to ensure their loyalty against the emerging Theban dynasty in the south. For a complete list of men who held this title in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, see Jones (2000: 189).

⁷⁴⁵ Jones (2000: 328, no. 1206).

⁷⁴⁶ Jones (2000: 794, no. 2899 and 795, no. 2900).

⁷⁴⁷ Brovarski (1989: 112, n. 91).

⁷⁴⁸ Fischer (1968: 69-70; 1989: 15).

⁷⁴⁹ N.248 (*Int-kmt, Int [T3-wr]*), N.70/71 (*Int-[...]*, possibly restored as *Int-kmt* or *Int [T3-wr]*), one of the same women from N.248), N.67/69 (*Int-kmt*) and N.43 (*Tti*), Phase I.

In contrast, the high-status title *ḥkrt nswt* (*w^ctt*) was popular from the end of the Old Kingdom well into the early Middle Kingdom, initially in the Memphite area and later in the provinces.⁷⁵⁰ Four *ḥkrt nswt*⁷⁵¹ and eight *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt*⁷⁵² were interred with models at Naga ed-Deir, in tombs dated to the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom, i.e., Phases I-III.

In addition to these honorific titles denoting noble status, many of the individuals interred with models at Naga ed-Deir also held titles reflecting their religious and/or secular administrative positions within the Thinite nome. Although the local temple of *Inḥrt* has not survived in the archaeological record, from the extant tomb inscriptions we have an understanding of the various functions these people held within the temple cult, including some of their specific duties. To begin with the lowest-ranking office, the *ḥry-ḥbt*, or lector priest (i.e., literally, “he who carries the ritual book”), was in charge of reciting the incantations and spells involved in temple rituals and also officiated in the same capacity in funeral ceremonies.⁷⁵³ Nine men with this title were buried with models at Naga ed-Deir in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom: N.3765 (*Tby*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*, *Hti*, name lost), N.3774 (*Hni*), N.429 (*Wh3*) and N.3907 (*In-it.f*, [*W*]*h[3]i* (?)) Phase II; and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*), Phase III. There were also many individuals with higher-ranking titles within the temple hierarchy. Four of the eight known *imy-r3 ḥm(w) ntr* or overseers of priests in This who were in charge of the daily operations concerning the administration of the local temple of *Inḥrt* owned models: *Tmrry* (N.71, with his titles also recorded in N.248) and *H3gi* (N.89), Phase I; and *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737) and *Hni* (N.3774), Phase II.⁷⁵⁴ *H3gi* (N.89) was also *ḥry-tp d3t [šspt?] m ḥwt-ntr*, or supervisor of the wardrobe [of *šspt*-cloth?] in the temple; i.e., the linens supplied to dress the god’s statue every morning.⁷⁵⁵ Although not a high priest, *Hni* (N.11) was likely another supervisor of the wardrobe of linen in the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), serving as [*ḥry-tp d3t*] *n mnḥt* and *imy-r3 [šsr]*.⁷⁵⁶ The property of the temple, including the god’s headdress, jewelry, insignia and ritual vessels that were stored in the temple magazines, was likely the charge of the *ḥry-šst3 n ḥtmt-ntr* (privy to the secret of the god’s treasure), with “the god” originally referring to the king, but by the end of the Old Kingdom associated with a local god residing in a provincial temple.⁷⁵⁷ Of

⁷⁵⁰ Although Ward (1986: 14) distinguished between the two titles, stating that *ḥkrt nswt* was held by women whose husbands were of lower status than the *ḥkrt nswt* (*w^ctt*), I prefer to follow Brovarski (1989: 112) and Fischer (1989: 16) in seeing them as variations of the same title. The difference may be chronological, as Galvin (1981: 16-21) found that the title *ḥkrt nswt* was predominant in the Old Kingdom, while *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt* increased in popularity in the First Intermediate Period (in which she included Dynasties 6-8). At Naga ed-Deir, *Int-kmt*, the presumed second wife of the nomarch and overseer of priests, *Tmrry*, the man who held the highest administrative and religious positions of authority in This during the late Old Kingdom, was a *ḥkrt nswt*, as recorded on the east wall of her tomb, N.248 (Peck 1958: 61-62, Pl. 3).

⁷⁵¹ N.248 (*Int-kmt*), N.67/69 (*Int-kmt*), Phase I; and N.4003 (*H^c-nfr* and unnamed woman), Phase III.

⁷⁵² N.241 (*Špst*), Phase I; S.F.533/536 (*Iy*), N.3900 (*Iti-^c3*’s wife *Htp.ti*, *Hti*’s wife *Hnyt*, *Mrit*, name lost), N.3774 (*Kyt*) and N.3930 (*Idi*), Phase II.

⁷⁵³ Blackman (1998: 138-139, 141). For this title, see also Jones (2000: 781, no. 2848).

⁷⁵⁴ The other four men include *Ggi* (N.90), *Hw-b3w*, *Sipt* (S.F.532) and *Inḥrt-nḥt* (Auled Yehya), with all eight listed in Brovarski (1989: 93, n. 2). *Hni*’s (N.11) full title is restored from *ḥry-šst3* [...], taken from his partially preserved titulary recorded on the west wall of his tomb chapel (Brovarski 1989: 313). For this title, see Jones (2000: 171, no. 651).

⁷⁵⁵ For a discussion of this title and its restoration in this tomb, see Fischer (1964: 26, n. 15); Brovarski (1989: 97, 427); and Jones (2000: 650, no. 2379).

⁷⁵⁶ For these restored titles, see Brovarski (1989: 314(c), 315 (2)).

⁷⁵⁷ Fischer (1964: 26; 1968: 115); Brovarski (1989: 98-99). For the translations of these titles, see Jones (2000: 611-612, no. 2243 and no. 2340, respectively).

the seven known men with this title who were buried at Naga ed-Deir, two of them-- both named *Hni*-- owned tomb models (N.11 and N.3774).⁷⁵⁸ *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737) was specifically the *iry nfr-h3t m db3 nb.f ntr.f n niwty* (keeper of the headdress in attiring his lord, [namely] his city god), a title that initially reflected the personal attendance on the king's wig in the Old Kingdom but later, in the First Intermediate Period, also referred to the local god.⁷⁵⁹ *Mrw/Iy 3w* thus served as the guardian of *Inhrt*'s headdress (or diadem) stored near the temple sanctuary. *Hni* (N.3774) was the *imy-r3 tpwt nbwt nt Smsw m3tw*, or overseer of all the *tpwt* of the Retinue of the *m3tw*, the latter of which Gunn first suggested may have been a cult instrument in the form of a personified scepter that was housed in the temple and carried out during religious processions.⁷⁶⁰ *Hni* (N.3774) was also the *imy-r3 k3t m hwt-ntr* (overseer of work in the temple), perhaps in charge of the general maintenance of the temple building.⁷⁶¹

Temples also were endowed with lands to provide divine offerings for the gods and to pay for the services of the officiates. Several male officials interred with models at Naga ed-Deir were occupied with economic duties in the temple. The *Inhrt* temple owned herds of *kmt*, a breed of black cattle sacred to this god, which were intended for the offering cult of the god and payments of meat to temple personnel, including musical performers.⁷⁶² Variations of *imy-r3 kmt* (overseer of black cattle), appear in the titularies of men buried in N.3567 (*Sfhi*) and S.F.5202 (*H3gi*). *Sfhi* (N.3567), specifically, was the *imy-r3 kmt <h>* (the overseer of the <thousand> black cattle). Black cattle sometimes were paired with red cattle or oxen, as illustrated in *H3gi*'s (S.F.5202) title *imy-r3 kmt imy-r3 dsrt m3c* (true overseer of black cattle and of red cattle).⁷⁶³ Another *H3gi* (N.89) was also *imy-r3 nmt*, or overseer of the (temple) slaughterhouse.⁷⁶⁴ Leather was also a by-product of the cattle industry, converted into hides in the temple workshops for redistribution.⁷⁶⁵ The owner of S.F.5214, *Wsr*, was one of two *imy-r3 tbww* (overseers of sandal makers) and one of two *wr dhc* (chiefs of leather crafts) who are known from the site.⁷⁶⁶ *In-hrt-sn-nfr* (N.3558) was also a *tbw nswt*, or royal sandal maker.⁷⁶⁷

Women also participated in rituals in the local temple of *Inhrt* as well as in funerary cults. The *hnr(wt)* were a class of musical performers who sang and danced, in both secular and

⁷⁵⁸ The other five men include the owners of stelae from N.3978, N.4206 and N.3751 and Dunham stela 16, and the man buried in S.F.5015, whose titles are recorded in the chapel wall inscriptions (Brovarski 1989: 99, n. 27). In N.3774, *Hni*'s title is also inflated to *hry-s3b <n htmt-ntr> m t-3t* (privy to the secret (of the god's treasure) in the great chamber).

⁷⁵⁹ Fischer (1964: 27; 1968: 137); Brovarski (1989: 502); and Jones (2000: 323, no. 1190).

⁷⁶⁰ Cited in Dunham (1937: 83). This translation, which is based on the *b3-* or *sh*m-scepter determinative, has been retained by subsequent scholars (with full references cited in Jones 2000: 274, no. 986). There are no other sources of information to use to corroborate this translation, as *Hni* is the only known holder of this title. The word *tpwt* is also otherwise unattested, although Gunn identified it as a feminine collective noun, thus referring to a group of people.

⁷⁶¹ Brovarski (1989: 110); and Jones (2000: 263-264, no. 953).

⁷⁶² Fischer (1981: 60); and Brovarski (1989: 100-102).

⁷⁶³ Jones (2000: 265, no. 957), contra Brovarski (1989: 404), who placed the titles in apposition, translating them as "overseer of black cattle" and "true overseer of red cattle". Note, however, that Jones transliterated the title *imy-r3 kmwt imy-r3 dsrwt m3c*.

⁷⁶⁴ Brovarski (1989: 108, 418 and 425-426).

⁷⁶⁵ Brovarski (1989: 105).

⁷⁶⁶ Brovarski (1989: 105-106, 579-580, 693-695). *Hw.ti* (N.3914) was more specifically the *imy-r3 tbww m hwt-ntr*, overseer of sandal makers in the temple. The second *wr dhc* was *Hnni* (N.82). For these titles, see also Jones (2000: 400, no. 1475).

⁷⁶⁷ For this title, see Jones (2000: 1005, no. 3724).

religious contexts, for the royal palace, in private households and at funerals.⁷⁶⁸ The *ḥm(wt)-ntr Ḥthr* were priestesses of Hathor, who had cults not only in the Memphite area but in local temples throughout the provinces from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom.⁷⁶⁹ As part of their service to Hathor, these women performed in temples as musicians, singers or dancers.⁷⁷⁰ Since Hathor was the goddess of music, these priestesses also could act as her servants in the role of music-makers in other cult temples.⁷⁷¹ At least ten wives of high officials interred with tomb models at Naga ed-Deir held the title *ḥm(wt)-ntr Ḥthr*,⁷⁷² and, therefore, were involved in the daily rituals in the local temple of *Inḥrt*.

Many of the men at Naga ed-Deir who owned models also held a number of offices in the local administration, some of which were held simultaneously with religious positions. The highest administrative office was *hry-tp ʿ3 n T3-wr* or *hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t T3-wr*, great overlord (i.e., nomarch or provincial governor) of the Ta-wer nome.⁷⁷³ Of the five known nomarchs who governed the Thinite nome (U.E. 8) and constructed tombs at Naga ed-Deir, three included models among their burial equipment: *Tmrry* (titles recorded in N.248), *H3gi* (N.89) and *Hnwy* (S.F.18).⁷⁷⁴ *Tmrry* and *H3gi* held this office jointly with that of *imy-r3 ḥm(w) ntr*, thus uniting the two most important positions at This during the late Old Kingdom. In late Dynasty 9, *ʿb-iḥw*, who came from Abydos, was the nomarch in control of U.E. nomes 6-8 as a representative of the Heracleopolitan rulers.⁷⁷⁵ During his governorship, the two titles were no longer held by one person, and the highest position held by an official in This was *imy-r3 ḥm(w) ntr*.⁷⁷⁶ Thus, *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737) and *Hni* (N.3774) who were both overseers of priests-- but not nomarchs-- were possibly *ʿb-iḥw*'s contemporaries and therefore the second-most powerful men in This in Dynasty 9. The latest nomarch of U.E. 8 was *Hnwy* (S.F.18), who died during or shortly after the reign of *W3ḥ-ʿnh Intf II* in Dynasty 10/11.⁷⁷⁷

The nomarchs and other lesser officials buried with models at Naga ed-Deir held a number of titles involving the administration of the Thinite nome. Two rather rare provincial titles associated with agricultural production were the *imy-r3 whʿ(w) nw(w) n sp3t* (overseer of [the collective] fishers, fowlers and hunters of the nome) and *imy-r3 šn-t3 nb n sp3t* (overseer of all vegetation of the nome).⁷⁷⁸ In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), both occupations were held by a man named *H3gi* (S.F.5202), while a nomarch of the same name (N.89) had a shortened version of the second title: *imy-r3 šn-t3*.⁷⁷⁹ The nomarch *Tmrry* (N.71) also held the important position of *imy-r3 k3t nbt wdt irrt m T3-wr* (the overseer of all work which is commanded to be

⁷⁶⁸ Fischer (1989: 14); Nord (1981: 137-148); Bryan (1982: 35-53); and Jones (2000: 689; no. 2519).

⁷⁶⁹ Fischer (1989: 12-13); Ward (1982: 113, no. 948; 1986: 10-11); and Jones (2000: 540-541, no. 2012).

⁷⁷⁰ Fischer (1982: 1101-1102).

⁷⁷¹ Quirke (1999: 229).

⁷⁷² N.248 (*Int-kmt, Int- [T3-wr]*), N.70/71 (*Int-[...]*, possibly restored as *Int-kmt* or *Int- [T3-wr]*, one of the same women from N.248), N.67/69 (*Int-kmt*), S.F.5202 (*Mry*), Phase I; S.F.533/536 (*Iy*), N.3900 (*Iti ʿ3's wife Htp.ti, Mrit*, name lost), N.3774 (*Kyt*) and N.3930 (*Idi*), Phase II. *Mrw/Iy 3w's* wife [*Mr*].s-*[ʿnh]*, who held the same title, is depicted with her husband in tomb N.3737, although she was not buried with him.

⁷⁷³ For this title, see Jones (2000: 657-658, no. 2395).

⁷⁷⁴ The other two nomarchs include *Ggi*, who had a tomb built both at Naga ed-Deir (N.90) and at Saqqara (although his final resting place is unknown), and *Sipt* (S.F.532).

⁷⁷⁵ Fischer (1968: 202).

⁷⁷⁶ Fischer (1968: 114; 1976: 412-413).

⁷⁷⁷ Fischer (1976b: 413).

⁷⁷⁸ Fischer (1968: 171-172); and Jones (2000: 105, no. 423; and 250-251, no. 905).

⁷⁷⁹ For this title, see Jones (2000: 250, no. 903).

done in the Thinite nome) during the late Old Kingdom.⁷⁸⁰ In *Tmrry*'s wife's tomb, N.248, this title also is recorded alternately as *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt irrt m T3-wr*, or the overseer of all royal works executed in the Thinite nome.⁷⁸¹ These two titles are variations of *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nswt*, an important office frequently held by viziers in the Old Kingdom.⁷⁸² The nomarch *Tmrry* likely had a wide range of civil responsibilities, most importantly being in charge of organizing labor needed primarily for construction projects, but also for expeditions, agricultural and craft production.⁷⁸³ In the 6th Dynasty the lesser title *hk3 hwt* (estate or district manager) was common in the provinces, held by men who were in charge of the administration of territories that yielded agricultural produce, in some instances destined for the royal pyramid cults.⁷⁸⁴ Both high- and mid-level officials held this office at Naga ed-Deir. *H3gi* (N.89) is rather unique in that he was both *hk3 hwt*, *imy-r3 hm(w) ntr* and *hry-tp 3 T3-wr*, as the former title was not usually combined with the latter two after Dynasty 6.⁷⁸⁵ Four lesser officials also buried with models at Naga ed-Deir in the late Old Kingdom were *hk3 hwt*: N.248 (*Sfh*, son of the nomarch *Tmrry*), N.67/69 (*Špss/Impy*), S.F.5201/5203 (*Dd-Inhrt-ꜥnh*) and S.F.5202 (*H3gi*).

Other administrative positions held by men interred with models at Naga ed-Deir reflect their duties to maintain law and order within the Thinite nome: *imy-r3 msꜥ* (expedition leader);⁷⁸⁶ *imy-r3 šnt(w)* (overseer of disputes)⁷⁸⁷ and *s3b ꜥd-mr* (judicial ꜥd-mr official/judge and border official).⁷⁸⁸ In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), *Tmrry* (N.248) and *H3gi* (S.F.5202) were *imy-r3 msꜥ*. Both men may have been involved with military skirmishes against invading Nubians. As recorded in the tomb inscriptions in N.248, the nomarch *Tmrry* was also an “overseer of the army.... in repelling foreigners who regularly came down from the southern high-lands”, presumably invaders who came north through the desert route via the Kharga oasis into the regions of Dendera and This in the latter part of Dynasty 6 or later, towards the end of Dynasty 8.⁷⁸⁹ Three men buried in N.3900 also held this title, which was recorded on their funerary stelae: *Hti/Iti*, his son *In-it.f 3* and an official whose name has been lost. As noted above, Brovarski placed these three stelae in his Green Group, which he dates to Dynasty 9. More specifically, the fact that *Hti/Iti* described himself as the *imy-r3 msꜥ n Šmꜥw Mhw* (the expedition leader of Upper and of Lower Egypt) led Brovarski to argue (following Schenkel) that *Hti/Iti* held this office during the latter part of the 9th Dynasty, before the beginning of hostilities between the Heracleopolitans and the Thebans under *In-it.f 3*, and, possibly, subsequently faced this local Theban ruler in battle.⁷⁹⁰ The nomarch *Hnwy* (S.F.18), who lived in Dynasty 10/11,

⁷⁸⁰ Jones (2000: 262, no. 948).

⁷⁸¹ Jones (2000: 261-262, no. 947).

⁷⁸² Strudwick (1985: 236-240); and Jones (2000: 262-263, no. 950).

⁷⁸³ Strudwick (1985: 240-250); and Brovarski (1989: 110-111).

⁷⁸⁴ Fischer (1968: 72, 98); and Eyre (1987: 34). For this title, with further examples, see Jones (2000: 670, no. 2453).

⁷⁸⁵ Fischer (1968: 73).

⁷⁸⁶ Jones (2000: 142, no. 551).

⁷⁸⁷ Jones (2000: 256, no. 927).

⁷⁸⁸ Jones (2000: 806, no. 2947).

⁷⁸⁹ Peck (1958: 52-54, 84-86, Pl. 3); Fischer (1968: 141); and Brovarski (1989: 268-272, Fig. 20).

⁷⁹⁰ Brovarski (1989: 682) and Schenkel (1962: 100). In contrast, Faulkner placed *Hti/Iti* in the early Middle Kingdom, suggesting that he would have held this position at the head of the king's national army in post-reunification Dynasty 11 (1953: 37). The title *imy-r3 msꜥ n Šmꜥw Mhw* is otherwise unattested from the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see, for example, Ward 1982: 30(215)). N.3900 was a family tomb that was used by at least nine individuals over several generations, as indicated by the range of burial goods (listed in Appendix A), which date to the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom. Although all five stelae from the tomb are

was another expedition leader who maintained his own private army at This. He also likely was caught up in the Heracleopolitans' struggle against the Thebans, perhaps during the reign of *W3h-ꜥnh Intf* II, who sought to retake northern Upper Egypt.⁷⁹¹ In the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the *imy-r3 msꜥ* also performed civic duties, conscripting troops to serve as gangs of workmen employed on public works, including quarrying and mining expeditions.⁷⁹²

Additional officials responsible for maintaining law and order in This were *imy-r3 šnt(w)* (overseers of disputes), a title which has its earliest recorded occurrences in cemeteries in the Thinite nome.⁷⁹³ Men who held this title served in the capacity of police officers, at least two of whom (including one nomarch) were interred with models at Naga ed-Deir: S.F.5202 (*H3gi*), N.89 (*H3gi*) and (possibly) N.429 (*Wh3*).⁷⁹⁴ While the first two holders of this title died at the end of Dynasty 8 (Phase I), *Wh3*'s tomb dates to the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), when the title was most common at the site.⁷⁹⁵ Finally, two individuals buried with models at Naga ed-Deir performed legal duties, the exact natures of which are unknown. The *s3b ꜥd-mr* (judicial ꜥd-*mr* official/judge and border official) was a legal office held by men who worked first at the Residence, in the earlier Old Kingdom and, later, in the provinces.⁷⁹⁶ The title could be held in conjunction with *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*, as evidenced in the titulary of one individual interred with tomb models at Naga ed-Deir: the nomarch, *Tmrry. Šps/Impy* (N.67/69) was both *iwn knmwt*⁷⁹⁷ and *mdw rhyt*,⁷⁹⁸ or a support of the *Knmwt*-people and a staff of the *Rekhyt*-people (i.e., commoners). Although their exact meanings are unclear, these latter two titles appear to be associated with legal matters and, while frequently paired in Old Kingdom titularies in the Memphite region, were less commonly combined in the provinces.⁷⁹⁹

Based on the inscriptional evidence, 26 out of 62 tombs of the model-owning classes at Naga ed-Deir belonged to titled people. From the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom (Phases I-III), 22 men held honorific titles (denoting noble status) in conjunction with titles that show they were mid- and high-ranking secular and religious professionals who worked in the local administration of This and/or the cult temple of *Inhrt*. Some of the men operated primarily in the religious sector,⁸⁰⁰ while others predominated in the local administration.⁸⁰¹ Within the religious sphere, male professions ranged from the top level *imy-r3 hm(w) ntr* to the

similar in style, they would have been made at different times, with the similarities more likely the result of conservatism in the iconography and paleography. If *imy-r3 msꜥ n Šmꜥw Mhw* was a functional title, it is possible that *Hti/Iti* held this position at the end of the 9th Dynasty, as Brovarski suggested. The other two military men buried in this tomb, who were simply *imy-r3 msꜥ*, may have been involved in later armed conflicts between the Heracleopolitans and the Thebans in Dynasties 10/11, during which period the Thinite nome was lost to the Thebans. If *Hti/Iti* inflated his military title on his funerary stelae, however, it would have no bearing on establishing the date of his death.

⁷⁹¹ Fischer (1976b: 413).

⁷⁹² Faulkner (1953: 33-34, 37-38); and Eyre (1987: 10).

⁷⁹³ Brovarski (1989: 402-403, nn. 399, 400); Dunham (1934: 34); and Faulkner (1953: 41).

⁷⁹⁴ The title appears to be written in hieratic on the stela from N.429, shown in Ex. Ph. C8920, but is almost illegible.

⁷⁹⁵ Brovarski (1989: 403).

⁷⁹⁶ Fischer (1968: 99); and Strudwick (1985: 178, 185).

⁷⁹⁷ Jones (2000: 6, no. 22).

⁷⁹⁸ Jones (2000: 453-454, no. 1698).

⁷⁹⁹ Strudwick (1985: 178, 180); and Brovarski (1989: 319).

⁸⁰⁰ *Hni* (N.11), *Mrw/Iy 3w* (N.3737), *Tby* (N.3765), *In-it.f'ꜥ3* (N.3900) and *Hni* (N.3774).

⁸⁰¹ *H3gi* (S.F.5202), *Šps/Impy* (N.67/69), *Sfhi* (N.3567), *Wsr* (S.F.5214) and *In-hrt-sn-nfr* (N.3558).

lower-ranking office of *hry-hbt*, working under the direction of this higher authority. Both mid- and high-ranking men were in charge of maintaining law and order within the nome, acting as *s3b ʕd-mr*, *iwn knmwt* and *mdw rhyt*, *imy-r3 šnt(w)*, and, more commonly, as *imy-r3 msʕ*. Likewise, men of both mid and high status fulfilled economic duties within the temple, serving as the *imy-r3 knwt*, *wr dhʕ* or *imy-r3 tbww*, overseeing the production of meat and hides destined for the god's cult and for payment to temple personnel. In some instances, men held simultaneous positions in both the religious and secular realms.⁸⁰² Two of the men holding the highest religious offices in the Thinite nome, *Tmrry* (N.71, N.248) and *H3gi* (N.89), also served in the capacity of the *hry-tp ʕ3 T3-wr* and the *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt irrt m T3-wr* or *imy-r3 šn-t3*. These two men were in charge not only of the daily cult activities within the local temple of *Inhrt* but also were the chief administrators of their nomes, who had civil responsibilities, also supervising the organization of labor for different work projects and/or agricultural production in the nome. Finally, seven men who owned tomb models held only honorific titles,⁸⁰³ indicating only that they claimed noble status; their professional occupations are unknown. Gradations in rank would appear to be suggested by the higher-status *iry-pʕt* and *h3ty-ʕ* and the somewhat lower-level *htm(ty)-bity* and *smr-wʕty*. For example, *M3ʕ-hrw*'s (N.3930) highest rank was *iry-pʕt*, while *Ibi* (N.4172) and *In-it.f šri* (N.3900) were both *h3ty-ʕ*. In contrast, *Ikr-itw* (N.3930), whose highest (recorded) title was *htm(ty)-bity*, and *P3i* (N.3907) and *Kky* (N.105), both of whom were only *smr-wʕty*, may have been of lower status. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to make clear distinctions among ranks based on these honorific titles because the title strings are leftovers from the Old Kingdom, a fact which renders the claims to higher status rather suspect.

Of the 15 women interred with models, with the exception of the twelve cult priestesses, the *hm(t)-ntr Hthr*, they held no administrative offices or professional positions in the local temple of *Inhrt*. In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) at least three women held the honorific titles *iryʕ ht nswt/rh nswt* and *hkrt nswt (wʕtt)* simultaneously with the office of *hm(t)-ntr Hthr*.⁸⁰⁴ In the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), both *hkrt nswt wʕtt* and *hm(t)-ntr Hthr* were combined in the titularies of six women.⁸⁰⁵ Finally, in the late Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom (Phases I and III), four women held only honorific titles denoting their elite status, but did not hold positions in the local temple, as far as can be ascertained from the surviving evidence.⁸⁰⁶

The tomb inscriptions of the model owners support the corollary that tomb location, size and decoration are directly proportional to social status at Naga ed-Deir. Of 45 titled individuals who owned models, only *Tti* (N.43) and *Ibi* (N.4172) -- both of whom held only honorific titles -- were buried in undecorated Type II shaft-and-chamber tombs that were constructed close to, but below, the larger, rock-cut tombs. The remaining 43 men and women were interred in 24

⁸⁰² *Tmrry* (N.71, N.248), *H3gi* (N.89), *Hti/Iti*, unknown man (N.3900) and *Wh3* (N.429).

⁸⁰³ *Kky* (N.105), *In-it.f šri* (N.3900), *Ibi* (N.4172), *M3ʕ-hrw* and *Ikr-itw* (N.3930), *P3i* (N.3907) and *Iti* (S.F.5025). Because the titularies of the men buried in N.105, N.3930 and S.F.5025 are preserved only on fragments of pottery or coffins, it is possible that they held additional titles that haven't survived in the archaeological record.

⁸⁰⁴ *Int-kmt* and *Int [T3-wr]* (N.248), *Int [...]* (N.70/71, possibly the same *Int-kmt* or *Int [T3-wr]* mentioned in N.248), and *Int-kmt* (N.67/69).

⁸⁰⁵ *Iy* (S.F.533/536), *Iti ʕ3's* wife *Htp.ti*, *Mrit* and an unknown woman (N.3900), *Kyt* (N.3774) and *Idi* (N.3930). The combination of titles *Hm(t)-ntr Hthr* and *Hkrt nswt wʕtt* was common in provincial sites in this period, with 24 (out of 31) examples recorded on funerary stelae deriving from Naga ed-Deir alone (Galvin 1981: 18).

⁸⁰⁶ *Tti* (N.43), *Špst* (N.241), *Hʕ-nfr* and an unknown woman (N.4003).

Type III rock-tombs located in prominent positions in the uppermost levels of the cemeteries. Of these 24 graves, 21 contained inscribed and painted funerary stelae or decorated tomb walls. Two of the most important men at the site, *H3gi* (N.89) and *Mrw* (N.3737) were buried alone in large, decorated tombs. Only two titled noblewomen, *Tti* (N.43) and (possibly) *Špst* (N.241) had their own tombs. Many other men of high status with interred in decorated, rock-cut tombs with their wives and/or other family members. As identified in tomb scenes or on stelae with accompanying inscriptions, titled married couples include *Tmrry* and *Int-[T3-wr]* (N.248), *Tmrry* and *Int* [...] (N.70/71), *Špss/Impy* and *Int-kmt* (N.67/69), *H3gi* and *Mry* (S.F.5202), *Iti ʿ3* and *Htp.ti* (N.3900), *Hti/Iti* and *Hnyt* (N.3900), *In-it.f ʿ3* and *Mri.t* (N.3900), NN and NN (N.3900), *Hni* and *Kyt* (N.3774) and *M3ʿ-hrw* and *Idi* (N.3930). N.4003 also may have contained the burial of the tomb owner's titled (but unnamed) daughter, who is depicted on her mother's stela. Tombs N.248 and N.3900 likely housed the burials of three sons, all of whom are identified by title and name: *Sfh*, *In-it.f ʿ3* and *In-it.f šri*. One son from N.3900, *In-it.f ʿ3*, also is represented on his own funerary stela.

As befitting their social status, the 43 titled model owners interred in rock-cut graves also equipped their burials with a wide range of funerary goods, many of which were luxury items. The materials and types of objects indicative of noble rank include beads and amulets made of faience and/or carnelian from 13 tombs,⁸⁰⁷ travertine cosmetic jars from five tombs,⁸⁰⁸ wooden fragments of beds and chairs or stools from seven tombs,⁸⁰⁹ copper objects, including a mirror, model tools and a model funerary table set, from three tombs⁸¹⁰ and remnants of *k3* statues from 13 tombs.⁸¹¹ The *k3* statues are predominantly made of wood, but there are also examples in limestone and ivory from (pit) S.F.5203 and N.3737, respectively. At least three titled men also had coffin sets, as reconstructed from both complete and fragmentary inscribed coffins found in their graves: *H3gi* (S.F.5202), *Dd-Inhrt-ʿnh* (pit) S.F.5203 and *Tby* (N.3765). In contrast to the rock-cut tombs, the two intact shaft-and-chamber tombs belonging to the members of the local nobility, *Tti* (N.43) and *Ibi* (N.4172), contained fewer burial goods and no luxury items, except for the large cache of wooden *k3* statues deposited in N.43.

Excluding models, the specific identification of woods used in the manufacture of objects interred with titled individuals is limited to two inscribed coffins from S.F.5202 and N.4003, the head of a male statue from N.248 and a chair leg in the shape of a lion's paw from N.3774.⁸¹² All four objects were identified as acacia, a hard wood indigenous to Egypt. Three coffins from N.3765 (*Tby*, *Hr-nfr*) and N.4003 (*Ppy-im3*) also were veneered with other woods. While the veneer on the coffins of *Tby* and *Hr-nfr* have not been analyzed, *Ppy-im3*'s has been identified as cedar. The use of cedar reflects the tomb owner's wealth in that he had access to this valuable

⁸⁰⁷ N.248, N.67/69, N.241, S.F.533, N.3765, N.3737, N.3774, N.3930, S.F.18, N.429, N.3907, N.3567 and N.3769.

⁸⁰⁸ N.248, S.F.5203, N.67/69, N.3900 and S.F.18.

⁸⁰⁹ S.F.5203, N.3765, N.3900, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.5204 and S.F.5025.

⁸¹⁰ N.241, (pit) N.69, N.3737, respectively.

⁸¹¹ N.248, (pit) N.70, (pit) N.69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.241, N.3900, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.3769, and S.F.5025.

⁸¹² Nels Rem tested the statue and furniture leg at the Richmond Forestry Lab (Rem 1983-89: letters dated June 21, 1984 and January 28, 1988, respectively; Podzorski, Rem and Knudsen 1985: 124). The coffins from S.F.5202 and N.4003 were analyzed at the Research Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Bailey-Westman Laboratory of the Botany Museum, Harvard University (Brovarski 1989: 400, n.391; 645, n.429).

wood in the early Middle Kingdom, which was acquired through long-distance trade. None-the-less, he still was not wealthy enough to afford enough cedar planks for his entire coffin.

Some funerary goods excavated from 17 tombs of titled model owners at Naga ed-Deir also are suggestive of gender. Particularly important are those objects found *in situ* in burials of men and women, because they serve as a source of comparison for analogous material excavated from tombs of presumed titled and untitled individuals. Funerary objects typical of male burials include a wooden false beard from a mummy mask from one tomb,⁸¹³ walking staves from at least eight tombs,⁸¹⁴ reed arrows and/or flint points from three tombs,⁸¹⁵ long bows from three tombs,⁸¹⁶ a spear from one tomb,⁸¹⁷ a fragmentary scribal palette from one tomb⁸¹⁸ and male *k3* statues from 11 tombs.⁸¹⁹ Funerary objects generally associated with women are much more limited, consisting of only female *k3* statues from six tombs.⁸²⁰

After arranging the 26 tombs of titled men and women into chronological order, I calculated the percentage of tombs with models for each phase. Ten out of 14 tombs (ca. 71%) dated to the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) belonged to titled individuals. In the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), this figure dropped to 14 out of 21 tombs (ca. 67%). In the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III), the number of tombs belonging to titled individuals fell again to two out of 20 tombs (ca. 10%). Finally, in the later Middle Kingdom (Phase IV), none of the owners of the

⁸¹³ N.4003, found inside the coffin beside of *Ppy-im3*'s head.

⁸¹⁴ N.3765, N.3900, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.4172, N.3907, N.3558, and N.4003. The intact staves from N.3765, N.3774, N.4172 and N.4003 are all identified as *imyt-r* staves, i.e., straight sticks that are rounded at one end and squared at the other (Fischer 1978: 5). In these same four tombs the staves were found *in situ*, either underneath, on top of, or behind the coffins of men. Mace discovered the staff from N.3907 in the debris of pit "b", which also contained coffin fragment inscribed with a man's name: *Inhrt* [...]. This staff may also have belonged to *In-it.f*, the male owner of the inscribed stela associated with this pit (discussed above, p. 160). A wooden pole found next to *H3gi*'s coffin in S.F.5202 was either a carrying pole for his coffin or an *imyt-r* staff. A pole discovered under the coffin of *Kyt*, the woman buried in pit "b" in N.3774, likely served to carry her coffin. Mace also found a carrying pole underneath the coffin of *Ppy-im3* in N.4003: it had two round legs at either end, held when supporting the coffin. At other sites, although different forms of staves (including the *imyt-r*) have been excavated from elite female burials, most notably those of *Snb-ty.sy* at Lisht, more often they have been found in association with private male burials of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom (A. Hassan 1976: 71-88).

⁸¹⁵ N.3765, N.3774 and N.3558. While none of these arrow shafts or flint points were discovered *in situ* in the burial chambers, their presence in the debris of the chapels and burial shafts suggests that at least one person buried in each of these tombs was male.

⁸¹⁶ N.3765, N.4172 and S.F.18. While the specific locations were not recorded for N.3765 or S.F.18, in N.4172 Mace discovered *Ibi*'s long bow on top of his inscribed coffin lid.

⁸¹⁷ N.4003. The spear, still hafted to its wooden shaft, had been placed inside the coffin behind *Ppy-im3*'s mummy.

⁸¹⁸ (Pit) S.F.5203. The palette, which is inscribed with the name of the male tomb owner, the *htm(ly)-bity, Mry*, was found in the fill of this burial shaft. There are no known Old Kingdom examples of female scribes, as women did not generally participate in the government bureaucracy or temple administration. Middle Kingdom female scribes are rare, as documented on an 11th Dynasty coffin and two stelae and one scarab dating to Dynasty 12 (Ward 1986: 16-17; Fischer 1976a: 77-78, Pl.XIX, figs. 2 and 3; 1989: 24).

⁸¹⁹ N.248, (pit) N.70, (pit) N.69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.43, N.241, N.3737, S.F.5214 and S.F.5025. In addition to two fragmentary, uninscribed wooden statues, N.3737 contained one ivory statuette inscribed on the wooden base with the name of the male tomb owner, *Mrw*. Male statues were discovered *in situ* only in N.43, clustered around the foot of the coffin of *Tti*. Note, however, that N.43 contained not only nine male *k3* statues, but also seven female *k3* statues of the tomb owner. In this case, the male statues presumably represented her husband, who was buried in a different tomb.

⁸²⁰ N.248, (pit) N.69, S.F.5201/5203, N.43, N.241 and N.3900. The female statues, again, were discovered *in situ* only in N.43.

seven tombs had titles (0%). Therefore, based on the inscriptional evidence alone, at Naga ed-Deir the number of non-titled (i.e., lower status) individuals buried with tomb models appears to have risen throughout the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, while the number of mid- and high-ranking titled-individuals correspondingly decreased. Due to accidents of preservation, these figures may be distorted. Alternatively, however, these differences may have to do with changes in burial practices. These percentages will be re-evaluated after considering further evidence for social status in the tombs of presumed titled and untitled individuals, to be discussed in the following two sections.

5.5.2 Presumed Titled Individuals

When the archaeological material consists of fragmentary inscribed objects or incomplete tomb inscriptions, it still can be used to determine whether or not the people interred with models at Naga ed-Deir were of a titled or professional class. For example, if there is evidence of at least one titled person in a tomb, then the family members buried with him very likely would be of comparable status. In First Intermediate Period (Phase II) tomb N.3907, discussed in section 5.5.1, the coffin fragment of one male individual recovered from pit “b” preserved part of his name, *Inḥrt*-[...]. Although his own title(s) did not survive intact, *Inḥrt*-[...]'s noble rank is suggested by the titularies of three (presumed) family members who also were buried in the tomb: the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, *ḥry-ḥbt*, *smr-wꜥty*, *In-it.f*; the *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, *ḥry-ḥbt*, *smr-wꜥty*, [*W*]*ḥ[3]i* (?); and the *smr-wꜥty*, *P3i*. Furthermore, for married women, according to standard Egyptian practice, their ranks can be assumed to be equal to those of their husbands. Two other First Intermediate Period tombs discussed in section 5.5.1 contained partially inscribed coffin fragments belonging to *Hr-nfr*, the presumed wife of the *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, *ḥry-ḥbt*, *smr-wꜥty*, *Tby* (N.3765), and *Hnw.ti*, the presumed wife of the *tbw nswt*, *Inḥrt-sn-nfr* (N.3558).⁸²¹ The stela from contemporary tomb N.429 depicts the tomb owner's wife standing behind her husband, the *imy-r3 šnt(w)*, *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, *ḥry-ḥbt*, *smr-wꜥty*, *Wh3*. Because the painted surface of the stela is worn, however, it is impossible to identify her name or titles, which originally would have been written near her image. She probably was buried in one of the nine burial chambers in N.429. The wife of the *imy-r3* [*sšr*], *ḥry-sšt3* [*n ḥtmt-ntr*], [*ḥry-tp d3t*] *n mnḥt*, *Hni*, is represented with her husband in the damaged offering scene on the west wall of late Old Kingdom tomb N.11. Her name and presumed titles, unfortunately, did not survive intact. She likely was interred in one of the two burial chambers in this rock-cut tomb. All four women buried in tombs N.3765, N.3558, N.429 and N.11, therefore, were undoubtedly of mid-high local status even though their titles were not preserved. Finally, two sons may have been buried with their parents in N.429 and N.3765. These unnamed boys are depicted on the two funerary stelae from these burials, standing below the mother on the former stela and standing behind the father on the latter. N.3765, furthermore, had six burial chambers for the interments of the tomb owner and members of his family. More specifically, *Tby*'s son may have been

⁸²¹ Although neither woman is identified specifically as a wife in these inscriptions, for the purposes of the current study both are considered to be married to the owners of tombs N.3765 and N.3558. In N.3765, Mace discovered *Hr-nfr*'s coffin fragments in the south chamber located 1.16 cm above the floor of tomb shaft B, which was 3.76 cm deep. The inscribed coffin containing the mummy of the man presumed to be her husband had been interred in the north chamber, which opened off the bottom of the same shaft. In N.3558, Mace recovered the coffin fragments inscribed for *Hnw.ti* in the fill of shaft of pit “b”, and the stick inscribed for *Inḥrt-sn-nfr* in the fill of the tomb's second shaft, “a”, along with painted fragments of two or more coffins.

interred in burial pit E, based on the skeletal remains of a young man that Mace recovered from this chamber.

In 17 tombs at Naga ed-Deir there is no evidence for any titled individuals preserved in the fragmentary tomb inscriptions. The presence of inscriptions, although incomplete, on funerary objects that were usually the prerogative of the elite, however, suggests analogous social status with those of the titled class. This supposition is reinforced by the range of luxury funerary goods recovered from the burials in these 17 tombs. The gender of some individuals also can be determined through identification of the human skeletal remains and the consideration of a few key funerary goods. All of this evidence will be presented in the following discussion, which is organized by chronological period.

Three tombs dated to the First Intermediate Period (Phase II) belonged to presumed titled individuals, two of which are Type III rock-cut tombs: N.3916 and N.3756. The third tomb, S.F.5204, is a Type II shaft-and-chamber tomb. Reisner found fragmentary remains of decorated and inscribed material in association with models in all three graves. These objects include coffin fragments from N.3916, N.3756 and S.F.5204 and a cartonnage mummy mask from N.3756. Excluding these mortuary items, very little in the way of burial equipment that can be considered luxury items survived in these tombs: carnelian beads from N.3756 and parts of wooden *k3* statues from S.F.5204 and N.3916.

Only the field notes for N.3756 and N.3916 record the presence of human skeletal remains. Mace found two (mainly) intact mummies in burial chambers “a” and “b” in N.3756, but did not sex the skeletons. He also discovered a heap of bones belonging to at least one other individual at the entrance to pit “b”.⁸²² In N.3916, Mace recovered the remains of one skeleton, a second broken skull and a child’s femur in the fill of the sole burial shaft. The more complete skeleton may have belonged to the original tomb owner. Unfortunately, however, Mace did not record the sex, even if he was able to identify it. The human remains from these First Intermediate Period graves cannot be used, therefore, to ascertain the tomb owners’ gender. Two funerary objects do, however, provide clues. A wooden *imyt-r* walking staff and reed arrow shaft found in the chapel debris of N.3756 indicates the presence of at least one male burial. The wooden arm fragments from a large male *k3* statue in the debris of S.F.5204 suggest the burial in this single-chambered shaft-and-chamber tomb was that of a man.

Twelve tombs dated to the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III) belonged to members of the presumed titled class, all of which are Type III rock-cut graves: N.3945, S.F.5021, S.F.5011, S.F.5010, N.4401, S.F.25, N.408, N.9091, N.9292, S.F.187, N.361 and N.450. The names of seven individuals are preserved on inscribed and painted coffins and funerary stelae. Mace found the remains of coffins belonging to *Inhrt-nht* and his wife *Š3[ny]* in N.4401.⁸²³ Reisner

⁸²² A tibia from one individual buried in N.3756 is currently housed in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 12-3915).

⁸²³ The restoration of the woman’s name is Caroline Peck’s. She recorded the name in her undated notebooks, which are now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Her source of evidence likely was the expedition photograph of inscribed coffin fragments from this tomb and three others (Exh. Ph. C8534). Because the Hearst Museum does not own a copy of this photograph, and I have not yet located the contact print in Boston, I have not been able to examine the hieroglyphs myself. There is no *Š3[ny]* listed in Ranke. It is also possible, therefore, that the name is actually to be restored as *Š3*, *Š3t*, *Š3it*, *Š3iw* or *Š3w*, all female names found in this period (Ranke 1977: 324.12, 324.13, 324.15, 324.16 and 324.17, respectively). Furthermore, although she is not identified

identified part of the name of the male owner of N.361, *Nḥt* [...], preserved on one coffin fragment in the debris of one of the tomb's two burial shafts. Since inscribed and decorated coffins are typical of elite burials, it is likely that these two individuals were also of the nobility class, even though their titles were not preserved. Conversely, on the intact stela recovered from S.F.5011, the tomb owner, *S3-Inḥrt*, is depicted with his wife *Hpw*, while his son, *Hny*, and mother, *Hpw*, are both named in the offering formula; in this case, none of the individuals have any titles. Therefore, not all people with funerary stelae were necessarily titled. *S3-Inḥrt* obviously had pretensions of elite status, however, because he had the means to not only equip himself with a funerary stela carved in delicate, raised relief, but could also afford to have a large, decorated tomb constructed for his burial.

Reisner also discovered fragmentary remains of decorated and inscribed material in association with models in nine early Middle Kingdom tombs of presumed titled-- but unnamed-- individuals. These objects include coffin fragments from N.3945, S.F.5021, N.9091, N.9292 and N.450, complete and partial cartonnage mummy masks from S.F.25, N.408, N.9091, N.9292 and S.F.187 and fragments of limestone stelae from S.F.5021 and S.F.5010. In addition, as noted previously, although no stela was found in N.3945, in his field notes Mace recorded the location of a niche that had been constructed in the north wall for its placement.⁸²⁴ It is very likely that all these funerary objects were inscribed originally with both the names and titles of their high-status owners who could afford these items. For example, the man buried in N.408 had an elaborately decorated cartonnage mummy mask, which, although unfinished, had four painted horizontal bands across the front, probably for the placement of an offering formula that may have been intended to include his titulary.⁸²⁵

All 12 early Middle Kingdom tombs of presumed titled people also contained uninscribed high-quality burial goods that are indicative of a high-ranking individual (or individuals) who had the means to acquire them. In addition to models, most of these tombs had a number of beads and amulets in metal and semi-precious stones, wooden furniture fragments and cosmetic jars made of ivory and a variety of stones. Reisner recorded in his field notes the specific locations of the material he excavated from tombs N.408, N.361 and N.450. In N.408, Reisner discovered the burial chamber to be relatively undisturbed. He found the mummies of two adults in the single chamber that opened off the east end of the burial shaft. The coffin containing the male mummy had been interred first, with the woman's coffin later squeezed in next to it, on its north side; because of a lack of space, her coffin protruded halfway outside the chamber and into the pit. Reisner found the skeleton of a child, perhaps the offspring of this couple, inside a small coffin in the chapel above. The tomb also contained 22 pieces of pottery; although Reisner did not record the locations, because of the small size of the burial chamber, it likely had been deposited in the chapel. The woman had been placed inside her coffin with two wooden toilet boxes, which held two cosmetic jars and a kohl container with a sliding lid. In this case, the jars were made of wood, rather than more expensive stone. She was, however, also buried with jewelry, including a necklace of white stone and carnelian beads and two double strand bracelets strung from faience and carnelian beads. In disturbed tomb N.361 Reisner discovered 33 pieces

specifically as *Inḥrt-nḥt*'s wife in the inscriptions, *Š3[ny]* is considered to be his wife for the purposes of the current study. Mace excavated the bones of two separate skeletons along with these inscribed coffin fragments in the chapel (A) and inner room (B) of the tomb. Both people likely were interred originally in the burial chamber (B).

⁸²⁴ See above, p. 89.

⁸²⁵ Discussed above, on pp. 51, 52.

of pottery in the chapel and a variety of faience, garnet and carnelian beads, a blank carnelian scarab and three semi-precious stone amulets in the fill in one of the two tomb shafts. In addition to *Nht* [...]’s inscribed coffin fragment, he found other painted pieces of coffins, one of which was veneered with an unknown type of wood. Similarly, in N.450, Reisner recovered two travertine cosmetic jars and a wooden toilet box (likely the one in which the jars were stored originally) in the chapel, room A, in addition to a number of faience, amethyst and carnelian beads and amulets scattered in chambers C and E.

Mace also excavated a number of luxury funerary objects from disturbed tombs in cemeteries N.3500 and N.9000. He recovered a granite grinder for a palette from the chapel debris in N.3945 and wooden chair fragments from room A (the chapel) in N.4401. He recovered other cosmetic items from chamber F in N.9091, including ivory and serpentine kohl jars, in addition to a large number of beads made of faience, shell and carnelian and a carnelian monkey amulet. In N.9292, he found the rim of a basalt kohl jar lid in the chapel debris.

Reisner’s expedition teams found similar luxury objects in cemeteries S.F.5000-5200 and S.F.200. They recovered a faience amulet and amethyst beads from the chapel debris in S.F.5021 and a faience amulet, carnelian ring beads and a silver disc ornament from the similar debris in S.F.5010. In S.F.5011 they also found a variety of objects made of semi-precious materials in the chapel, including a gold bead, a travertine beaker, remnants of travertine and sandstone palettes and a granite pestle. S.F.187 contained 45 pieces of pottery and several items of jewelry, the latter including a broken silver uraeus pendant, a jasper scarab and a number of amethyst, faience and carnelian beads, all from unrecorded locations. Other than N.408, only the burial chamber in S.F.25 survived (relatively) intact. In chamber B (also labeled “25c” on the tomb plan), excavators discovered ca. 60 pieces of pottery, ivory toilet box inlays, an ivory kohl stick, a wooden paddle doll, a slate cosmetic palette and 17 reed arrows grouped around the head and back panels of an intact coffin. Inside the coffin, the mummy was buried with a copper battle axe placed behind his body and a wooden headrest supporting his head. Within the mummy wrappings, excavators further found a strand of faience beads laid over the right shoulder and a copper mirror resting on the chin and breast.

The gender of perhaps seven individuals buried in N.4401, S.F.5011 and N.361 can be ascertained from the names that survived on their coffins and funerary stelae: a husband and wife (N.4401); a family group, composed of a husband and wife, their son and the tomb owner’s mother (S.F.5011); and one man (N.361). Eight early Middle Kingdom tombs contained scattered remnants of skeletal material from at least one individual, unfortunately not identified by gender in any of the field records: N.3945,⁸²⁶ N.4401,⁸²⁷ S.F.25,⁸²⁸ N.9091,⁸²⁹ N.9292⁸³⁰, S.F.187,⁸³¹ N.361⁸³² and N.450.⁸³³ The only intact mummies were those found in S.F.25⁸³⁴ and

⁸²⁶ A few bones, including a pelvis from the chapel.

⁸²⁷ Bones from two skeletons in room A and chamber B.

⁸²⁸ Forty-seven skulls scattered throughout the tomb.

⁸²⁹ Several skulls in chamber D, bones from one burial in chamber C, four skulls in burial chamber F and the remains of one burial in chamber A

⁸³⁰ One mummified hand from an undisclosed location in the tomb.

⁸³¹ Thirteen skulls and mummified body parts from undisclosed locations in the tomb.

⁸³² One child’s skull from the chapel.

⁸³³ One human cranium from an undisclosed location.

N.408, both of whose linen bandages the excavators unwrapped. Reisner sexed only the skeletal remains of the man and woman buried together in N.408. A more recent study of the cranium recovered from N.450, however, proved that it belonged to a man, aged 31-55.⁸³⁵

Some of the burial equipment from eight early Middle Kingdom tombs also can be used to ascertain gender. Three tombs contained functional weapons used by men for warfare and hunting. The individual interred in chamber S.F.25 “c” was likely male, based on the battle-axe and arrows from this burial. Copper or bronze spear and arrow points from the chapel debris in S.F.5010 and reed arrows with flint points from the chapel in N.3945 likewise suggest the single occupants buried in these tombs were both male. The man placed in coffin “c” in N.408 wore a bearded male cartonnage mummy mask, while his wife’s skeleton, placed in coffin “b”, was decorated with a beaded faience necklace and bracelets, as mentioned above. Faience cowrie shells strung on one of her bracelets are indicative of her gender, as these amulets were generally worn by women as protective symbols.⁸³⁶ In N.361, Reisner discovered a false beard from a male mummy mask in the fill of one burial shaft, and two arms of a male *k3* statue from an unrecorded tomb location(s), indicating at least one person buried in this tomb was a man. The large quantity of jewelry also found this grave suggests a female presence, perhaps *Nht* [...]’s wife, who would have been interred in the secondary burial chamber. Other objects placed in male burials include wooden staves from N.3945, N.4401, N.408 and N.9292,⁸³⁷ and a scribal palette from N.9091. In all but N.408, the staves were found in the tomb chapels’ debris. In N.408, Reisner discovered the staff *in situ*, on the ground behind coffin “c”. In N.9091, Mace excavated the scribal palette from the debris in burial chamber F.

Two burials of presumed titled individuals date to the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV), both of which are Type III rock-cut tombs: S.F.170 and S.F.209. Reisner discovered fragmentary remains of decorated and inscribed material, lacking names and titles, in association with models in both tombs: coffin fragments from S.F.209; pieces of cartonnage mummy masks from S.F.170 and S.F.209; and part of a wooden box fragment from S.F.170. It is very likely that all these funerary objects were inscribed originally with the names and titles of their high-status owners who could afford these items. Other high-status burial goods from these tombs include a variety of semi-precious stone beads, large quantities of pottery, stone cosmetic jars and wooden furniture, excavated from unrecorded locations in the tombs. S.F.170 contained 43 pieces of pottery, an anhydrite cosmetic jar, a travertine bowl and a variety of beads and amulets made of faience and semi-precious stones (carnelian, beryl, amethyst and garnet), in addition to a silver wire *hh* amulet. The occupants of S.F.209 were buried with travertine and quartz crystal kohl jars, a wooden toilet box inlaid with ivory, a wooden bed with legs in the form of ox hooves and a number of beads and amulets made of faience, garnet, hematite and amethyst.

⁸³⁴ In his field diary, West wrote that he planned to remove the body from S.F.25 from the site, it being one of very few intact mummies found inside an unopened coffin (1913a: 81). The present location of the mummy is, however, unknown.

⁸³⁵ Harrington (1992: 91, 105). The cranium is today housed in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 12-4861).

⁸³⁶ Andrews (1994: 42). For examples from other Middle Kingdom sites, see above, n. 533.

⁸³⁷ The one from N.408 is identified as an *imyt-r* staff, while the one from N.9292 is curved at the top. Similar curved staves are known from 11th Dynasty tombs at Deir el-Bahri, Gebelein and Rifeh (Fischer 1978: 13, n. 48 and Fig.14).

Tombs S.F.170⁸³⁸ and S.F.209⁸³⁹ both contained scattered remnants of skeletal material from at least one individual, none of which was identified by sex in any of the field records. Funerary objects from S.F.170, which are generally associated with men, helped establish the gender of at least one person originally buried in this grave. These remains include a scribal palette and wooden bases from two male *k3* statues found in unrecorded locations. Based on the large quantity of jewelry found in the tomb it is likely, however, that it also contained one female burial, possibly the tomb owner's wife, who was interred in the secondary burial chamber.

Although fragmentary, the inscribed and decorated material from 17 tombs preserving models at Naga ed-Deir suggests these burials, which date from the First Intermediate Period to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases II-IV), also belonged to high status men and women. All together, the evidence consists of coffin fragments from 10 tombs (N.3916, N.3756, S.F.5204, N.4401, N.3945, S.F.5021, N.9292, N.361, N.450 and S.F.209), pieces of cartonnage mummy masks from eight tombs (N.3756, S.F.25, N.408, N.9091, N.9292, S.F.187, S.F.170 and S.F.209), one funerary stela and fragments of two others from three tombs (S.F.5011, S.F.5021 and S.F.5010), and an inscribed box from one tomb (S.F.170). S.F.5011 also preserved traces of painted decoration on the chapel walls. Furthermore, all 17 graves contained a variety of uninscribed funerary goods, many of which were made of high-quality materials: metal and gemstone beads and amulets, parts of wooden *k3* statues and furniture, stone cosmetic jars and palettes, ivory box inlays and cosmetic implements, and large quantities of pottery. With the exception of shaft-and-chamber tomb S.F.5204, the remaining tombs are Type III rock-cut. Fifteen graves (excluding the two unlocated tombs in cemetery N.9000) also were constructed in fairly prominent locations in the limestone cliffs of their respective cemeteries. This combined evidence further supports the theory that tomb location, size and decoration are directly proportional to social status at Naga ed-Deir.

Based primarily on names provided in inscriptions, human anatomical remains and a few basic funerary goods from 18 tombs,⁸⁴⁰ we can identify the gender of perhaps 25 presumed titled adults who owned models: 17 men and eight women. The names of five women and five men survived on inscribed coffin fragments from N.3558, N.3765, N.3907, N.4401 and N.361 and on one funerary stela from S.F.5011. Skeletal remains from N.3765 (pit E), N.408 and N.450 collectively belonged to one young man, two adult men and one adult woman. A few gender-specific items of burial equipment (i.e., staves, mummy masks, amulets, fragmentary *k3* statues and functional weapons) from tombs N.4401, N.408 and N.361 further corroborate the inscriptional and skeletal evidence for gender. Similar burial goods recovered from tombs N.3756, S.F.5204, S.F.25, N.3945, S.F.5010, N.9292 and S.F.170, and a scribal palette from N.9091, suggest at least eight other model owners were men. The seated wife shown with her husband, *Hni*, on one chapel wall in N.11 likely was interred with him. Three family members depicted on the two funerary stelae from N.3765 and N.429 may have been buried in these tombs. These three people include *Tby*'s son in N.3765 and *Wh3*'s wife and son in N.429. The boy shown standing behind *Tby* is assumed here to be the same young man buried in pit E of this tomb.

⁸³⁸ Four skulls found in undisclosed locations.

⁸³⁹ Ten skulls found in undisclosed locations.

⁸⁴⁰ Including tombs N.11, N.3765, N.3558, N.3907 and N.429, which also contained evidence of titled model owners.

Of the 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir preserving models, another 17 belonged to elite men and women, many of whom likely were titled. By combining this amount with the 26 graves discussed in section 5.5.1, I obtained a new total of 43 tombs belonging to high-status model owners. After then arranging these 43 graves into chronological order, I re-calculated the percentages for each period. In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), the number of graves remained the same, with 10 out of 14 (ca. 71%) tombs. In the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), the total increased from 14 to 17 out of 21 (ca. 81%) tombs. In the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III), the number of tombs belonging to high-status individuals who owned models rose considerably, from two to 12 out of 20 (ca. 66%) tombs. Finally, in the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV), there was an increase from zero to two out of seven (ca. 29%) tombs. Therefore, the number of elite nobles who had access to models for their burials at Naga ed-Deir now appears to have started off high in the late Old Kingdom, risen slightly in the First Intermediate Period, followed by a slight decline in the early Middle Kingdom and then a second, sharp drop in the latter part of the Middle Kingdom.

5.5.3 Non-titled Individuals

Of the 62 graves with models at Naga ed-Deir, 19 contained no inscribed or decorated material to assist with establishing the status and/or gender of the people interred in them. In comparing the funerary goods from these 19 tombs with those found in the graves of members of the titled (and presumably titled) classes, however, the evidence suggests-- when the quality of these objects is comparable-- that the burials belonged to similarly high-status people. Certain categories of funerary goods are also useful in establishing the gender of a few individuals, based on analogous material found in the burials of men and women who are identified in their tomb inscriptions. As in the previous section, the evidence used to establish the rank and gender of untitled model owners is arranged by chronological period.

Four tombs of the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) belonged to unknown individuals, three of which are Type III rock-cut tombs: N.297, N.51 and S.F.5210. The fourth tomb, N.269, is a Type II shaft-and-chamber tomb. Unfortunately the field notes for the first two tombs are now missing; but one excavation photograph⁸⁴¹ that was taken of some of the tomb contents from N.51 includes a fragment of the seat of a wooden chair. S.F.5210 and N.269 were both badly plundered. Other than the models, S.F.5210 contained three pieces of pottery and a rim fragment of a travertine jar (of unknown type), while N.269 contained only two shells and a polished Red Ware jar. The fragmentary remains from N.51 and S.F.5210 appear to be remnants of high-status items that were originally placed in these burials. In these two cases, however, because the archaeological evidence is scant, the tomb types and locations in prominent positions in their respective cemeteries are more useful sources of evidence in determining status. There are no human skeletal remains recorded from these tombs and no extant funerary goods that are suggestive of gender.

Three First Intermediate Period (Phase II) burials belonged to unknown individuals, all of which are Type III rock-cut tombs: N.111, N.3795 and N.202. No high-status objects were found in N.111 or N.3795, probably due to the fact that these tombs were heavily plundered; in addition to models, however, seven pottery jars remained in the offering chapel of N.3795. Furthermore, N.202 consists of only a *serdab* chamber containing models and a single *k3* statue,

⁸⁴¹ Ex. Ph. C8908 (see Fig. 29).

without any associated burial recorded in the expedition records; there are no other known luxury items from this tomb. Therefore, in the First Intermediate Period, although the tomb architecture may indicate that these three Type III rock-cut tombs belonged to fairly well-to-do individuals, there is little corresponding archaeological evidence to indicate social status. Furthermore, although Mace found skeletal remains in the burial pit in N.3795, he did not record the sex in his field notes. The sole male *k3* statue found in N.202 and the wooden *imyt-r* walking staff recovered from the burial chamber in N.3795 both serve as potential evidence that these two tomb owners were male.

Seven of the 19 graves of unnamed individuals date to the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III). Six are Type III rock-cut tombs: N.3579, S.F.5029, N.263, N.9090, S.F.167 and N.449. There is also one Type II shaft-and-chamber tomb dated to this period: N.110. Although all six rock-cut tombs had been plundered in antiquity, they contained, in addition to models, high-status items comparable to those found in the rock-cut tombs of the titled and presumed titled classes. In N.3579, Mace found two silver beads, several pottery jars and dishes and three travertine vessels scattered throughout the courtyard and offering chapel. In tomb S.F.5029, which was plundered even more heavily, the excavation team recovered the leg of a wooden stool, a wooden kohl applicator and one sherd of a faience vessel in descending corridor B (i.e., the burial chamber). Although the field notes for N.263 are missing, a number of high-quality items from the tomb are currently housed in the Hearst Museum: a travertine beaker; a (broken) wooden toilet box with compartments for eight stone cosmetic containers; and a large number of beads, including two carnelian ring beads and a large amethyst bicone. In N.9090, Mace discovered 37 pottery containers in the chapel, two fragments of a faience dish and faience beads in the debris outside the burial chamber entrance and a wooden chair leg in an undisclosed location. Excavators also found carnelian beads and pieces of silver wire in unrecorded locations in S.F.167. The woman⁸⁴² buried in N.449 may be of the highest rank, based on the extant archaeological material. She was interred with a large quantity of grave goods, including a minimum of 50 pottery vessels, a copper mirror, three travertine cosmetic jars and several items of jewelry. Although he did not record the locations of the pottery, Reisner recovered two of the stone jars, the mirror and a few beads (including a large gold bicone) from her burial chamber, room A. Inside a natural rock crevice outside the entrance to the offering chapel, Reisner also discovered a large cache of jewelry consisting of faience, carnelian and amethyst beads and amulets of amethyst and beryl. One can surmise that the jewelry was robbed from the burial chamber and temporarily stashed by tomb robbers who never had a chance to return and reclaim it. N.110 also showed signs of extensive plundering, with only undecorated coffin fragments and calf bones remaining in the burial chamber. The plain wooden coffin may indicate that the owner was of poor status; however, there are other examples from both Type II and III tombs included in the present study in which high-status individuals were buried in anepigraphic coffins.⁸⁴³

The gender of only three of the six owners of tombs N.3579, S.F.5029, N.263, N.9090, S.F.167 and N.449 can be identified. Mace found the skeletal remains of two unsexed individuals, including human skulls and a few unspecified bones, scattered in the courtyard and

⁸⁴² Gender to be discussed further below.

⁸⁴³ The *iry t ht nswt/rh nswt, Tti*, was interred in the anepigraphic coffin in N.43. In addition, the unnamed owner of S.F.25 was found inside a plain wooden coffin, but wearing a cartonnage mummy mask. Finally, the man and woman buried in N.408 also were interred in whitewashed coffins.

chapel of N.3579 (as recorded in his field notes). In addition, however, he excavated four reed arrows from the same areas, which suggests that at least one of the original tomb occupants was male. The chapel of N.9090 contained seven skulls and the hand bones of one individual, which were not sexed.⁸⁴⁴ Mace also found a wooden stave in the tomb, typical of other burials of male model-owners at Naga ed-Deir. According to the tomb card for S.F.167, later excavators discovered 13 human skulls and other bones in unrecorded locations in this grave, none of which they sexed. Neither of tombs N.263 or S.F.5029 contained any human anatomical remains, at least none that were recorded in the excavation reports. A more recent examination of the cranium recovered from burial chamber A in N.449, however, led to its identification as an elderly woman, aged 70 years or older.⁸⁴⁵

Five of the 19 graves of unnamed individuals date to the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV), four of which are, again, Type III rock-cut tombs: S.F.64, S.F.95, S.F.132 and S.F.218. There is also one Type I pit tomb dated to this period: N.3575. Despite the lack of inscriptional evidence and the plundered state of the burials, the elevated status of the individuals buried in four graves is illustrated by the high quality of key funerary objects recovered from their burials. In both S.F.64 and S.F.95, the excavators recovered travertine cosmetic jars and a small quantity of jewelry, including jasper and amethyst scarabs, a few carnelian and faience beads, beryl bird amulets and, only in S.F.64, a beryl baboon amulet; unfortunately, the exact locations of these items were not recorded in the field records. Because S.F.132 had been plundered in antiquity excavators discovered only a travertine kohl jar, a few faience and carnelian beads and three pieces of pottery in the debris in chamber B (the chapel). In S.F.218, they recovered a quantity of beads and amulets made of copper, quartz crystal, carnelian, hematite and faience; they did not, however, record the find spots of these items. On the other hand, pit N.3575 contained a poor burial of a woman interred only with a single clay boat model to accompany her into the afterlife.

The gender of only two individuals buried in late Middle Kingdom tombs with models can be ascertained. The identification of the occupant of N.3575 as a woman in Mace's field notes appears to have been based on anatomical analysis, because of the lack of any gender-specific funerary goods in this burial. Excavators found three skulls in the outer chamber, B, of S.F.95 (according to the tomb card), evidence only that the tomb was used for more than one burial. No (known) human skeletal remains survived in the other three later Middle Kingdom tombs. However, the presence of two oyster-shell amulets excavated from S.F.218-- a real shell with two drilled holes for stringing and an imitation shell made of copper-- suggests the presence of at least one female interment, because women generally wore these types of amulets as protective symbols.⁸⁴⁶

The variety and quality of funerary items from the 19 uninscribed tombs of model owners are comparable to those found in the tombs of titled and presumed-titled people at Naga ed-Deir. The burial equipment suggests that (despite the lack of inscriptions) the majority of these tomb owners were at least of mid, if not high, status. In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), based on the extant archaeological evidence, we can identify tentatively two additional tombs belonging to members of the upper-class: N.51 and S.F.5210. In the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), out

⁸⁴⁴ The hand bones are currently housed in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 12-3908).

⁸⁴⁵ Harrington (1992: 49, 87, 105). The cranium is now in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 12-4860).

⁸⁴⁶ Andrews (1994: 43). For examples from other sites, see above, n.526.

of five tombs, N.202 also appears to have belonged to a person of at least mid-status. In the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III), tombs S.F.5029, N.3579, N.263, N.9090, S.F.167 and N.449 contained remnants of burials of well-to-do members of society, with N.449A belonging to the wealthiest individual. Finally, in the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV), the occupants of S.F.64, S.F.95, S.F.132 and S.F.218 appear to have been of mid-high status, while the woman buried in N.3575 was of the lower class. The quality of the burial equipment is consistent with the types of graves in which they were deposited. Luxury funerary goods were found only in Type III rock-cut tombs, the majority of which were located in prominent positions in the cemeteries (excluding, of course, N.9090 and S.F.167, whose exact locations are unknown). Only one low-lying and unlooted pit tomb, N.3575, contained a single boat model and no associated funerary material, an obviously poor burial.

The human remains and associated tomb goods enable us to identify the gender of perhaps seven people out of those individuals buried in these 19 uninscribed tombs. All together, one woman and two men were buried in three tombs that each had a single burial chamber: N.3575, N.3795 and N.9090, respectively. At least one occupant of both N.202 and N.3579 was male. Because the burial chamber(s) associated with niche N.202 cannot be identified from the expedition reports, the number of people buried in the tomb is unknown. While N.3579 contained only one burial chamber, the fact that Mace found two skulls in this room may indicate that two people originally were interred. (Since the skulls were discovered in disturbed contexts in the courtyard and/or chapel, however, they could also represent one or two intrusive burials or flood debris that had washed in from a neighboring tomb). Finally, one woman was buried in each of tombs N.449 and S.F.218. These graves both contained two burial chambers, perhaps for the interments of these women and their husbands.

5.7 Conclusion

Of the 62 graves at Naga ed-Deir preserving tomb models and serving statuettes, 26 (42%) contained burials of the titled-class, while another 17 (27%) belonged to those who are presumed to have held titles, and the remaining 19 (31%) belonged to untitled individuals. In her comprehensive study of tomb models, Tooley found that, out of 220 tombs of model-owners located throughout Egypt, 84 (38%) belonged to people who bore titles, 96 (44%) were of uncertain status due to the poor preservation of the inscribed material and 40 (18%) belonged to individuals who definitely were not title-bearers.⁸⁴⁷ The data derived from the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries is fairly consistent with Tooley's results. Tooley also noted that, throughout Egypt, all model-owners of the late Old Kingdom were holders of titles. During the First Intermediate Period non-titled persons first adopted models for inclusion among their burial goods; in this latter period, however, at least a third of the burials from sites in Lower and Middle Egypt still belonged to the titled-classes.⁸⁴⁸ Based solely on the preservation of titularies in the archaeological record, we find similar results at Naga ed-Deir. However, if we consider that 17 burials belonged to presumed titled individuals of the mid to upper classes and that 13 burials also belonged to members of similar statuses (perhaps relatives of the titled individuals buried in other tombs), then the data suggest that the majority of people who had access to tomb models at Naga ed-Deir were in fact the provincial elite. Of 62 tombs, 56 belonged to the mid-upper echelons of society, leaving one poor burial (N.3575). The remaining five tombs (N.297, N.269,

⁸⁴⁷ Tooley (1989: 375).

⁸⁴⁸ Tooley (1989: 375).

N.110, N.111 and N.3795) are too disturbed to ascertain social status from funerary goods. However, inferences about rank can be made based on the tomb architecture. The fact that N.297, N.111 and N.3795 were fairly large, rock-cut graves suggests they belonged to well-off people who had the means to construct them. Likewise, shaft-and-chamber tombs N.269 and N.110 probably belonged to individuals of lower status who had to make do with smaller tombs.

Tooley determined that, throughout Egypt, models were interred with individuals of varying ranks, ranging from the king at the state level, to the high- and mid-level bureaucrats who performed duties for the king at the capital or worked in the provincial districts, to the lowest level, workers who were employed by these other individuals and performed services or supplied products for them.⁸⁴⁹ At Naga ed-Deir, the majority of the model owners represent one cross-section of society: mid- and high-ranking provincial bureaucrats. The surviving inscribed and decorated evidence tells us that almost half of these people worked in the local administration of the Thinite nome and served the cult temple of the local god, *Inhrt*. To some extent, we can ascertain the specific gender of the mid- and high-level people buried with models at Naga ed-Deir who fulfilled these occupational roles and of the lower status individuals who presumably worked for them.

In 46 tombs of model owners, based on the combined evidence of human anatomical remains, names provided in tomb inscriptions, gender-associated funerary goods, and (in three cases) representations of family members on funerary stelae and on tomb walls, it is possible to identify 51 men and 26 women. Reisner's expedition teams documented human skeletal material from 38 graves in their field notes. They excavated 16 mummies from 13 tombs: N.43, N.3737, N.3765, N.4172, N.3575, N.429, N.3907, N.3558, N.3756 (two bodies), N.4003, N.25, N.408 (three bodies) and N.449. They sexed only four skeletons of one named and three unnamed individuals: a man named *Ibi* from N.4172, a man and woman from N.408 and a woman from N.3575.⁸⁵⁰ Mace (or Elliot Smith) also identified the partial remains of a young man interred in pit E in N.3765. Of the remaining 49 tombs, 25 preserved fragments of human skeletons, none of which Reisner's teams apparently sexed. Two skulls of unnamed individuals buried in N.450 and N.449 were analyzed in the Hearst Museum in 1992, however, resulting in their identification as male and female, respectively. Of these seven tombs that preserved sexed skeletal remains, six people were of mid-high status and one woman (N.3575) was of low status. All together, twenty-nine tombs with models also preserved the names of 35 men and 20 women in the inscriptions, all of mid-high rank.⁸⁵¹ We can identify another 12 men and one woman (all of mid-high status) solely from a few key funerary goods recovered from 13 graves.⁸⁵² Four other mid-high ranking individuals (two sons and two wives of tomb owners) are known only from representations. A damaged wall scene from N.11 depicts the titled tomb owner seated with his wife, whose name and titles are lost. Finally, two tombs-- N.3765 and N.429-- each

⁸⁴⁹ Tooley (1989: 373-374; 1995: 19).

⁸⁵⁰ The male and female contracted skeletons that Mace excavated from pits in the courtyards of N.3737 and N.3900 are not included in this total because I believe them to be intrusive burials that were not contemporary with those of the model owners located inside the associated tomb chapels. For the discussion of these courtyard burials, see above, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁵¹ Tombs N.248, N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.43, N.241, N.105, S.F.533, N.3765, N.3900, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.3930, S.F.18, N.4172, N.429, N.3907, N.3567, N.3769, N.3558, S.F.5025, N.4003, S.F.5011, N.4401 and N.361.

⁸⁵² S.F.5204, N.3795, N.3756, N.202, N.3945, S.F.5010, N.3579, S.F.25, N.9090, N.9091, N.9292, S.F.170 and S.F.218.

contained a funerary stela that shows the titled tomb owner with one unnamed son and, in the latter case, his wife, whose name and titles are not preserved.

In some cases, based on inscriptional and representational evidence, it is possible to reconstruct familial relationships of model owners interred within the same tombs at Naga ed-Deir.⁸⁵³ For many of these graves, the collective evidence for male and female burials also can be corroborated by the tomb architecture in order to estimate the number of interments originally placed in the burial chambers. Twenty-three tombs (One Type I, five Type II and 17 Type III)⁸⁵⁴ each were constructed with only a single burial chamber. Only three tombs included in the present study contained single female burials, one of a high-ranking woman (N.241, Type III), one of a mid-ranking woman (N.43, Type II) and one of an untitled woman of low status (N.3575, Type I). In nine cases, enough evidence survives to suggest the burial chambers originally were intended for one male occupant of mid or high social status: S.F.5204 and N.4172 (Type II); and N.89, N.3737, N.3795, N.3945, S.F.5010, N.9090 and N.9292 (Type III). Despite having only one burial chamber each, Type III tombs N.4401 and N.408 housed remnants of two original interments, presumably husband and wife pairs. These shared burials may suggest that although these two couples could afford large, rock-cut tombs for their burials, they were not wealthy enough to have separate chambers constructed. Likewise, two individuals may have been interred in each of tombs N.3579 and N.3567⁸⁵⁵ based on the number of extant skulls. In both graves, the associated funerary goods suggests that at least one individual was male. Three other graves of high status people with single burial chambers-- N.3916, N.9090 and N.95-- contained multiple human bones, probably representing later (intrusive) tomb reuse or flood debris washed in from neighboring tombs. In addition to seven skulls, the chapel of N.9090 also housed the remains of two or three coffins. At least one person buried in this tomb was male, based on the presence of a walking staff.

Twenty other tombs (all Type III) each were designed originally for two mid- or high-status people, having either two separate chambers, which were reached by their own shafts or corridors or, rarely, two chambers that opened off the bottom of a single shaft.⁸⁵⁶ In N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5202, N.3774, N.3930 and N.3558, the extant tomb inscriptions and/or scenes strongly suggest that in each tomb the male tomb owner and his wife were buried together, but in separate chambers. In N.3930, specifically, the male tomb owner and his wife are depicted and named on the funerary stela excavated from the grave. Coffin fragments of a second man, found in corridor "a", however, suggest another male relative was buried in the tomb as well. Although graves S.F.5201/5203, N.105, S.F.5214, S.F.18, N.3756, N.3769, N.361 and S.F.170 each have two burial chambers, they preserved only evidence for male burials. Presumably, the wives were buried with their husbands, although there is no secure evidence for them in the archaeological record. Tombs N.361 and S.F.170 did contain large quantities of jewelry, however, which are

⁸⁵³ With the exception of graves N.70/71 and N.248, however, there is not enough data to analyze these connections among people buried different tombs.

⁸⁵⁴ N.3575 (Type I); N.43, N.269, N.110, S.F.5204, N.4172 (Type II); and N.89, N.297, N.51, N.241, N.3737, N.3567, N.3795, N.3916, N.3945, S.F.5010, N.3579, N.4401, N.408, N.9090, N.9292, S.F.132 and S.F.95 (Type III). N.202 is excluded because it has no known associated burial chamber.

⁸⁵⁵ The corridor, which measures 0.90 m in width, 3.00 m in length and 0.87 m in height, would not have been large enough to house two coffins. If the two skulls represent remnants of the original burials, one body likely was interred in room C.

⁸⁵⁶ N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, S.F.5210, N.105, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.3930, S.F.18, N.111, N.3558, N.3756, N.3769, N.263, S.F.167, N.361, N.449, S.F.170 and S.F.218.

typical of female burials. Tombs N.449 and S.F.218 housed remnants of only female interments, perhaps the tomb owners' wives, who were buried in the secondary burial chambers.

Eighteen rock-cut tombs have three or more burial chambers, suggesting they all were occupied by successive generations of family members and/or unrelated people who reused existing tombs.⁸⁵⁷ Tombs N.70/71, N.3765, N.3900, N.429, N.4003 and S.F.5011 contain inscriptional and representational evidence for married couples. Graves N.248, N.3765, N.3900, N.429, N.4003 and S.F.5011 also may have housed the burials of the tomb owners' children, based on similar evidence.⁸⁵⁸ For example, in N.248 the chapel inscriptions indicate that, although the tomb may have been constructed in the late Old Kingdom for the nomarch, *Tmrry* (who also was depicted in the tomb), it ultimately was given to a high-ranking woman, *Int-kmt*, who was perhaps *Tmrry*'s second wife. *Tmrry*, subsequently, was interred in a new tomb, N.70/71. As the prominent tomb owner, *Int-kmt* likely was buried (or intended to be buried) in the largest chamber in N.248, located at the east end of the descending staircase. The tomb additionally may have housed the interment of her son, who had the east wall of the chapel decorated for his mother. The early date of the tomb is further reinforced by the uninscribed diagnostic material, including pottery, a stone vessel and wooden statues; however, based on the final number of four burial chambers, the presence of Middle Kingdom funerary goods and the change in orientation of the tomb chapel axis from W-E to S-N (with the addition of a second entrance on the south), the tomb was reused in the Middle Kingdom by unknown individuals who may or may not have been related to the original occupants. Unfortunately, since Reisner's tomb cards for N.248 are lost, we do not know in which burial chambers the different funerary goods were interred, or even if Reisner discovered the tomb contents *in situ*.

In three tombs, N.3900, S.F.5011 and (possibly) N.3907, there is evidence for burials than span multiple family generations. In N.3900, four generations of people apparently were interred in one tomb. The number of burial chambers (three subterranean rooms and six corridors) corresponds with the nine people named on the five stelae from the tomb: four stelae of which belonged to men, and the fifth to one of the three wives buried in the tomb. According to Brovarski's paleographical and iconographical analysis of the earliest stela (of *Tti ʿ3*), the tomb was constructed in Dynasty 9; the pottery and jewelry, however, also indicate the tomb was used continuously to the mid 12th Dynasty, presumably by this family group. Tomb S.F.5011 may have housed three generations of burials. This grave has a single burial chamber in the chapel (room A), which opens off the bottom of a vertical shaft, and three downward-sloping corridors (D-F) that lead off the chapel's east wall. Interestingly, the number of burial chambers corresponds with the four people recorded on the intact stela from the tomb: the owner, his mother, his wife and son. The early Middle Kingdom date of this family tomb, initially derived from the analysis of iconographic features of the stela, is further corroborated by the diagnostic funerary goods, including the pottery, stone vessels, jewelry and cosmetic items. Finally, tomb N.3907 also may represent three generations of the same family. This tomb has three completed burial chambers, and skeletal remains of at least three individuals, which is correlated by the number of men who each had their own funerary stelae. Unfortunately, not enough evidence remains to reconstruct these individuals' exact relationship to one other, if any. The

⁸⁵⁷ N.248, N.70/71, S.F.533, N.3765, N.3900, N.429, N.3907, S.F.5021, S.F.5025, N.4003, S.F.5011, S.F.5029, S.F.25, N.9091, S.F.187, N.450, S.F.64 and S.F.209.

⁸⁵⁸ N.3774 has a third, unfinished burial chamber, perhaps intended (but never completed) for the son named on his father's funerary stela that was recovered from the tomb.

archaeological material from this tomb, including stelae, pottery and jewelry suggest dates of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom; however, based on other pottery, coffin fragments, cosmetic items and an 18th Dynasty scarab, the tomb was reused in the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom, further obfuscating the relationships among the various tomb owners.

Although tombs S.F.533, S.F.5025, S.F.25, N.9091 and N.450 all have multiple burial chambers, the combined evidence-- associated inscriptions, gender-specific funerary goods and/or human skeletal remains-- indicates only the presence of one woman in S.F.533 and one man in each of the remaining four tombs. There is however, both architectural and archaeological evidence that these tombs were used by more than one generation of people. For example, tomb N.9091 contains potential evidence for tomb reuse by a family. Subterranean chamber F-- which had been sunk into the floor of outer chapel room E-- contained remnants of the original Middle Kingdom burials, one of which was male. The material Mace recovered from this chamber includes a wooden serving statue, beads, painted coffin fragments, a crude scribal palette and several pottery jars. Based on the additional discovery of two headrests and four human skulls, chamber F was used for the interments of more than one person. Mace also found Second Intermediate Period pottery and an ivory crescent from a wooden dagger with more coffin fragments in rooms A and B and subterranean burial chamber C (located beneath chapel room D). This latter evidence suggests the four inner rooms A-D were constructed for Second Intermediate Period burials. In this later period the number of burial chambers in N.9091 likely was expanded from one to four, in conjunction with the addition of a second room, D, in the chapel. Because of the dearth of inscriptional evidence, however, it cannot be determined whether the later burials represent family members or unrelated people.

As illustrated by the range of funerary equipment that dates to different periods, and by the number of burial chambers (three to nine) in these 19 tombs of model owners at Naga ed-Deir, we find that by the early Middle Kingdom, late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs were reoccupied either by succeeding generations of the same families or by unrelated people searching for space as cemeteries grew more crowded; and, of course, it was also more economical to excavate a new burial chamber or reuse an existing one in an older tomb, rather than construct a whole new complex. There is also evidence, however, that the practice of reusing tombs for family burials also may have been a conscious choice, perhaps reflecting changes in burial practices in the Middle Kingdom. Based on the titles preserved in the tomb inscriptions and high-quality burial goods, the presumed family tombs appear to have belonged to members of the local nobility who derived from both mid and high echelons of society. These individuals held a number of honorific and high-ranking functional titles, including the nomarch, *Tmrry* (N.248 and N.70/71). While *Tmrry* initially may have selected N.248 for himself, he gave it to a woman who was likely a close family member and was interred himself in tomb N.70/71, probably in pit N.68.⁸⁵⁹ Both tomb N.248 and N.70/71 ultimately housed four separate burials each. The extra burial chambers may have contained interments of immediate family members, including *Tmrry*'s wives and children. For example, one of *Tmrry*'s wives likely was buried in

⁸⁵⁹ He appears seated alone at a table of offerings in the east wall scene above this pit. The style of decoration on the east wall of the chapel is identical to that on the east wall of N.248, suggesting the decoration was completed at the same time and by the same artist. This style differs from that found on the west wall of N.248, likely completed first and by a different artist.

pit N.71.⁸⁶⁰ Tomb N.70/71 preserved only a few wooden burial objects, including models, statues, sandals and a toilet box at the time of its excavation in 1901-02. Enough archaeological material remained in N.248, however, to illustrate this grave was reused in the Middle Kingdom, with the addition of burials of more distant relatives or of unrelated people who chose to reuse this tomb, perhaps because they desired the connection with a historically important and high-status family.

Other family groups at Naga ed-Deir included burials of high-ranking men. For example, N.3765 has six burial chambers, one of which belonged to the *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *htm(ty)-bity*, *hry-hbt*, *smr-w^cty*, *Tby* (N.3765). Another tomb, N.429, has nine burial chambers, including one that housed the interment of the *imy-r3 šnt(w)*, *htm(ty)-bity*, *hry-hbt*, *smr-w^cty*, *Wh3* (N.429). The fact that these graves with multiple burial chambers either were constructed in the early part of the Middle Kingdom or were reused late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs, suggests there may have been a preference for family burials among some high-ranking families in the early Middle Kingdom. Thus, some people chose to be buried in existing tomb complexes rather than constructing new graves in new locations because of a combination of topographic, economic and social factors.

The majority of models excavated from Naga ed-Deir derive from the graves of mid-high status men who were buried alone or with their wives and/or other family members. It is likely that individuals interred together each had their own sets of tomb models. Unfortunately, few burials of model owners at Naga ed-Deir survived intact at the time of their excavation. Because of the amount of disturbance, in the cases where we have multiple tomb owners it is almost impossible to correlate these people or their funerary equipment, including models, with specific burial chambers. In the next chapter, Chapter Six, I will analyze the small number of intact tombs model owners at Naga ed-Deir, in order to identify dispositional patterns of models selected by men and women for their burials.

⁸⁶⁰ A woman identified as *Int-[...] hm.f* (i.e., his wife), is shown seated at a table of offerings on the east wall above this pit. Although *Tmrry* gave tomb N.248 to *Int-kmt*, she may have been interred instead with him in N.70/71. Alternately, however, *Tmrry* could have moved his first wife's (*Int-[T3-wr]*'s) burial to N.70/71 or he could have been buried in N.70/71 with a *third* wife who had a similar name.

Chapter Six: Tomb Model Disposition

6.1 Introduction

In her study of tomb model disposition, Tooley identified patterns in model placement within tombs located in cemetery sites throughout Egypt. In the tomb superstructure, models could be deposited in enclosed niches (*serdabs*) in offering chapels or in small pits excavated into the floors of entrance passages or halls. In the substructure they could be set into niches cut into the walls of tomb shafts or into the walls and floors of the burial chambers. The majority of models, however, have been discovered grouped on or near the coffins in (undecorated) burial chambers.⁸⁶¹

Furthermore, Tooley found that, within the burial chambers, the location of the models was, in part, dictated by the size of the room. Ideally, the models would have been placed along the front of the coffin (i.e., the symbolic east), near the *wḏ3t*-eye panel and false door opening, so that the deceased could have access to them. Due to space constraints, however, and allowing for the provision of other funerary goods within the generally small confines of the burial chamber, models were more frequently deposited in a number of different locations: on the chamber floor, on top of the coffin lid and along both the symbolic “west” and “east” sides of the coffin.⁸⁶² The size of the models also influenced their placement within the burial chamber. For example, larger models, such as offering-bearer statuettes and boat models, typically would not fit on top of a coffin that had been placed inside a small chamber with a low ceiling, and instead were deposited in various locations on the chamber floor.⁸⁶³

Tooley also looked at disposition patterns for three of the most common model types: granaries, boats and offering bearers. Of 152 provenanced model granaries, she found that 132 had been deposited in the substructure of the tombs.⁸⁶⁴ For 63 of these 132 granaries, the specific contexts are known from excavation reports. In undisturbed tombs, the majority had been placed on and around coffins, with 24 and 23 examples, respectively. More specifically, the most common locations were near the front (“east” side) of the coffin (16) and on the center of the lid (11). While no granaries were found on the back (“west” side) of the coffins, a small number had been placed in *serdabs* (10) and in recesses cut into the east walls of the burial chambers (6).

After examining 174 archaeological contexts of model boats, Tooley found that, while boats were deposited in various locations in the burial chambers, 56, representing the majority, were found on the coffin lid, followed next in frequency (36) by those found on the chamber floors next to the front (“east” side) of the coffin. Continuing in decreasing order of frequency, the other locations were: on the floor near the back (“west” side) of the coffin (23), in *serdabs* (21), in eastern wall niches (19), on the floor at the head (“north” end) of the coffin (11) and finally, at the foot (“south” end) of the coffin (8).⁸⁶⁵ Boats also typically were paired within the

⁸⁶¹ Tooley (1989: 76-77; 1995: 13, 16).

⁸⁶² Tooley (1989: 77-83, Table 7; 1995: 14-15).

⁸⁶³ Tooley (1989: 83).

⁸⁶⁴ Tooley (1989: 126-128, Fig. 1). While she stated that her study included 156 granaries, there are only 152 examples discussed in her Chapter Two: four models are storehouses that include butchering, cooking and brewing activities. For further discussion of the discrepancies in her totals for granary models, see below, n. 1241.

⁸⁶⁵ Tooley (1989: 170-171, Fig. 2).

burial chambers, often positioned facing local “north” and “south” and rigged to represent one used for rowing downstream with the current and the other for sailing upstream, respectively.⁸⁶⁶

Finally, Tooley found that, like boats, offering bearers also were deposited in various locations within burial chambers; out of the 64 known contexts, however, 34 had been placed on the floor beside the coffin, rather than on the lid, almost certainly because of their height. On the floor, most were found in front (“east” side) of the coffin (15), followed in decreasing order of frequency by the back (12), lid (10), head (6) and foot (4) of the coffin. When placed on the coffin lids, offering bearers were positioned most frequently towards the foot and near the east side. In a few cases, offering bearers were found in *serdabs* (7) and in eastern recesses of the burial chamber (6). Whatever their placements within the burial chambers, the majority of offering bearers were oriented to face the chamber entrances.⁸⁶⁷

In her table of tomb model dispositions, Tooley included two examples from Naga ed-Deir, comprising models found inside a wall niche in one tomb and on the west and south floor of a chamber (or chambers) in a second tomb.⁸⁶⁸ Although she did not provide specific tomb numbers, it is assumed that she was referring to the models in tombs N.202 and N.3737, which are included elsewhere in her dissertation.⁸⁶⁹ In Tooley’s discussion of the orientation of boat models, she provided one example of an excavated boat found facing east and another facing west. Although she did not mention the tomb number, it is likely that she was referring to the boats discovered in N.202.⁸⁷⁰ Because Tooley’s discussion of patterns of model placement in the Naga ed-Deir tombs was so limited, I will examine the archaeological evidence from the entire corpus of tombs at Naga ed-Deir that contained models.

In the next section, my goals are, *first*, to identify patterns in model placement and orientation at Naga ed-Deir, expanding the results of Tooley’s analysis of model disposition at this site; and, *second*, to compare the results from Naga ed-Deir with Tooley’s general conclusions about trends in model disposition for granaries, boats and offering bearers throughout Egypt. The sources of information included in this section include primarily the written field documentation and expedition photographs and, to a lesser extent, the tomb numbers recorded on the models themselves. A survey of these data is provided in Appendix E, the table of tomb model disposition.

6.2 Documented tombs at Naga ed-Deir

Of the 62 tombs with models at Naga ed-Deir, 20 tombs have to be excluded from the analysis of model disposition because of inadequate documentation. For seven graves, all located in cemetery N.100-400, the tomb cards are now missing, and the excavators did not photograph the models as found in the tombs.⁸⁷¹ For 12 other tombs, all of which are located in the Sheikh Farag cemeteries, the expedition records are of no assistance, since the excavators did not record the specific contexts of the models in their field journals, tomb cards, object register

⁸⁶⁶ Tooley (1989: 170-172).

⁸⁶⁷ Tooley (1989: 243-244, Fig. 3).

⁸⁶⁸ Tooley (1989: 81, Table 7).

⁸⁶⁹ Tooley (1989: 136, 195). Note also that she combined tombs N.202 and N.43, i.e., tomb 202/43, in her discussion of the boat models. The boats are actually from N.202.

⁸⁷⁰ Tooley (1989: 172).

⁸⁷¹ N.248, N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, N.51, N.241 (Phase I); and N.263 (Phase III).

logs or photograph registers.⁸⁷² Finally, for one additional grave, the excavators did not even document the models in their records, let alone describe where in the tomb they were found.⁸⁷³ The models are assigned to this tomb, however, based on the numbers Reisner penciled on the fragments and the provenance attributed to them in the Hearst Museum database. Therefore, only 42 tombs at Naga ed-Deir have written and photographic documentation providing the amounts and descriptions of the models found in them.

Thirty-seven of the 42 well-documented burials with models at Naga ed-Deir were so badly plundered and destroyed from flooding that the excavators did not find the models in their original locations. Rather, as documented in the written reports, Reisner's expedition teams recovered models and model fragments strewn mainly throughout the burial chambers (nine tombs),⁸⁷⁴ shafts (10 tombs),⁸⁷⁵ and offering chapels (22 tombs)⁸⁷⁶ and, in five cases, in the courtyards or outside the graves entrances.⁸⁷⁷ The excavators also photographed the fragmentary models *in situ* in six of these 37 plundered tombs: N.89 (Fig. 12),⁸⁷⁸ N.3737 (Figs. 13-15),⁸⁷⁹ N.111 (Fig. 16),⁸⁸⁰ N.3795 (Fig. 17),⁸⁸¹ N.3579 (Fig. 18)⁸⁸² and N.4401 (Fig. 19).⁸⁸³ Based on the extant archaeological evidence, therefore, in only nine of these 37 disturbed graves can we verify that models originally were deposited in the tomb substructure, i.e., in subterranean burial chambers situated below the chapels. Due to the plundered state of the burials, it is impossible to determine how many models, if any, originally were placed in the chapels. It is likely that the fragments found only in the chapels and outside the tomb entrances also originated from the burial chambers. For example, in rock-cut tomb N.3795, Mace discovered models in the chapel as well as in the burial chamber. In N.3737, more specifically, we can follow the trail of model debris from the burial chamber to the chapel, near the doorway on the south wall and the robbers' tunnel in the southeast corner and, finally, to the exterior courtyard near the tunnel entrance. Some of the fragments of shattered models in the chapels, therefore, were dropped by thieves after they ransacked the burials and made their escape out of the tombs. As exemplified by N.3737, in some cases model fragments left behind in the chapels subsequently were washed back down into the tomb shafts with other debris when the tombs were flooded. It is also possible, however, that in some graves models originally *were* placed in the tomb superstructures and later fell back down into the tomb shafts and burial chambers with the flood debris.

⁸⁷² S.F.5210 (Phase I); S.F.533 and S.F.18 (Phase II); S.F.5021, S.F.5011, S.F.167 and S.F.187 (Phase III); and S.F.64, S.F.170, S.F.209, S.F.95 and S.F.218 (Phase IV).

⁸⁷³ N.361 (Phase III).

⁸⁷⁴ N.89, N.105 (Phase I); N.3765, N.3737, N.3907, N.111, N.3795 (Phase II); S.F.5029 and N.9091 (Phase III).

⁸⁷⁵ S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.269 (Phase I); N.3737, S.F.5214, N.3916, N.3756, N.3769 and S.F.5204 (Phase II); and S.F.5025 (Phase III).

⁸⁷⁶ S.F.5202/5203, N.3900, N.3737, N.3774, N.3930, N.429, N.3795, N.3916, N.3756, N.3567 and N.3558 (Phase II); N.3945, S.F.5025, N.4003, S.F.5010, N.3579, N.4401, S.F.25, N.9090, N.9292 and N.450 (Phase III); and S.F.132 (Phase IV).

⁸⁷⁷ N.297 (in the *radim* near the tomb) (Phase I); N.3737 (near the entrance to the robbers' tunnel), N.110 (near the tomb) (Phase II); N.3579 and N.449 (Phase III).

⁸⁷⁸ Ex. Ph. C11374.

⁸⁷⁹ Ex. Ph. C55, C122 and C778. See also Ex. Ph. C24.

⁸⁸⁰ Ex. Ph. C9307.

⁸⁸¹ Ex. Ph. C302. See also C305 and C330.

⁸⁸² Ex. Ph. C200. See also C216.

⁸⁸³ Ex. Ph. C57.

Of the 42 well-documented graves at Naga ed-Deir that contained models, only five were either intact or had suffered little disturbance from tomb robbers: N.43 (Phase I); N.4172 and N.202 (Phase II); N.408 (Phase III); and N.3575 (Phase IV). In all five tombs, models were found in specified, primary locations within the burial chambers, which were recorded in the written field notes and/or documented in the expedition photographs. Two additional plundered tombs mentioned above, N.89 (Phase I) and N.3737 (Phase II), had at least partly intact burials; because the excavators noted where they found the models in the burial chambers, it is possible to reconstruct the most likely locations where (at least some of) the models originally were placed in these two graves. The models excavated from seven tombs, therefore, are the only extant sources of information for documenting specific patterns of disposition within the tomb substructures at Naga ed-Deir. In the next section, I will discuss the archaeological contexts of the models from these seven burials in further detail. The tombs are presented in chronological order for the sake of consistency, beginning with the late Old Kingdom and ending with the late Middle Kingdom.

6.2.1 Models from Specified Locations in the Tomb Substructure

6.2.1.1 N.43, cemetery N.100-400

In shaft-and-chamber tomb N.43, Reisner found three serving statuettes squeezed into a 30.5 cm space between the foot of the undecorated coffin and the (local) east wall of the burial chamber. These serving statuettes are shown *in situ* in several expedition photographs (Fig. 20),⁸⁸⁴ and comprise a male porter carrying a water jar on his left shoulder,⁸⁸⁵ a man roasting a duck over a hearth⁸⁸⁶ and a female miller grinding grain in a saddle quern.⁸⁸⁷ There had been some disturbance in the tomb in antiquity, as Reisner found one arm of the duck roaster 15 cm west of the corner of the coffin, wedged between the base of Reisner's wooden female *k3* statuette N.43.15⁸⁸⁸ and the front panel of the coffin. In total, seven female and nine male wooden *k3* statuettes, likely representing the tomb owner, *Tii*, and her husband, had been placed around the foot, back and front of the coffin. In the latter case, the statuettes were squeezed into a 13 cm space between the coffin and the north chamber wall. Two wooden sandals, perhaps originally placed on top of the coffin, were also found in this gap, one lying between *k3* statuettes N.43.12 and N.43.9 and the other resting on top of statuette N.43.14, according to Reisner's notes.⁸⁸⁹ The location of the three serving statuettes on the tomb chamber floor was due at least in part to the low ceiling of the room (sloping from 70-95 cm, from north to south). Although the height of the coffin was not documented, it is apparent in the expedition photographs that there was not enough space on the lid for these statuettes (see Fig. 20).⁸⁹⁰ The duck-roaster and the miller statuette were oriented facing the chamber entrance on the south; the porter statuette, however, faced the foot of the coffin, with its back to the east wall of the chamber.

⁸⁸⁴ Ex. Ph. A4493. See also Ex. Ph. A4491, A4492 and A4494-A4498.

⁸⁸⁵ Reisner's N.43.6, PAHMA 6-15203.

⁸⁸⁶ Reisner's N.43.2, PAHMA 6-15200.

⁸⁸⁷ Reisner's N.43.4, PAHMA 6-15202.

⁸⁸⁸ The museum catalogue number is PAHMA 6-15215.

⁸⁸⁹ The corresponding museum catalogue numbers are PAHMA 6-15210, 6-15207 and 6-15212, respectively.

⁸⁹⁰ The statuette heights, including the bases, are 18.5 cm (miller), 27 cm (duck roaster) and 33 cm (porter).

6.2.1.2 N.89, cemetery N.100-400

Although there are no extant tomb cards for N.89, if we compare the plan of this rock-cut tomb, as shown on the expedition map of cemetery N.100-400, with photographs of the burial chamber⁸⁹¹ and Stevenson Smith's sketch of the coffin pit, we first can determine the orientation of this chamber, and then, the orientation of the serving statuette that was deposited within it. The statuette was placed, along with the coffin, in a pit oriented local north-south, which was sunk into the floor of the burial chamber perpendicular to the north wall. The pit, which was inscribed with offering formulae around the top, was covered with limestone roofing blocks, visible in Ex. Ph.B4473 (Fig. 21). In accordance with burial practices of the time, *H3gi*'s mummy would have been placed on its left side in the coffin, in this case with the head at the north end of the pit and facing local (and symbolic) east.⁸⁹² When excavated, the pit was filled with debris that included inscribed coffin fragments and linen bandages from the mummy. In Ex. Ph. C11374, taken after the pit was cleared, the beer brewer statuette is shown next to a wooden headrest, standing in the northwest corner of the pit and facing east.⁸⁹³ According to the photograph register, the statuette is shown "not in position(?)", probably referring to the disturbed state of the burial, although it is also possible that Reisner moved the two objects before taking the photograph. Originally, the headrest either would have been inside the coffin, supporting the head of the mummy, or placed on the coffin lid above the mummy's head. There may have been enough space for the statuette to have been placed on the coffin lid; unfortunately, Reisner did not record the depth of the pit, and the coffin was too fragmentary for its height to be determined. However, if placed on the lid, the 20.5 cm high statuette may have been too tall to fit above the coffin. Although it is impossible to verify its exact placement in the coffin pit, on balance, it is most likely that the beer brewer statuette was originally placed either at the head of the coffin along the north wall of the coffin pit, or on the coffin lid, near the head.

6.2.1.3 N.3737, cemetery N.3500

Although rock-cut tomb N.3737 was plundered in antiquity, the excavators still recovered a great amount of funerary goods from it.⁸⁹⁴ Specifically, they documented fragments of a variety of model types that they found strewn throughout the tomb: in the courtyard,⁸⁹⁵ in the offering chapel,⁸⁹⁶ in the fill of the tomb shaft⁸⁹⁷ and in the burial chamber.⁸⁹⁸ Tomb robbers had tunneled through the east end of the south wall of the chapel. Once inside the chapel, the robbers' tunnel became a ditch that sloped down to the burial shaft, which was located in the

⁸⁹¹ Ex. Ph. B4471-B4473.

⁸⁹² Even though the inscribed coffin was not found intact, the decoration on the north and south walls of the burial chamber is paralleled by scenes found in object friezes on the interiors of coffin head and foot boards (as discussed above, in n. 436), i.e., the seven sacred oils and granaries depicted on the north and south walls, respectively. It is likely, therefore, that *H3gi*'s mummy was oriented in the coffin pit with the head at the north end.

⁸⁹³ See Fig. 12.

⁸⁹⁴ For the complete list of the tomb contents, see Appendix A, under N.3737.

⁸⁹⁵ Mace found a boat fragment in the corner of the courtyard, near the entrance to the robbers' tunnel, as recorded in his tomb card.

⁸⁹⁶ Mace found wooden figures near the chapel entrance along south wall Ex. Ph. (C122), and boat fragments and other wooden figures in the southeast corner of the chapel near robbers' tunnel (Ex. Ph. C24, C55). See Figs. 13 and 14.

⁸⁹⁷ According to the tomb cards, Mace found boat fragments, wooden figures and pieces of inscribed wood (i.e., parts of a granary) in the fill of the burial shaft.

⁸⁹⁸ Mace found six wooden figures from a granary in the coffin pit (Ex. Ph. C778). See Fig. 15.

northeast corner of the chapel. The burial chamber was cut at an oblique angle underneath the chapel and oriented east-west. In the chamber, the inscribed coffin was set down into a shallow coffin pit, also oriented east-west. The pit, which was not as deep as the one in N.89, was perhaps necessary to allow *Mrw/Iy 3w*'s large coffin to fit within the confines of the burial chamber (Fig. 22).⁸⁹⁹ Although the body was badly damaged, according to Mace's notes, *Mrw/Iy 3w*'s mummy likely originally lay on its left side, facing north, with his head at the west. Furthermore, although the lid, parts of the sides and west end were missing, enough of the coffin remained *in situ* at the time of its excavation to document the positions of some of the burial equipment around it.

For our purposes here, the most significant find was the model granary recovered from the burial chamber.⁹⁰⁰ Although the exact location of the granary storehouse was not documented, Mace wrote that he found "fragments of inscribed wood" in the southeast corner of the chamber and pieces of an "inscribed box" in the fill of the tomb shaft. These "pieces of wood" may include coffin fragments, but also undoubtedly incorporate the six bin doors of the granary, labeled with different types of grains and fruit in hieratic.⁹⁰¹ In Ex. Ph. C778 (see Fig. 15) six male figures from the granary are illustrated,⁹⁰² along with a bronze offering table set⁹⁰³ and a piriform model limestone jar from a *psš-ḳf* set,⁹⁰⁴ scattered inside the coffin pit along the north wall; Mace found all this material after removing the coffin. As seen in Ex. Ph. A718 (Fig. 22), there was space between the back of the coffin and the south chamber wall to accommodate funerary goods. According to Mace's measurements, the maximum distance between the coffin pit and this south wall was 33 cm at the southeast corner. The granary storehouse, however, would not have fit in this location, since (based on my measurements) it is 51.5 cm W x 54 cm L x 42.5 cm H. It is also doubtful that the granary would have been placed on the symbolic west side of the coffin, since Tooley found no other examples of granaries in this location at any other Egyptian site.⁹⁰⁵

The large coffin (measuring 102 cm in height, without the lid) appears to have been set down at least half way into the pit, as illustrated in Fig. 22. Neither the burial chamber height from floor to ceiling nor the depth of the coffin pit was recorded; however, the height from the top of the coffin to the ceiling was given as 95 cm. There would have been plenty of room for the granary storehouse, which is 42.5 cm in height, on the coffin lid. The granary was probably tossed onto the south side of the chamber (where parts of the inscribed bin doors were found), while some of the figures from it fell forward into the burial pit, when the coffin lid was removed and the mummy was ransacked. Mace also found ten wooden sandals⁹⁰⁶ along the south wall of the chamber, as also shown in Fig. 22. According to standard Egyptian funerary practice, the sandals likely originally were placed on the coffin lid, towards the foot. Inside the coffin, Mace found another limestone jar from the *psš-ḳf* set,⁹⁰⁷ a slate cosmetic palette,⁹⁰⁸ the skull of a calf⁹⁰⁹

⁸⁹⁹ Ex. Ph. A718.

⁹⁰⁰ PAHMA 6-1676a-p.

⁹⁰¹ *Bdt* (emmer), *bnr* (dates), *bš3* (barley), *swt* (wheat), *it-šm^c* (Upper Egyptian barley) and an unknown grain (name lost).

⁹⁰² Five of which are identified as PAHMA 6-1676l-p.

⁹⁰³ PAHMA 6-1638- 6-1654.

⁹⁰⁴ Current location unknown.

⁹⁰⁵ Tooley (1989: 126).

⁹⁰⁶ PAHMA 6-1664, 6-1675, 6-1678-6-1681 and 6-2816.

⁹⁰⁷ PAHMA 6-1669b.

and parts of a wooden toilet box,⁹¹⁰ all of which probably originally were set on the closed coffin lid.

6.2.1.4 N.4172, cemetery N.3500

In shaft-and-chamber tomb N.4172, Mace found the coffin of *Ibi* in the burial chamber, which was oriented local north-south. The mummy's head was at the north end inside the coffin, lying on its left side, facing east. *Ibi*'s burial equipment included a model boat equipped with a mast and sailors for traveling upstream,⁹¹¹ a paired miller scene,⁹¹² a long bow,⁹¹³ a wooden staff⁹¹⁴ and a pair of wooden sandals.⁹¹⁵ According to the tomb cards, the coffin height is 65.7 cm (with the lid) and the maximum height of the burial chamber is 90 cm, which left enough room for the sandals, walking staff and bow to be placed on top of the coffin (Fig. 23).⁹¹⁶ Since the height of the boat model is 27.5 cm (the canopy is now separate), it would not have fit on the coffin lid. The miller scene, which is 16.5 cm in height, possibly could have been squeezed into this location. Instead, however, both models were jammed between the front of the coffin and the roughly cut, east wall of the chamber, and are shown *in situ* in Ex. Ph. C764 (Fig. 24). The miller scene was found on top of the boat model. The boat faced south, towards the entrance of the burial chamber, which also is the expected direction for a sailed boat. This placement of his models at the front (symbolic east) side of the coffin, towards the foot end, also allowed *Ibi* easy access to them in the afterlife.

6.2.1.5 N.202, cemetery N.100-400

Reisner found a cache of five models together with a wooden *k3* statuette in a small, roughly hewn niche at the bottom of a shaft that he designated tomb N.202; as previously discussed, there is no associated burial chamber recorded in the field records. In several expedition photographs, the statuette and models are shown *in situ* in the niche, which was oriented local east-west (Fig. 26).⁹¹⁷ In front of the uninscribed *k3* statuette of the male tomb owner⁹¹⁸ was a group of men engaged in the manufacture of bricks⁹¹⁹ and a man roasting a duck or goose over a hearth.⁹²⁰ Two model boats were displayed at the back of the niche, one facing east⁹²¹ and the other west.⁹²² According to Reisner's notes, the chamber had flooded in antiquity, as the boat models sat in 1 mm of mud debris. One rower also had fallen off boat N.202.6 and lay against the back (north) wall of the niche. The models may have been shrouded in linen when interred, because Reisner found scraps of cloth on top of the boat canopies and on the

⁹⁰⁸ Present location unknown.

⁹⁰⁹ Present location unknown.

⁹¹⁰ Possibly parts of PAHMA 6-1677c-n.

⁹¹¹ PAHMA 6-17160.

⁹¹² PAHMA 6-16164.

⁹¹³ PAHMA 6-2148.

⁹¹⁴ PAHMA 6-2146.

⁹¹⁵ Present location unknown.

⁹¹⁶ Ex. Ph. C763.

⁹¹⁷ Ex. Ph. B4475. See also Ex. Ph. C4307-C4309, A4485-A448, and B4476.

⁹¹⁸ PAHMA 6-15989, Reisner's N.202.4.

⁹¹⁹ PAHMA 6-16163, Reisner's N.202.2.

⁹²⁰ PAHMA 6-17159, Reisner's N.202.1.

⁹²¹ PAHMA 6-15584, Reisner's N.202.6.

⁹²² PAHMA 6-17156, Reisner's N.202.5.

ground beside the figures. Directly in front of the boats was a group kitchen scene, comprised of two men and two women making bread.⁹²³ The two group scenes, which were oriented east-west because of their lengths,⁹²⁴ faced the entrance of the niche on the south. The duck roaster statuette was oriented north-south, also facing south. In contrast, the *k3* statuette of the tomb owner was turned to face the northeast corner of the niche.

Interestingly, although facing opposite directions, the pair of boats was positioned east-west rather than the more typical north-south. In this case the placement was dictated by the orientation and dimensions of the shallow niche. Although Reisner did not record the length of the niche, the width was only 55 cm. The boats, which are 89 cm⁹²⁵ and 90 cm⁹²⁶ long, only could have fit lengthwise. In addition, it is unusual that both boats were manned for rowing downstream. Perhaps the symbolic boat trip from Naga ed-Deir to the pilgrimage site of Abydos, located only about 28 km upriver, would not have required a sailing ship. The journey would have been a short one, with the boat traveling west across the Nile to Abydos, and returning east to Naga ed-Deir.

6.2.1.6 N.408, cemetery N.100-400

Models were preserved in their original locations only in one rock-cut tomb dated to the Middle Kingdom: N.408. This tomb contained one burial chamber, oriented local east-west. Reisner found a wooden figure⁹²⁷ on the chamber floor behind the anepigraphic, white stuccoed coffin “c”, as noted on his sketched tomb plan (Fig. 27). Coffin “c” was also oriented east-west, with the male mummy positioned on its left side with its head to the east and facing south. The model figure had been placed between the front (symbolic east) of the coffin and the south wall of the burial chamber, towards the foot of the coffin. It is likely that the figure belonged to a model boat, as Reisner also drew what appears to be a steering oar at the foot of the coffin. The coffin dimensions are 180.5 cm L x 33.5 cm W x 43.5 cm H, including the lid; since Reisner did not record the height of the chamber, however, it is unknown whether there was enough room for the model on the coffin lid. In Reisner’s tomb plan, there appears to be enough space between the foot of the coffin and the west wall of the burial chamber for models; therefore, it is quite possible that a boat was originally placed in this location.

Another white stuccoed coffin containing the body of a woman, which Reisner labeled “b”, had been shoved part way into the burial chamber head-first, with the bottom half protruding out into the tomb shaft. Although the mummy in coffin “c” was essentially intact, with the cartonnage mummy mask still in place, Reisner found its outer bandages badly damaged when he opened the coffin. It is likely that when coffin “b” was interred in the tomb, there was an attempted rifling of the male mummy and the boat model was stolen from the tomb, being damaged in the process, with a few fragments left behind. Once coffin “b” was in place, there would be no way for later thieves to get at the contents of the burial chamber.

⁹²³ PAHMA 6-17161, Reisner’s N.202.3.

⁹²⁴ The brick-manufacturing scene (PAHMA 6-16163) is 31 cm long, and the kitchen scene (PAHMA 6-17161) is 55 cm long.

⁹²⁵ PAHMA 6-15584.

⁹²⁶ PAHMA 6-17156.

⁹²⁷ Present location unknown.

6.2.1.7 N.3575, cemetery N.3500

In pit tomb N.3575, which was oriented local northwest-southeast, Mace found the anepigraphic burial of a woman. She was lying on her left side inside the remains of a plain white stuccoed coffin, with her head at the southeast end of the pit and facing west. Since Mace found the coffin in pieces, its dimensions are unknown. As shown in Ex. Ph. C313 (Fig. 25) and recorded in Mace's notes, he found a 12 cm long clay boat model⁹²⁸ placed upright on a ledge 80 cm below the top of the pit, and between the head of the coffin and the pit's southeast wall. The boat was oriented northeast-southwest, being situated perpendicular to the woman's head; as we cannot differentiate the prow from the stern in the photograph, however, it is unknown which direction the bow faced.

6.3 Conclusion

Of the 42 tombs with models at Naga ed-Deir that have written and photographic documentation, providing the amounts and general descriptions of models found in them, there are only 14 known contexts in which we can verify that models and model fragments originated from burial chambers or niches situated below the chapel floors: N.89, N.43, N.105 (Phase I); N.3765, N.3737, N.4172, N.3907, N.111, N.3795 and N.202 (Phase II); S.F.5029, N.9091 and N.408 (Phase III); and N.3575 (Phase IV). Of these 14 tombs, only seven (relatively) undisturbed tombs contained models found in specified locations within the tomb substructure. It is certainly no coincidence that these intact burials include shaft-and-chamber tombs (N.43 and N.4172), a pit tomb (N.3575) and a *serdab* (N.202), as the small size of the graves caused them to be overlooked by thieves. In contrast, the larger, rock-cut tombs N.89, N.3737 and N.408 had been broken into and suffered varying degrees of plundering in antiquity. Enough of the burials remained intact in these three graves, however, that we can reconstruct the most likely locations where the models originally were deposited.

The orientation of the chambers in which the models were found reflects both the topography of the site and ancient Egyptian funerary practices. For the seven tombs included in the current analysis, the east-west direction of the burial chamber seems to have been the preferred orientation; within the chamber, however, the coffins faced different directions, with the mummy's head placed towards the west, north or east. Where ascertainable, models and serving statuettes were positioned most frequently on the floor of the chamber next to the coffin. In four tombs at Naga ed-Deir, the excavators found models deposited between the ends of the coffins and the chamber walls. In N.43, three serving statuettes were situated between the foot of the coffin and the east wall of the chamber. In contrast, in N.89, a serving statuette quite possibly lay between the head of the coffin and the north wall of the coffin pit. In N.3575, a boat model had been deposited between the head of the coffin and the southeast wall of the pit. Finally, a boat fragment was recovered from the foot of the coffin in N.408, near the west wall of the chamber. In two other tombs, the excavators found models beside the front (symbolic "east") of the coffin, towards the foot end. In N.4172 a boat model and paired miller scene had been placed between the front of the coffin and the east wall of the burial chamber. In N.408, wooden figures, perhaps from a boat, were found between the front of the coffin and the south wall of the chamber. In one other tomb, N.3737, a model granary most likely had been situated on the lid of the coffin. Finally, in one tomb, N.202, the models had been placed in a *serdab*.

⁹²⁸ Present location unknown.

In comparing the Naga ed-Deir results with Tooley's findings regarding the placement of boats, granaries and offering bearers, we find both similarities and differences in their placement and orientation. At Naga ed-Deir, as in Tooley's analysis of different sites, boats were deposited in a variety of different places: on the chamber floor on the "east" side of the coffin (N.4712), (possibly) at foot of the coffin (N.408), in a *serdab* (N.202) and at the head of the coffin (N.3575). After the top of the lid, the "east" side of the coffin was the second most popular location for model boats at other sites; however, Tooley found this placement was more typical at sites north of Beni Hasan, while in the south, boats deposited on the floor were found more often on the "west" side of the coffin.⁹²⁹ Tooley also found that, in general, the placement of boats at the head and foot of the coffin was less common than on the lid, along the sides or in *serdabs*. Naga ed-Deir, therefore, may not have a typical disposition of boat models, but the evidence is too incomplete to be certain.

At Naga ed-Deir, in accordance with Tooley's results, tall offering bearers and other serving statuettes were placed on the chamber floors due to inadequate space above the coffin lid. Statuettes and figurines were discovered at the foot (N.43), to the front (N.4172) and possibly at the head (N.89) of the coffins. While Tooley found proportionally more offering bearers located on the front (symbolic "east") of the coffin at other sites, the two least common positions for offering bearer statuettes were the head and foot. Again, Naga ed-Deir appears to be atypical with regards to the placement of these statuettes, but it is difficult to tell for certain based on the remaining archaeological evidence. Finally, the granary from N.3737 was most likely placed on the coffin lid, the same location that Tooley found was the most popular for this type of model.

In comparing Tooley's findings from other sites with those at Naga ed-Deir regarding model orientation of statuettes and boats, there are again both similarities and differences. Almost all of the serving statuettes and figurines in tombs N.43, N.202 and N.4172 were oriented to face the chamber entrances on the south, in accordance with Tooley's findings. In N.4172, the boat *was* equipped for sailing upstream, and faced south. In N.202, however, paired model boats were oriented east-west, rather than the more typical north-south, in order to fit into the niche. In N.3575, the boat similarly was oriented northeast-southwest. Also in contrast to Tooley's findings, tombs N.4172 and N.3575 only contained one boat model each, rather than the expected two. Therefore, based on the very limited available evidence, in some cases the number and orientation of boat models at Naga ed-Deir does appear to be consistent with the trends that Tooley established for other sites.

Although few of the boat models at Naga ed-Deir were found intact and in their original contexts, by analyzing the quantities and types of fragmentary remains the excavators recovered from various locations within the tombs, it is possible to calculate which additional tombs mostly likely did contain paired boats in their burial assemblages. This analysis is carried out further in the following chapter, dealing with boat models. Having concluded the discussion of the archaeological context of models excavated at Naga ed-Deir, therefore, in Chapters Seven through Eleven I will discuss the specific categories of tomb models recovered from the site.

⁹²⁹ Tooley (1989: 172).

Chapter Seven: Transportation by Boat

7.1 Introduction

The most popular category in the core tomb model group is boats. Boats played a prominent role in the daily lives of the ancient Egyptians and, just as importantly, had a profound influence on their religious beliefs and funerary customs. For example, the gods and the dead both traveled by boat. Models, included in tombs as magical substitutes for real boats in the afterlife, fulfilled both utilitarian and religious functions. Boats allowed the tomb owner mobility in traveling, most often for basic transportation, but also for funerary voyages to necropoleis and symbolic pilgrimages to sacred sites after death-- including pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of the god Osiris at Busiris and Abydos. The voyage to Abydos, whether actually undertaken in life or symbolically in death, was particularly important to the ancient Egyptians, who wanted to take part in the sacred rites surrounding the death and resurrection of the god Osiris so that, like him, they would be reborn in the afterlife. The significance of boats in ancient Egyptian funerary practices is demonstrated by the large corpus of spells documented in religious texts of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms (i.e., the Pyramid and Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead), which facilitated travel to the next realm to join the company of the gods.⁹³⁰

Boat models have specific features that have been used to classify them into distinct groups. Reisner first established seven major types, which he based on hull form and other stylistic features and assigned to general chronological periods: Type I, squared bow river boat with two steering oars (Old Kingdom); Type II, river boat with single rudder and curling stern (Middle Kingdom); Type III, papyrus raft or skiff (Predynastic Period onward); Type IV, papyriform wooden boat (Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom); Type V, papyriform wooden funerary boat with raised end post (Archaic Period onward); Type VI, solar bark (Middle Kingdom); and Type VII, divine barks of at least two forms (all periods).⁹³¹ Tooley added an eighth category, based not only on Reisner's stylistic criteria, but also on internal construction: Type VIII, hollow-hulled, shallow water boats.⁹³²

Incorporating Reisner's typological scheme, Tooley studied the chronological development of and regional preferences for model boats manufactured from the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5) to the late Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 12-13/17).⁹³³ In her analysis, Tooley ascertained that boats were the most common model type manufactured throughout Egypt in these periods. All together, she counted ca. 305 complete and ca. 99 fragmentary boats primarily from excavated contexts, including three intact boats from tombs N.202 and N.4172 at Naga ed-Deir.⁹³⁴ Tooley separated her discussion of model boats into two main categories according to

⁹³⁰ Merriman (2009: 293-295).

⁹³¹ Reisner (1913e: iii).

⁹³² Tooley (1986: 189-192; 1991: 68-75).

⁹³³ Tooley (1989: 129-174).

⁹³⁴ Tooley (1989: 3, 14-15, 28, 60 and 67, Tables 1-5). I derived a total of 305 complete and 99 fragmentary boats from the amounts listed in Tooley's five tables, in which she organized her examples by chronological period. It is difficult to correlate the number of boats in her tables with the 180 examples mentioned in her Chapter Three, on boat models. Furthermore, of these 180 boats, she discussed only 147 in further detail. Additionally, although Tooley listed boat fragments on Tables 1-5, and mentioned them in her Chapter One, on the chronological development of the different model types (including boats), she did not discuss them in her Chapter Three. There are additional discrepancies in comparing Tooley's results from Tables 1-5 with those listed in her

function: funerary and pilgrimage. Within each of these two sections she organized her examples chronologically and by type, identifying stylistic features of boats manufactured in different time periods in order to establish a chronological succession of boat types.

More recently, Ann Merriman most thoroughly analyzed ancient Egyptian model boats from sites throughout Egypt.⁹³⁵ She redefined Reisner's boat categories and created a new typological system, based on a set of 18 major and 16 minor nautical construction attributes, in order to illustrate the evolution of the model boat corpus from the Predynastic to the Third Intermediate Period. She also considered secondary, non-structural nautical attributes (i.e., steering, propulsion, depth gauges, landing gear, bow and stern appendages, hull color and iconography) that reflected chronological and/or geographical differences, construction materials and specific functions of boats. Finally, she examined the social hierarchies represented by the various personnel depicted on boat models. In her analysis, Merriman expanded Tooley's boat model corpus geographically and temporally, revising several of Tooley's dates in the process. Merriman's data was comprised of complete boats from both provenanced and unprovenanced contexts, many of which she was able to date and determine place of origin from nautical features. She derived a new total of 585 models, including six boat models from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.202, N.4172, N.4003, N.4401 and N.449. Of these 585 examples, 420 generally correspond to Reisner's classification system, while another 165 do not fit into his scheme.⁹³⁶ In the current study, my database consists primarily of boat fragments, with few preserved hulls, preventing me from incorporating Merriman's typological system in its entirety into my analysis of the Naga ed-Deir boat models. For this reason, the typology of eight categories devised by Reisner and Tooley is retained in this chapter. I did, however, integrate Merriman's revised dates of boat models from other sites into my discussion. Whenever possible, I also incorporated her conclusions regarding structural and non-structural attributes into my own analysis of the Naga ed-Deir material.

In my research of the models excavated from Naga ed-Deir, I found that boats indeed comprise the largest percentage of the tomb model corpus. All together, Reisner's teams excavated nine complete boats and a minimum of 241 fragments, representing approximately another 36 boats, from 36 tombs. They also recovered four fragments from three boats from unknown locations. Thus, there are estimated 48 boats from the site. This extensive and well-documented corpus of model boats spans all four major phases of model production at Naga ed-Deir, ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV). A variety of boat types that fulfilled both religious and utilitarian functions are represented by this material.

In my analysis of the model boats excavated from Naga ed-Deir, my goals are, first, to expand Merriman's established corpus for the site. For each chronological phase, I will discuss the number of complete and fragmentary boats recovered during Reisner's excavations, as well

Table 6, her regional model repertoire. On Table 6, there are 288 complete and 101 fragmentary boats. She has 15 examples listed on Tables 1-5 that are not included on Table 6, and three examples on Table 6 that are not provided in Tables 1-5. Specifically, there are differences in her chronological and regional totals for boat types I, II, III/IV, IV, VI and "unknown", and her "Sahure" type for the Old Kingdom. Because I am not able to resolve these discrepancies from the available evidence, for the purposes of my dissertation, I am using Tooley's totals combined from Tables 1-5.

⁹³⁵ Merriman (2009).

⁹³⁶ Personal communication, Ann Merriman, May 2009.

as the types that are represented and their specific functions. As part of my analysis, I will also consider whether the evidence suggest rowed or sailed boats, to determine if-- and in how many cases-- paired boats (one rowed, one sailed) were interred in tombs at the site. I will also indicate which characteristics are relevant in establishing the dates of the boat types. I will then compare the revised number of model boats from Naga ed-Deir against Tooley's and Merriman's combined totals for each of the corresponding time periods, to determine how the Naga ed-Deir corpus compares to the established developmental scheme. Finally, I will also consider whether certain stylistic features of model boats share affinities with those from other sites, with the ultimate goal of expanding our knowledge of the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh regional boat model repertoire.

The complete list of models from Naga ed-Deir is provided in Appendix F, where they are arranged chronologically by type and assigned new catalogue and illustration numbers used in the current study. This appendix also contains more detailed information pertaining to the models than that presented in the body of the text, including dimensions, materials, museum inventory numbers, object register numbers and original photographic documentation. The final tallies of each model type is presented in Appendix G, the table of model frequencies, also subdivided chronologically into the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, early Middle Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom (i.e., my Phases I-IV). In order to familiarize the reader with the nautical terminology utilized in this section, I have included a drawing of a typical Middle Kingdom Egyptian boat with labels that identify the main elements (Fig. 28).⁹³⁷

Before turning to a specific discussion of the model boats excavated at Naga ed-Deir, it is important to point out that scholars disagree on how the ancient Egyptians distinguished between funerary voyages and pilgrimages to sacred sites in the model boat repertoire. This distinction is based on analogous scenes of tomb paintings, which sometimes are accompanied with texts providing the destinations.⁹³⁸ In tomb scenes, pilgrimage boats have been identified as self-propelling, whereas most funerary boats require towing, by either a sailed or a rowed lead boat.⁹³⁹ It has been suggested that this dichotomy also occurs in model boats.⁹⁴⁰ More specifically, Tooley argued that, as with tomb scenes, Types II, IV and V model boats conduct the deceased -- represented as a mummy lying on a bier or inside a coffin -- to the burial place in funerary contexts, while the owner is depicted as a living person in pilgrimages.⁹⁴¹ Furthermore, she suggested that when used for pilgrimages, Type II model boats represent the journey to Busiris, while Type IV and V vessels are used for the trip to Abydos.⁹⁴² As her latter point indicates, the distinction among these final destinations is not always clearly defined in the model repertoire. Tooley also argued that when Types II, IV and V model boats are used to transport the owner on pilgrimages, they are always equipped for self-propulsion, and, therefore,

⁹³⁷ The boat terms used in the current study are adapted from a number of sources, including Reisner (1913e); Landström (1970); Blackburn (1981); Jones (1995); and Merriman (2009).

⁹³⁸ For example, in a funerary scene from the 12th Dynasty tomb A2 at Meir, belonging to *Ppy-ḥḥ/Hny-km*, four Type IV boats are shown in a sequence that is labeled *Tr imy-wrt ikr* (making straight for the West), and *Šms r tp ibw* (escorting up to the purification tent). Each boat, which bears a coffin, is towed (Blackman 1953: 51-52, Pls. XLII, LXIII.2 and LXIV.1).

⁹³⁹ Vandier (1969: 693-96, Figs. 278, 279.1, 280.1-2); Tooley (1989: 129; 2001: 427); and Jones (1995: 18-20).

⁹⁴⁰ Reisner (1913e: xxiii); Glanville (1972: 45); and Tooley (1989: 166).

⁹⁴¹ Tooley (1989: 166, 167; 1994: 350).

⁹⁴² Tooley (1989: 145, 166).

do not require towing.⁹⁴³ In contrast, model funerary boats of the same types are represented without any oarsmen or sailors, indicating that they are incapable of self-propulsion and are meant to be towed.⁹⁴⁴ Boats bearing coffins or mummies, however, are more often equipped with oars and/or sails, combining features of both funerary and pilgrimage vessels.⁹⁴⁵ It is very likely that these latter boats served a dual ritualistic function.⁹⁴⁶ In the current study, therefore, I deviate from Tooley in considering rowed and sailed boats with coffins⁹⁴⁷ as simultaneously representing both symbolic journeys to pilgrimage sites and to necropoleis, and not simply funeral cortèges.

7.2 Phase I (Late Old Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered 36 fragments of wooden boat models from six rock-cut tombs dated to the late Old Kingdom: N.67/69, N.5201/S.F.5203, S.F.5202, N.51, N.241 and N.105. These fragments represent the remains of at least six boats. While the excavators found the remains of crew members, canopied structures that originally were affixed to the decks and steering oars, they found no hulls, making it difficult to assign all of the boats of this period to specific types. However, the remains of a papyriform end post (either the prow or stern) from N.51 (Cat. 4c, Fig. 29)⁹⁴⁸ indicate that it belonged to a Type IV boat. The defining characteristic of this type, which is a wooden boat in imitation of a papyrus raft, is the extension of the cylindrical stem- and sternposts into stylized, button-shaped papyrus umbels.⁹⁴⁹ The thin, elongated form of the end post found in N.51 is characteristic of Type IV boats dating from late

⁹⁴³ Tooley (1989: 145, 166). See, for example, CG 4910, a sailed Type II boat from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp/Bw3w* at Deir el-Bahri (pit 28). On this boat, the cloaked owner sits inside a vaulted deck-house, surrounded by two cloaked figures, perhaps two of the Four Sons of Horus. The crew also includes three standing mast attendants (Navelle 1896: 3-4; Reisner 1913: 65-66, Figs. 232-241, Pl. XVI; Tooley 1989: 150; and Merriman 2009: 579-580, Cat. 479).

⁹⁴⁴ Tooley (1989: 129, 166). See, for example, Type V boat ÄMB 14 (lost) from the late 12th Dynasty tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp* at Asasif, cemetery 600 (Steindorff 1896: 37-39, Fig. 38, Pl. IX, X.8; Breasted 1948: 69, Pl. 64b; Tooley 1989: 138-139; and Merriman 2009: 451-452, Cat. 283). The figures include a mummy, laid out beneath a canopy, which is attended by two priests, two female mourners and Four Sons of Horus. Only two officers are present: the look-out and the helmsman. There is no other crew.

⁹⁴⁵ For example, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford E.2296 is a Type II boat from the late 12th Dynasty tomb of *M3* at Beni Hasan (BH500), which is represented in full sail, with the mummy laid out on a bier beneath a canopy (Garstang 1907: 102, Fig. 91, top; Breasted 1948: 69; Landström 1970: 83, Fig. 251; Tooley 1989: 141; and Merriman 2009: 635, Cat. 543). A Type IV/V boat (ÄMB 13756) from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Hnwy* at Gebelein, conducts the deceased, borne inside a coffin, to his final resting place. In addition to the two mourners who accompany him, the crew includes four oarsmen rowing the boat (Steindorff 1901: 27; Breasted 1948: 69; Tooley 1989: 136; and Merriman 2009: 361, Cat. 129). The same ambiguity is found occasionally in tomb scenes. Note, for example, the paddled and sailed Type IV boats conducting the deceased (inside his coffin) on the funerary voyage, which is depicted on a painted wooden panel (Chicago 2054) from the late Old Kingdom tomb of *Mri* at Deshasheh (Petrie 1898: 20, Pl. XXVII; Stevenson Smith 1949: 230; and Tooley 1995: 9, Fig. 1).

⁹⁴⁶ As Tooley suggested (1989: 142).

⁹⁴⁷ There are no surviving examples of the owner represented as a mummiform figure from any of the Naga ed-Deir boat models.

⁹⁴⁸ Ex. Ph. C8908, c/2.

⁹⁴⁹ Reisner (1913: xviii-xix). In actual papyrus crafts, the ends of the bow and stern needed to be pulled up and secured to prevent them from capsizing; this feature was imitated in wooden boats and models of boats, although it was structurally unnecessary (Landström 1970: 18-19).

Dynasty 6.⁹⁵⁰ The two octagonal-sectioned rudder posts or stanchions found in pit N.69 (Cat. 1c-d, Figs. 30 and 31)⁹⁵¹ also indicate that the boat was steered with a double rudder system, a characteristic feature of both Type IV and V papyriform crafts.⁹⁵² However, it is most likely that the boat from N.69 was a Type IV, because (with one exception) Type V boats did not make their appearance in the model repertoire at other sites until the early Middle Kingdom.⁹⁵³ Furthermore, the rudder stanchions of Type V boats are sometimes more elaborately decorated with falcon-headed terminals.⁹⁵⁴ The steering oar (Cat. 2a, Fig. 32) recovered from (pit) S.F.5203 was also probably one of a pair from a Type IV papyriform boat, based both on the size of the blade and the date of the tomb.⁹⁵⁵ Although tomb complex S.F.5201/5203 was reused in the mid 12th Dynasty, the boat models most likely belong with the late Old Kingdom interment(s), because the trapezoidal shape and triangular tip of the sole, remaining steering oar blade are characteristic features of the late Dynasty 6.⁹⁵⁶

Despite their fragmentary nature, there is evidence that the majority, if not all, of the late Old Kingdom boats at Naga ed-Deir fulfilled a ritual function, as part of funeral cortèges, to conduct pilgrimages to sacred sites or both, i.e., the primary functions of papyriform boats.⁹⁵⁷ In boats traveling to the necropolis or to a pilgrimage site, the deck furniture consists of a canopied structure or baldachin, which is situated amidships to shelter the owner. The boat fragments from tombs S.F.5202 (Cat. 3a-c, Figs. 33 and 34), N.51 (Cat. 4b, Fig. 29),⁹⁵⁸ N.241 (Cat. 5h-l, Figs. 35 and 36),⁹⁵⁹ N.105 (Cat. 6, Fig. 37),⁹⁶⁰ pit N.69 (Cat. 1a-b, Figs. 38 and 39)⁹⁶¹ and pit S.F.5203 (Cat. 2b-c, Fig. 40) include parts of canopies, which were originally placed over the coffin, mummy, seated image or chair representing the deceased on Type IV boats manufactured during this period. Unfortunately, no model coffins or figures that can be identified as the boat owner were recovered from any of these tombs. Finally, although the colors used to decorate the striped canopy supports from N.105 (Cat. 6) and (pit) S.F.5203 (Cat. 2b) were different, the large

⁹⁵⁰ Tooley (1989: 170; 1994: 350); and Merriman (2009: 233). For similar papyriform end posts, note boats J.E. 56388 and J.E. 56389, found outside the late 6th Dynasty pyramid of Queen *Nt* (Merriman 2009: 233, Fig. 4.18, and 330, Cat. Nos. 68, 69).

⁹⁵¹ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see b/2.

⁹⁵² Reisner (1913e: xx, xxiii).

⁹⁵³ Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3; 60-61, Table 4; 141, Table 12; and 165, Table 14). The only known examples of Type V model boats that predate the early Middle Kingdom are from a royal context. J.E. 56386 is one boat of this type that was included among the set of 16 buried at Saqqara outside the pyramid of Queen *Nt*, the wife of Pepy II (Jéquier 1933: 35-36; Poujade 1948: 11-12; Landström 1970: 59, Fig. 172; Tooley 1989: 135; and Merriman 2009: 329, Cat. 66).

⁹⁵⁴ Merriman (2009: 101). For further discussion of falcon-headed rudder stanchions from Naga ed-Deir, see below, pp. 161, 163.

⁹⁵⁵ The total length of the blade and remaining section of the broken loom (handle) is 23.5 cm. In comparison, Type II river boats were steered by single rudders, which are generally larger. Note the larger sizes of the steering oars from Type II boats found in tombs S.F.5021, N.263 and S.F.170 discussed below, on pages 218 and 225.

⁹⁵⁶ For comparison, note the shape of the rudder blade on S.14046 and S.14047, from the late Old Kingdom tomb of the “unknown owners” at Gebelein (D’Amicone 1988: 72-74, and Fig. 88, 89; Leospo and Fozzati 1992: 393, Pl. X.2; and Merriman 2009: 227, Fig. 4.1 (oar blade), and 330-331, Cat. 70, 71).

⁹⁵⁷ Reisner (1913e: xxi, xxiv); Landström (1970: 57, 93); and Jones (1995: 43-44).

⁹⁵⁸ In Fig. 29, Ex. Ph. C8908, see b/1.

⁹⁵⁹ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see d/4.

⁹⁶⁰ In Fig. 37, Ex. Ph. C8882, see c/2.

⁹⁶¹ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see c/5.

bulbous tops are very similar, perhaps suggesting the boats from these two tombs were made in the same workshop.

As noted in the previous chapter, Tooley found that at other Middle and Upper Egyptian sites, sailed and rowed boats typically were paired in tombs. At Naga ed-Deir, there is evidence for two boats from tombs S.F.5201/5203 and/or S.F.5202. It is unclear from which burial they derived, because the two complexes are located next to each other. When excavated, the burial assemblages were discovered mixed together, with parts of *Dd-Inhrt-nh/Mry*'s coffin (originally interred in pit S.F.5203) recovered from the debris of S.F.5202.⁹⁶² Some of the boat model fragments also were inter-mixed. Based on similarities in the color schemes used in their painted decoration, four broken yellow, black and blue striped canopy supports recovered from the debris in pit S.F.5203 (Cat. 2b) originally may have belonged with two canopy trim fragments from S.F.5202 (Cat. 3a-b). Likewise, two green and black striped canopy supports discovered in the debris in pit S.F.5202 (Cat. 3c) may have belonged with seven other support fragments from S.F.5203 (Cat. 2c). All together, in (pit) S.F.5203 and S.F.5202 excavators found 13 fragments of canopy support posts, ranging in length from 7 cm to 28 cm. Canopies of both funerary and pilgrimage boats typically have either four or six posts.⁹⁶³ These 13 fragments, therefore, likely represent eight, 10 or 12 (complete) support posts from two canopies belonging to two separate model boats.

In pit S.F.5203, the excavation team also recovered eight decayed wooden human figures in various seated and standing poses (Cat. 159) along with 16 arms (Cat. 160). As recorded in the 1923 object register log, the sizes ranged from 10.8 to 24.1 cm in height and the lengths of the arms from 8.3 to 18.9 cm. Unfortunately, there are no expedition photographs or sketches of these fragments and, because their present location(s) is unknown, I was unable to examine them in person. While some of the human figures and arms likely represent parts of rowers and sailors from boat models, the largest ones undoubtedly do not.⁹⁶⁴ Squatting figures also are found in many different types of paired and grouped scenes. More specifically, both pits in complex S.F.5201/S.F.5203 contained beer jars (Cat. 104d-f, 105d) and other elements (Cat. 104a-c, 105a-c), which are typical of baking-brewing scenes. Because of the limited available evidence, for the purposes of the current study I grouped the figures all together under my “miscellaneous human figures” category, listed together in Appendix F.

Excavators found additional male figures in pits S.F.5201 and S.F.5202, some of which were photographed in Ex. Ph. B5040. All were badly damaged, and, with one exception, were missing their arms. Two squatting figures recovered from pit S.F.5201 may represent oarsmen (Cat., Fig. 41).⁹⁶⁵ The boat fragments found in the tomb fill of S.F.5202 also included six squatting figures (Cat. 162a, Fig. 41),⁹⁶⁶ which were found in conjunction with the canopy pieces. While the largest of the six figures (19.5 cm in height) was probably not from a boat, the

⁹⁶² The outer coffin lid and fragments of end boards belonging to *Mry* (23-11-665 c, d) were recovered from the debris in pit S.F.5202, the tomb belonging to *H3gy*. See Appendix A for the complete list of contents from both tombs.

⁹⁶³ Note that in the current study, for example, the two boats from N.202 (Cat. 27 and 28) each had canopies with four posts and the canopy on the boat from N.4172 (Cat. 20) had six posts.

⁹⁶⁴ The small left arm illustrated in Ex. Ph. B5149, b/2 may have belonged to a rower, based on the fact that the clenched fist, which is oriented with the palm down, has a hole drilled sideways through it, perhaps in order to hold an oar.

⁹⁶⁵ In Ex. Ph. B5040, see a/2, a/3.

⁹⁶⁶ In Ex. Ph. B5040, see a/4, a/5, a/6, a/7.

smaller ones are considered here to be crew members. None of them appear to have holes drilled into the legs for the insertion of oars; however, they may have held them in their hands. One figure (Fig. 41)⁹⁶⁷ was found with the straight arms still attached; although both arms were badly deteriorated, there appears to be a hole in the left fist, perhaps to secure an oar. Five other wooden arms from S.F.5202 range in size from 10.8 cm to 11.4 cm in length (Cat. 162e-g). One arm was straight (Cat. 162g) and the others were slightly bent. It is likely that they were originally attached to the squatting figures. Admittedly, however, it is difficult to be certain how many of these six male figures derived from boats-- even with the expedition photograph-- because of their poor condition, combined with the fact that none were found on intact hulls. Some of the figures could have belonged to other types of models, as excavators also found two fans (Cat. 107c), a stooped male worker (Cat. 161) and a base from a bakery-brewery scene (Cat. 107a) in the tomb. To complicate matters still further, it is likely that some of the male figures from S.F.5203 and S.F.5202 were inter-mixed, as were the boat canopy fragments. However, based on the amount and types of the extant model fragments, it is possible to conclude that the model repertoire from complex S.F.5201/S.F.5203 and/or S.F.5202 included two funerary/pilgrimage boats, possibly a pair of sailed and rowed vessels.

At Naga ed-Deir, excavators found evidence of rowed boats in three other tombs of the late Old Kingdom: N.241, N.67/69 and N.51. Tomb N.241 contained two paddlers, which are distinguished from rowers in that they faced the bow of the boat and are typically represented kneeling on the outside knee, rather than seated or squatting.⁹⁶⁸ Paddlers also are found on papyriform boats, particularly Types III and IV, but are less common on Type II vessels.⁹⁶⁹ Since Type III boats are not known before late Dynasty 11, the two figures from late Old Kingdom tomb N.241 most likely derive from a Type IV vessel. The two male figures from N.241 kneel with the right and left knee raised, respectively (Cat. 5a-b, Figs. 35 and 42),⁹⁷⁰ indicating that they sat on the port and starboard sides of the deck. They are the most elaborate of all the boat figures from Naga ed-Deir. They are larger than most, sitting about 16 cm tall. They are also extremely well-carved, with the facial features and modeling of the legs and feet rendered in naturalistic detail. Reisner recovered five arms from N.241, each of which is oriented with the palm turned down and a hole drilled sideways through the clenched fist to hold a paddle (now missing). Cat. 5c, one of the extant right arms, originally was attached to rower Cat. 5b. Since none of the other two pairs of arms (Cat. 5d-g, Fig. 43) fit these two paddlers, however, it appears there were originally at least four paddlers secured to the deck of a papyriform boat. Along with other boat model fragments, tomb N.51 both also contained a small, crude male figure, whose squatting position suggests he is a rower, even though he does not have holes drilled into the legs to secure oars (Cat. 4a, Figs. 29 and 44).⁹⁷¹ He may have held

⁹⁶⁷ In Ex. Ph. B5040, see a/6.

⁹⁶⁸ Reisner (1913e: xvi); Jones 1995: 70); and Merriman (2009: 251-252, and Fig. 4.49).

⁹⁶⁹ Tooley (1989: 139). For two examples of paddled Type IV boats dated to the First Intermediate Period, see CG 4880 and 4881, from Meir (Reisner 1913e: 51-53, Figs. 179-189, Pls. XII-XIII; Tooley 1989: 146, misattributed to the tomb of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* (A1); and Merriman 2009: 335, Cat. 78-79). For an example of a paddled Type III boat dated to late Dynasty 11/early 12, see AEIN 1629, from the tomb of *Gmni-m-ḥ3t* (HMK 30) at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 29a; Mogensen 1930: 68, Pl. LXVI; Breasted 1948: 75, Göttlicher and Werner 1971: XVI.1; Tooley 1989: 158-159; and Merriman 2009: 317, Cat. 26). For a late Dynasty 11 Type II boat with both rowers and paddlers, see ÄIUT 369, from Beni Hasan (Merriman 2009: 552-553, Cat. 444).

⁹⁷⁰ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see d/6, d/5.

⁹⁷¹ In Fig. 29, Ex. Ph. C8908, see c/3.

the ends of the oars in his hands, which, unfortunately, cannot be verified because the arms were missing when the figure was excavated.

7.3 Phase II (First Intermediate Period)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered three complete boats and 118 fragments, which represent at least another 14 boats, from 12 First Intermediate Period tombs: N.3765, N.3737, S.F.5214, S.F.18, N.4172, N.3567, N.3769, N.111, N.3795, N.3916, N.3756 and N.202. In this period, ritual boats remain predominant in the model repertoire. All three intact boats are Type IV papyriform crafts, and include the two nearly identical vessels from N.202 and the single boat from N.4172. These three boats were used to transport coffins (representing the deceased boat owner) set underneath canopies, and would have represented both a symbolic pilgrimage and funerary voyage.

The two rowed boats from N.202 (Cat. 27a-g and 32a-c, Figs. 45 and 48) are nearly identical. On both boats, the coffins rest beneath striped canopies, supported by four posts.⁹⁷² Lector priests, identified by their long kilts with triangular, front projections and single shoulder-straps, stand at the head of the coffins, facing aft. Both priests read magical texts from papyrus scrolls that would enable the deceased to pass safely through the underworld. Although intact in the expedition photograph, the scrolls now are separate. Female mourners stand in front of the priests, and face the bow of the boat, with their left arms crossed over their breasts in a gesture of respect. Each woman wears a sheath dress with a single shoulder strap and a fillet tied around her short wig. Both the arm position and costume serve as indicators of the women's roles as *dryt*-mourners.⁹⁷³ On both boats, crews consist of three pairs of kneeling rowers, with holes drilled into their thighs to receive oars, and two officers, i.e., the pilot and the helmsman.⁹⁷⁴ The standing helmsmen steer the vessels by operating the double rudders at the stern.⁹⁷⁵ The boat is propelled by rowers sitting on the port and starboard sides of the boats, facing aft.⁹⁷⁶ The pilots stand at the bow of the boats, acting as the look-outs. They were responsible for testing the depth of the water with a sounding pole (or quant) and for giving the helmsmen directions.⁹⁷⁷ Instead of quants, pilots sometimes held leads that were used as depth sinkers.⁹⁷⁸ Each pilot (the one still attached to the hull of Cat. 27 and the now separate Cat. 28c, Figs. 45, 46, 47 and 49) holds one straight arm extended, with the hand fistled and oriented with the fingers turned inward. The quants or leads, which were not found in the tomb, undoubtedly once were inserted into holes drilled into the fists. The hulls of both boats are painted white, with stripes on the prow and stern in yellow, black and red, representing papyrus bindings. The same colors were

⁹⁷² Note that Tooley (1989: 136) categorized them as funerary barques because they bear coffins; however, I would argue for a dual funerary/pilgrimage function because both boats also contained rowers, thus being capable of self-propulsion.

⁹⁷³ Similar representations of women appear in funerary contexts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, both in two-dimensional tomb reliefs and as three-dimensional figures. In these contexts, they stand at the head and foot of coffins that are transported on boats. Single statues of *dryt*-mourners are also typically found after the 12th Dynasty (Fischer 1976c: 39-44). Note that Merriman identified the mourners as priests (2009: 342-343, Cat. 92, and 353, Cat. 110).

⁹⁷⁴ Reisner found one of the rowers, Cat. 31b (Fig. 49), separated from the boat. On Cat. 32a, three oars (now lost) were still inserted into the rowers' legs when excavated.

⁹⁷⁵ Merriman (2009: 249-250).

⁹⁷⁶ Merriman (2009: 250-251).

⁹⁷⁷ Jones (1995: 70-71); and Merriman (2009: 248-249).

⁹⁷⁸ Landström (1970: 79, 87); and Merriman (2009: 230-231).

used for the horizontal stripes around the canopy support posts, the decorative trim of the canopy roofs and the alternating bands radiating out from the centers of the papyrus umbels.⁹⁷⁹ On both Cat. 27 and 28, the stem- and sternposts are attached to the hulls with mortise and tenon joints. These posts are elongated, with square cross-sections and flat disc umbels, i.e., features that indicate a First Intermediate Period date.⁹⁸⁰ The rudders from both boats and the oars from Cat. 28 are identical, with blades that are nearly trapezoidal, with triangular tips. This blade style also is typical of the First Intermediate Period.⁹⁸¹

The two boats from N.202 have only minor differences. On the boat facing east (Cat. 27)⁹⁸² the coffin is painted white, while on the one facing west (Cat. 28)⁹⁸³ it is yellow.⁹⁸⁴ In addition, on Cat. 27 both the helmsman and the pilot stand with their right arms upraised. On the helmsman, the arm is bent, while the pilot holds it straight, as noted above. On Cat. 28, both of these officers have the *left* arms upraised in the same positions. The differences in coffin colors and in poses of the officers reinforce the idea that one boat was meant to represent traveling in opposite directions (i.e., upstream and downstream), even though two boats are depicted in the act of being rowed.

The sailed boat from N.4172 (Cat. 20a-n, Fig. 50) transports a white coffin that is situated beneath a canopy, supported by six posts. The coffin is unusual in that it resembles a cabin, with two open doorways facing the bow. There are seven crew members on board: two standing helmsmen with opposite, bent arms manning the tillers,⁹⁸⁵ a pilot standing with his right arm (now broken) originally held straight ahead and four sailors. The sailors kneel on both knees and originally faced forward, as found with mast attendants who sit aft of the mast on sailed boats.⁹⁸⁶ All the sailors' bodies were carved as one unit with the arms resting on their thighs. This arm position differs from most mast attendants found on boats of this period from other sites, which typically have upraised arms that terminate in clenched fists, oriented with the fingers turned inwards, and pierced, in order to hold ropes attached to the yards or horizontal spars, from which

⁹⁷⁹ The two after canopy posts on Cat. 27 are modern replacements, put in place for a 1966 exhibit in the Hearst Museum (then called the Lowie Museum). At this time the canopy roofs of Cat. 27 and 28 likely were switched. This exchange is evident in comparing the recent photograph of Cat. 28 (PAHMA 6-17156, Fig. 47) with Ex. Ph. B 4887 of Cat. 27 (PAHMA 6-15584, Fig. 45). In the two photographs, the canopy roofs are identical.

⁹⁸⁰ Tooley (1989: 170); and Merriman (2009: 233, Fig. 4.19).

⁹⁸¹ Merriman (2009: 227, Figs. 4.2 (oar), 4.3 (rudder)).

⁹⁸² Reisner's boat N.202.6.

⁹⁸³ Reisner's boat N.202.5.

⁹⁸⁴ The ancient Egyptians used white and yellow interchangeably as solar colors, symbolizing that which was eternal and imperishable (Wilkinson 1994: 108, 116).

⁹⁸⁵ Merriman identified these two men as servants, with the helmsman missing (2009: 417, Cat. 234). However, there are no other holes in this area of the deck to attach a third figure.

⁹⁸⁶ Some time during the 1960's, Hearst museum personnel re-positioned the sailors to face aft, causing them to resemble rowers. This re-orientation has never been corrected. It is clear from Reisner's expedition photograph (Fig. 50), however, that the sailors faced forward when the boat was excavated.

the sails are hung.⁹⁸⁷ However, there are also later examples of mast attendants who sit at rest on the decks of sailed boats, with their arms at their sides.⁹⁸⁸

In contrast to Cat. 27 and 28, the painted decoration on Cat. 20 is simpler, consisting of a white hull with a yellow stripe along the gunwales and a solid yellow prow, stern and papyrus umbels. Cat. 20 also has several kinds of fittings (Cat. 20a, c-f) not found on the boats from N.202: an oval bucket for bailing water; two mast-partners (or knees), which were used to give the bipod mast lateral support when traveling under full sail; a gang-plank; yards; and two mooring-stakes, the latter of which were used to secure boat lines at landing sites.⁹⁸⁹ When N.4172 was excavated, Mace found the oars, spars and part of the bipod mast piled together on one side of the boat deck. Masts and oars may be found on both rowed and sailed model boats, because they were typically fully equipped for traveling in both directions. When traveling downstream, the masts were stored horizontally, usually on mast forks that were set into a hole in the deck (often that vacated by a single mast) and also secured by knees. When sailing upstream, the oars either were secured on deck or lashed to the gunwales, i.e., the planks the project above the deck on the sides of the vessel.⁹⁹⁰ On Cat. 20, there is no mast-fork. Although no sail or rigging was found in the tomb, the two (broken) mast-supports, each still secured to the deck with a large hole drilled aft of it for a missing element, indicates that the boat originally was equipped with a bipod mast for sailing. Like Cat. 27 and 28, on Cat. 20 the papyriform end-posts are attached to the hull with mortise and tenon joints. The styles of papyriform end-posts and rudder and oar blades are also the same as the other two boats, indicating another First

⁹⁸⁷ See, for example, Turin S.13272, from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein, and Copenhagen 5488, from Gebelein. Both boats have bipod masts, with the rigging controlled by three and two squatting mast attendants, respectively, who face the bows (Göttlicher 1978: 54, Cat. 273 and Pl. 21; Tooley 1989: 147, Pl. 29.1; Tooley 1994: 343-344, Pl. XLI.b; 347, Pl. XLIVa; and 349; and Merriman 2009: 340, 346, Cat. Nos. 88, 98).

⁹⁸⁸ As on Cairo 29/12/15/3= J.E.46767, the sailed Type III boat from the late 11th/early 12th Dynasty tomb of *Inpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt* (tomb 2757) at Saqqara (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 39, Pl. 22.1; Breasted 1948: 77; Tooley 1989: 158; and Merriman 2009: 315, Cat. 23). Note that Tooley described the crew members as three mast attendants and the Four Sons of Horus, the latter of whom surround the canopy. Actually, however, there are three mast attendants standing upright, with a fourth one leaning forward, holding a marlinspike (tool used to separate the strands of a rope when tying knots) in addition to three sailors who squat with their arms resting at their sides. All seven figures are positioned between the mast and canopy, facing the bow. (For the most recent re-dating of the burials of *Inpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt*, *K3-rnni* and *Nfr-mddnyt*, and *Gemni* at Saqqara to the early 12th Dynasty, see Do. Arnold, 2005: 36-43. And for the revised transliteration of *Nfr-mddnyt*, formerly read as *Nfr-smdt*, see Do. Arnold 2005: 34, n. 118).

⁹⁸⁹ For comparison, see the deck equipment from Type II (J.E. 39127) and Type III (J.E. 39128) boats found in the late 11th/early 12th Dynasty tomb of *K3-rnni* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: Pl. XXVI; Landström 1970: 74, Fig. 219; and Merriman 2009: 314, Cat. 20, and 487, Cat. 338). A Type II boat (AEIN 1569) from the First Intermediate Period tomb of *W3dt-htp* at Sedment (tomb 2106) was found with a similar bailing bucket on deck (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 7, 11, Pl. XX.4; Breasted 1948: 81-82, Pl. 74a; Jørgensen 1996: 10-11, Cat. 42; and Merriman 2009: 472, Cat. 315). On Type II boat J.E. 37564 from the 11th Dynasty tomb Beni Hasan BH186, one sailor is depicted in the act of bailing (Garstang 1907: 84, Fig. 72; Landström 1970: 74; Tooley 1989: 152-153; and Merriman 2009: 483, Cat. 332). Mace also found a “small wooden vase” (Cat. 201), possibly another bailing bucket, in association with boat fragments in N.3756.

⁹⁹⁰ Compare, for example, the rigging on J.E. 46767, the sailed Type III boat from the tomb of *Inpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt* (tomb 2757) at Saqqara, with the fittings on the paddled Type III boat, J.E. 46768, from the same tomb (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 39, Pls. 22.1, 22.2; Breasted 1948: 75; Tooley 1989: 158; and Merriman 2009: 315-316, Cat. Nos. 23 and 24).

Intermediate Period date. This date is reinforced further on Cat. 20 by the presence of the bipod mast, which is characteristic of Type IV boats produced in this same period.⁹⁹¹

Of the remaining 10 tombs dating to the First Intermediate period, a minimum of eight fragmentary Type IV boats come from tombs N.3737, S.F.18, N.3916, N.3795, N.3756, N.111 and S.F.5214. Boats from N.3737, S.F.18 and N.3916 are all categorized as Type IV, based on the remains of stylized papyrus bud umbels that originally were attached to the end-posts. Mace discovered two separate disc umbels in N.3737 (Cat. 8a-b, Figs. 51 and 52)⁹⁹² and one in N.3916 (Cat. 25a, Fig. 53).⁹⁹³ Interestingly, the identical trefoil pattern on the three umbels from both tombs suggests they were made by the same artist. The square cross-sections of Cat. 8a-b and the flat umbels of all three fragments are similar to those on the boats from N.202 and N.4172, indicating a First Intermediate Period date. Sections of prows that terminate in papyrus umbels were recovered from tombs S.F.18 (Cat. 19f, Fig. 54)⁹⁹⁴ and N.3737 (Cat. 11a, Figs. 51 and 55).⁹⁹⁵ Because the papyriform prow appendage from S.F.18 is known only from one black and white expedition photograph, the style of painted decoration (if any) is unknown. However, the prow from N.3737, now in the Hearst Museum, has carved bindings also painted in yellow, black, blue and red. While these two papyriform end-posts again have square cross-sections and flat umbels, Cat. 11a differs slightly from the other contemporary Naga ed-Deir examples. The end-post is not as elongated and the transition from the post to the umbel is more gradual, similar to late Old Kingdom boats.⁹⁹⁶

Although no parts of the hull of the boat interred in N.3756 survived, the two steering oars (Cat. 26i-j, Fig. 56) indicate it was mostly likely a Type IV vessel, which was steered by a double rudder mechanism. In addition to the sole, extant steering oar from S.F.18 (Cat. 19c, Fig. 54),⁹⁹⁷ excavators found single rudders in N.111 (Cat. 23b, Fig. 57), S.F.5214 (Cat. 18, Fig. 58) and N.3795 (Cat. 24i, Figs. 59 and 60).⁹⁹⁸ All four steering oars likely belonged to Type IV crafts because the small size of the blades suggests they were once part of a pair from a papyriform boat. Although Type II boats were manufactured alongside Type IV vessels in this period,⁹⁹⁹ the steering oars of Type II boats generally have much larger blades, since only one rudder was

⁹⁹¹ Merriman (2009: 101). For an example of a sailed boat with elongated end-posts that is equipped with a double mast-support for a bipod mast, see Turin S.13272 (Göttlicher 1978: 54, Cat. 273 and Pl. 21; Tooley 1989: 147, Pl. 29.1; Tooley 1994: 343-344, Pl. XLI.b; 347, Pl. XLIVa; and 349; and Merriman 2009: 340, 346, Cat. Nos. 88, 98). In contrast, note the single mast and more truncated end-posts on sailed boat Leipzig 35, from the tomb of *Hri-š.f-htp* I (MR6) at Abusir, which is dated to the late 11th/early 12th Dynasty (Schäfer 1908: 76-78, Figs. 121-123; Breasted 1948: 77; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: XLIX; Krauspe 1976: 30, No. 43/2; Tooley 1989: 158, tomb dated to Dynasty 11; Merriman 2009: 439-440, Cat. 268; note Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 101, prefers a date of early Dynasty 12 for the tomb).

⁹⁹² Cat. 8a-b is one pair from the same boat. The other umbel is attached to Cat. 11a, the broken prow of a second boat, which still has the pilot's feet attached. In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top row, center.

⁹⁹³ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see a/4.

⁹⁹⁴ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see d/7.

⁹⁹⁵ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top right corner. The fragment from N.3737 preserves the pilot's feet in striding pose.

⁹⁹⁶ E.g., S.14046 and S.14047, from the tomb of the "unknown owners" at Gebelein (D'Amicone 1988: 72-74, and Fig. 88, 89; Leospo and Fozzati 1992: 393, Pl. X.2; and Merriman 2009: 233, Fig. 4.16, and 330-331, Cat. 70, 71).

⁹⁹⁷ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see c/13.

⁹⁹⁸ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see b/3.

⁹⁹⁹ Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3 and 141, Table 12); Spanel (1985: 245-246); and Kroenke (1999: 21-22).

required to steer the boat. The style of the steering oars from N.3756 and S.F.5214 is similar, with blades that are nearly trapezoidal, with triangular tips. In contrast, the steering oars from S.F.18 and N.3795 have oval blades, with broader tips. Both types of rudders, however, are typical of the First Intermediate Period.¹⁰⁰⁰ The rudder from N.111 differs slightly from these other two variant styles, with a trapezoidal blade that has a very sharp, triangular point and is centered at the end of the shaft. As mentioned above, the closest known parallels to this steering oar date to the late Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁰¹

In addition to the remains of the Type IV boat from S.F.18, the seated position of four rowers (Cat. 19a, Fig. 54) suggests that a Type II boat also was interred in this tomb.¹⁰⁰² Oarsmen sitting with their knees at a 90 degree angle are frequently found on Type II boats, because they were meant to sit on the cross-beams (thwarts) or blocks that were placed on these beams, which functioned as lateral braces and gave the boat its internal strength.¹⁰⁰³ These rowers from S.F.18 are the earliest known evidence for a Type II boat from Naga ed-Deir.

The ritual function of most of these fragmentary First Intermediate Period boats also is suggested by the fittings that survived. Although no coffins, mummies or enthroned figures of the boat owner were recovered from any of these nine First Intermediate Period graves, tombs N.3737, N.3795, N.3916 and N.3756 all contained parts of the canopies that originally were erected over the deceased. N.3737 housed pieces of perhaps four boat canopies, including two roofs (Cat. 8c, 11b, Figs. 51, 62 and 63), the decorative trim of another, smaller canopy (Cat. 10a-d, Fig. 51) and five supports (Cat. 9, 10e-f and 11c-d, Figs. 51 and 64) from three different boats.¹⁰⁰⁴ Based on similarities in the painted decoration, it is possible that Cat. 11a-d all originally belonged to the same boat: the colors incorporated are yellow, blue, red, white and black. Likewise, papyrus umbels Cat. 8a-b and canopy roof Cat. 8c may have belonged to a second boat. In this case, the color palette consists of only white, red, yellow and black. Although canopy support Cat. 9 has the same painted color scheme as Cat. 8a-c, it does not belong with this group because the top peg does not fit into the canopy roof, which still has broken dowels (from other supports) inserted into the drilled holes. It is more likely, therefore, that Cat. 9 originally belonged to a separate canopy from a third boat. The fourth canopy, Cat. 10a-d, is unusual in that it lacks a wooden roof; perhaps, however, it was covered originally with linen cloth instead. The smaller size, compared with the other canopies, may suggest that it covered a figure of the owner who was represented as a living person seated on a throne, rather than a coffin or funerary bier, which would take up more space on deck and, thus, require a

¹⁰⁰⁰ Merriman (2009: 227, and Figs. 4.3, 4.4).

¹⁰⁰¹ S.14046 and S.14047, from the tomb of the “unknown owners” at Gebelein (D’Amicone 1988: 72-74, and Fig. 88, 89; Leospo and Fozzati 1992: 393, Pl. X.2; and Merriman 2009: 227, Fig. 4.1 (oar blade), and 330-331, Cat. 70, 71).

¹⁰⁰² Three rowers are illustrated in Ex. Ph. B1812, a/1-3.

¹⁰⁰³ Reisner (1913e: x). On other types of boats rowers are never depicted in this position, and instead are represented squatting or kneeling. For one example of a late 12th Dynasty Type II funerary/pilgrimage boat with similar rowers sitting on cube seats, see Cairo 17/3/23/3 from the tomb of *M3* (BH500) at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 102, Fig. 91, bottom; Breasted 1948: 69; Tooley 1989: 140-141; and Merriman 2009: 635, Cat. 543). For a late 11th Dynasty Type II boat used for undifferentiated travel, i.e., lacking a figure of the boat owner, see CG 4909, from the tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp/Bw3w* (pit 28) at Deir el-Bahri (Reisner 1913e: 63-64, Figs. 226-231, Pl. XV; and Merriman 2009: 494, Cat. 347).

¹⁰⁰⁴ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see the top left and lower left corners.

larger protective covering.¹⁰⁰⁵ The other three First Intermediate Period tombs each contained the remains of a single, painted baldachin: a canopy roof and four supports from N.3795 (Cat. 24d-i, Figs. 59 and 60);¹⁰⁰⁶ fragments of two canopy supports and the cavetto cornice from the roof of a canopy from N.3916 (Cat. 25b, Fig. 53);¹⁰⁰⁷ and a canopy roof and three supports from N.3756 (Cat. 26d-g, Figs. 56 and 65).¹⁰⁰⁸

All together, excavators found remnants of (perhaps) four model boats in N.3737, the greatest number of boats recovered from any of these 12 First Intermediate Period tombs at Naga ed-Deir. Although it is impossible to completely reconstruct *Mrw*'s boats without the hulls, the number and differing style of decoration of the canopy fragments discussed above suggest they derive from four canopies placed on four separate boats. Two boats were propelled by a double-rudder system, which included four steering oars (Cat. 14a-d, Figs. 51 and 66),¹⁰⁰⁹ four rudder stanchions (Cat. 14e-h, Figs. 51 and 67)¹⁰¹⁰ and one (remaining) double-notched cross-bar that sat abaft the stanchions and secured two steering oars (Cat. 14i, Figs. 51 and 68).¹⁰¹¹ Two pairs of mooring stakes (Cat. 13a-d, Figs. 51 and 69) likely belonged to two different boats.¹⁰¹² The steering oars from this tomb exhibit the stylistic variations typical of the First Intermediate Period, with blades that are nearly trapezoidal, with triangular tips, and oval, with broader tips.

There is further evidence that at least two of *Mrw*'s boats were rowed, based on the remaining sets of oarsmen. Seven rowers (Cat. 15a-g, Figs. 70 and 71) have holes drilled into the legs to secure the oars.¹⁰¹³ The fact that eight oars (Cat. 15h-o, Figs. 51 and 72) survive from this tomb indicates that there were originally at least eight rowers in the set.¹⁰¹⁴ Two of these seven oarsmen (Cat. 15a-b) differ stylistically and in scale from the other five (Cat. 15c-g): they were carved without removing the negative space between the arms and torsos, and average 12.5 cm as compared to 10.5 cm in height. These two figures, therefore, either are part of a group of rowers from a second boat or are mismatched rowers from the same boat. Rowers from yet another boat include five figures (Cat. 16a-e, Figs. 70 and 73) with arms that terminate in stylized hands, which are pierced sideways in order to hold the now missing oars.¹⁰¹⁵ These arms, of which only eight remain (Cat. 16f-m, Fig. 74), are separated from the bodies; as illustrated in one expedition photograph, however, some of the arms still were attached when excavated (see Fig. 14). These five rowers (Cat. 16a-e) further differ from the other seven (Cat. 15a-g) with their carved, striated wigs and smiling mouths.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See, for example, Leipzig 37, a paddled Type IV boat from the early Middle Kingdom tomb (MR6) of *Hri-š.f-htp* I at Abusir. The owner is seated beneath the small canopy (Schäfer 1908: 73-74, Figs. 115-117; Breasted 1948: 75; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. L.1; Tooley 1989: 157-158; and Merriman 2009: 439, Cat. 267).

¹⁰⁰⁶ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see a/5, b/1, b/2, b/4, b/5.

¹⁰⁰⁷ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see c/1, c/3, c/4.

¹⁰⁰⁸ In Fig. 65, Ex. Ph. C8176, see b/2, b/3.

¹⁰⁰⁹ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see lower right.

¹⁰¹⁰ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see center, left.

¹⁰¹¹ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top, center.

¹⁰¹² In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see upper right). Note that the boat from N.4172 only had one pair of stakes (Cat. 20c).

¹⁰¹³ In Fig. 71, Ex. Ph. B8120, see b/3, b/5, a/6, a/9, a/4, a/7, a/2.

¹⁰¹⁴ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see lower left.

¹⁰¹⁵ In Fig. 70, Ex. Ph. B8120, see a/8, a/1, b/4, a/3, a/5.

The striding feet preserved on the previously-mentioned prow (Cat. 11a) from N.3737 is evidence for one pilot from a sailed or rowed boat. Other possible crew members include two additional pilots (Cat. 16n and 17c, Figs. 70 and 75)¹⁰¹⁶ and a sailor (Cat. 17d, Fig. 14). The first pilot (Cat. 16n) is 19cm tall. He originally stood with his left leg forward and his left arm at his side: the lower left leg is now lost, and the right arm, which may have been held forward, is also missing. Because the facial features and striated wig worn by Cat. 16n are stylistically identical to rowers Cat. 16a-e, he likely was the pilot from the same boat. The second pilot (Cat. 17c) is 18.5 cm tall. He is identified by his standing posture and remnants of gesso on the right shoulder socket, which indicates that this arm originally was upraised.¹⁰¹⁷ The identification of the third figure (Cat. 17d) as a sailor is based on one expedition photograph, where a standing figure with his left arm upraised is shown *in situ* with rowers and other model boat fragments (Fig. 14).

Two other male figures from N.3737 are likely punters from a sailed boat (Cat. 17a,b Figs. 70 and 76).¹⁰¹⁸ These men stand 16.3 and 16.8 cm high. The short bag wigs and large, painted eyes are stylistically similar to one set of rowers (Cat. 15a-g). The opposite knees of the two men are sharply bent: on Cat. 17a it is the right knee, while on Cat. 17b it is the left knee. On each man, his corresponding right and left arm is bent upwards, with the clenched fist held in front of his shoulder. A peg inserted into the fist may have secured a punting pole. The position of the opposite arm (also missing) is unknown, but likely was pendant, based on gesso loss in the shoulder joint. Because these figures' mirrored body positions create a symmetrical pair, they were not arranged originally with one figure walking directly behind the other. Instead, as punters, these two figures would have stood on opposite sides of a boat deck. Crew members in this pose are found on sailed boats, placed near the pilot at the bow, but facing aft. They lean forward, using quants to propel the boat and to help steer it away from obstructions.¹⁰¹⁹

Although no standing figures that could represent mast attendants were recovered from N.3737, there is additional evidence for at least one sailed boat. The remains include two mast supports (Cat. 12c-f, Figs. 51 and 77)¹⁰²⁰ and part of a bipod mast (Cat. 12b, Figs. 51 and 78).¹⁰²¹ These broken, paired mast supports from N.3737 are stylistically identical to those on the Type IV sailed boat from N.4172. Thus, at least one other boat from N.3737 can be classified tentatively as a Type IV boat, based on this feature. The bipod mast also reinforces a First Intermediate Period date for the boat. In conclusion, it appears that two pairs of rowed and sailed vessels were made by perhaps two different craftsmen for *Mrw*'s burial in N.3737.

¹⁰¹⁶ In Fig. 70, Ex. Ph. B8120, see c/6 and c/8.

¹⁰¹⁷ Gesso is a mixture of whiting (calcium carbonate) and glue, which was used to conceal joints, cover imperfections and to create smooth surfaces for applied pigments (Lucas and Harris 1962: 4, 354-355).

¹⁰¹⁸ In Fig. 70, Ex. Ph. B8120, see c/7 and c/3. Note that Tooley (1989: 195) classified them as "crude offering bearers".

¹⁰¹⁹ For one example of a Type IV sailed pilgrimage boat with two punters, see LM 55.82.3, from the 11th Dynasty tomb of *ḥntf* (BH1) at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 60-61, Fig. 46, frontispiece; Breasted 1948: 78; Landström 1970: 92, Fig. 283; Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 38, Pl. 4; Tooley 1989: 157; Tooley 1995: 53, Fig. 53; and Merriman 2009: 427, Cat. 248). On this example, the punters have both legs straightened. Punters are found on several boats from tomb 10A at Bersha. On BMFA 21.877, a Type II military transport boat from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Dhwty-nht* (pit 10A) at Bersha, two punters (missing three arms) lean forward on bent, left knees (Lokma 2000-2001: 1; Freed et al.: 2003: 122; and Freed et al. 2009: 170-171, Fig. 129; and Merriman 2009: 500, Cat. 359). Similar punters, but with preserved arms, are found on funerary boat BMFA 21.880, from the same tomb at Bersha (Freed et al. 2009: 174-175, Fig. 135; and Merriman 2009: 397, Cat. 198).

¹⁰²⁰ In Fig. 52, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top, center.

¹⁰²¹ In Fig. 52, Ex. Ph. C8191, see lower right.

Reisner's expedition teams also recovered the remains of two boats that were interred in tomb S.F.18. These boat fragments are documented in a single photograph, Ex. Ph. B1812 (Fig. 54). The four remaining seated crew members (Cat. 19a)¹⁰²² and the oar (Cat. 19g)¹⁰²³ suggest that one boat was rowed. Although two other striding figures (Cat. 19c)¹⁰²⁴ are shown from the side in the expedition photograph, it is still possible to ascertain the original positions of three arms, which are partially intact at the shoulder joints. It appears that on both figures, the right arm was held out from the body at a 45 degree angle, while on one figure, the left arm was raised at a slightly lower angle. It is possible that they are mast attendants from a sailed boat.¹⁰²⁵ The stooped figure (Cat. 19d)¹⁰²⁶ could be a punter from the sailed boat as well. As noted above, excavators also found the prow (Cat. 19f) of a Type IV boat in S.F.18. Therefore, Cat. 19c-d could be from the sailed Type IV boat, as seated oarsmen are found only on Type II rowed boats. One other figure (Cat. 19b)¹⁰²⁷ from the tomb bends forward at the waist, with the arms hanging down. Pegs inserted into the soles of his feet indicate that he was meant to stand, rather than sit. Although he is wearing a white fillet like the other crew members, his exact role on the boat is unknown. He could represent a sailor who leans forward, bailing water out of the boat.¹⁰²⁸ Alternatively, he may be a male servant preparing food offerings for the deceased, as figures in similar poses are known from pilgrimage boats and kitchen scenes.¹⁰²⁹

In his field notebook for N.3916, Mace recorded finding "broken fragments from a large boat." Some of these fragments are illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8557 (Fig. 53). The evidence suggests that at least one boat was interred in this tomb originally. In addition to the papyrus umbel (Cat. 25a) and canopy fragments (Cat. 25b) mentioned previously, Mace recovered nine damaged wooden figures from the tomb, three of which he listed as boat figures. Unfortunately, he did not label the human figures in the expedition photograph register log. Therefore, the identification of the illustrated boat figures is made from body and arm positions. For four of the nine figures, the arms survived at least partially intact. For five figures, however, the arms were missing when excavated. It is possible, nevertheless, to reconstruct most of the original arm positions from the broken arms themselves and from the remnants of gesso around the shoulder sockets. There are two squatting male figures (Cat. 25c) that could be rowers or seated mast attendants. One of these two figures has a partially preserved left arm, which was held forward at a 45 degree angle-- the typical arm position of rowers who hold oars in their hands or sailors who man the halyards.¹⁰³⁰ While the arms of the second squatting figure are missing, they

¹⁰²² In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/1-3.

¹⁰²³ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see b/5.

¹⁰²⁴ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see b/6, b/8.

¹⁰²⁵ For similar figures on a papyriform sailed pilgrimage boat, see Turin S.8657, from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Šms* at Asyut (Robins, ed. 1990: 57, 76-77, Cat. 26; and Merriman 2009: 434, Cat. 259).

¹⁰²⁶ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/4. Note that in the 1913 object register log it was mistakenly identified as Ex. Ph. B1812, b/4, which is actually a crude wooden statuette or shabti from S.F.65 (Ob. Reg. 13-3-102).

¹⁰²⁷ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/6. In the 1913 object register log this figure was misidentified as a rower (Ob. Reg. 13-4-311) from S.F.209. However, it is stylistically similar to the three rowers and two striding sailors (Ex. Ph. B1812, a/1-3, b/6, b/8) from S.F.18, all of whom wear white fillets.

¹⁰²⁸ Note the similar position of the bailer on Type II boat J.E. 37564 from Beni Hasan tomb BH186 (Garstang 1907: 84, Fig. 72; Landström 1970: 74; Tooley 1989: 152-153; and Merriman 2009: 483, Cat. 332).

¹⁰²⁹ Compare, for example, the bent poses of the male brewer and female miller on *ÄMB* 12, a Type II pilgrimage boat from the late 12th Dynasty tomb of *Mntw-htp* in cemetery 600 at Thebes (Steindorff 1896: 34-37, Pls. VIII, X.1, 2; Breasted 1948: 81; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pls. XII.2, XXVII; Tooley 1989: 156; and Merriman 2009: 636-637, Cat. 545).

¹⁰³⁰ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see b/1.

appear to have been held in a similar manner.¹⁰³¹ A third male figure (Cat. 25d) could be a boat pilot.¹⁰³² He stands with both legs together and the right arm (now broken) held straight ahead. A fourth, striding figure (Cat.25e), could be a sailor or pilot from a separate boat.¹⁰³³ Although both arms are missing, the angle of the right shoulder socket makes it appear that the right arm once turned up. The position of the left arm cannot be determined from the expedition photograph. There is a peg beneath the right foot to secure the figure to the (lost) base or deck of a boat. Mace also found a small wooden falcon in N.3916 that may belong with the boat (Cat. 25f).¹⁰³⁴ If so, it would be rather unusual as falcons are rare, and otherwise found on Middle Kingdom Type VI solar boats.¹⁰³⁵ At least four of the five other figures shown in this expedition photograph more likely belong with a bakery-brewery scene (discussed further below in Chapter Ten). Because of the poor condition of the four presumed boat figures, and because they were not found on an intact boat or with any associated rigging, it is difficult to determine how many vessels were interred in N.3916 and their method(s) of propulsion. However, on Type IV sailed boats from this period excavated from other sites, mast attendants typically are depicted either seated (i.e., squatting/kneeling) or standing, but not in both poses on the same boat.¹⁰³⁶ Based on the available evidence, therefore, the burial assemblage of N.3916 originally included at least one boat, either rowed or sailed.

The fragmentary remains from N.3567, N.3769, N.3795, N.3756 and N.111 indicate that at least one boat from each of these five First Intermediate Period tombs was rowed. Oarsmen from rowed boats found in tombs N.3567 (Cat. 21, Fig. 79) and N.3769 (Cat. 22, Fig. 80) are identified by the holes drilled through their knees or ankles, respectively, to secure the oars. Although no oars were found in N.3795, three squatting figures (Cat. 24a-c, Figs. 59-61)¹⁰³⁷ from the tomb are undoubtedly rowers. On Cat. 24b, the left fist is oriented with the palm turned down and pierced sideways to hold an oar, now lost. The right arm of Cat. 24a is broken at the elbow, and both arms of Cat. 24c are missing; however, oars likely were secured in their hands

¹⁰³¹ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see b/4.

¹⁰³² In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see c/6.

¹⁰³³ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see c/7.

¹⁰³⁴ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see a/3.

¹⁰³⁵ E.g., CG 4953 and CG 4949, two Type VI boats from the 12th Dynasty tombs of *Spi* II and III, respectively, at Bersha (Reisner 1913e: 101-102, Pl. XXII, bottom, and 106-107, Pl. XXIV, top; and Merriman 2009: 401-402, and Cat. 206, 207). In addition to the other fragmentary (or restored) solar boats with falcons mentioned by Merriman (2009: 243-244), the Hearst museum houses fragments of a 12th Dynasty model cedar boat from Tebtunis that includes a falcon: PAHMA 6-20848.

¹⁰³⁶ Note the squatting mast attendants on CG 4808, from Gebelein (Reisner 1913e: 14-16, Pl. IV, bottom; and Merriman 2009: 341, Cat. 89) and BNSS 1918.19, from the tomb (98) of *Stt-k3* at Qubbet el-Hawa (Merriman 2009: 332, Cat. 73). On boat Bremen B.941, from the First Intermediate Period tomb of *Impy* (MR25) at Abusir two (remaining) sailors are striding (Schäfer 1908: 96-97, Figs. 154-155b; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. XVIII.4; Porter and Moss 1974: 347; Tooley 1989: 148; and Merriman 2009: 354, Cat. 113).

¹⁰³⁷ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see a/2, a/3. Cat. 24c was originally attributed to N.3547 in the Hearst Museum database, despite the fact that there is no tomb number written on it and there are no wooden figures listed in Mace's field journal entry for N.3547. Mace did not photograph Cat. 24c, nor did he list it with the other boat figures on his tomb card for N.3795. However, because this rower shares stylistic features with Cat. 24a-b, I recatalogued the provenance as N.3795. Note that all three rowers are ca. 9.3 cm in height. They have square faces, large eyes with tiny pupils, and mouths crudely indicated by incised lines. They also have very long and thick arms. Even though some of the arms of the three figures were missing when excavated, the large sizes can be estimated by remnants of gesso around the shoulder joints. Nels Rem also analyzed the wood used to manufacture Cat. 24c at the Richmond Forestry Lab, identifying the body as fig wood, *Ficus* sp (Rem 1983-89: letter dated May 5, 1987).

as well. The two kneeling male figures (Cat. 26a-b, Figs. 56 and 65)¹⁰³⁸ from N.3756 also are rowers, evident by the holes drilled through their thighs to secure the oars. In his field notes, Mace recorded finding an oar in N.3756 (Cat. 26j), although its present location is unknown.

The evidence from N.111, known only from one expedition photograph, is suggestive of a rowed, rather than sailed, vessel. In addition to a steering oar (Cat. 23b, Fig. 57), Reisner discovered five oars (Cat. 23a, Fig. 57) and a squatting male figure (Cat. 23c, Fig. 57) in the tomb. The figure is likely an oarsman, based on the pose and its association with the other boat equipment. Although there are no holes drilled through the legs of the figure to secure an oar, it is possible that he once held an oar in his hands. Unfortunately, neither an oar nor any arms were recovered from the tomb.

Finally, model fragments from one other First Intermediate Period tomb at Naga ed-Deir are here tentatively categorized as parts of boats. Mace found wooden fragments in N.3765 that he vaguely identified as “two small pieces of a boat” in his field notes (Cat. 7); however, because they have not been located, it is impossible to determine the number and types of boats interred in this tomb, if any.¹⁰³⁹

7.4 Phase III (Early Middle Kingdom)

Reisner’s expedition teams excavated three complete boats and 44 boat model fragments representing another 12 boats from 13 early Middle Kingdom tombs: S.F.5021, S.F.5025, N.4003, S.F.5010, N.3579, N.4401, S.F.25, N.110, N.263, N.408, N.9090, N.9292 and N.449. In the early Middle Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir, new boat forms IV/V, II/viii and VIII were manufactured along with Type II boats, first introduced in the First Intermediate Period. However, the function of early Middle Kingdom boats remained predominantly ceremonial, primarily used to convey the deceased on symbolic pilgrimages or to necropoleis. The three intact boats represent new, and rather unique, boat types for this period. The first example to be discussed is the Type IV/V boat Mace excavated from N.4003.

While Type IV boats declined in popularity in the early Middle Kingdom, a hybrid Type IV/V boat was manufactured for a short time, quickly followed by the appearance of the Type V vessel in the boat model repertoire.¹⁰⁴⁰ At Naga ed-Deir, the transitional IV/V boat form is exemplified by the fragmentary papyriform boat from N.4003 (Cat. 31a-e, Fig. 81).¹⁰⁴¹ As with

¹⁰³⁸ In Fig. 66, Ex. Ph. C8176, see a/1, a/2.

¹⁰³⁹ In contrast, Mace found a squatting male figure (Cat. 121b) in N.3774, which is undoubtedly the “wooden statue from a boat” referenced in his notes. Because the only other model fragment found in this tomb was a wooden table with bread loaves (Cat. 121a), in the current study these two fragments are considered to be part of a kitchen scene, discussed in Chapter Ten.

¹⁰⁴⁰ According to Tooley, four other examples of this transitional boat form have been found all together at Bersha, Sheikh Ibada, Gebelein and Meir (Tooley 1989: 69-70, Table 6; 1994: 350). Excluding Naga ed-Deir, Merriman found 14 examples that correspond to Reisner’s and Tooley’s hybrid Type IV/V (personal communication, spring 2009).

¹⁰⁴¹ Contra Merriman, who does not believe the boat from N.4003 represents a hybrid type. Note that she also dated the boat to the First Intermediate Period (2009: 352, Cat. 108). The closest parallels I found to the Nagaed-Deir boat are those from early Middle Kingdom tomb 10A at Bersha, which also have square cross-section papyriform appendages and large, disc umbel ends. Two examples are BMFA 21.829 and BMFA 21.880, a rowed and sailed boat (Breasted 1948: 68, Pl. 64a; D’Auria et al. 1988: 114, Fig. 65; Tooley 1989: 137; Freed et al. 2003: 123; Freed et al. 2009: 173-175, Figs. 134, 135; and Merriman 2009: 397-398, Cat. Nos. 198, 199).

Type IV and V boats, both the stem- and sternpost of the hybrid forms were topped with a large, flat papyrus umbel.¹⁰⁴² The stem (prow) extends straight out from the boat hull, as on Type IV vessels, but the stern ends in a bent, raised post, which is typical of Type V boats. On Type V boats, the stemposts are also bent, unlike Types IV and IV/V.¹⁰⁴³ The decorative scheme of Cat. 31 is also rather elaborate, a feature that is characteristic of Type V boats.¹⁰⁴⁴ The papyrus umbels are painted in a pattern of alternating black, yellow and white bands that radiate out from the center. The hull is white and the gunwales are decorated in a checked pattern composed of the same three colors. The stern is yellow, while the prow is painted white with a yellow tip. The white section of the prow has a banded zigzag pattern in black along two sides, i.e., decorative stitching representing rope ties or attachments for water proofing.¹⁰⁴⁵ When excavated, the damaged prow and sternpost of Cat. 31 were separated from the hull, and the crew and rigging were missing. A section of the hull, into which the sternpost was tenoned originally, is missing. However, the distribution of 12 holes drilled into the decks suggest the original layout: the pilot standing at the bow, with the right leg advanced; the helmsman seated at the stern; two rudder posts; a cross-bar attached to the deck abaft the stanchions that supported the two rudders; and six rowers. As with Type IV and V boats, Cat. 31 was steered by a double-rudder system. A small hole, centrally placed between the rowers may have been for the attachment of another boat figure. It is not likely that a coffin, bier or seated mummy of the boat owner was attached to the deck in this location because there is no evidence for a canopied structure, which typically covered such figures. Based solely on hull form and iconography, therefore, Cat. 31 is classified as either a pilgrimage or a funerary boat.

Two other new boat types at Naga ed-Deir derive from early Middle Kingdom tombs N.4401 and N.449. The first to be discussed is the boat from N.4401. Based on stylistic criteria, this small wooden boat (Cat. 34, Figs. 82 and 83) is tentatively classified as Tooley's Type II/viii vessel.¹⁰⁴⁶ It resembles Reisner's Type II river crafts, which are characterized by a high, notched stern that supports a single rudder.¹⁰⁴⁷ It also has a shallow, hollowed hull with a round bottom and lacks a crew or figure of the deceased, features typical of Tooley's Type VIII boats.¹⁰⁴⁸ It

¹⁰⁴² Papyrus umbel Cat. 31e was originally attributed to N.3916 in the Hearst Museum database because it has this tomb number penciled on the back (presumably done by Arthur Mace). Unfortunately, Mace did not include it with the other boat fragments photographed in Ex. Ph. C8178, nor did he specifically mention it in his field journal entry for N.4003. However, the size of the umbel and style of the painted decoration is identical to Cat. 31d. A different papyrus umbel from N.3916 also is illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8557, a/4. Therefore, I recatalogued the provenance of Cat. 31e to N.4003.

¹⁰⁴³ Differences in the angles of the stem- and sternposts on Type V vessels likely reflect regional variations, which Reisner categorized as Type V, forms 1, 2 and 3 (1913: xxii).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Type V boats tend to be more elaborately decorated than Type IV, with *wꜥꜥt* eyes painted on both sides of the bow and the steering oars; the rudders often are painted with flowers as well. The color scheme of Type V boats also tends toward yellows and greens, without the reds found on Type IV boats (Reisner 1913e: xxiv).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Merriman (2009: 241-242, and Fig. 4.35).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Tooley (1991: 70-74). In Fig. 86, Ex. Ph. B8121, see upper right corner.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Reisner (1913e: ix-x).

¹⁰⁴⁸ For an unprovenanced example of a similar type of craft dated to late Dynasty 11, see Marseille 469 (Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. XV.1; and Merriman 2009: 440, Cat. 269). One boat (BM45097) from late 11th Dynasty tomb XXXV (35) at Asyut and another one from the late 6th Dynasty tomb (A1) of *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy-km ꜥt Meir* (CG 4888) also lack crews (Glanville 1972: 27-28, Fig. 26 and Pl. Vc, classified as a Type II boat; Reisner 1913e: 58-59, Figs. 209-210 and Pl. XV; Tooley 1989: 37; and Merriman 2009: 535, Cat. 417, and 394, Cat. 193). However, note that a similar boat (ÄMB 1232) from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Gmn-wsr* (Lepsius tomb 10) at

differs from Type VIII boats, however, in that it does not have internal thwarts, a squared bow or a forked rudder support. The hole drilled into the stern was likely for the placement of the single stanchion to which the rudder was lashed; both stanchion and rudder are now missing. The two holes drilled into the bulwark¹⁰⁴⁹ at the bow were likely for the attachment of a bowsprit, also now lost. The lack of a mast hole suggests that the boat was meant to be towed by a lead boat, rather than self-propelled. Based on these stylistic features, Cat. 34 is dated to late Dynasty 11.¹⁰⁵⁰ Type II vessels were used for a variety of utilitarian, and, to a lesser extent, religious functions.¹⁰⁵¹ According to Tooley, Type VIII vessels fulfilled primarily utilitarian functions.¹⁰⁵² Because there is no deck furniture or crew on Cat. 34, its exact purpose cannot be determined. However, since it was the only boat recovered from N.4401, it is possible that it was used for *both* basic transportation in the afterlife and for transporting the deceased on a symbolic pilgrimage and/or to his final resting place.

The utilitarian boat that Reisner excavated from N.449 (Cat. 45a-c, Figs. 84 and 85) is classified here as Tooley's Type VIII ferrying craft. As noted above, this form is generally characterized by a squared bow, hollowed hull, internal thwarts that were used to secure both the mast and rudder stanchion, and a forked rudder support at the stern, in which rested a single rudder. These boats frequently lack features found on funerary and pilgrimage boats, such as coffins, representations of the deceased, crews and deck furniture. Cat. 45a-c differs from a typical Type VIII vessel in that there are no deck beams or a forked rudder support. However, the two pairs of holes drilled into the port and starboard sides of the bulwark at the stern were likely intended for the attachment of an after thwart, to which a single rudder stanchion was secured originally.¹⁰⁵³ The presence of another hole drilled into the port side of the bulwark at the bow is difficult to explain, but may have been the means to secure a rope to a lead boat which towed it or to which it was moored.¹⁰⁵⁴ There is no hole for a mast, further evidence that the boat was not equipped for self-propulsion. The fact that *two* rudders remain may suggest that there were originally two boats interred in this tomb. In tomb 203 at Beni Hasan, Garstang excavated a similar type of boat, which was accompanied by a sailed vessel.¹⁰⁵⁵ Based primarily on comparisons with boating scenes in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs and in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, Tooley suggested the most likely purpose of these shallow-water Type VIII boats was for fishing and conveying cargo.¹⁰⁵⁶ In tomb 1729 at Sedment, Petrie

Saqqara, contained a crew and seated mummiform figure of the owner (Tooley 1989: 149; Tooley 1991: 71-72, Fig. 3; and Merriman 2009: 401, Cat. 205).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Part of the hull framing the deck.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Merriman (2009: 363, Cat. 132).

¹⁰⁵¹ Utilitarian model boats include those used for undifferentiated travel as well as for personal travel, and as kitchen, sporting and war/military escort boats. In contrast, religious model boats include those used for pilgrimages and funerary voyages, and as women's boats. For a detailed discussion of these different functions, see Kroenke (1999).

¹⁰⁵² To be discussed further below.

¹⁰⁵³ For comparison, see Marseille 469, an unprovenanced boat dated to late Dynasty 11 (Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. XV.1; and Merriman 2009: 440, Cat. 269).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Merriman (2009: 362, Cat. 131) identified the hole at the bow as an attachment for shrouds or stays.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Boat model LM 55.82.17 (Garstang 1907: 219; Tooley 1986: 189, Fig. 1 and Pl. XVIII.3; and Merriman 2009: 532, Cat. 413, and 618, Cat. 523). The tomb dates to late Dynasty 11.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Tooley (1986: 191). Note, however, that I reclassified the boat depicted in Hatshepsut's temple (located on the south wall of the middle colonnade) as Type II, Form 3, i.e., a Type II boat with a deep, longitudinally-clefted sternpost (Kroenke 1999: 36). For illustrations of this boat, see Landström (1970: 122, Fig. 372) and Vinson (1994: 40, Fig. 27).

actually found another model boat similar in hull form to Cat. 45a-c that still contained fishing gear, including nets and rope.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, since no such equipment was found with Cat. 48a-c, the specific utilitarian function(s) of this boat cannot be determined. Finally, based on stylistic criteria, the boat from N.449 most likely dates to late Dynasty 11.¹⁰⁵⁸

Because boats from the 10 remaining early Middle Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir are fragmentary, in only a few cases is it possible to identify the boat types, functions and means of propulsion, and to reconstruct how many boats were placed in the burials. The preserved evidence consists of human figures, steering oars and deck furniture. While Reisner's expedition teams discovered human figures in tombs S.F.25, N.263, S.F.5025, N.9090 and (possibly) N.3579, only those from S.F.25 and N.263 help to identify the types of boat. Crew members from both tombs clearly derive from Type II boats. Tomb S.F.25 contained a seated oarsman, who is missing his right arm (Cat. 35, Fig. 54).¹⁰⁵⁹ His legs are bent at a 90 degree angle, as with the four rowers from the Type II boat interred in S.F.18 (Cat. 19a, Fig. 54).¹⁰⁶⁰ Similarly, eight bearded figures from N.263 (Cat. 38a-h, Figs. 35 and 86) clearly derive from a Type II boat, because they are seated with their legs in the same position as the rowers from S.F.18 and S.F.25.¹⁰⁶¹ The eight rowers originally were attached separately to their seats with dowels. Each of the eight rowers would have held an oar, now lost. Unfortunately, none of the arms or oars of these rowers were recovered from N.263. The largest figure from N.263 (Cat. 41b), presumably the boat owner, was carved as one unit with the block upon which he sits.¹⁰⁶² He is depicted as a living person (i.e., wearing regular dress) instead of as a cloaked, mummiform figure. In this guise, the tomb owner typically sits on Type II non-ceremonial (utilitarian) boats inside a cabin or deckhouse.¹⁰⁶³ Tomb N.263 also contained a model fragment that may be a papyriform finial from a Type V boat (Cat. 202, Fig. 35).¹⁰⁶⁴ If the boat owner belongs with the same Type II boat as the seated rowers, it indicates a non-ceremonial function for the vessel. If the "finial" is from a Type V boat, it is possible that the owner belongs with this boat instead. On papyriform boat Types (III, IV and) V used for pilgrimages, the tomb owners are represented as living men or

¹⁰⁵⁷ PMEAC UC16167 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. XXVI, 10; Landström 1970: 70, Fig. 204; and Merriman 2009: 460, Cat. 297). Tomb 1729 dates to Dynasties 9/10.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Merriman (2009: 362, Cat. 131).

¹⁰⁵⁹ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/5.

¹⁰⁶⁰ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/1-3.

¹⁰⁶¹ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see b/4, b/10, c/6.

¹⁰⁶² In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see c/6. In Fig. 86, he is the seventh figure from the left.

¹⁰⁶³ Non-ceremonial Type II boats include those used for personal travel, sporting ventures and as military escorts (Kroenke 1999: 47-48, 51-55). For example, the sailed and rowed Type II boats (J.E. 45318 and J.E. 46766) from the early 12th Dynasty tomb of *Inpw-m-h3t* and *Wsr-mwt* (tomb 2757) at Saqqara are personal traveling boats (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 39-40, Pls. 23.1 and 23.2; Breasted 1948: 84; Tooley 1989: 150; and Merriman 2009: 549, Cat. 438, and 613-614, Cat. 518). Note that Tooley classified them both as pilgrimage boats. However, on both boats the male owner, who is dressed in a kilt, kneels on a cushion inside a deckhouse, and is attended by a squatting servant, who has his right arm crossed over his chest. The owner also has his headrest, trunk and spear cases with him for the journey. The Four Sons of Horus, to whom Tooley refers to on the sailed boat, are actually three squatting mast attendants and the owner's servant. These three sailors do not surround the cabin, but rather are positioned around the five standing mast attendants, facing the bow. For an example of a non-ceremonial boat with a female owner, see J.E. 37564, from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Hnm-nht* and *Ntr-nht* (BH585) at Beni Hasan. Inside the large, vaulted cabin a woman, who is holding a mirror to her face, sits with her servant (Garstang 1907: 97-98, Fig. 89; Lilyquist 1979: 18, Fig. 122; and Merriman 2009: 473-474, Cat. 317).

¹⁰⁶⁴ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see a/3. For comparison, note the finials on MAHG 4769bis, from the burial complex of *Nb-hpt-Rc Mntw-htp* II (pit 14) at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1913: 31; Di. Arnold 1981: 14ff, Fig. 2, Pls. 3a, 3c; Tooley 1989: 161; and Merriman 2009: 364, Cat. 134).

women, and often are seated on a throne (or, less frequently, standing) beneath a canopy.¹⁰⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the evidence from N.263 is too incomplete to determine to which boat the male owner belonged, or exactly how many boat types are represented in the model corpus.

In contrast to S.F.25 and N.263, tomb N.3579 contained several small figures, “probably from a boat”, according to Mace’s field notes. Unfortunately, however, their identities cannot be verified because only two male figures (Cat. 181a,b) from the tomb have been located, and neither of them appear to belong to boats.¹⁰⁶⁶

Reisner’s expedition teams recovered the remains of boat fittings and deck furniture from early Middle Kingdom tombs S.F.5010, N.408, S.F.5021, N.263, N.9090 and N.9292. Some of these fragments provide information concerning possible boat types and functions. A wooden mallet used for driving mooring stakes into the ground came from an unknown type of boat in S.F.5010 (Cat. 32, Fig. 87). In N.408, Reisner discovered a single steering oar of unrecorded dimensions, which could have belonged to a Type II, IV or V boat (Cat. 42b, Fig. 27). A boat interred in N.9090 fulfilled ceremonial functions, based on the remains of a single canopy support (Cat. 43f, Fig. 88).¹⁰⁶⁷ More specifically, this boat could have been a Type II, IV or V if it was meant to represent a dual funerary/pilgrimage voyage, or a Type IV or V if used only for a symbolic pilgrimage, because canopied structures were replaced with cabins on Type II pilgrimage boats. Broken steering oars from S.F.5021 (Cat. 29, Fig. 89) and N.263 (Cat. 37a, Figs. 35 and 90)¹⁰⁶⁸ are identified as parts of Type II boats, based on the large size of the blades. The steering oar discovered in S.F.5021 was 50.2 cm long, including the blade and part of the loom. The blade of the steering oar from N.263 is comparable in size to one belonging to a Type II boat from S.F.170 (Cat. 48e, Fig. 98), discussed further below on page 160. The two blades from N.263 and S.F.170 are 21.5 cm and 23 cm in length, respectively.

Because no hulls were preserved in S.F.5021, S.F.5025, S.F.5010, S.F.25, N.110, N.263, N.408, N.9090, N.9292 or N.3579, it is difficult to calculate the total number of boats interred in these 10 early Middle Kingdom tombs. Based on the remaining fragments, however, it is estimated that the excavators recovered parts of one boat in each of these tombs, with the exception of N.263. There is evidence for at least two boats from N.263, based on the number of human figures who represent the boat owner, rowers, sailors and (possibly) officers. In addition to the nine seated male figures from N.263 mentioned previously, there are 16 bearded male boat figures: 10 are squatting (Cat. 39a-j, Figs. 35 and 91);¹⁰⁶⁹ five are standing straight, with the legs

¹⁰⁶⁵ For an example of a Type V boat depicting the living owner seated beneath a canopy, see one of the paddled boats from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT 280) at Thebes: J.E. 46716 (Winlock 1955: 60-61, 99, Pls. 5, 46, 49, boat U; Tooley 1989: 161; Tooley 1995: 55, Fig. 56; and Merriman 2009: 443, Cat. 272). On the paddled Type IV boat (AEIN 1629) from the tomb of *Gmn-m-ht* at Saqqara (HMK 30), the owner stands beneath a canopy (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 29a; Mogensen 1930: 68, Pl. LXVI; Breasted 1948: 75, Göttlicher and Werner 1971: XVI.1; Tooley 1989: 158-159; and Merriman 2009: 317, Cat. 26). On sailed Type III boat J.E. 46767, from tomb 2757 at Saqqara, the owner sits on block beneath a canopy (Landström 1970: 92-93, no. 284; Quibell and Hayter 1927, 11-14, 39, and Pl. XXII.1; and Merriman 2009: 315, Cat. 23).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Neither is categorized as a sailor in the current study because of their large sizes (20.5cm and 26.1cm in height, respectively).

¹⁰⁶⁷ In Fig. 88, Ex. Ph. C8226, see c/4.

¹⁰⁶⁸ In Fig. 90, Ex. Ph. B10698, see d/7.

¹⁰⁶⁹ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see b/5, b/6, b/7, b/8, b/9.

together (Cat. 40a-e, Figs. 35 and 92);¹⁰⁷⁰ and one is striding (Cat. 41a, Figs. 35 and 92).¹⁰⁷¹ Unfortunately, because none of the arms of any of these figures were preserved, it is difficult to determine their various roles. Although none of the squatting figures have holes drilled through the legs to secure oars, they may be rowers from a second boat who originally held the oars in their hands. The striding figure could be a boat pilot. The five figures standing with legs together are of uniform size, and are likely mast attendants who raised their arms up, grasping the halyards. Reisner found a possible yard (Cat. 37b, Fig. 35)¹⁰⁷² from a sailed boat in the tomb, whose present location is unknown. Originally, therefore, three boats may have been interred in N.263, two propelled by seated and squatting rowers, and a third by standing sailors manning the sails. Crews that include combinations of both squatting and standing mast attendants are found not only on Type II but also on Types IV and V sailed boats of this period from other sites.¹⁰⁷³ Furthermore, the variability in size among the squatting figures from N.263 suggests they did not all derive from boats. Some of the remaining squatting male figures may belong with a group kitchen scene, discussed in Chapter Ten. However, the large quantity of human figures from N.263 suggests at least three boats are represented in the model corpus. Therefore, for the purposes of the current study, it is assumed that N.263 contained one pair of rowed and sailed boats, likely of Type II, and a third rowed boat, possibly of Type V.

The methods of propulsion for the boats interred in tombs S.F.5025, N.9090, N.9292 and N.110 may be similarly determined. In the case of S.F.5025, the evidence of crew members and rigging suggests the tomb contained at least one rowed boat. A squatting oarsman (Cat. 30a, Fig. 93) discovered in this tomb is identified by the hole drilled through his ankles to secure an oar (now lost). In N.9090, Mace recovered fragments from a single boat, all of which are illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8226 (Fig. 88). These remains include three oars (Cat. 43c-e),¹⁰⁷⁴ a mast-head (Cat. 43b),¹⁰⁷⁵ two (possible) mooring stakes (Cat. 43g)¹⁰⁷⁶ and a standing sailor (Cat. 43a).¹⁰⁷⁷ The latter figure, which is crudely carved, stands with his legs together and his arms held straight at his sides, reminiscent of a mast attendant or boat officer.¹⁰⁷⁸ The fragments from N.9090, therefore, most likely derived from a sailed vessel, which would have been equipped with a single mast and oars. While three oars from N.9292 (Cat. 44a-c, Fig. 94)¹⁰⁷⁹ could have been from a rowed boat, alternatively, they may have been stored on the deck of a sailed vessel.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see c/9, c/10, c/11.

¹⁰⁷¹ In Fig. 92, he is the seventh figure from the left. In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see c/8.

¹⁰⁷² In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see d/8.

¹⁰⁷³ For example, CG 4802, a sailed Type II boat from Meir has four standing and two squatting mast attendants (Reisner 1913e: 7-8, Figs. 26-31, Pl. II; Tooley 1989: 151-152; and Merriman 2009: 585, Cat. 485). On J.E. 39128, a sailed Type IV boat from the tomb of *K3rnni* at Saqqara, the crew includes four standing and three squatting mast attendants (Quibell 1908: 7, Pls. XII, XXVI, top; Tooley 1989: 159; and Merriman 2009: 314, Cat. 20). J.E. 46717, one of the sailed Type V boats from *Mkt-R^c*'s tomb at Thebes (TT280) has nine sailors, of which five are standing and four are squatting on deck (Winlock 1955: 60-63, 99-100, Pls. 47, 80, sailed boat V; Tooley 1989: 162; and Merriman 2009: 441, Cat. 270).

¹⁰⁷⁴ In Fig. 88, Ex. Ph. C8226, see c/2, c/3.

¹⁰⁷⁵ In Fig. 88, Ex. Ph. C8226, see c/1.

¹⁰⁷⁶ In Fig. 88, Ex. Ph. C8226, see a/1, b/2.

¹⁰⁷⁷ In Fig. 88, Ex. Ph. C8226, see c/6.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For an example of a Type II boat with three similar mast attendants standing at rest, with their arms bent and the hands clasped at their waists see CG 4910, a sailed Type II boat from the tomb (pit 28) of *Mntw-htp/Bw3w* at Deir el-Bahri (Navelle 1896: 3-4; Reisner 1913e: 65-66, Figs. 232-241, Pl. XVI; Tooley 1989: 150; and Merriman 2009: 579-580, Cat. 479).

¹⁰⁷⁹ In Fig. 94, Ex. Ph. C8228, see b/1, b/2.

Finally, as documented in the Hearst Expedition photograph register, Reisner discovered a single oar (Cat. 36, Fig. 95)¹⁰⁸⁰ near N.110, which could have come from either a sailed or rowed boat. The five oars from N.9090, N.9292 and N.110 all have blades that are oval in shape, with round knobs at the tips, typical features of early Middle Kingdom boats.¹⁰⁸¹

7.5 Phase IV (Late Middle Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams excavated three complete boats and 43 fragments representing another four boats from five tombs at Naga ed-Deir that date to the late Middle Kingdom: N.3575, S.F.64, S.F.170, S.F.209 and S.F.218. As in the earlier periods, the main purpose of the late Middle Kingdom boats was to represent the funerary journey and symbolic pilgrimages. In this period, boat Types V and VII appeared in the boat model repertoire, along with the established Type II boat. Three intact model boats found in tombs N.3575, S.F.218 and S.F.170, represent rather unique boats: a variant Type V, a rare Type VII and a modified Type II, respectively. The first boat to be discussed here is the boat Mace discovered in N.3575.

The boat from N.3575 is known only from a brief description provided in Mace's field notes and one expedition photograph of it *in situ* (Cat. 46, Figs. 25 and 96). The boat is 12cm long, with a prow and stern that both terminate in stylized papyrus umbels, bent upwards. It is hollow, and does not have any deck furniture, crew or representation of the deceased. The upturned ends and built-up sides of this boat are reminiscent of papyrus rafts.¹⁰⁸² The nautical feature of built-up sides, however, does not continue on models past the Early Dynastic Period, and the archaeological context of Cat. 46 is clearly later.¹⁰⁸³ Two Type III fishing rafts from the early Middle Kingdom tomb of *Mkt-R^c* at Thebes have similar hull forms; these latter boats differ, however, in that they were manufactured on wood and have solid hulls, with crew members secured to the decks.¹⁰⁸⁴ As with the *Mkt-R^c* models, in tomb scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms depicting the tomb owner hunting in the marshes in papyrus rafts, the horizontal bindings used to secure the bundles of papyrus are usually indicated with painted stripes.¹⁰⁸⁵ In contrast, according to Mace's field notes, the only decoration on the boat from N.3575 was a white painted rim (i.e., the gunwales). This style of decoration is frequently found on Type IV and V boats, and represents an attached bulwark.¹⁰⁸⁶ Three wooden funerary boats from the mid 12th Dynasty tomb of *Hpr-k3-R^c*, *Hri* and *S3t-B3stt* at Saqqara, which Reisner classified as variant Type V vessels, provide the closest parallels to Cat. 46. Although these three Saqqara boats have solid hulls and human figures, like Cat. 46, they have truncated,

¹⁰⁸⁰ In Fig. 95, Ex. Ph. C8993, see a/1.

¹⁰⁸¹ Merriman (2009: 227-228). More specifically, the oar blade of Cat. 36 is teardrop-shaped and concave. For one example of a boat with virtually identical oars, see MMA 20.3.2, from the early Middle Kingdom tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-R^c* at Thebes (Breasted 1948: 79, and Pl. 71c; Winlock 1955: 45-57, 95-96, and Pls. 37, 74, traveling boat Q; Tooley 1989: 32; and Merriman 2009: 607-608, Cat. 512). The oar from S.F.18 (Cat. 19g, Fig. 54) also appears to have the knobbed tip, perhaps indicating it is from a Middle Kingdom, rather than a First Intermediate Period, boat.

¹⁰⁸² Merriman (2009: 64, 65, and Figs. 2.12-2.16).

¹⁰⁸³ Merriman (2009: 94-95, 270, 309-313, Cat. Nos. 1-19).

¹⁰⁸⁴ J.E. 46715 (Breasted 1948: 78, Pl. 68a; Winlock 1955: 67-69, 102-103, Pls. 52-53, boats Y; Landström 1970: 96, Cat. 305; Tooley 1995: 34, Fig. 29; and Merriman 2009: 316-317, Cat. 25).

¹⁰⁸⁵ See, for example, papyrus rafts depicted in the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Snbi* (B4) at Meir (Blackman 1914: 27-28, Pls. II, XVI(1) and XVI(2); and Landström 1970: 94-95, Fig. 298).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Reisner (1913e: xxi, xxiv). See also Cat. 20 in the current study.

upturned stem- and sternposts.¹⁰⁸⁷ Stylistically, therefore, the clay boat from N.3575 is best classified as a modified Type V vessel, and most likely dates to mid Dynasty 12.¹⁰⁸⁸ The papyriform finials suggest the boat was used in the afterlife for the funerary voyage and journeys to sacred pilgrimage sites in the afterlife.

The second unusual boat type introduced at Naga ed-Deir in the later Middle Kingdom is Reisner's Type VII divine bark, exemplified by the tiny limestone model from S.F.218 (Cat. 53, Fig. 97). The prow and stern of this 8.3 cm long boat originally both terminated in highly stylized papyrus umbels that bent inwards, but the sternpost is now broken. The cabin, placed amidships, is painted with red and black stripes, in imitation of reed matting. The recurved ends of the boat suggest ceremonial functions that parallel those of Type IV, V and hybrid Type IV/V papyriform vessels. Type VII vessels also may have functioned as specialized religious crafts that transported the dead in the company of the gods in the cyclical journey across the heavens and through the underworld.¹⁰⁸⁹ These boats are also relatively rare. Only a few known examples come from cemeteries and settlement sites in Middle and Upper Egypt and are dated to the 12th Dynasty.¹⁰⁹⁰

Other late Middle Kingdom boats found at Naga ed-Deir include Reisner's Type II river boat and Type V papyriform boat. S.F.170 contained one damaged Type II boat and fragmentary remains of a pair of boats that likely are Type V. With the exception of a male boat owner now in Boston (Cat. 51c), these three boats are identified solely from Ex. Ph. B1896 (Fig. 98). The Type II hull (Cat. 48a), which is situated on the third shelf in the photograph, is the only known complete example of its kind from any site, including Naga ed-Deir. It has four holes drilled through the hull, two on either side just forward of the stern, for a deck beam that would have held the stanchion (perhaps Cat. 48b) for the single, large rudder (Cat. 48c).¹⁰⁹¹ It also originally had a bowsprit, which is damaged in the expedition photograph. The method of propulsion is unknown. One would expect to find a mast, but there does not appear to be a substantial hole in the hull to attach one. Merriman suggested that the curl of the reinforced stern structure, low angle of the stern sheer, round bottom and presence of a bowsprit are features comparable to early-mid 12th Dynasty boats at Bersha.¹⁰⁹² Cat. 48 is unusual in that it is hollow, without a raised central shelf or crew. Merriman further cited a hollow-hulled boat from Beni Hasan, dated to late Dynasty 11, as the closest parallel for this hull form.¹⁰⁹³ Stylistically, therefore, Cat.

¹⁰⁸⁷ All three are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo: CG 4915, CG 4916 and CG 4917, respectively (Reisner 1913e: 70-73, Figs. 259-274 and Pls. XVII, XVIII; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. XLI.15-17; Tooley 1989: 138; and Merriman 2009: 402-404, Cat. Nos. 208-210).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Typology and date suggested by Merriman (personal communication, February 2009).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Reisner (1913e: xxvii); Landström (1970: 118); and Tooley (1995: 51).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Reisner (1913e: xxvii). A nearly identical boat, CG 4919, is presumed to be from Aswan (Reisner 1913e: 80-81, Fig. 301, Pl. XXIV). Two similar boats, CG 4974 and CG 4975, derive from unknown locations at Bersha, likely found by Daressy and Kamal in 1898 (Reisner 1913e: 113, Figs. 387 and 388, Pl. XXIV). One boat was excavated from a pit in tomb complex XXIII-XXV at Edfu (Michalowski et al., 1950: 88, 184, no. 146 and Pl. VI, 3).

¹⁰⁹¹ Ex. Ph. B1896, a/4, c/2.

¹⁰⁹² Personal communication, May 2010. For a similar Type II boat attributed to Bersha and dated to mid Dynasty 12, see EMNHS 0.376 (Merriman 2009: 588-589, Cat. 489). Note the curl of the reinforced stern structure and the tall, painted stanchion on this example.

¹⁰⁹³ Personal communication, May 2010. The boat is Ash. E.1993, from BH140 (Merriman 2009: 618, Cat. 524).

48 dates to mid Dynasty 12.¹⁰⁹⁴ Since there is no associated boat owner or crew, the boat may have been multi-functional in the afterlife, symbolizing basic transportation, travel on symbolic pilgrimages and/or the funerary voyage.

The other fragments from S.F.170 grouped together on three shelves in Ex. Ph. B1896 may have belonged to two Type V papyriform boats, whose hulls were not found in the tomb. Unfortunately, apart from Cat. 51c, West did not record the boat fragments recovered from S.F.170 in the 1913 object register log. In his field diary, he simply noted that in the tomb he found 21 rowers from a boat, which was over a meter long (i.e., the Type II boat, to which they do not belong). In the photograph register, West described the contents of Ex. Ph. B1896 as “miscellaneous objects from boat from grave S.F.170 (Middle Kingdom).” Reisner, apparently, did not save any of these illustrated fragments. Therefore, without being able to examine the boat fragments in person, it is impossible to reconstruct completely the other two crafts shown in the photograph. There are a number of different possible combinations, however, the most likely of which will be presented below.

The presence of two additional boats in S.F.170 is supported by the evidence for a large number of fragments, including 16 crew members (Cat. 49a-c and 50d-g),¹⁰⁹⁵ six jars (Cat. 51d-f)¹⁰⁹⁶ and the enthroned tomb owner (Cat. 51c, Figs. 99 and 100).¹⁰⁹⁷ When all these pieces are considered together, there appear to be too many to have fit only on one hull. The presence of two rudders (Cat. 48c, 50a)¹⁰⁹⁸ shown in conjunction with a Type II boat hull, a form that normally incorporates only one, proves that there were originally at least two boats deposited in this tomb. While the larger one (Cat. 48c) undoubtedly is the single rudder belonging with the Type II boat hull, the smaller one (Cat. 50a) likely was part of a pair that were used to steer a Type V boat. The terminal on the smaller steering oar is a falcon’s head, a feature occasionally found on elaborately decorated Type V boats. And although it is difficult to be certain from the expedition photograph, Cat. 50b appears to be a four-sided rudder stanchion that also has a falcon-headed terminal.¹⁰⁹⁹ One other fragment (Cat. 50c)¹¹⁰⁰ is possibly a section of a bent

¹⁰⁹⁴ I originally assigned this date to the boat, which was reinforced by Merriman’s analysis (personal communication, May 2010).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ex. Ph. B1896, b/1-9, b/11-16, c/5.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ex. Ph. B1896, a/1, a/3, a/7, a/10, b/10, c/1, c/11.

¹⁰⁹⁷ In Fig. 101, Ex. Ph. A938, see a/4.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ex. Ph. B1896, a/6, c/2.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ex. Ph. B1896, c/3. There are four documented Type V funerary boats with falcon-headed terminals on both the rudders and the rudder stanchions: CG 4811, said to come from Gebelein (Reisner 1913: 18, Fig. 76, Pl. V; Tooley 1989: 137; and Merriman 2009: 447, Cat. 277); ÄMB 14 (lost), from the tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp* at Asasif (Steindorff 1896: 37-39, Fig. 38, Pl. IX, X.8; Breasted 1948: 69, Pl. 64b; Tooley 1989: 138-139; and Merriman 2009: 451-452, Cat. 283); and BM9524 and BM9525, both from Thebes (Breasted 1948: 70, Pls. 65a and 66a; Glanville 1972: 10-16, Figs. 10-15, Frontispiece and Pl. IIIa,b; Tooley 1989: 137-138; Jones 1995: cover, and Pl. VII; and Merriman 2009: 456-458, Cat. Nos. 291, 292). Four Type V pilgrimage boats have falcon-headed terminals on the rudder stanchions: boats J.E. 46717 (Winlock 1955: 60-63, 99-100, Pls. 47, 80, sailed boat V; Tooley 1989: 162; and Merriman 2009: 441, Cat. 270) and MMA 20.3.5 from *Mkt-Rʿ*’s tomb (TT280) at Thebes (Breasted 1948: 76, Pl. 66b; Winlock 1955: 60-63, 100-101, Pls. 48, 81, rowed boat W; Tooley 1989: 162; and Merriman 2009: 444, Cat. 273); MMA 12.183.4, from the late 12th Dynasty tomb of the *imy-pr Wh-ḥtp* at Meir (Breasted 1948: 70; Hayes 1953: 273, Fig. 179; Tooley 1989: 40, 163; and Merriman 2009: 367-368, Cat. 141); and Fitz. E.8.1903, from Beni Hasan, 12th Dynasty tomb BH36 (Garstang 1907: 212; Tooley 1989: 48, 164, Pl. 30:2).

¹¹⁰⁰ Ex. Ph. B1896, a/2.

papyrus stem- or sternpost of a Type V boat. The jars may have belonged to one, or two, boats. In the Middle Kingdom, similar jars are typically found on both Type II and V funerary and pilgrimage boats and Type II kitchen tenders.¹¹⁰¹

The fact that the boat fragments from S.F.170 consisted of 11 kneeling rowers (Cat. 49a-c),¹¹⁰² five standing sailors and/or officers (Cat. 50d-f and 51a-b)¹¹⁰³ and two oars (Cat. 49d-e)¹¹⁰⁴ further suggests that one boat was rowed and the other was sailed. The three figures standing with their legs together therefore could be mast attendants or officers from a Type V boat. Two of the standing figures have one arm crossed over the chest (Cat. 50e-f), while the third (Cat. 50d) has both arms crossed in this position. The striding figure (Cat. 51a), which is too damaged to determine the arm position, could be a pilot from either boat. Unfortunately, the function of the smaller striding figure (Cat. 51b) is unknown. He is also too damaged to ascertain the original position of the arms. One of the Type V boats, therefore, most likely was manned by a crew of 12 rowers and two officers. Because six rowers (Cat. 49a) have their left arms crossed over their chests,¹¹⁰⁵ and four (remaining) rowers (Cat. 49c) have their right arms in the same pose,¹¹⁰⁶ it is likely that they were paired on opposite sides of the deck. The ritual function of the two boats is demonstrated by the gestures of the better-preserved crew members, with each man having one arm (or, in one case, both arms) crossed over his chest. In Middle Kingdom tombs from other sites, these arm positions are found on sailors, mourners, priests and officers on both Type II and Type V pilgrimage boats.¹¹⁰⁷

¹¹⁰¹ The vessel forms include four globular jars, a tall, ovoid jar with a flat base and one *hs* jar, used to hold liquid offerings, such as water, beer and wine (Cat. 51d-f). Similar jars are shown in conjunction with altars heaped with food offerings on Type V boats from other sites, including three funerary boats from the mid 12th Dynasty tomb of *Hpr-k3-Rc*, *Hri* and *S3t-B3stt* at Saqqara, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo: CG 4915, CG 4916 and CG 4917, respectively (Reisner 1913e: 70-73, Figs. 259-274 and Pls. XVII, XVIII; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pl. XLI.15-17; Tooley 1989: 138; and Merriman 2009: 402-404, Cat. Nos. 208-210). A funerary/pilgrimage Type II boat (Cairo 17/3/23/3) from the mid 12th Dynasty tomb of *M3* (BH500) at Beni Hasan also has a table supporting two globular beer jars (Garstang 1907: 102, Fig. 91, bottom; Breasted 1948: 69; Tooley 1989: 140-141; and Merriman 2009: 635, Cat. 543). For an example of a Type II kitchen tender from the tomb (pit 10A) of *Dhwiti-nht* at Bersha, see BMFA 21.494. Note the two tall beverage jars and two baskets placed in front of the vaulted deckhouse (Breasted 1948: 84, Pl. 76a; D'Auria et al. 1988: 115, n. 74 and Fig. 67; Tooley 1995: 54, Fig. 55; and Merriman 2009: 517-518, Cat. 389).

¹¹⁰² Ex. Ph. B1896, b/1-b/6, b/9, b/11, b/12, b/14, c/5.

¹¹⁰³ Ex. Ph. B1896, b/7, b/8, b/13, b/15, b/16.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ex. Ph. B1896, c/6, c/7.

¹¹⁰⁵ The oars were secured in holes drilled through the fists, as clearly seen in Ex. Ph. B1896, b/1.

¹¹⁰⁶ Another rower (Cat. 49b) may have his right arm crossed over his chest, but is too damaged to tell for certain in the expedition photograph.

¹¹⁰⁷ One example of a Type II pilgrimage boat is CG 4947, from Bersha tomb E14 south, belonging to *Spi* III (Reisner 1913e: 99-100, Figs. 355-358, Pl. XXI; Breasted 1948: 84; Tooley 1989: 156; and Merriman 2009: 621, Cat. 528). On this boat, dated to early Dynasty 12, three pairs of men, who represent the crew of a sailed vessel, stand amidships with both arms crossed over their chests. The owner is depicted as a squatting, cloaked male figure. For an example of a Type V boat with rowers represented with similar arm poses, see MAHG 4769bis., from pit 14 at Deir el-Bahri, belonging to *Nb-hpt-Rc Mntw-hpt* II (Naville 1913: 31; Di. Arnold 1981: 14ff, Fig. 2, Pls. 3a, 3c; Tooley 1989: 161; and Merriman 2009: 364, Cat. 134). On this mid 11th Dynasty boat, four mourners kneel or squat with one or both arms crossing their chests, facing the stern and the enthroned king, who also has both arms crossed over his chest. Other figures, identified as officers or servants, also appear on Types II and V boats as additional crew members. On Type II boat BM35291 (likely from Bersha), one such figure faces aft towards the cloaked and squatting boat owner. The boat is propelled by four pairs of standing rowers. The servant(?) stands between two rowers, with the left arm across his chest, and the right arm down at his side (Glanville 1972: 46-49,

Cat. 51c, the male tomb/boat owner, is depicted as a living person. He wears a kilt and has short-cropped hair with a beard and moustache, rather than a long, tripartite wig and false beard, worn by mummies. Furthermore, he is seated on a high-backed chair, with his arms bent and his hands resting on his thighs (Figs. 99 and 100).¹¹⁰⁸ Based on his clothing and posture, we can deduce the function of the boat to which boat he most likely belonged originally. As noted above on pages 156-157, on Type III, IV and V boats used for pilgrimages, when shown, the tomb owners are represented as living men and are often seated on a throne (or, less frequently, standing) beneath a canopy. Although no remains of a baldachin were found in S.F.170, based on all the available evidence, it is most likely that the boat owner originally sat underneath a canopy on a Type V boat, which was intended to symbolically transport him on a sacred pilgrimage.

Reisner's 1913 expedition team also recovered boat model fragments from late Middle Kingdom tombs S.F.64 and S.F.209. Despite the incomplete nature of the finds, which comprised only parts of boat rigging and human figures, it is possible to ascertain the most likely boat types, functions and methods of propulsion for the boats from these two tombs. One of the three boat fragments from S.F.209, documented solely in Ex. Ph. B1812 (Fig. 54), is a four-sided rudder post with a falcon-headed terminal (Cat. 52c).¹¹⁰⁹ The style of this post is evidence for a Type V boat. The kneeling oarsman from the same tomb (Cat. 52a)¹¹¹⁰ has his left arm crossed over his chest, further suggesting that he belonged on a pilgrimage boat. The bearded sailor or officer from S.F.64 (Cat. 47, Figs. 99 and 101)¹¹¹¹ has both arms crossed over his chest -- similar to the arm positions of the damaged crew members recovered from S.F.170 -- suggesting that he derived from a Type II or V pilgrimage boat.¹¹¹² Because no hulls were preserved in either S.F.64 or S.F.209, it is difficult to calculate the total number of boats interred in these two tombs; for the purposes of the current study, however, it is estimated that each grave contained at least one boat. As for methods of propulsion, the two remaining oarsmen from S.F.209 (Cat. 52a-b),¹¹¹³ indicate that the burial equipment of that tomb included at least one rowed boat. Unfortunately, there is simply not enough surviving associated material in S.F. 64 to ascertain whether the boat was equipped for sailing or rowing.

Figs. 47-50, Pl. IXa; Breasted 1948: 81, Pl. 73b; Tooley 1989: 154-155; and Merriman 2009: 619, Cat. 525). Similar figures are found on all four Type V boats from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT280) at Thebes. For example, boat J.E. 46716, which is propelled by eight pairs of paddlers, also has seven "officers" standing on deck, including two helmsman and the pilot. Three of the remaining "officers" have one or both arms crossed over their chests. As on BM35291, one of these figures (perhaps the boat captain) faces the boat owner, who is here seated on a stool (Winlock 1955: 60-61, 99, Pls. 5, 46, 49, boat U; Tooley 1989: 161; Tooley 1995: 55, Fig. 56; and Merriman 2009: 443, Cat. 272).

¹¹⁰⁸ In Fig. 99, Ex. Ph. A938, see a/4.

¹¹⁰⁹ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see c/7.

¹¹¹⁰ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see a/7.

¹¹¹¹ In Fig. 99, Ex. Ph. A938, see a/1.

¹¹¹² With his tripartite wig and crossed arm pose, Cat. 47 also closely resembles a shabti. It has been suggested that shabtis evolved from mummiform figures transported on 12th Dynasty model boats (Tooley 1989: 168-169; and Tooley 1995: 18, Fig. 8). Such figures are known from Beni Hasan and Meir (Garstang 1907: 103, Fig. 92a; Reisner 1913e: 41-42, Figs. 147-148, CG 4856-4858). In fact, excavators first identified Cat. 47 as a shabti in the 1913 object register log. However, as demonstrated in the current study, standing crew members with crossed arm positions are found on Middle Kingdom model boats from Bersha and Deir el-Bahri, as well as Naga ed-Deir. There is no reason, therefore, to assume Cat. 47 is a shabti figure.

¹¹¹³ One rower is illustrated in Ex. Ph. B1812, a/7.

7.6 Model Boats of Uncertain Date and Provenance

Four fragments of boat models were excavated from Naga ed-Deir cemeteries N.100-400. Two fragments clearly belonged to one boat. Because none of grave numbers are known, it is impossible to determine from how many tombs these four fragments derive. For the purposes of the current study, however, they are assumed to have been excavated from three different graves. The boat remains include a model fish, a paired stem- and sternpost and part of a canopy.¹¹¹⁴ Little information can be deduced regarding types, quantities, functions and specific dates of these boat fragments, and nothing at all concerning methods of propulsion.

The fish (Cat. 54, Fig. 102) may have belonged with a Type II sporting boat or a Type III fishing boat.¹¹¹⁵ It has two pegs on its left side with traces of red paint between the pegs, probably the result of attaching the fish to the still-wet, red-painted hands of the man who carried it (or touched it, if the fish was lying on the deck of a boat). The right side of the fish has a single dowel where it was secured to another object. Two paired sections of a boat (Cat. 55a-b, Fig. 30)¹¹¹⁶ terminate in stylized papyrus umbels, representing the stern and prow that were originally tenoned to the hull of a Type IV vessel. A single canopy support (Cat. 56, Fig. 103) was once part of a funerary (Type II, IV or V) or pilgrimage boat (Type IV or V). Of these four unprovenanced boat fragments, only the paired stem- and sternposts have features useful for dating. While these two papyriform end-posts have square cross-sections, like Cat. 11a, the end-posts are not as elongated as on the other Naga ed-Deir papyriform Type IV boats, and the transition from the post to the umbel is more gradual, similar to late Old Kingdom boats.

¹¹¹⁴ In the Hearst Museum database, the provenances of these fragments are identified as “NNN100”, i.e., box 100 shipped to California in 1903. There are no tomb numbers written on any of them, nor can the provenances be determined from the field notes or photograph registers of the Hearst Expedition. In Ex. Ph. B10697, however, are 28 “small wooden objects from granaries, etc.” from N.70/71 and an unknown tomb (or tombs) in cemetery N.100-400. Included are three serving statuettes and 10 of the 34 model fragments with the NNN100 designation, one of which is Cat. 55b. According to the Hearst Museum ledgers, material from N.70, N.263 and N.247 was included among the objects packed in box NNN100. Therefore, it is possible that some of these model fragments originate from N.247, for which no field notes survive. Unfortunately, Mace’s notes on this photograph aren’t very helpful in determining the provenances of the remaining objects. In addition to the material from N.70, he listed two large figures (serving statues PAHMA 6-15781 and PAHMA 6-15783, i.e., my Cat. 140 and Cat. 133) and a large wooden arm from a *k3* statue (PAHMA 6-15809), which are grouped to the left in the photograph, and wrote “no number” for the provenance(s).

¹¹¹⁵ For comparisons, see the Type II sporting boat and Type III paired fishing skiffs (boats X and Y) from *Mkt-Rc*’s tomb at Thebes (TT280). On the sporting boat (MMA 20.3.6), two harpooners stand at the bow. A man and woman walk towards *Mkt-Rc*, carrying a brace of birds and a single duck, respectively. Another fisherman carries a large *Mormyrus* fish in his left arm and supported on his left shoulder. Another fish, perhaps a *bolti*, lies on deck in front of a fourth fisherman, who is removing the harpoon point (Breasted 1948: 84, Pl. 78a; Winlock 1955: 64-67, 101-102, Pls. 51, 82-83, 86; and Merriman 2009: 445, Cat. 274). In the fishing skiffs (J.E. 46715), three men on each boat drag a trawl net between them, which is full of different varieties of fish. On one raft, a seated fisherman holds a fish, while two other fish lie on deck in front of him (Breasted 1948: 78, Pl. 68a; Winlock 1955: 67-69, 102-103, Pls. 52-53, boats Y; Landström 1970: 96, Cat. 305; Tooley 1995: 34, Fig. 29; and Merriman 2009: 316-317, Cat. 25). For two-dimensional Type III fishing rafts from Naga ed-Deir, note the two examples preserved on the east and south walls of the chapel in First Intermediate Period tomb N.3737 (Peck 1958: 96, 117, Fig. 5, and Pls. VIII, IX and XV).

¹¹¹⁶ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see c/3.

7.7 Conclusion

In her study of boat models, Tooley tabulated ca. 404 boats (ca. 305 complete and 99 fragmentary) that were manufactured from the Old to the late Middle Kingdoms at sites throughout Egypt.¹¹¹⁷ This amount includes the three complete boat models from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.202 and N.4172. Focusing on intact boats, Merriman expanded Tooley's boat model corpus geographically and temporally, deriving a new total of 585 models that included six boats from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.202, N.4172, N.4003, N.4401 and N.449.¹¹¹⁸ Of these 585 boats, 467 date from the Old to late Middle Kingdom. In the current study, I integrated the two data sets to include both complete and fragmentary boats, revised several of Tooley's dates (after Merriman) and adapted Merriman's chronology to my own, to derive a total of 566 boats for the Old to late Middle Kingdom. Since I discuss the Naga ed-Deir material separately below, I excluded the six examples from this amount, resulting in a new total of 560 boats.

According to Tooley's and Merriman's combined evidence, the fewest model boats were produced in the Old Kingdom. In Dynasties 4 and 5 there are five (minimum) boats, representing less than 1% of the boat model corpus. There are 38 boats from the late Old Kingdom, corresponding to 7% of the corpus. The second largest amount of boat models dates to the First Intermediate Period, with 91 boats or 16% of the corpus. The greatest quantity of model boats dates to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12, with 368 boats representing just below 66% of the corpus for this period. For the final phase, dating from the reign of Senusret II in Dynasty 12 to Dynasty 13/17, there are 61 boats, or 11% of the boat model corpus.

In my own research on the model boats excavated from Naga ed-Deir, I found that the corpus spans four major phases of tomb model production, from the late Old to the late Middle Kingdom. In three seasons at the site, Reisner's expedition teams discovered nine complete boats from eight tombs and 241 fragments, representing an additional 36 boats, from 28 tombs. They also found four fragments from unknown contexts that may represent another three boats. All together, the archaeological evidence reveals that Reisner recovered a minimum of 48 boats from perhaps 39 tombs. The totals for each time period are listed in Appendix G.

In the current study of the Naga ed-Deir model boat corpus, 36 fragments of wooden boat models from six late Old Kingdom (Phase I) tombs represent six boats. A minimum of one boat each is estimated from tombs N.67/69, N.51, N.241 and N.105, while two boat models derived from burial complex S.F.5201/5203 and/or S.F.5202. The greatest number of model boats occurs in the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), with 17 boats from 12 tombs. This total includes three complete boats and 118 boat fragments, representing another 14 boats. The owner of intact tomb N.4172 was interred with one boat. The burial assemblage in N.202 included two boats, which were placed in the niche associated with an unlocated burial chamber. At least one boat was interred originally in each of tombs N.3765, S.F.5214, N.3567, N.3769, N.111, N.3795, N.3916 and N.3756. Tomb N.3737 probably contained four boats, while tomb S.F.18 most likely housed at least two.

¹¹¹⁷ Tooley (1989: Tables 1-5, pages 3, 14, 28, 60 and 67).

¹¹¹⁸ The complete list of 585 boats, with museum numbers, classification, dates and sites of origin are provided in her Appendix A (Merriman 2009: 298-306).

At Naga ed-Deir, the second largest number of boat models occurs in the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III), with 15 boats from 13 tombs. This minimum total includes three complete boats and 44 boat fragments that represent another 12 boats. Graves N.4401, N.4003 and N.449 all contained (relatively) intact boats. In each of tombs S.F.5021, S.F.5025, S.F.5010, N.3579, S.F.25, N.110, N.408, N.9090 and N.9292 there is evidence for one boat. N.449 also contained one fragment that likely belonged to a second boat. A minimum of three boats derives from N.263.

A total of five late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV) tombs at Naga ed-Deir produced seven boat models. There are three complete boats and 43 fragments that represent at least another four boats. Tombs N.3575, S.F.218 and S.F.170 each contained one intact boat. Based on the fragments recovered from three tombs of the late Middle Kingdom, it is estimated that S.F.64 and S.F.209 each housed at least one boat originally, while the occupants of S.F.170 were buried with at least two additional boats. Finally, four model fragments from cemetery N.100-400 suggest that three additional boats originally belonged to some of the tombs incorporated into the current study or, alternatively, derive from other unlocated burials in the cemetery. In reconstructing the chronological development of boat models at Naga ed-Deir, these four unprovenanced fragments are excluded because they cannot be dated securely.

Although some of my results from Naga ed-Deir agree with Tooley's and Merriman's combined evidence for the development of the boat model corpus, there are also differences. First, as expected at a provincial site, there are no excavated boat models that date to the 4th or 5th Dynasties. At Naga ed-Deir, all models, including boats, made their appearance in post Dynasty 6 (my Phase I). At Naga ed-Deir, I also found that a small number of boat models occurred in the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV). However, my results for the late Old Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom are similar, with six and seven estimated boats, respectively, that correspond to 13% and 16% of my boat model corpus for each phase. Thus, at Naga ed-Deir I found a lower percentage of late Middle Kingdom model boats than expected, based on comparative material from other sites. The most significant difference between my data and Tooley's and Merriman's combined corpora occurs in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. At Naga ed-Deir, I found that the greatest number of boats were manufactured in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom (my Phases II and III) combined; however, the majority of boats dated to the First Intermediate Period, followed by the early Middle Kingdom, rather than the other way around. I estimated 17 boats for the First Intermediate Period (Phase II) and 15 boats for the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III). These numbers correspond to 38% and 33% of the Naga ed-Deir boat model corpus for my Phases II and III, respectively. The totals for the early Middle Kingdom are even lower than anticipated, based on comparative data from other sites.

Factoring in the 45 provenanced Naga ed-Deir boat models with Tooley's and Merriman's combined totals from other sites gives 608 boats from sites throughout Egypt that date from the Old to Middle Kingdoms. The number of boats produced prior to the 6th Dynasty remains unchanged, with 5 boats (1% of the corpus); however, 44 boats (7% of the corpus) now date to the late Old Kingdom. There is an escalation in the number of boats produced in the First Intermediate Period, with 108 examples (18% of the corpus). The largest number, i.e., 383 boats (63% of the corpus), still occurs in the early Middle Kingdom, followed by a sharp decline in the late Middle Kingdom, with only 13 examples (11% of the corpus). Therefore, even with the

adjustments and additions (both Merriman's and my own) to Tooley's database, her general conclusions regarding the development of the boat model corpus from the Old to Middle Kingdoms are still valid. As this data shows, there was a steady rise in the number of boats manufactured from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period, with a marked increase in the early Middle Kingdom, followed by a sharp decline in the later Middle Kingdom, after the reign of Senusret II.

Of the 48 boats excavated from 39 (maximum) tombs at Naga ed-Deir, 32 boats (from 24 tombs and one unknown tomb in cemetery N.100-400) are classified here according to Reisner's boat model typology, with Tooley's addition. These results also are summarized in Appendix G. Out of nine intact boats, the hulls of six papyriform boats from tombs N.202 (two boats), N.4172, N.4003, N.3575 and S.F.218 represent Reisner's Types IV, IV/V, V and VII, respectively. One complete boat from S.F.170 is Reisner's Type II river boat with single rudder and curling stern. Two other boats from N.4401 and N.449 are classified in the current study as Tooley's Types II/viii and VIII hollow-hulled, shallow water boats, respectively, based on Tooley's additions to Reisner's typology. Key fragments allow the remaining 23 boats to be typed. This classification is accomplished primarily by comparing fragmentary stem- and sternposts, steering mechanisms and human figures (including crew members and boat owners) with those of the complete boats excavated from Naga ed-Deir and other Egyptian sites. At Naga ed-Deir, papyrus umbels from Type IV boats come from tombs N.51, N.3737, S.F.18, N.3916 and one unknown tomb in cemetery N.100-400. A bent, stylized papyrus umbel stem- or sternpost from a Type V boat derives from S.F.170 and possibly N.263. Further evidence of Type IV papyriform boats, which were steered by a double-rudder system, include the paired rudder stanchions from (pit) N.69 and N.3737 and pairs of steering oars from N.3737 and N.3756. N.3737 also contains fragmentary evidence for a bipod mast, typical of First Intermediate Period Type IV papyriform boats. The remaining single rudder with a falcon-headed terminal from S.F.170 and similarly-decorated rudder stanchions from S.F.170 and S.F.209 indicate Type V papyriform boats, which also were steered by a double rudder system. As noted in this chapter, complete Type V boats with these styles of double rudders and stanchions are known from Meir, Thebes, Beni Hasan and possibly Gebelein.

The dimensions of steering oars also are used to determine boat types. Those with smaller blades are typical of paired rudders from Types IV and V papyriform boats. Single rudders from late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs (pit) S.F.5203, N.111, S.F.5214, S.F.18 and N.3795 all likely belonged to Type IV papyriform crafts because the small size of the blades suggests they were once part of a pair, and Type V boats generally do not occur in these two periods. In contrast, the larger blades of the steering oars from Middle Kingdom tombs S.F.5021, N.263 and S.F.170 are typical of Type II boats, which were steered with a single, large rudder. The two small steering oars found in association with a Type VIII hull in Middle Kingdom tomb N.449 were likely from different boats, since other boats of this type from Sedment and Beni Hasan had only one rudder.

The body positions of crew members and boat owners belonging to fragmentary boats excavated from Naga ed-Deir are also helpful in establishing boat types. The two paddlers from late Old Kingdom tomb N.241 are likely from a papyriform boat, as similar crew members typically are found on Type IV boats from other sites in this period (and through the early Middle Kingdom on Type III boats), including Meir and Saqqara. Oarsmen seated with their

knees at a 90 degree angle, which were recovered from First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs S.F.18, S.F.25 and N.263, are evidence of Type II boats. Rowers in the same position are found on complete Type II boats from numerous sites, including Beni Hasan and Deir el-Bahri. Standing and seated male crew members and/or boat officers with one or both hands crossed over their chests in gestures of respect include those excavated from S.F.170, S.F.209 and S.F.64. Similar male figures also occur on Middle Kingdom boats of Types II and V from Bersha and Thebes. A seated boat owner from S.F.170, represented as living figure that sports a beard and moustache and wears a kilt, is most likely from a Type V pilgrimage boat, based on comparisons with figures on complete boats of this type from Saqqara and Thebes. Another seated boat owner, from N.263, derives from either a Type V pilgrimage boat or a non-ceremonial Type II boat.

In considering the evidence for both fragmentary and intact boat models, therefore, I have established the following categorization of boats that were deposited in burials at Naga ed-Deir. In Phase I, a minimum of five boats, from tombs N.51, (pit) N.69, (pit) S.F.5203 and/or S.F.5202 and N.241, are classified as Type IV. Tooley initially identified three Type IV boats from First Intermediate Period tombs N.202 and N.4172.¹¹¹⁹ In my study the total number of Type IV boats for this period (Phase II) is now expanded to 11 boats from nine tombs: N.202 (two boats), N.4172, N.3737 (at least two boats), S.F.18, N.3916, N.3756, N.111, S.F.5214 and N.3795. Additionally, in this period there is one Type II wooden vessel from S.F.18. The boat from S.F.18 marks the first appearance of its type at Naga ed-Deir. In Phase III, we can identify a minimum of four Type II boats, one from each of tombs S.F.5021 and S.F.25 and, perhaps, two from N.263. Four maximum new boat forms also make their appearance in the early Middle Kingdom, including one Type IV/V from N.4003, one Type II/viii from N.4401, one Type VIII from N.449 and possibly one Type V from N.263. In Phase IV, there are four Type V boats from tombs N.3575, S.F.170, S.F.209 and (possibly) a fifth from S.F.64. In this period, there is also one each of Types II and VII from tombs S.F.170 and S.F.218, respectively. The boat figure from S.F.64 alternatively may be from a Type II, rather than a Type V, boat.

In general, these boat typology results from Naga ed-Deir are consistent with Tooley's developmental scheme for Egypt as a whole. At Naga ed-Deir, there is a chronological succession of certain boat types with Type IV first occurring in the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) and becoming predominant in the First Intermediate Period (Phase II).¹¹²⁰ Tooley found that Type IV papyriform boats decreased in popularity in the early Middle Kingdom and were supplanted by Type V boats.¹¹²¹ Although fragmentary, the evidence from this period (Phase III) at Naga ed-Deir suggests one possible Type V boat. However, there is also one example of a transitional Type IV/V boat. Although rare, this form is found in early Middle Kingdom tombs at other Middle and Upper Egyptian sites, including Gebelein, Meir, Bersha and Sheikh Ibada. At Naga ed-Deir, Type II boats appear in the First Intermediate Period (Phase II), and, in turn, become more popular in the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III). These findings are also

¹¹¹⁹ Tooley (1989: 23, 136).

¹¹²⁰ Compare Tables 2 and 4 in Tooley (1989: 14, 28). The earliest known boat form, Reisner's Type I squared bowed river boat with two steering oars, is not represented in the model corpus from Naga ed-Deir; there are, however, two-dimensional examples in the (partially) preserved decorations of one rock-cut tomb at the site. A flotilla of two sailed and three rowed Type I boats are preserved on the north wall of the chapel in late Old Kingdom tomb N.248 (Peck 1958: 62-64, n. 2 and Pl. IV).

¹¹²¹ Tooley (1989: 60, Table 4).

consistent with Tooley's.¹¹²² Additionally, there is evidence for one early Middle Kingdom Type VIII boat at Naga ed-Deir, a type that Tooley did not include on her list of boat forms found in this period. Tooley further determined that while Type IV boats disappeared from the model repertoire in the reign of Senusret II, Types II and V both continued in limited quantities until the end of the Middle Kingdom.¹¹²³ At Naga ed-Deir in Phase IV, there is evidence of not only boat Types II and V, but also Type VII, another form that Tooley did not include in her tabulations of boat types for the late Middle Kingdom. As Merriman noted, the hollow-hulled Type II boat from late Middle Kingdom S.F.170 is extremely unusual, but has features that show regional connections with Middle Kingdom boats from Bersha and Beni Hasan. The clay Type V boat from late Middle Kingdom N.3575 is also unusual in that it combines features typical of both Early Dynastic and Middle Kingdom boats from other sites.

In summary, at Naga ed-Deir Type IV papyriform boats are the most numerous, found in Phases I and II. Type II vessels are identified in small numbers at Naga ed-Deir in Phases II and III. The more rare Types II/viii, VIII, IV/V and VII also occur infrequently in the Middle Kingdom (Phases III and IV), in addition to at least four Type V papyriform boats in the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV). Thus, at Naga ed-Deir we can observe the evolution of the papyriform boat from the late Old Kingdom (Type IV) to the early Middle Kingdom (Type IV/V) and on into the late Middle Kingdom (Types V and VII). In agreement with Tooley's findings, at Naga ed-Deir there is also a diversification of boat forms in the early Middle Kingdom, with increased numbers of Type II boats and the introduction of new Types II/viii, IV/V and VIII.¹¹²⁴ Finally, we find certain forms supplanting others over time, with more Type V than Type II model boats in the late Middle Kingdom.

At Naga ed-Deir, different boat types were used for various symbolic purposes in the Egyptian afterlife. For example, Types IV and V papyriform boats conveyed the deceased on pilgrimages to sacred sites and on funerary voyages. Type II boats, which primarily fulfilled utilitarian functions, less frequently were used for these ceremonial functions. By studying boat features, including deck structures, stem and stern appendages, decoration, poses of crew members and types of personnel in conjunction with hull forms, it is possible to ascertain the various specific functions of model boats. For example, tombs N.202 and N.4172 contained intact papyriform boats that were used for both sacred pilgrimages and funerary voyages because they transported coffins protected by baldachins and were capable of self-propulsion, manned by a crew of rowers and sailors, respectively. Even though the papyriform boat from N.4003 is incomplete, the locations of the drilled holes in the deck indicate the original locations of rowers. While there is no evidence that a canopied structure or boat owner were secured to the deck, the papyriform appendages suggest the boat was used either to symbolically convey the deceased, who was not represented, on a pilgrimage or funerary voyage.

Hollow-hulled boats (i.e., lacking crew members) from four tombs at Naga ed-Deir could have fulfilled utilitarian and/or religious functions. The boats from N.4401 and N.449 could have represented fishing or cargo boats, but also may have doubled as funeral and/or pilgrimage boats. Furthermore, the boat from N.4401 was the only one recovered from the tomb, possibly suggesting it was multi-functional. Likewise, the boat from S.F.170 may have been used for

¹¹²² Compare Tables 3 and 4 in Tooley (1989: 28, 60).

¹¹²³ Tooley (1989: 67, Table 5).

¹¹²⁴ See Tooley (1989: 60, Table 2, with boat Types II, III, III/IV, IV, V and VI listed).

both basic travel and ceremonial journeys in the afterlife. The papyriform finials on the boat from N.3575 suggest the boat was used in the afterlife for the funerary voyage and journeys to sacred pilgrimage sites. The tiny limestone papyriform boat from S.F.218 could have been used for transporting the deceased on different types of religious journeys after death. Thus, although these boats lack boat crews and images of the deceased, they still may have been used for ceremonial functions, although not conforming to a known pattern.

For some Naga ed-Deir boats, even when the hulls have not survived, fragmentary elements such as human figures, papyriform finials and deck structures allow insights into the original boat functions. The enthroned, bearded boat owner from S.F.170 is most likely from a papyriform pilgrimage boat, a premise that is reinforced by the presence of crew members with crossed-arms and the (possible) papyriform finial found in the tomb. The crossed-arm positions of crew members from S.F.64 and S.F.209 similarly suggest that at least one boat in each tomb was a pilgrimage boat. Canopy fragments excavated from at least 11 tombs derive from Types II, IV or V boats that were used to fulfill one or both ritual functions, with the specific type depending on the date of the tomb. These graves include (pit) N.69, (pit) S.F.5203, S.F.5202, N.51, N.241, N.105, N.3737, N.3795, N.3916, N.3756, and N.9091. In addition, one canopy fragment from an unknown tomb in cemetery N.100-400 suggests another boat with a ritual function. The remains of a model fish from another unlocated tomb in cemetery N.100-400 points towards one example of a Type II sporting boat or Type III fishing skiff.

In examining the evidence for boat functions at Naga ed-Deir, we find that many of the boat models were used to symbolize religious journeys, specifically the funerary procession to the necropolis and/or pilgrimages to sacred sites. There also appears to be continuity in functions over time, even among different types of boats. Six funerary or funerary/pilgrimage boats derive from either five or six late Old Kingdom tombs: N.67/69, N.51, S.F.5203 and/or S.F.5202 (two boats), N.241 and N.105. In the First Intermediate Period, ten funeral/pilgrimage or pilgrimage boats come from six tombs: N.202 (two boats), N.4172, N.3737 (four boats), N.3795, N.3916 and N.3756. In the early Middle Kingdom, one funerary or pilgrimage boat comes from N.4003 and one dual funeral/pilgrimage or pilgrimage boat originated from N.9090. In the late Middle Kingdom, there is one funerary or dual funerary/pilgrimage boat from N.3575, one pilgrimage boat from S.F.170, and two other boats from S.F.209 and S.F.64 that fulfilled either funerary or pilgrimage functions, or both, simultaneously. Tooley argued that model boats were used for pilgrimages more often than for funerary voyages, with Type IV predominating in the earlier periods, and Type II (followed by Type V) becoming most popular in the Middle Kingdom.¹¹²⁵ With the exception of the coffins on boats from N.202 and N.4172 and the seated boat owners from N.263 and S.F.170, no fragmentary coffins, sarcophagi, empty chairs, or mummiform figures that can be identified as boat owners were recovered from Naga ed-Deir. Therefore, it is impossible in most cases to distinguish further between boats that were used for joint pilgrimage and funerary voyages and those that were reserved for pilgrimages alone. Although limited, however, the evidence from Naga ed-Deir appears to be consistent with Tooley's findings.

Based on both complete and fragmentary evidence, it is possible to determine methods of propulsion for 27 boats excavated from 19 Naga ed-Deir tombs. In addition to the two intact

¹¹²⁵ Tooley (1989: 168).

rowed boats from N.202 and the one sailed boat from N.4172, fragments of six sailed and 18 rowed vessels derive from 17 additional tombs. Parts of masts from N.3737 and N.4172, mast supports from N.4172 and N.3737 and a yard from N.263 may indicate sailed boats. In addition to oars found on the intact boats from N.4172 and N.202, excavators recovered loose oars from N.3737, N.111, N.110, S.F.18, N.3756, N.9090, N.9292 and S.F.170. In comparing the boats from N.202 and N.4172, however, we observe that oars are associated with both rowed and sailed boats, which typically were equipped for traveling both up- and downstream. Therefore, it is important to consider boat equipment in conjunction with crew members when determining whether rowed or sailed boats actually are represented.

Rowers are identified easily in the archaeological record. Some sit, squat or kneel with the hands at rest on the thighs, and with the knees, thighs or ankles pierced sideways to secure oars. Rowers in these positions come from six tombs: N.202, N.3737, N.3756, N.3567, N.3769 and S.F.5025. Other rowers hold their arms out at a 45 degree angle, with the fists oriented with the palms/fingers turned down and pierced to hold oars. Rowers who held oars in their hands derive from eight tombs: (possibly) S.F.5202, N.241 (paddlers), N.3737, S.F.18, N.3795, S.F.25, S.F.170 and S.F.209. Although the arms were broken or missing from figures in tombs N.51, N.111, N.3916 and N.263, these figures are considered to be rowers because of their poses and their association with other crew members and boat fragments excavated from the same tombs.

In contrast to rowers, mast attendants exhibit more variety in their body poses. Mast attendants either kneel/squat, stand or stride, typically with arms upraised and the fists oriented with the palms/fingers turned inward to hold onto halyards. Kneeling mast attendants with their arms at rest on their thighs man the boat from N.4172. Other squatting mast attendants with their lost arms originally upraised may have come from N.263. There are striding mast attendants from S.F.18 and standing mast attendants from N.263, S.F.170, N.9090 and (possibly) S.F.64 and S.F.5203. The standing figure from N.9090 is at rest, with his arms at his sides, while the one from S.F.64, which has both arms crossed over his chest, could be either a sailor or a boat officer. One figure from S.F.170 is in this same crossed-arm pose, while two others each have one arm crossed over their chests and the other arm hanging at their sides. Therefore, these three men also could be either sailors or officers. Based on the limited descriptions in the 1923 object register log, there may have been four standing mast attendants in S.F.5203. Standing and seated mast attendants may have been combined on one sailed boat from N.263, as sailors in both poses are found on boats from similarly dated tomb contexts at Meir, Saqqara and Thebes. Punters, men who lean forward using quants to propel the boat forward and navigate around obstructions, are only found on sailed boats from other sites, including Beni Hasan and Bersha. Possible punters come from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.3737 and S.F.18.

By examining methods of propulsion, we can determine how many paired boats were deposited in the Naga ed-Deir tombs originally. In the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) tombs at Naga ed-Deir, there are two rowed boats from tombs N.241 and N.51. Tomb S.F.5201/5203 or S.F.5202 may have contained a pair of rowed and sailed boats. In the First Intermediate Period (Phase II) tombs at Naga ed-Deir, at least 11 rowed vessels were included in the burials of nine tombs: N.202 (two boats), N.3737 (perhaps two boats), S.F.18, N.3916, N.3567, N.3769, N.3795, N.3756 and N.111. Excavators recovered a minimum of three sailed boats from three tombs: N.4172, N.3737 and S.F.18. Therefore, in one grave-- N.3737 -- the tomb owner was buried with possibly two pairs of rowed and sailed boats. Because boat Types II *and* IV boats

were interred in S.F.18, it is possible that the burial assemblage for this tomb originally included four boats, with one pair of sailed and rowed boats of each type. In the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III) tombs, there are perhaps four rowed boats from tombs S.F.25, S.F.5025 and N.263 and two sailed boats from N.263 and N.9090. In N.263, the tomb owner's burial equipment included at least one pair of rowed and sailed boats, likely Type II. Early Middle Kingdom tombs N.4401, N.449 and N.3575 contained boats that were incapable of self-propulsion. In late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV) tombs at Naga ed-Deir, there is one rowed boat from each of tombs S.F.170 and S.F.209, and one sailed boat from S.F.170. S.F.170 contained both Types II and V boats, with the burial equipment likely originally including a paired of rowed and sailed boats of Type V. Finally, the boat from S.F.218 was incapable of self-propulsion.

In summary, the fragmentary evidence from S.F.5201/5203 or S.F.5202, N.3737, S.F.18, N.263 and S.F.170 suggests a pattern of pairs of rowed and sailed boats. In the previous chapter (Chapter Six), I noted that intact paired boats were found *in situ* only in N.202; in this case, however, both boats were rowed. After analyzing these fragmentary boats from Naga ed-Deir, we can now increase the number of tombs that contained paired boats from one to six. In considering the six tombs with two (or more) boats, along with the remaining 13 tombs that each preserved remnants of only one boat, we also find rowed boats to have been more prevalent than sailed vessels. Since the majority of boats from Naga ed-Deir are Type IV papyriform boats -- with a minimum of 16 verified examples -- it may appear that rowed Type IV boats were more common than the sailed variety at Naga ed-Deir. Interestingly, in her own research (excluding Naga ed-Deir) Tooley found a similar result for model boats she considered used for only pilgrimages.¹¹²⁶ Perhaps this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that Type IV boats in fact were represented most frequently as rowed vessels in the model repertoire. Alternately, however, the evidence may be skewed because parts of rowed boats (e.g., oars, rowers with holes drilled through the legs to secure oars) are more easily identified in the archaeological record than sailed boats (e.g., masts and standing mast attendants). Specifically, standing mast attendants from sailed boats are difficult to discern from human figures belonging to other types of models.

Some of the Naga ed-Deir boats have structural and/or non-structural nautical attributes that date them, which in turn reinforces the dates of the tombs that were established in the current study by the associated burial contents. Specific chronological features adapted from Merriman's work that were considered in this study were hull form, papyriform appendage design, types of masts, stern structure and bow and steering gear attachments, and styles of steering and propulsion gear. The bipod masts from N.4172 and N.3737 and the elongated stem and/or sternposts with square cross-sections and disc umbels on boats from N.51, N.202, N.4172, S.F.18, N.3916, N.3737 and one unknown tomb in cemetery N.100-400 are general indicators of date. These features are characteristic of Type IV boats dating to the First Intermediate Period. The dual trapezoidal and oval styles of the oar and/or rudder blades from N.202, N.4172 N.3756, S.F.5214, S.F.18 and N.3795 are both typical of the First Intermediate Period. The rudders from S.F.5203 and N.111 differ slightly from the other Naga ed-Deir examples, with sharply pointed, triangular blades centered at the ends of the shafts, which have late Old Kingdom parallels from other sites. The possible Type V papyriform bent finials from N.263 and S.F.170 also suggest a date of at least the early Middle Kingdom, as these types of boats generally are not found at other

¹¹²⁶ Tooley (1989: 145, 165).

sites before this period. The Type II/viii boat from N.4401 and Type VIII from N.449 also date to late Dynasty 11. These two boats lack major structural attributes, but possess the combined minor attributes of hollow hulls, rudder oar cable holes and a bowsprit (N.4401 only), typical of this period. The merged elements of straight stem- and bent sternpost on the Type IV/V papyriform boat from N.4003 is also a chronological feature, as similar examples from other sites date to late Dynasty 11. The six oars from S.F.18, N.9090, N.9292 and N.110 all have blades that are oval in shape, with round knobs at the tips, characteristic features of early Middle Kingdom boats. The limestone Type VII boat from S.F.209 is also a good chronological indicator, as boats of this small size, form and material are typical of the 12th Dynasty. The truncated, upturned stem- and sternposts on the papyriform variant Type V clay boat from N.3575 suggest a mid Dynasty 12 date, based on similar features on boats from Saqqara. The curl of the reinforced stern structure, low angle of the stern sheer, hollow hull and bowsprit of the Type II boat from S.F.170 are features that date it to the mid 12th Dynasty. The latest model boats from Naga ed-Deir, therefore, date to my Phase IV, marking the end of boat model production at the site.

The Naga ed-Deir wooden boats provide a variety of information about model production techniques. The large wooden papyriform boats were put together from separate, solid blocks of wood. The bow and stern appendages were attached to the hull either in a mortise and tenon construction, as on the three boats from N.202 and N.4172, or with pegs, as on one boat from N.3737. In some cases individual disc umbels also were doweled to the end-posts, as on the five boats from N.202, N.3737, N.3916 and N.4003. Structures (canopies, coffins and chairs), steering and propulsion gear attachments (e.g., rudder stanchions and mast supports) and boat personnel were pegged onto the decks. The hollowed-hulled wooden boats from N.4401, N.449 and S.F.170 were made from single large pieces of wood, with steering gear elements attached separately. Wood analysis performed on one wooden rower from N.3795 showed it to be made of sycamore fig. Finally, Resner found linen fragments on the canopies of both boats, suggesting they originally were enshrouded in cloth.

On model boat hulls, color sometimes denotes function or structural elements of real boats, but more frequently is purely decorative.¹¹²⁷ The three papyriform boats from N.202 and N.4003 have white hulls, with added decoration. On the boat prow from N.4003, the zigzag pattern represents rope ties or attachments for water proofing, while the checkered gunwale pattern on the hull is decorative. Similarly, the painted gunwale stripe on the clay boat from N.3575 and the painted papyrus bindings on the prow and stern appendages on the boats from N.202 and N.3737 are ornamental. The four primary colors used in boat model decoration are red, yellow, black and white, i.e., typical colors for all types of models from Naga ed-Deir and elsewhere. Green and blue pigments were applied in small amounts as decoration on the canopy roofs and support posts on the two boats from S.F.5203 and/or S.F.5202. Only blue was used on the prow, canopy roof and two (extant) tent-pole canopy posts of one boat from N.3737, and for the hair color of one boat figure from S.F.64. These six colors generally were made from the following mineral and plant pigments: ochres for red and yellow; carbon or lamp black (soot) and charcoal for black; gypsum (calcium sulfate) or chalk (calcium carbonate) for white; and frit

¹¹²⁷ Merriman (2009: 241-243).

(calcium-copper silicate) for blue and green.¹¹²⁸ Red, yellow, black and white pigments are considered to have been less expensive pigments because they occurred naturally and were easily accessible. In contrast, blue and green were more costly because they were synthetic materials that required more energy expenditure in their production.¹¹²⁹ Therefore, the added colors of blue and green on the four Naga ed-Deir boats, along with the usual red, yellow, black and white, suggests these models were of greater economic value than others decorated only with the four basic colors.

In some cases painted boat decoration and stylistic features of crew members provide information about ateliers at Naga ed-Deir. There is evidence that at least in one instance the same artist or workshop produced two boat models for the same burial. The two papyriform boats from First Intermediate Period tomb N.202 are virtually identical in color scheme and style of the painted decoration, as well as in number and arrangement of crew members and other boat personnel. The only difference between these two rowed boats is the color of the coffins, likely differentiated to indicate that the boats were traveling in opposite directions. Additionally, there are two possible circumstances in which the same artist or workshop produced similar boat models for two different tomb owners. Although the colors used to decorate the striped canopy supports from late Old Kingdom tombs N.105 and (pit) S.F.5203 are different, the large, bulbous tops of the posts are comparable. The identical trefoil pattern painted on three papyriform umbels of boats interred in First Intermediate Period tombs N.3737 and N.3916 strongly suggests that at least two boats from these separate tombs were made together. The rather round heads and broad faces of the boat owner from S.F.170 and crew members from S.F.170 and S.F.209 are virtually identical. Interestingly, these two tombs are located next to each other in cemetery S.F.200, possibly due to a family connection. In this case, the same artist may have made models for related individuals.

Finally, two tombs provide evidence for different artists or ateliers working on sets of models intended for the same burial: late Old Kingdom tombs S.F.5201/5203 or S.F.5202 and First Intermediate Period N.3737. Differences in the color schemes used on the two canopies from S.F.5202 and S.F.5203 point toward two separate boats. Since the archaeological material from the burial pits in these associated graves was disturbed, as discussed in this chapter, it is possible that the two boats originally were deposited together in one of the two tombs. If the two boats represent a pair, then the different colors indicate they were made by two artists or in two workshops. Similarly, the different color schemes and styles of decoration on three sets of canopy posts, two canopy roofs and two sets of papyriform finials from four boats in N.3737 suggests different artists. Two styles of crew members provide further evidence that at least two of this tomb owner's boats were made by separate individuals. Two sets of rowers were constructed to hold the oars in different ways: one group of five grasps them in their hands, while, for seven others, the oars were inserted into holes drilled into their thighs. The carved facial features and striated wig worn by a boat pilot are stylistically identical to those on the set of five rowers, while the painted bag wigs and large, sloppily-painted eyes of two punters from a sailed boat are similar to those on the set of seven rowers. Kitchen models from N.3737 (discussed in Chapter Ten) exhibiting similar stylistic differences also seem to indicate

¹¹²⁸ Lucas and Harris (1962: 339-351); and Lee and Quirke (2000: 108-115). One Naga ed-Deir model, a brick-making scene painted red, yellow, black and white, underwent pigment analysis. The results are discussed in Chapter Eleven.

¹¹²⁹ Cooney (2007: 215-216).

distinctive artists at work. It is possible that the different model sets in N.3737 (and other tombs at Naga ed-Deir) were manufactured at different times, i.e., before and after the tomb owners' deaths. Tooley suggested that graves containing a combination of good quality and crude models could indicate that the tomb owners either maintained quality-control over the production of their own models or choose more aesthetically-pleasing models for their burials, while the immediate heirs selected cruder (i.e., less expensive) models to complete the burial assemblages after the tomb owners had died.¹¹³⁰

¹¹³⁰ Seen, for example, in comparisons of the well-made, and exquisitely detailed "Bersha Procession" (BMFA 21.326), with the more rudimentary bakery models (BMFA 21.807 and BMFA 21.886) from tomb 10A, of *Dḥwtj-nḥt*, at Bersha (Tooley 1989: 380-381).

Chapter Eight: People Carrying Supplies (Offering Bearers and Porters)

8.1 Introduction

Among the core tomb model repertoire, another popular category is people carrying supplies, which occur individually, in pairs or as parts of procession scenes. Female offering bearers and male porters¹¹³¹ cared for the needs of the deceased, bringing everything necessary to maintain a successful afterlife: all essential kinds of food and drink, personal possessions and objects used in funeral ceremonies and offering rituals. Female supply statuettes are generally large, ranging from 30-60 cm in height, in contrast to male porters and procession scenes of offering bearers and/or porters, where the figures average 20-40 cm tall. Statuettes of individuals carrying supplies, particularly the female figures, also are constructed better and decorated more elaborately than all other types of figures in model scenes, a contrast found even among different categories of models interred together in the same burials.¹¹³² This care and precision to detail undoubtedly relates the importance of offering bearers and porters when compared to mundane scenes of daily life.¹¹³³ Both female and male figures represented the fecundity of the Nile god *Hꜥpi* generally, and the income from the deceased's mortuary cult, specifically.¹¹³⁴ The various items of food and drink they carry also suggest that offering bearers and porters personify the cycle of the agricultural year.¹¹³⁵ By extension, model processions of offering bearers and porters further embodied the concept of multiplicity, encapsulating the full range of the offerings the deceased required for eternity.¹¹³⁶ These procession scenes also may have represented the tomb owners' wealth, and, by extension, social status, reflecting their abilities to amass large quantities of goods destined for their funerary cults.

Individuals carrying supplies appeared in the Old Kingdom as the personification of royal and private estates and evolved into household servants by the early Middle Kingdom, as depicted in two dimensional scenes in tomb relief and paintings and so labeled in the accompanying texts.¹¹³⁷ Three dimensional forms were manufactured first after Dynasty 6, and likely represented both estate figures and family members, analogous to the depictions in contemporary scenes.¹¹³⁸ The occurrence of wooden statuettes of offering bearers and porters increased in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.¹¹³⁹ Comparisons with labeled tomb scenes suggest that by the early Middle Kingdom three dimensional female and male figures no longer represented estates, but household servants; because the majority of the statuettes were uninscribed, however, they most likely were intended to be generic workers and not specific individuals.¹¹⁴⁰ On all but two of the few known examples of inscribed offering

¹¹³¹ While the terms "offering bearer" and "porter" may be used interchangeably for female and male figures, in the current study I differentiate between female offering bearers and male porters in order to be consistent with Tooley's terminology.

¹¹³² D'Auria et al. (1988: 103); and Tooley (1995: 26).

¹¹³³ Roth and Roehrig (1989: 39).

¹¹³⁴ D'Auria et al. (1988: 103); and Tooley (1995: 27).

¹¹³⁵ Eggebrecht (1977: 370).

¹¹³⁶ Tooley (1995: 27).

¹¹³⁷ Stevenson Smith (1949: 103); Vandier (1958: 147); D'Auria (1988: 103); and Tooley (1989: 181-182).

¹¹³⁸ Tooley (1989: 177-178).

¹¹³⁹ D'Auria (1988: 102); and Tooley (1989: 30).

¹¹⁴⁰ Tooley (1989: 181-182).

bearers, in fact, the texts include the standard offering formula, along with the tomb owners' names and titles, to provide supplies in perpetuity for the deceased.¹¹⁴¹

Tooley most thoroughly studied the corpus of female offering bearers and male porters (primarily) from excavated contexts throughout Egypt.¹¹⁴² In her study, she found differences between the two model types regarding the amounts produced, form, geographic distribution and specific objects being carried. First, Tooley noted a considerable discrepancy between the numbers of female and male figures placed in burials throughout Egypt. All together, she tabulated 180 intact (female) offering bearers, 16 fragments of an additional 16 offering bearers and only 33 intact (male) porters.¹¹⁴³ Tooley further observed that although the female statuettes sometimes occurred singly, more frequently they were paired in tombs. As separate statuettes or as two figures placed together on one base, this pairing may have represented the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹¹⁴⁴ In contrast, porters were placed in burials singly as statuettes or walking in processions with other men and women, but rarely as paired statuettes.¹¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, while female offering bearer statuettes have been excavated from numerous sites throughout Egypt, porters are known predominantly from Middle Egyptian sites, particularly Beni Hasan and Bersha.¹¹⁴⁶ Model procession scenes with three or more offering bearers and/or porters are also fairly uncommon. All together, Tooley found 10 examples from Meir, Thebes, Bersha, Sedment and Saqqara.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴¹ Statuettes from Meir, Thebes and Saqqara (Tooley 1989: 184-185, 193, 222, 225 and 245-246). Two exceptions are the paired female statuettes from the tomb of the Two Brothers at Rifeh (Manchester 4738 and 4734) that provide the servants' names, titles and filiation (Tooley 1989: 197, 245).

¹¹⁴² Tooley (1989: 175-248).

¹¹⁴³ She counted processions and other scenes that included multiple offering bearers and/or porters as individual units when calculating her totals. Furthermore, when procession scenes included *both* female and male figures, the figures were listed as offering bearers. There are some inconsistencies with Tooley's totals that must be corrected here. In the conclusion to her Chapter 4, she excluded the 16 offering bearer fragments from her totals and miswrote 187 female and 26 male figures (1989: 225). In her Tables 1-5, in which she listed different model types by chronological period, her totals were 180 female offering bearers, 16 fragments of offering bearers and 33 male porters (1989: 3, 14-15, 28, 60 and 67). These same totals appear in her Table 6, in which she listed her model types by region (1989: 69-72; one porter from Sedment, not listed separately, is part of a combined bakery-brewery-butcher scene). Her offering bearer totals on her Tables 1-6 appear to be correct in comparison to the examples provided in her chapter. However, by re-examining her examples of male porters (statuettes and small figures from male processions and kitchen scenes) that she discussed in her chapter, I counted only 29 porters all together. I also incorporated an additional three offering bearers and two porters from Bersha, of which Tooley was unaware, into these totals. Excluding the additional offering bearers and porters from Naga ed-Deir to be discussed in this chapter, Tooley's revised totals for offering bearers and porters would be 199 and 31, respectively. Further analysis of the discrepancies in the numbers of offering bearers and porters that Tooley assigned to different periods and regions will be undertaken in the conclusion to this chapter.

¹¹⁴⁴ Tooley (1989: 177; 1995: 26-27).

¹¹⁴⁵ While Tooley stated (1995: 24) that porters were never paired in tombs, one exception is the pair of men carrying wooden writing boards under their left arms and white-painted loads (of scribal kits?) on their heads from Bersha (BMFA 21.875, Freed et al. 2009: 156-157, Fig. 115). These two figures are secured to one base, and walk one behind the other.

¹¹⁴⁶ Tooley (1989: 73, 74; Table 6, 69-72).

¹¹⁴⁷ Although not differentiated from offering bearer or porter statuettes in her Table 6 (her regional model repertoire), in her chapter on offering bearers and servants bringing supplies Tooley provided 10 examples (1989: 183, 190, 191, 203, 204-205, 206, 218, 224 and Pls. 36, 42, 55:2 and 62). I have located three additional processions of offering bearers and/or porters from tomb 10A at Bersha now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: BMFA 21.12494 (10 men lead by a priest), BMFA 21.888 (five women) and 15-5-219 (nine women in

Tooley also ascertained that, although there is some overlap in the goods transported by offering bearers and porters, there is evidence to suggest some division of labor based on gender. The female offering bearers typically carry trapezoidal baskets or, less frequently, vaulted chests or round baskets on top of their heads, which usually are steadied by the left hand.¹¹⁴⁸ These baskets may hold cuts of meat, bread, vegetables, fruits and jars of beer or wine. In their opposite hands, offering bearers usually grasp pinioned birds or ritual libation jars (such as *hs* vases), but sometimes clutch a flower bouquet or lead a calf, perhaps originally attached to a (lost) leash.¹¹⁴⁹ Rarely, they carry the strap of a mirror case over one shoulder or balance a jewelry box on one upraised hand.¹¹⁵⁰ Male porters transport a greater variety of objects than offering bearers. The male figures frequently carry different forms of containers bearing items of food and drink, including tall water or beer jars balanced on their heads or shoulders, and sacks of grain on their backs.¹¹⁵¹ Occasionally, they carry trapezoidal baskets or chests on their shoulders.¹¹⁵² Porters also carry the deceased's personal equipment, including wicker storage boxes, sandals or scribal paraphernalia.¹¹⁵³ Rarely, they balance piles of linen on their heads,

single file) (Freed et al. 2009: 156-157, 202, and Figs. 117, 147). This total also excludes examples from Naga ed-Deir, to be discussed further below in section 8.2.

¹¹⁴⁸ For an example of an offering bearer carrying a trapezoidal basket, see *ÄMB* 13742, from the tomb of *Hnwy* at Gebelein (Steindorff 1901: 27 and Pl. 28a; and Tooley 1989: 189 and Pl. 34:3). For an example with a vaulted chest, see LM 55.82.1, from the tomb (BH1) of *3ntf* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1904: 220; 1907: 61-62, Fig. 47; Breasted 1948: 64; Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 38; and Tooley 1989: 44, 209-210, and Pl. 45.2).

¹¹⁴⁹ For an example of an offering bearer holding a pinioned bird and leading a calf, see AEIN 670 from Meir (Schmidt 1906: Pl. 191; Mogensen 1930: Pl. XII; Jørgensen 1996: 96-97, Cat. 35; Tooley 1989: 184; and Tooley 1995: 22, Fig. 22). For one holding a *hs* vase, see Louvre E10781 (E610), probably from Thebes (Breasted 1948: 64, and Pls. 59b, 60; Vandier 1958: 151, and Pl. LL3; Michalowski 1978: 113; and Tooley 1989: 202). For an offering bearer holding a flower bouquet, see J.E. 46771 (=14/3/15/9) from the tomb (2757) of *Inpw-m-h'rt* and *Usw-mwt* at Saqqara (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 15, 43, and Pl. 26.2; Breasted 1948: 62; and Tooley 1989: 222, and Pl. 60, left).

¹¹⁵⁰ For an offering bearer carrying a mirror case, see *ÄMB* 13, from the tomb of *Mntw-htp* in cemetery 600 at Thebes (Steindorff 1896: 40, and Pl. XI.1; Breasted 1948: 45, and Pl. 61b; Lilyquist 1979: 43 and Fig. 52; and Tooley (1989: 193). For one offering bearer in a procession carrying a jewelry box, see BMFA 21.888 from tomb 10A at Bersha (Freed et al. 2009: 156, 202, and Fig. 147).

¹¹⁵¹ For an example of a porter carrying a jar on its head, see Ob. Reg. 26-4-49 (location unknown, in Boston?) from tomb G2381Y=5561 at Giza (Stevenson Smith 1949: 94, Fig. 21; Breasted 1948: 58; and Tooley 1989: 186). For a procession of porters carrying grain sacks on their shoulders, see BMFA 03.1650, from Bersha (Breasted 1948: 60, and Pl. 51; and Tooley 1989: 206).

¹¹⁵² E.g., some of the male figures in J.E.39126, the procession from the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 8, and Pl. XV; Breasted 1948: 66-67; and Tooley 1989: 224).

¹¹⁵³ For a porter carrying a satchel on his back and a wicker box in his arms, see CG 254, from the tomb (A1) of *Ny-nh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1911: 157 and Pl. 51; Tooley 1989: 184; and Tooley 1995: 24, Fig. 15). For a porter carrying a pair of sandals, see CG 111 from mastaba D54 at Saqqara (Borchardt 1911: 86-87, and Pl. 24; Breasted 1948: 57-58; Tooley 1989: 186; and Tooley 1995: 24, Fig. 14). For one male figure (originally from a procession) carrying a writing board and scribal palette, see BMFA 21.11769, from tomb 10A at Bersha (D'Auria et al. 1988: 116, and Fig. 72; Tooley 1989: 206; and Tooley 1995: 26, Fig. 17).

hold ox haunches in their arms, or carry animals over their shoulders.¹¹⁵⁴ Finally, as priests, they hold ritual objects, such as libation jars, altars or censors.¹¹⁵⁵

Tooley further examined 93 well-preserved offering bearers and established a set of stylistic features that had specific date ranges and regional distributions: leg positions (standing or walking), arm positions (straight or bent), nudity and fashions of clothing and hairstyles. Although Tooley excluded Naga ed-Deir from her final analysis, in her chapter on offering bearers she listed two parts of one offering bearer from Naga ed-Deir (pit) N.69, porters carrying jars on their shoulders and heads from N.202/N.43 and crude offering bearers from N.3737.¹¹⁵⁶ She grouped all these figures together in her “late First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom” phase. The offering bearer from (pit) N.69 and the sole porter from N.43, however, both date to the late Old Kingdom (my Phase I), while her “offering bearers” from N.3737 are more likely boat figures that date to the First Intermediate Period (my Phase II, discussed in Chapter Six). Tooley also listed seven offering bearers and two porters from the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh area in her table of regional model types.¹¹⁵⁷ In her final analysis of the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh regional offering bearer type, however, Tooley did not include the female figure from (pit) N.69.¹¹⁵⁸

The corpus of offering bearers and porters from Naga ed-Deir is, in fact, fairly extensive. All together, Reisner’s expedition teams excavated 14 offering bearers and 13 porters from 15 tombs at Naga ed-Deir, in addition to two offering bearers and one porter from (possibly) three unknown tombs at the site. The provenanced offering bearers date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), while the provenanced porters date only from the late Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period (Phases I-II). This set of 30 offering bearers and porters includes 27 individual statuettes (both complete and fragmentary), and human figures and other fragments from perhaps three procession scenes.

In my analysis of the offering bearers and porters excavated from Naga ed-Deir, my goals are, first, to expand Tooley’s established corpus for the site. I will then compare the percentages of offering bearers and porters from Naga ed-Deir for each chronological phase against Tooley’s totals for her corresponding time periods, to determine how the Naga ed-Deir corpus compares to her developmental scheme for these model types. Next, I will compare features of physiognomy and costume found on the offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir against those from other Egyptian sites, as per Tooley’s study, to identify those characteristics that serve as chronological and

¹¹⁵⁴ In J.E.39126, the procession from the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, one of the porters carries folded sheets of linen on his head (Quibell 1908: 8, and Pl. XV; Breasted 1948: 66-67; and Tooley 1989: 224). For a porter carrying an ox haunch, see Edin. 1914.73, from the tomb (BH275) of *T33y* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1904: 221; 1907: 105, Fig. 95; Breasted 1948: 59; and Tooley 1989: 210, and Pl. 47.1, right). For a porter carrying a calf over his shoulders, see Turin S.14367, from an unrecorded tomb at Asyut (Tooley 1989: 203).

¹¹⁵⁵ E.g., the priest leading the procession in MMA 20.3.8, from the tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-Rc* at Thebes holds both a *hs* vase and a censor (Winlock 1955: 41-42, 91-92, and Pls. 7, 32 and 55; Breasted 1948: 67, and Pl. 62b; and Tooley 1989: 190). In the procession of *Wh-htpi* (location unknown) from Meir, the final male figure is also a priest who holds a *hs* jar and a table or altar (Kamal 1911: 16; Breasted 1948: 59; and Tooley 1989: 203).

¹¹⁵⁶ Tooley (1989: 195). Note that she combined tombs N.202 and N.43, i.e., tomb 202/43, in her discussion; however, the male porter is actually from N.43 and there are no porters from N.202.

¹¹⁵⁷ Tooley (1989: 69, Table 6). I counted only six offering bearers from this region in her Chapter Four discussion: two from Naga ed-Deir, two from Akhmim and two from Rifeh (1989: 195-197).

¹¹⁵⁸ Tooley (1989: 229). She also left out the two offering bearers from Rifeh in this discussion, including only two purchased offering bearers presumed to be from the Akhmim/Hawawish area.

regional markers. I will also consider whether certain features provide evidence for a uniform Naga ed-Deir offering bearer style or reflect influences from other sites, with the ultimate goal of expanding our knowledge of the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh regional offering bearer repertoire. In the following discussion, the female and male figures are organized separately within each chronological phase, with the female figures presented first. Each discussion of gender is further subdivided into single statuettes and procession scenes.

8.2 Phase I (Late Old Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered possible six offering bearers and 10 porters from six rock-cut tombs dating to the late Old Kingdom: (pit) N.69, (pit) S.F.5203, S.F.5202, N.43, N.241 and S.F.5210. Of these 16 models, five are complete and 22 are fragments. All together, these 27 elements comprise 13 statuettes and perhaps three procession scenes.

In tomb complex N.67/69, Reisner found evidence for perhaps three offering bearer statuettes. The most complete offering bearer statuette excavated from (pit) N.69 (Cat. 57a-e) is 40.5 cm high, including the base (Figs. 38 and 104).¹¹⁵⁹ She is depicted in a walking pose, with her left leg slightly advanced. She wears a sheath dress with two shoulder straps that create a V-neckline in the front. Her flesh is indicated with yellow paint. Her black hair is short-cropped and bound with a white ribbon, leaving her ears exposed. Her facial features are rather crude. Her painted eyebrows arch slightly over her large eyes. Her pupils are set close together, giving her a rather cross-eyed appearance. Although her nose is summarily modeled, her mouth is not delineated. It has been suggested that on some serving statuettes, the mouths were left unfinished in order to prevent the servants from eating the food offerings destined for the deceased.¹¹⁶⁰ Cat. 571a-e is in fragmentary condition, with her head and arms broken, and the black-painted base now separate from her feet, which were tenoned as one unit to the base in a closed mortise. The underside of the base was carved out on one end, obviously intended originally for another statuette. The figure's crude right foot is a continuation of the right leg (i.e., carved from the same piece of wood), but the front section of her advanced left foot originally was molded in gesso, now gone. An outline left from the exposed wood on the base indicates where the gesso originally adhered. Although her right elbow is missing, the preserved forearm and hand illustrate that originally she held her right arm pendant at her side. There is also a hole drilled through the right, clenched fist, most likely to grasp a pinioned bird. She originally held her straight left arm up, with the palm supporting the side of the vaulted chest that is balanced on the top of her head.¹¹⁶¹

A second offering bearer statuette from (pit) N.69 is reconstructed from three fragments. It is possible that a duck (Cat. 58a, Figs. 38 and 105), a trapezoidal basket (Cat. 58b, Figs. 38 and 106) and an upper left arm (Cat. 58c, Fig. 107) belonged to one offering bearer.¹¹⁶² The duck is

¹¹⁵⁹ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see d/6.

¹¹⁶⁰ Capel and Markoe (1996: 93).

¹¹⁶¹ For a similarly dated female offering bearer, see ECM 1591, from tomb A4 from Meir, belonging to *Hpy-km*. She is depicted in a striding pose and carries a closed, round-topped chest on her head, supported by her left hand, while her right hand clutches a bird. Her left arm is sharply bent at the elbow, and her right arm is pendant. The two straps of her dress also form a V-neckline in the front, a stylistic feature of the Old Kingdom. She is approximately the same size as Cat. 57a-e, standing 43.2 cm high, but of better quality (Breasted 1948: 61; Bourriau 1988: 103-104, Cat. 90, Pl. III.2; Tooley 1989: 184-185; and Spurr, Reeves and Quirke 1999: 13, Cat. 4).

¹¹⁶² In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see a/9, c/6.

17.5 cm long and is very elaborately made, with a separately-attached head and body that is painted brown with black strokes to represent the feathers. There is a broken peg inserted into the top of the duck's body, where the offering bearer would have grasped it. The basket is 13 cm wide at the top and 9.5 cm high. It is painted yellow with black lines, representing leaves that are woven around a reed framework. Underneath is a large slot, into which the head of an offering bearer would have been tenoned. The top of the basket contains partial remnants and outlines of seven different shaped bread loaves (round, elongated, pillow shaped) that were molded in gesso. Finally, the forearm is 11 cm long, with a broken tenon at the elbow joint, where it attached to the offering bearer's upper arm. It is painted yellow with white fingernails and wears a red painted bracelet. The arm originally was sharply-bent and held out to the side, with the hand touching the side of the trapezoidal basket.¹¹⁶³ The large sizes and high quality of these three fragments illustrate that the figure to which they were attached would have been much bigger than the smaller and more crudely made Cat. 57a-e, and, as such, was not likely to have been paired with it. A second round-topped chest (Cat. 59, Figs. 38 and 108) from N.69 may have belonged to a third offering bearer, perhaps paired with the one represented by Cat. 62a-c.¹¹⁶⁴ The chest is 8.5 cm long and is painted white with red trim, a detailed feature not found on Cat. 57a. While the chest has a peg underneath it to attach to the head of an offering bearer, there is no peg on either side, suggesting that the offering bearer's hand simply touched the side of the chest.

One fragment of a likely female offering bearer statuette derives from (pit) S.F.5203. As described in the 1923 object register log, the fragment consists of a broken torso of a woman, 27 cm extant in height, with the lower left leg advanced forward (Cat. 66, Fig. 109). A peg hole running from front to back at the bottom was for the attachment of unknown object, now lost. The figure wears a white sheath dress (with the style of neckline not recorded) and a necklace, indicated by traces of red and green paint above her chest. The size of the torso is comparable to the female figure from N.69 (Cat. 57e). It is assumed here that the torso belongs to an offering bearer; because the head and arms are missing, however, this supposition cannot be proven unequivocally. Among the eight standing wooden figures of unidentified type found in (pit) S.F.5203 (Cat. 159), at least one preserved traces of white, black, red and green and possibly linen wrappings. Based on this fragmentary evidence, it is possible that tomb S.F.5203 originally contained a pair of offering bearers.

The occupant(s) of tomb N.241 was interred with one large, striding female offering bearer statuette and one procession scene that included at least one female figure. The large statuette appears to have been well-made, with correct anatomical proportions and realistic detail. Unfortunately, the only extant remains are a mirror (Cat. 69a), two arms (Cat. 69b,c) and a sandaled foot (Cat. 69d). The mirror and left arm are illustrated in one expedition

¹¹⁶³ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. 10699, see a/9 and c/6, respectively. Along with birds, trapezoidal baskets are the most common objects that offering bearers carried. For one example of an offering bearer transporting a trapezoidal basket on her head, supported by her sharply-bent left arm, see BM41673, from early 12th Dynasty pit 5 at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1907: 46-47, Pl. IX; Porter and Moss 1964: 656; and Tooley 1989: 192, Pl. 35.1). Representations of female offering bearers carrying baskets on their heads are known from tomb scenes as well. At Naga ed-Deir, late Old Kingdom tomb N.248 is the only decorated tomb with preserved scenes of female offering bearers. In the lowest register at the north end of the west wall of the chapel, four women carrying baskets on their heads are labeled to represent *Tmmry*'s funerary estates (Peck 1958: 46, 73, 74-76, fig. 3.6c and Pl. V).

¹¹⁶⁴ In Fig. 38, B10699, see a/6. Paired offering bearer statuettes also have been excavated from tombs at Gebelein, Thebes, Rifeh and Asyut (Tooley 1989: 189-190, 192, 197 and 199).

photograph,¹¹⁶⁵ while all four fragments are shown together in Fig. 110. The mirror is 12 cm high, and consists of a red-painted disc attached to a black handle. The offering bearer originally grasped the mirror in her clenched left hand, supported by her bent, left arm.¹¹⁶⁶ Her right arm was extended forward, and bent slightly with the palm turned up to support a (lost) object, perhaps a ritual libation jar.¹¹⁶⁷ We can identify the figure as female because of the yellow colored flesh of her arms and foot. Based on the lengths of the left and right arms (13.3 and 15.1 cm, respectively), it is estimated that this figure was at least 30 cm tall and, therefore, was likely a single statuette.

In N.241 Reisner also found a small female figure (Cat. 70a,b, Figs. 35, 111 and 112) missing its base.¹¹⁶⁸ She wears a long dress, but because so little of the white paint is preserved, it is impossible to determine the shape of the neckline or whether the dress had one or two shoulder straps. Although small in size (18 cm tall), the figure is well-made, with detailed facial features that include large painted eyes, a broad nose and a small, but full-lipped mouth. Her black painted eyebrows slant downwards at the outer edges, creating a surprised facial expression. Traces of yellow pigment for her flesh survive on her face and arms. She has long limbs, large hands and a high, narrow waist. The contours of her butt and thighs are rendered

¹¹⁶⁵ For Ex. Ph. B10698, b/3, see Fig. 35 in the current study.

¹¹⁶⁶ Examples of offering bearers carrying mirrors are rare, with perhaps four known from Deir el-Bahri, Bersha, Beni Hasan and Sedment. The two Middle Kingdom offering bearers from the Asasif, cemetery 600 (ÄMB 13, lost) and Bersha (BMFA 21.326, rear figure in procession) carry ox-hide mirror cases attached to straps that are slung over one shoulder (Steindorff 1896: 40, XI:1, 3-5; Dunham 1921: 45-46; Breasted 1948: 65, 67 and Pls. 61b, 63; Terrace 1968a: XLV; 1968b: 8-18, Figs. 1-3, 7-8, 10-17; Lilyquist 1979: 43, Fig. 52; Roth and Roehrig 1989: 33, Fig. 2, after reconstruction; Tooley 1989: 193, 204-205, Pl. 42; Tooley 1995: 25, Fig. 16; Freed et al. 2003: 124-125, image reversed, and Freed et al. 2009: 153, Fig. 113). One of the two offering bearers in the combined bakery-brewery-butcher model (current location unknown) from early Middle Kingdom tomb BH585 holds her left arm pendant and may carry a mirror case in her left hand (Garstang 1904: 223; Garstang 1907: 94-95, Fig. 84, top, identified as a fan; and Tooley 1989: 212, Pl. 50.1, identified as a fan). The remains of an offering bearer (present location unknown, perhaps UCL) from tomb 1535 at Sedment are comprised of a chest and a mirror case. Tomb 1535 is dated First Intermediate Period-Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. XXXVII; Tooley 1989: 20, 216). There is also a model mirror (ÄMB 15786) purchased at Akhmim, no longer attached to its offering bearer, represented inside its checkered case. The mirror case is inscribed for a *ḥkrt nswt wꜣtt* and *ḥm(t)-nꜣr Ḥthꜣr* (Lilyquist 1979: 29, Fig. 23).

Mirrors were not simply toilet objects that were used by tomb owners in life (and death) when applying oils and cosmetics. In a mortuary setting, mirrors were solar symbols; i.e., the disc shape and reflective properties of mirrors were indicative of their regenerative powers (Lilyquist 1979: 98-99). The Egyptian word for both “mirror” and “life”, furthermore, is *ꜣnh*. Two dimensional representations of mirrors are known from coffins, decorated tomb walls and funerary stelae at numerous sites. At Naga ed-Deir, there are no surviving depictions of offering bearers carrying mirrors; seven funerary stelae from the site, however, depict mirrors in association with either female tomb owners or the wives of male tomb owners. On these seven stelae, the mirrors are shown with other offerings, with the mirrors “floating” in front of the faces of women: BMFA 12.1475, BMFA 12.1476, BMFA 12.1477, BMFA 12.1479, BMFA 25.675, J.E. 45971, PAHMA 6-2820 and PAHMA 6-19881 (Lutz 1927: stela no. 36, 4, 18 and Pl. 19; Dunham 1937: 12-13, 14-16, 17-18, 32-33, 70-71, Pls. II.1,2, III.1, IV.1, XI.1 and XVIII.2; Lilyquist 1979: 21, fig. 120; Leprohon 1985: 63-71, 75-78, 128-130). On an eighth stela (from an unknown tomb) at Naga ed-Deir, PAHMA 6-19881, the *ḥkrt nswt wꜣtt* and *ḥm(t)-nꜣr Ḥthꜣr*, *St-nt-Inhrt*, holds a mirror up in front of her face in her left hand (Thomas, ed. 1995: 140-141).

¹¹⁶⁷ For comparison, see Manchester 4734, from the mid-late 12th Dynasty tomb of the Two Brothers at Rifeh. This female figure stands with her feet together and supports a trapezoidal basket on top of her head with her right arm. Her left arm is raised straight in front of her and she holds a red, globular jar in her left hand (Petrie 1907: 12, Pl. XE; Murray 1910: 16-17, Pl. 21.5; Breasted 1948: 65; Tooley 1989: 197; and David 2007: 55, Fig. 36).

¹¹⁶⁸ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see c/2.

through her dress. Her distinctive hairstyle consists of bangs and a short black wig that falls to her jaw on the sides and is gathered at the back in a short pigtail.¹¹⁶⁹ Her small stature suggests she was part of a procession, perhaps belonging to the same scene as a male porter from this tomb (Cat. 71a-e, discussed further below).¹¹⁷⁰ She is depicted in a striding pose, with her left arm pendant at her side and the right arm (now broken) originally upraised to support an object carried on top of her head. The placement of this object, which was probably a basket of food offerings, is indicated by the peg inserted into the crown of her head.

Of the 10 male porters recovered from late Old Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir, six are single statuettes. Four of the six porter statuettes are represented by eight fragments from (pit) N.69. All that survives of one porter from (pit) N.69 are two bent, red painted arms (Cat. 61b,c, Fig. 113), originally held with both palms facing upwards to carry a large ox haunch (Cat. 61a, Figs. 38 and 113).¹¹⁷¹ The left and right arms are 16.5 and 16 cm long, respectively, and the

¹¹⁶⁹ The identical hairstyle is found on J.E.88579, an offering bearer from the tomb of *Ṭšṭi* at Saqqara, dating to Dynasties 6-8 (Lauer 1950: 16, Pl. IIc; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 216, Pls. Xa,b, right and XIa,b, right; and Tooley 1989: 9). Although Drioton and Lauer described her head covering as hair bound with a ribbon, Tooley identified it as a headcloth tied around the forehead with a black painted ribbon that fell behind her head. Similar hairstyles are found on Middle Kingdom offering bearers from Asyut and Bersha, but with longer pigtails. See, for example, BMFA 04.1774, from tomb 6 at Asyut, belonging to *Idwt*, which is dated to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 (Breasted 1948: 63, Pl. 54a, D'Auria et al. 1988: 102-103, Cat. 36; and Tooley 1989: 198, dated to Dynasty 10/11). Although Breasted stated that she wears a headdress held in place by a ribbon, Roehrig (in D'Auria et al. 1988: 103) described the hairstyle as a black wig cut below the ears at the sides and left long at the back. One of several comparable examples from the early Middle Kingdom tomb 10A at Bersha, belonging to *Dḥwty-nḥt*, is BMFA 21.881 (Tooley 1989: 206).

¹¹⁷⁰ There is only one other known procession scene that dates to the late Old Kingdom: CG 250, a procession of three offering bearers from tomb A1 at Meir, belonging to *Ny-ḥḥ-Ppy-km* (Tooley 1989: 183-184).

¹¹⁷¹ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see c/4. For comparison, see Edin. 1914.73, from tomb BH275 at Beni Hasan, dated to late Dynasty 11. A small, striding male figure wearing a short kilt and cropped hair-style carries an ox haunch in his outstretched arms (Garstang 1907: 105, Fig. 95, left; Breasted 1948: 59; and Tooley 1989: 210, Pl. 47:1, right). The ox foreleg or *ḥpš* is a choice cut of meat that frequently is depicted in two-dimensional mortuary offering scenes, either placed on the offering table or presented to the deceased. The foreleg hieroglyph was used as a symbol of the "strong [human] arm." The *ḥpš*, therefore, was a symbol of royal and divine power and, as such, is particularly relevant in a funerary setting where the strength of the animal is transferred to the deceased in order to be reanimated in the next life (Wilkinson 1992: 74-75). The ancient Egyptians sometimes used the foreleg to represent the Ursa Major/Big Dipper constellation (*msḥtiw*). The foreleg was introduced into the offering ritual in the Pyramid Texts, and the association of these two symbols may be due to the fact that in the Old Kingdom the afterlife was located in the northern sky with the circumpolar stars. In the constellation, furthermore, the foreleg was oriented with the thigh towards the circumpolar stars, the same position in which the foreleg was offered to the deceased in tomb scenes and on funerary stelae (Roth 1993: 70).

At Naga ed-Deir, five late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period stelae, including one from tomb S.F.5202, show a male servant offering the deceased a haunch across an offering table. BMFA 25.676, the late Old Kingdom stela of *Ḥḥgy* from S.F.5202, is illustrated in Dunham (1937: No. 20, 33-35, Pl. XI,2) and Leprohon (1985: 131-133). Four other examples include University Museum 40.19.1, the First Intermediate Period stela of *Nfr-sḥi* (Brovarski 1989: 748-753, 755-757; illustrated in Wilkinson 1992: 74.1), and unprovenanced First Intermediate Period stelae Orinst. 16956, 16957, 16959 (illustrated in Dunham 1937: No. 84, 102-104, Pl. XXXII; No.85 104-106, Pl. XXXIII, 1; No. 87, 107-108, Pl. XXXIV). Furthermore, six contemporary decorated rock-cut tombs at Naga ed-Deir preserved carved and/or painted offering scenes in the chapels that include male servants presenting ox haunches to the tomb owners in conjunction with butchery scenes: tombs N.11 (west wall, Brovarski 1989: 314-315; Bothmer photo 162.5); N.67/69 (west wall, Brovarski 1989: 320, fig. 108); N.359 (south wall, east side, Peck 1958: 8-9, Pl. II; Brovarski 1989: 290-291); N.81 (west, front wall, Brovarski 1989: 322-324, fig. 23); N.89 (west wall, Brovarski 1989: 420-422, fig. 38); and the unnumbered tomb of *Dšr* (rear wall, Wreszinski 1927: pl. 24; Brovarski 1989: 339-340; Smith 1949: 225).

haunch is 17 cm long. The palms have dowels in them; two holes drilled into the outer side of the haunch illustrate that it was carried with the inside of the foreleg facing up. The severed foreleg has a black and white spotted hide, while the inside is painted red with white streaks near the joint, representing the animal's skinned flesh and tendons. Fragments of the second porter statuette from (pit) N.69 consist of a pair of red painted, straight arms ca. 16 cm in length (Cat. 62a,b, Fig. 114). This porter originally held both arms out in front of his body, with both hands open. The left palm faces up and has a drilled hole for the insertion of a peg, while the right palm is turned down. These arm positions allowed him to carry an unknown object, perhaps an ox haunch, either horizontally or tilted at an angle.¹¹⁷² A third male porter from (pit) N.69 is a striding male figure, standing 22 cm high without the (missing) base (Cat. 63, Fig. 115). He wears a short, white kilt and originally strode with an advanced left leg (now broken). Although damaged, he is well-made, with partially-preserved, but well-detailed, facial features and an echelon-curl wig. He is slender, but his torso is well-modeled, as are his butt, thighs and calf muscles. His arms are missing; there are remnants of a peg inserted in the top of his head, however, suggesting that he originally supported an object, perhaps a jar, with one hand.¹¹⁷³ Finally, one pair of red painted globular jars (Cat.64a,b, Figs. 38 and 116) from (pit) N.69 were suspended from a yoke (now lost), and likely were carried by a fourth (lost) male porter.¹¹⁷⁴ The red color and round shape of the jars suggests they represent pottery vessels used to transport water.¹¹⁷⁵

A fifth possible late Old Kingdom male porter statuette derives from S.F.5202 (Cat. 67, Fig. 41).¹¹⁷⁶ He is 28 cm in height (without the missing base), and is clothed in a short, white kilt. Although damaged, he appears to have been well-made, indicated by the partially-preserved -- but carved and painted-- facial features, well-modeled torso and realistic details that include a painted broad collar and bag wig that covers his ears. Like Cat. 63, he originally walked with his

¹¹⁷² For comparison, see the identical arm positions on Edin. 1914.73, the porter from tomb 275 at Beni Hasan, mentioned above (Garstang 1904: 221; 1907: 105, Fig. 95; Breasted 1948: 59; and Tooley 1989: 210, and Pl. 47.1, right). A man carrying an ox haunch on boat MMA 20.3.4, from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT280) at Thebes, has his arms in the same positions (Breasted 1948: 77, Pl. 68b; Winlock 1955: 60, 97-99, Pls. 45, 49, 50, boat T; Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Pls. XII, XXX; Tooley 1989: 161-162). Finally, a man carrying an ox haunch (reconstructed as being supported on his left shoulder) in a late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 butcher scene (BMFA 04.1781) from tomb 7, pit 1 at Asyut, also has these arm positions (D'Auria et al., 1988: 102, Cat. 35).

¹¹⁷³ For a similar statuette, see Obj. Reg. 26-4-49 (present location unknown) from Giza G2381 Y= G 5561, which is dated to Dynasty 6. This striding man, who is 24 cm tall, carries a tall jar on his head, supported by his right hand (Breasted 1948: 58; Stevenson Smith 1949: 93, 94, 109, Fig. 21; and Tooley 1989: 186-187).

¹¹⁷⁴ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see b/5. For comparison, see the single porter (present location unknown) from the tomb of *W^h-h^tpi* at Meir, dated to late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II. This 27cm tall figure carries two water jars suspended from a yoke (Kamal 1911: 16; Breasted 1948: 59; Tooley 1989: 203). Garstang also excavated a single male figure (present location unknown) with both arms bent double to support a yoke across his shoulders from late 11th Dynasty tomb BH275 at Beni Hasan, belonging to *T33y* (Garstang 1907: 221; Tooley 1989: 210, Pl. 47:2, left). Men carrying similar jars are also found in group kitchen models dated to the late 11th-early 12th Dynasty, such as in the brewing scene from the tomb of *Nfry* (tomb BH116) at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 73-76, Figs. 61, 62) and the combined baking and brewing scene BMFA 04.1782, from the tomb (14) of *Wp-w3wt-m-h^t* at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 164, Pl. 34.1,3; Breasted 1948: 34-35; D'Auria et al. 1988: 100-101, tomb dated to Dynasty 10 or 11; and Tooley 1989: 35, tomb dated to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12).

¹¹⁷⁵ Watering scenes from Old, Middle and New Kingdom tombs depict men carrying identical jars on yokes (Paice 1997: 2-7, Figs. 1-3, 5). For a two-dimensional example from Naga ed-Deir, note the south wall of the chapel in First Intermediate Period tomb S.F.5015, where a man carries a yoke across his shoulders (Brovarski 1989: 945, fig. 88, Exp. Ph. B5124, second register from bottom).

¹¹⁷⁶ In Fig. 41, Ex. Ph. B5040, see b/3.

left leg advanced (now broken). Because the left arm was not recovered from S.F.5202, it is impossible to determine the arm's original position or what, if anything, the porter carried in his left hand. According to the 1923 object register log, however, he held his right arm out in front of his body, with his hand clenched over a missing object.¹¹⁷⁷

The sixth, and best-preserved, male porter statuette of the late Old Kingdom is a striding figure from N.43 (Cat. 68, Figs. 117, center, and 118).¹¹⁷⁸ He is 33 cm in height, including the base, to which his ankles are tenoned in an open mortise. In the expedition photograph (Ex. Ph. B4883) we can see that the front sections of his feet originally were molded in gesso (now lost). Although damaged, the facial features are well-carved, with a broad nose and a small, full-lipped mouth set within a delicate, heart-shaped face. He also has very large, painted eyes with white corneas and round, black pupils. His black hair is short-cropped, with the ears exposed. His flesh is painted a dark red with black overlying streaks, perhaps the result of an ancient varnish coating that has darkened over time. He is nude, and his pubic area is painted black. He carries an ovoid jar with a flared rim and flat base on his left shoulder supported by his bent left arm, while his right arm hangs pendant at his side.¹¹⁷⁹ The jar is attached to both his left palm and to the left side of his head with small dowels. This vessel, perhaps a beer storage jar, is painted yellow with a black lid, representing the mud sealing.¹¹⁸⁰

Three possible late Old Kingdom procession scenes of male porters derive from (pit) N.69 and N.241. Reisner excavated remnants of either one or two processions from (pit) N.69. A large base from a procession scene preserved three pairs of red-painted male feet walking in single file (Cat. 60, Figs. 38 and 119).¹¹⁸¹ Five tall-necked jars have broken dowels inserted into their tops, suggesting that they originally were suspended from yokes that were supported across the shoulders of three porters (Cat. 65a-e, Figs. 30, 38 and 120).¹¹⁸² These five jars are painted black on the necks and shoulders and blue/green on the bodies, perhaps in imitation of decorated faience vessels used to transport oils or perfumes. The jars may have been carried by the three men attached to Cat. 60, or by different porters, now lost. If carried together in one scene, this

¹¹⁷⁷ This arm is not intact in Ex. Ph. B5040, b/3.

¹¹⁷⁸ In Fig. 117, Ex. Ph. B4883, see center.

¹¹⁷⁹ Nude male porters are known from Old Kingdom contexts from other sites. One limestone example is CG 111, excavated from mastaba D54 at Saqqara and dated to Dynasty 5. This figure carries sandals in his pendant right hand and a sack on his back, grasped by his bent left arm (Borchardt 1911: 86-87, Pl. 24; Breasted 1948: 57-58; Tooley 1989: 186; and Tooley 1995: 24, Fig. 14). Wooden porters in similar poses are found well into Dynasty 12. One example of a male figure carrying a globular jar on his left shoulder and supported by a bent arm is UCL 6645 from tomb N17 at Lahun, dated to the reign of Senusret II; this figure wears a short kilt, however, and is not shown nude (Petrie et al. 1923: 34; and Tooley 1989: 51-52, 221, Pl. 58:1).

¹¹⁸⁰ This form of beer storage jar is typically depicted in tombs dating to the late Old Kingdom (Paice 1997: 8, 10-11, Fig. 7).

¹¹⁸¹ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see d/5. For comparison, see a procession scene (present location unknown) from the tomb of *Wh-htpi* at Meir. In this group of eight male figures, seven are walking without carrying any objects; the final figure, however, is a priest who holds a jar in his right hand and a table or altar in his left hand (Kamal 1911: 16; Breasted 1948: 59; and Tooley 1989: 39, 203).

¹¹⁸² In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see b/4 and in Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see b/4. Only two jars are attributed to N.69 in the Hearst Museum database: Cat. 65a and 65b. The other three jars, Cat. 65c-e, have unknown provenances, and are documented only as having been shipped in box NNN100 to California in 1903. Cat. 65d is illustrated in Ex. Ph. B10699, along with nine other model fragments with the NNN100 "provenance". Because Cat. 65a-e are virtually identical, however, they all are attributed to N.69 in the current study.

model would differ from typical processions in which men (and women) usually transport different objects.¹¹⁸³

Five fragments of one small male porter from N.241 include two pieces of his head (Cat. 71d,e, Fig. 121), a pair of straight arms (Cat. 71a,b, Fig. 121) and an ox haunch (Cat. 71c, Fig. 121). The porter wore a short-cropped hair style. The head is identified as male, based on remnants of red paint on the neck; unfortunately, however, the head is damaged and the face is not preserved. The ox foreleg is cruder than Cat. 61a: the musculature is not well-modeled and the hide is represented by streaks of red and black paint. Cat. 71 originally held his arms straight, with his palms facing up. His palms do not have dowels, nor are there any drilled holes in the haunch to attach his hands; there are traces of gesso and paint loss on one side of the haunch, however, suggesting it was secured to the porter's hands only with gesso. The porter's right and left arms are 7.7 cm and 7.5 cm long, respectively, and the haunch is 10.8 cm long. The sizes of these three fragments suggest that the porter from N.241 was small (i.e., under 30 cm tall) and likely belonged to a procession, perhaps in conjunction with the small female offering bearer (Cat. 70a-b) from the same tomb.

Finally, in late Old Kingdom tomb S.F.5210, excavators recovered another ox haunch painted red with a black hoof (Cat. 72, Fig. 122), as recorded in Dunham's 1923 object register log. This small foreleg (3.8 cm long by 3.1 cm wide) could have been carried by a male porter, either a single statuette or a figure taking part in a procession. Interestingly, unlike all the other objects carried by offering bearers and porters from Naga ed-Deir, Cat. 72 is made of limestone, rather than wood.

8.3 Phase II (First Intermediate Period)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered three offering bearers and three porters from four First Intermediate Period rock-cut tombs: N.3737, N.429, N.3907 and N.3795. The models include four fragments belonging to three individual female statuettes, two relatively intact male statuettes and one smaller, more fragmentary, male statuette

The remains of the First Intermediate Period offering bearers consist primarily of trapezoidal baskets, painted either yellow or white with black lines to represent the woven reed structure. Reisner's expedition teams recovered one large basket each from N.3737, N.429 and N.3795. The top surface of the yellow basket from N.3737 (Cat. 73a, Figs. 14, 51 and 123) is flat and smooth, without any modeled food offerings.¹¹⁸⁴ It is possible that a female offering bearer's left forearm belongs with it; the arm would have been sharply bent at the elbow to support the left side of the basket (Cat. 73b, Fig. 123). The white basket from N.429 (Cat. 75, Figs. 124 and 125) preserves traces of yellow around the peg inserted on the left side, indicating where the woman's hand once was attached.¹¹⁸⁵ This basket is shown closed, with no food

¹¹⁸³ See, for example, JE 39126, a large procession model from the early 12th Dynasty tomb of *K3-rnni* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 8, Pl. XV; Breasted 1948: 66-67; Tooley 1989: 224). In this scene, the 10 boys each carry different offerings, including baskets, wooden boxes, chests, folded linens, birds and a fan. In contrast, note that the pair of porters, BMFA 21.875, from the tomb of *Dhwty-nht* at Bersha (10A) both carry writing boards under one arm and scribal kits(?) on their heads (Freed et al. 2009: 156-157, and Fig. 115). I have not found any examples of porters or offering bearers from other sites carrying jars identical to my Cat. 65a-e.

¹¹⁸⁴ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top, right.

¹¹⁸⁵ In Fig. 124, Ex. Ph. C11313, see b/1.

offerings protruding from it. In contrast, six dowel holes drilled into the top of the third basket, from N.3795 (Cat. 77, Figs. 59 and 126), indicate where food items (now lost) originally were pegged.¹¹⁸⁶ This basket is also the most elaborately painted of the three, with red horizontal and vertical lines interspersed with black cross-hatching, representing the woven plant material and the reed framework.

There are three First Intermediate Period porter statuettes from Naga ed-Deir. Mace excavated a striding male porter from each of tombs N.3737, N.3795 and N.3907. The statuette from N.3737 is 30.5 cm tall, including the base, to which his ankles are tenoned in a closed mortise (Cat. 74a-b, Figs. 70 and 127).¹¹⁸⁷ He is well-made, with long, slender proportions and some modeling of the buttocks and torso. The medial line of the torso is lightly incised and the navel is drilled. The facial features are well-carved, and include a short, broad nose, a small, full-lipped mouth and a firm, rounded chin. He wears a simple, white kilt and a bag wig that covers his ears. His flesh is red, while traces of black paint survive on his wig. The front sections of his feet are molded in gesso. He originally carried an object on top of his head, supported by his left hand. The peg used to attach this object (now lost) is still inserted into the crown of his head. The length of his bent, left arm suggests the object most likely was a tall storage jar (like Cat. 68). His right arm hangs pendant at his side, with the fist clenched, but lacking a drilled hole needed to secure another offering.

The striding porter statuette and base from N.3795 is known only from three *in situ* expedition photographs (Cat. 78a,b, Fig. 17). As recorded in Mace's field notes, this porter stood 32 cm tall. Like Cat. 74, he also wore a short, white kilt and a bag wig. Next to this porter statuette in the offering chapel of N.3795, Mace found a black painted, ovoid model jar, now in the Hearst Museum (Cat. 78c, Figs. 17 and 59).¹¹⁸⁸ In the expedition photographs, the statuette's left arm was broken below the elbow, and the upper arm is positioned slightly forward. Although it is not clear from the photograph if this figure had a dowel inserted into the top of its head, there appears to be gesso loss in this area. Therefore, the porter most likely carried the jar on his head, supporting it by either his left or his right arm, the latter of which is not visible in the photograph.

The third, and final, First Intermediate Period striding porter is from N.3907. This male figure is 18.3 cm tall, without his (missing) head and base (Cat. 76, Figs. 128 and 129).¹¹⁸⁹ He also has lost both arms and the object(s) he once carried. He is identified as male by the red paint on his torso and legs, representing his flesh. He is well-made, as illustrated by the realistic modeling of his torso and lower limbs. There is, however, a gauge in his side, below the right shoulder joint, which appears to be a natural flaw in the wood. He has a high, narrow waist and

¹¹⁸⁶ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see b/6.

¹¹⁸⁷ In Fig. 70, Ex. Ph. B8120, see c/1.

¹¹⁸⁸ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see a/1. The ovoid shape is similar to the jar carried by Cat. 68.

¹¹⁸⁹ In Fig. 128, Ex. Ph. C8239, see b/2. Note that in this photograph the contents of N.3907 and N.3900 are clustered in two vertical groups, with material from N.3907 on the left and that from N.3900 on the right. In the photograph register the tomb numbers were transposed, with N.3900 written before N.3907, creating the assumption that the objects on the *right* side of the photograph derived from N.3907. This mistake led to errors in labeling the tomb contents for shipment to California, and objects from these two tombs subsequently were assigned the wrong provenance in the Hearst Museum databases. Cat. 76, for example, was misattributed to N.3900. I corrected the porter's provenance after consulting Mace's field notes for N.3907, in which he described the porter statuette in detail.

long legs with well-muscled calves. The musculature of his buttocks and thighs also is rendered beneath his long, white kilt. He may have carried a box in front of his body that was supported by one bent arm, as suggested by the intact dowel inserted into his upper torso.¹¹⁹⁰

8.4 Phase III (Early Middle Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered three offering bearers from three early Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs: S.F.25, N.9091 and S.F.167. Their extant heights (ranging from 24.5 cm to 53.5 cm) suggest that all three figures are single statuettes, rather than part of procession scenes. They all also are relatively complete, but have suffered varying degrees of damage in antiquity.

The female offering bearer statuette from S.F.25 stands 24.5 cm tall without the object carried on her head and the base, both now missing (Cat. 79a-b, Figs. 99 and 130).¹¹⁹¹ Her legs are broken above the ankles, making it impossible to determine her original height. She stands with her legs close together, but separated. She wears a long, black tripartite wig that parts in the center and covers her ears on the sides. She is nude, with her pubic triangle indicated by incised lines and black paint and her belly button represented by a small, drilled hole. Traces of yellow paint, representing her flesh, survive on her torso and face. Her facial features are crudely carved, with a large, jutting nose, and a rather grim expression due to the set of her mouth, which turns down slightly at the corners. Her large eyes preserve the painted white corneas and the black cosmetic lines. Broken pegs inserted into her shoulder sockets indicate that her arms were attached separately. Although her arms are missing, she is classified as an offering bearer because of the dowel inserted in the top of her head to secure an object, likely a basket. She probably held a bird in her opposite hand.¹¹⁹²

Although damaged, the striding female offering bearer from N.9091 is the largest and most elaborately decorated of all the offering bearer statuettes from Naga ed-Deir (Cat. 80, Fig. 131). Her right arm is broken below the elbow and the objects she once carried are lost. She is also broken at the ankles and missing her feet and base; her extant height is 53.5 cm. She wears a brightly painted, mid-calf length skirt. The skirt has a top band composed of alternating, horizontal lines of color: light blue, white, light green, white and red. Below this band, red and green dots form a lozenge pattern against a white background, representing either beading or a

¹¹⁹⁰ For comparison, see CG 241 from the tomb (A1) of *Ny-ḥḥ-Ppy-km* at Meir, which is dated to post Dynasty 6. This figure wears an echelon-curved wig and carries a satchel on his back and a wicker box in front of his chest, the latter of which is supported by his bent right arm (Borchardt 1911: 157, Pl. 51; Tooley 1989: 184; and Tooley 1995: 24, Fig. 15). Porters carrying calves and birds in front of their bodies and supported by crossed arms appear on the chapel walls of N.359 and N.71 at Naga ed-Deir (Peck 1958, 7-8, Pls. I and II, south wall; and Brovarski 1989: 308, fig. 104, east wall). It is possible, therefore, that the porter statuette from N.3907 also carried an animal in this position. There are no known three-dimensional examples of porters holding animals in this manner, however; Turin S.14367 (found by Schiaparelli at Asyut), depicting a porter carrying a calf over his shoulders), is the closest parallel (Tooley 1989: 203).

¹¹⁹¹ In Fig. 99, Ex. Ph. A938, see a/2.

¹¹⁹² Nude offering bearers have been found at Sedment, Akhmim, Gebelein and Bersha but were most common at Beni Hasan, with nine examples known from this site (see Tooley 1989: 210-215). They are all predominantly of early Middle Kingdom date. One comparative example is Edin. 1953.128 from BH723, the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Sbk-ḥtpi*. Like Cat. 84a-b, the Beni Hasan figure also stands with her feet together, and wears a long, tripartite wig. Unlike Cat 79a-b, however, she still carries her trapezoidal basket on top of her head and grasps a pair of birds in her right fist (Garstang 1907: 237; Tooley 1989: 46, 211, Pl. 49:1).

woven textile.¹¹⁹³ Her upper torso is bare, with yellow-painted flesh. She has small breasts with the nipples indicated by black painted dots. She wears a necklace, bracelets and anklets. The necklace is composed of three round beads strung on a black cord: a small, light green bead is placed on either side of a large, central white bead. There is also a light green bracelet on her left wrist; and, presumably, there was another one on her (lost) right wrist. There are also traces of a painted green anklet on her right leg. She wears a long, tripartite wig without bangs that is parted in the center and covers her ears. Her eyebrows extend straight over her large eyes, which turn down slightly at the outer corners. Her eyes are outlined in black, with the inner canthi indicated by large, red dots and the outer canthi by large, black dots. Her face is full, with a round chin and cheeks. Her mouth is carved in a rather pursed expression, but no traces of paint remain on her lips. She originally carried one object in each hand. The position of her damaged right elbow joint suggests that the forearm originally was bent forward at a 90 degree angle; it is likely, therefore, that she carried a *hs* jar in her right hand.¹¹⁹⁴ Her left arm also is bent at the elbow, held upwards and angled away from her body (but parallel to it), with the palm facing forward. The dowel inserted into her left palm and the hole drilled next to it, at the base of her thumb, indicates that she once carried an object, now missing. I have not found an exact parallel to this left arm position on any other offering bearers. A somewhat similar bent arm pose, however, is found on four female figures in three procession scenes from Bersha, who support jewelry boxes in their left hands.¹¹⁹⁵

The offering bearer statuette from S.F.167 is 30 cm tall, including her base (Cat. 81a-c, Figs. 99 and 132).¹¹⁹⁶ Her arms were attached to her shoulders with dowels. Her right arm is now separated from her body, and her left arm and the objects she once transported are lost. She stands with her feet together, her legs carved as one unit. Her feet were attached to the black-

¹¹⁹³ Riefstahl (1945: 11-12). Offering bearers wearing skirts with their breasts exposed are rather rare, with known examples from Thebes, Asyut, Sedment and Beni Hasan. The Theban offering bearers wore the most elaborately decorated skirts. One example is a procession of three female offering bearers (ROM 910.18.17) presumably from pit 14 at Deir el-Bahri, the tomb of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II. All three figures wear long skirts decorated with vertical red stripes and black dots (Tooley 1989: 191, Pl. 36). For another Theban example, see below, n. 1194.

¹¹⁹⁴ This arm pose is found on Middle Kingdom offering bearers from several sites, including Akhmim, Rifeh and, particularly, Thebes. For one example, see ÄMB 13 (lost), from the tomb of *Mntw-htp* in cemetery 600 at Thebes, which is dated late Dynasty 12. This female figure carries a *hs* jar in her bent, right arm and a mirror case over her left shoulder, while she supports a basket on her head with her left hand. Like Cat. 80, she also wears a long, tripartite wig and a polychrome skirt that leaves her upper torso bare (Steindorff 1896: 40, XL.1, 3-5; Breasted 1948: 65, Pl. 61b; Lilyquist 1979: 43, Fig. 52; Tooley 1989: 63, 193, miswritten as Berlin (ÄMB) 10).

¹¹⁹⁵ Note the third woman in the Bersha procession (BMFA 21.326), from the late 11th Dynasty tomb of *Dḥwty-nḥt* (10A). On this striding figure, both arms are bent upwards, with the hands at shoulder level. She supports a jewelry box on her left palm (Dunham 1921: 45-46; Breasted 1948: 67, Pl. 63; Terrace 1968a: XLV; 1968b: 8-18, Figs. 1-3, 7-8, 10-17; Roth and Roehrig 1989: 33, Fig. 2, after reconstruction; Tooley 1989: 204-205, Pl. 42; Tooley 1995: 25, Fig. 16; Freed et al. 2003: 124-125, image reversed; and Freed et al. 2009: 153, Fig. 113). A second procession (BMFA 21.888) from the same tomb consists of five female figures, one of whom also balances a jewelry box with her left hand at shoulder level (Freed et al. 2009: 156). In a third scene (BMFA, number unknown) from this tomb there are two offering bearers, each of which carries a rectangular box on her left shoulder (Freed et al. 2009: 155-156). Although N.9091 was badly looted, according to his field notes Mace found the lid of a wooden kohl jar (PAHMA 6-14968) inside burial chamber F, i.e., the room where he discovered the wooden offering bearer. He also found the lid of a small wooden box (present location unknown) outside the entrance to chamber F. It is possible, therefore, that Cat. 80 originally carried a kohl jar or small box in her left hand.

¹¹⁹⁶ In Fig. 99, Ex. Ph. A938, see a/3 and b/2.

painted base in a closed mortise. She is nude, with her nipples represented by large black dots and her public triangle indicated by a black painted, stippled pattern. Remnants of yellow paint survive on her face and body. Her hairstyle consists of a long tripartite wig parted down the center and covering her ears on the sides. Her face is full, with rounded cheeks. Her large eyes are outlined in black. Her black brows extend straight over her eyes and slant downward slightly at the outer edges. Her carved lips are rather pursed and somewhat thinner than those of Cat. 80, but the facial shapes of the two statuettes are very similar. In contrast to Cat. 79a,b, she has a more serene facial expression. Cat. 81a-c wears jewelry, consisting of two bracelets on her right arm and one anklet on each leg, all of which are painted light green and outlined in black. She also wears a belt composed of alternating rectangles of red, light green and black separated by black lines. She held her right arm pendant at her side, probably with a bird (now lost) grasped in her fist. Although her left arm was not recovered from S.F.167, it likely was upraised to support a basket carried on her head, suggested by the small dowel inserted into the crown of her head.

8.5 Phase IV (Late Middle Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams recovered two offering bearers from two late Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs in Sheikh Farag cemetery 200: S.F.170 and S.F.209. Because the present locations of these fragmentary statuettes are unknown, they were unavailable for close examination. From the expedition accounts, however, the statuette from S.F.170 appears to have been more complete when discovered, while only two or four fragments of the statuette from S.F.209 survived at the time of its excavation.

According to West's 1913 field journal, S.F.170 contained a nude female statuette (Cat. 82a) and a base preserving a standing woman's pair of feet (Cat. 82b). The right arm of a female offering bearer documented in the 1913 object register log and in one expedition photograph may have belonged with this statuette (Cat. 82c, Fig. 99).¹¹⁹⁷ This bent right arm has two bracelets painted light green and outlined in black, as on the statuette from S.F.167 (Cat. 81b). The arm also has a clenched fist to hold a (lost) object, probably a *hs* jar. Although the dimensions were not listed in the 1913 object register log, from the scale included in the expedition photograph the approximate lengths of the forearm and upper arm are 12 cm and 9 cm, respectively. In comparison, the total length of the straight, right arm of the offering bearer from S.F.167 is 11.1 cm. The size discrepancy between the two arms is also visible in Ex. Ph. A938. The overall size of the statuette from S.F.170, therefore, would have been larger than the one from S.F.167.

At least one late Middle Kingdom offering bearer statuette is known from S.F.209. Excavators recovered one trapezoidal basket from a single statuette (Cat. 83a), a statuette base preserving one of two feet in striding formation (Cat. 83b) and two separate feet from a striding statuette (Cat. 83c). All four fragments are illustrated in Fig. 54.¹¹⁹⁸ One of the two pairs of feet may have belonged with the basket; unfortunately, however, because the excavators did not record whether the feet were painted yellow or red in the 1913 object register log, it is not clear which pair, if either, derived from a female (rather than a male) statuette.

¹¹⁹⁷ In Fig. 99, Ex. Ph. A938, see c/3.

¹¹⁹⁸ In Fig. 54, Ex. Ph. B1812, see c/6, d/6 and c/2.

8.6 Offering Bearers and Porters of Uncertain Date and Provenance

Reisner's expedition teams recovered fragments of two female offering bearer statuettes and (possibly) one male porter figure from unknown tombs at Naga ed-Deir. The two offering bearers came from somewhere in cemetery N.100-400, while the porter's provenance is simply "Naga ed-Deir".¹¹⁹⁹ The first offering bearer fragment from cemetery N.100-400 is a large, broken head carrying a trapezoidal basket (Cat. 84, Figs. 30 and 133).¹²⁰⁰ The overall extant height is 16.2 cm, with both the heights of the head and basket at 8.1 cm. Remnants of yellow paint with black painted lines on the basket represent the woven plant material and reed framework. The woman's face is damaged, but some of the painted and carved facial features are preserved, including her large eyes, broad nose, full lips and small, receding chin. Traces of yellow pigment survive on her forehead. Her hair hangs to jaw level on the sides of her face and is gathered in the back in a small pig-tail, like that of the small offering bearer from late Old Kingdom N.241 (Cat. 70a,b). As on the wig of Cat. 57a from N.69, her hair is bound by a white ribbon. Based on hairstyle, therefore, Cat. 84 most likely dates to the late Old Kingdom.¹²⁰¹ The top of Cat. 84's basket is flat, and there are no dowel holes to suggest that food offerings were attached with pegs; the offerings originally may have been molded in gesso, however, and simply have fallen off. Similarly, there is no peg on the side of the basket to attach to her hand; instead, her hand may have rested against the side of the basket.

Another unprovenanced food offering carried by an offering bearer is a duck, presumed to have been excavated in cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 85, Figs. 30 and 134).¹²⁰² It is 9.5 cm in length and has a dowel inserted in the top for the wings (now lost). A second, larger dowel on the underside suggests that the duck's feet were meant to be grasped by an offering bearer. The right side of the duck's body also has a dowel to attach to the left side of an offering bearer's body.¹²⁰³ It is possible that the duck and the female head with the basket (Cat. 84) belonged to the same statuette; without a secure provenance for both fragments, however, this supposition cannot be verified.

One unprovenanced fragment possibly transported by a porter is an ox haunch that derives from an unknown cemetery at Naga ed-Deir (Cat. 86, Fig. 135). The hide on the outside of the foreleg is spotted black and white, while the skinned flesh on the inside of the foreleg is red. There is a peg on either end of the haunch, likely for the attachment of other parts of the foreleg and hoof, which would extend its original dimensions beyond the extent length of 8.4

¹¹⁹⁹ The offering bearer fragments were shipped to California in box number 100 in 1903 (i.e., museum provenance NNN100), along with other two other serving statuettes and 34 model fragments from Naga ed-Deir. The assignment of these fragments to cemetery N.100-400 and the confusion regarding the specific tomb numbers were discussed above, in n. 1114.

¹²⁰⁰ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see d/4.

¹²⁰¹ The other known late Old Kingdom offering bearer wearing a short-pigtail and fillet is J.E.88579, from the tomb of *Tsti* at Saqqara, mentioned previously (Lauer 1950: 16, Pl. IIc; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 216, Pls. Xa,b, right and XIa,b, right; and Tooley 1989: 9).

¹²⁰² In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see a/2.

¹²⁰³ For comparison, see Manchester 4738 from the tomb of the Two Brothers at Rifeh. This female figure stands with her feet together, holding a trapezoidal basket on top of her head supported by her right hand and a duck in her left hand (Petrie 1907: 12, Pl. XE; Murray 1910: 17, Pl. 21.6; Tooley 1989: 197; and David 2007: 55, Fig. 36).

cm.¹²⁰⁴ Because it is incomplete, it is impossible to determine whether the haunch was carried by a single porter or a male figure who was part of a procession or a butchery scene. It is also possible that the haunch originally sat on top of an offering bearer's basket. Although there are no other preserved offering bearers' baskets with ox haunches from Naga ed-Deir, there are known examples from other sites.¹²⁰⁵ Finally, there are no pegs on the sides of the haunch to attach to a porter's hands or to a basket, suggesting it originally was secured by gesso.

8.7 Conclusion

In her examination of female offering bearers and male porters primarily from excavated contexts throughout Egypt, Tooley calculated totals for both female and male figures. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, she counted processions and other scenes (e.g., kitchens) that included multiple offering bearers and/or porters as individual units when calculating her totals. Furthermore, when procession scenes included *both* female and male figures, she recorded the figures as offering bearers. Including offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir (pit) N.69 and N.3737, Tooley found 196 complete and fragmentary offering bearers (86% of her corpus) that dated from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. Excluding the two Naga ed-Deir offering bearers (discussed further below), but adding three offering bearers from Bersha, of which Tooley was unaware, the new total is 197. Within each of Tooley's chronological categories, I made a few revisions to her tomb dates. Even with the amended data, however, Tooley's general conclusions regarding the development of the offering bearer are still valid. There is no evidence for offering bearers manufactured prior to the 6th Dynasty, and only 14 offering bearers (7% of the corpus) dated to the late Old Kingdom.¹²⁰⁶ There is an upsurge in the number of offering bearers produced in the First Intermediate Period, with 47 examples (24% of the corpus).¹²⁰⁷ The largest number of offering bearers, 125 (or 63% of the corpus), occurred in

¹²⁰⁴ In the butchery scene (BMFA 04.1781) from tomb 7, pit 1 at Asyut (mentioned above in n. 1160), a male figure carries an ox haunch, which was made of two pieces of wood joined at the ankle (D'Auria et al., 1988: 102, Cat. 35).

¹²⁰⁵ One example is Louvre E610, a striding female offering bearer dated to Dynasty 12. She carries a *hs* jar in her right hand and supports the trapezoidal basket (with its ox haunch) on top of her head with her left hand. Although some scholars have assigned the statuette's provenance to Asyut, Tooley argued for a Theban origin, based on its large size (108.5 cm tall), predominant use of green pigment and pointed breasts (Breasted 1948: 64, Pl. 59b and 60; Vandier 1958: 151, Pl. LI:3; and Tooley 1989: 202). Another example is MMA 20.3.7, one of two well-known offering bearers from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT280) at Thebes. This large and elaborately dressed offering bearer also supports a basket on her head with her left hand. The basket contains vegetables, loaves of bread and cuts of meat that include an ox haunch (Breasted 1948: 64, Pl. 58; Winlock 1955: 40-41, 91, Pls. 30, 31, model L; Hayes 1953: 266, Fig. 174; Tooley 1989: 190; and Tooley 1995: 27, Fig. 18, right).

¹²⁰⁶ Tooley (1989: 14, Table 2). Although she listed 10 examples on this table, she discussed 14 in her Chapter Four (1989: 182-187).

¹²⁰⁷ Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3). She listed 49 examples on her Table 3, but discussed 50 in her chapter (1989: 187-225). I revised Tooley's dates of nine offering bearers from the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom: BMFA 04.1774, from Asyut tomb 6; LM 55.82.1 from Beni Hasan (BH)1; J.E. 43295 (or 26/3/23/4), from BH275; current location unknown, from BH394; AEIN 1572 from Sedment 2106; and two examples each, current location unknown, from Saqqara tombs 289 and HMK 3 (Tooley 1989: 20, 22, 23, 26, 44, 198, 209, 210, 217, 222 and Pls. 46.2, 56). I also changed the dates of eight offering bearers from Sedment from the early Middle Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period: Brus. E5798e, from tomb 374; Manchester 6597a-b and 6597c, from tomb 1525; current location unknown, from tomb 2101; OIM 11496, from tomb 2105; current location unknown, from tomb 2107; Edin. 1921.1660a, from tomb 2112; and current location unknown, from tomb 2127 (Tooley 1989: 20-21, 49-51, 219, 220 and Pl. 57.1,2). Excluding the two Naga ed-Deir offering bearers, the new total for this period is 47.

the early Middle Kingdom,¹²⁰⁸ followed by a sharp decline in the late Middle Kingdom, with only 11 examples (6% of her corpus).¹²⁰⁹

Tooley found far fewer examples of male porters than female offering bearers in her study. Including porter(s) from tomb N.43/202 at Naga ed-Deir, she estimated a total of 33 porters (14% of her corpus) from sites throughout Egypt. Her examples ranged in date from Dynasties 4/5 to the early Middle Kingdom. After excluding the Naga ed-Deir porter (also discussed further below), incorporating two additional examples from Bersha and revising several of Tooley's dates, the new total is 29 porters. There are four porters dated to Dynasties 4/5 (14% of the corpus)¹²¹⁰ and two examples dated to the late Old Kingdom (7% of her corpus).¹²¹¹ In the First Intermediate Period, there is a slight increase in the number of porters, with four examples (14% of her corpus).¹²¹² The greatest number of porters date to the early Middle Kingdom, with 19 examples (65% of the corpus).¹²¹³ Finally, there are no porters dated

¹²⁰⁸ Tooley (1989: 60, Table 4). She listed 122 on Table 4 and discussed the same number in her chapter (1989: 187-225). In addition to the 17 redated offering bearers mentioned in the previous footnote, I also shifted Bremen B.13110 from Abusir tomb MR1 from the early to the late Middle Kingdom (Tooley 1989: 59, 225). With the three additional offering bearers from Bersha tomb 10A (BMFA 21.888, procession of five women, 15-5-219, nine women walking in single file and BMFA, number unknown, paired women on one base carrying jewelry boxes), the revised total number of offering bearers for the early Middle Kingdom is 125.

¹²⁰⁹ Tooley (1989: 67, Table 5). She listed 15 examples on Table 5, but discussed only 10 in her chapter (1989: 187-225). With the additional offering bearer from redated tomb MR1 at Abusir, the new total for the late Middle Kingdom is 11.

¹²¹⁰ Tooley (1989: 3, Table 1). Although she listed only one porter for Dynasties 4-5 on Table 1, she discussed four examples in her Chapter Four (Tooley 1989: 186-187).

¹²¹¹ Tooley (1989: 14, Table 2). Again, while she listed only one porter for Dynasty 6/post Dynasty 6 on Table 2, she discussed three examples in her chapter (Tooley 1989: 183, 184, 186-187). I also redated one porter, BM45096, from Asyut tomb LVIIb from the late Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period (Tooley 1989: 13, 183, and Pl. 33.1. Therefore, the new total for this period is two porters.

¹²¹² Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3). She listed six examples of porters on Table 3 however, she provided 11 examples in her discussion in Chapter Four (Tooley 1989: 195, 207-208, 210, 211, 217-218). I also redated seven porters from the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom: Brus. E785.26, from Sheikh Ibada, tomb A (second burial); AEIN 1572, from Sedment 2106; and Edin. 1914.73 and Bristol H4587, in addition to three other models (current locations unknown) from BH275 (Tooley 1989: 20, 24, 44-45, 210-211, 217-218, and Pls. 44.3, right, 47.1, center and right, 47.2, left and right, 48.1, right, and 56). Leaving out the Naga ed-Deir porter, and incorporating the porter from Asyut tomb LVII, the new total for this period is four.

¹²¹³ Tooley (1989: 60, Table 4). Although she listed 25 porters for late Dynasty 11 to early Dynasty 12, there are actually only 11 examples from this period discussed in her Chapter Four (Tooley 1989: 201, 203, 206, 208, 211-212, 214, 221 and 223). Regarding tomb 10A, on page 206 she wrote "at least a dozen male offerers were found in the tomb, including priests who probably led processions", citing Roehrig, in D'Auria et al. (1988: 116, fig. 72; also illustrated in Tooley 1995: 26, Fig. 17). On the same page, Tooley also listed a male scribe (BMFA 21.11769) under a separate entry. If one reads Roehrig more carefully, however, it is clear that BMFA 21.11769 was one of a dozen porter figures (which also included a priest or overseer) that were separate from their original base, but which likely derived from a *single* procession scene. With the six porters redated to the early Middle Kingdom from the First Intermediate Period and the two additional porters from Bersha tomb 10A (BMFA 21.12494, 10 men lead by a priest and BMFA 21.875, paired men on one base carrying writing boards and scribal kits), the new total for this period is 19 porters. Furthermore, in her porter totals from the Bersha region (including both the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom) listed on her Table 6, Tooley estimated 16 examples: four from Sheikh Ibada and 12 from Bersha (Tooley 1989: 70, Table 6). If we re-evaluate the Bersha evidence discussed in her Chapter Four, there are only two examples from Bersha. With the additional two porters from Bersha tomb 10A, there are four examples of porters from this site: three processions comprised entirely of male figures (BMFA 21.11769, BMFA 21.12494 and BMFA 03.1650) and paired porters on one base (BMFA 21.875). If

to the late Middle Kingdom.¹²¹⁴

In sections 8.2-8.5 of this chapter, I re-analyzed Tooley's discussion of the offering bearers and porters from Naga ed-Deir and presented additional evidence of models that depict people carrying supplies that were excavated from this site. The total Naga ed-Deir corpus consists of 30 offering bearers and porters, including 27 statuettes (both complete and fragmentary) and human figures and other fragments from three (maximum) procession scenes. Of the 30 figures, 16 are offering bearers and 14 are porters. Furthermore, only 28 of the 30 models (i.e., 15 offering bearers and 13 porters) came from known tombs and/or can be dated on stylistic grounds.

There are both differences and similarities in comparing the Naga ed-Deir corpus against Tooley's data from other sites. First, at Naga ed-Deir the female offering bearer does not predominate; instead, the female and male figures are distributed more evenly. Including one unprovenanced NNN100 offering bearer (Cat. 84), there are 15 dated offering bearers from the site. I found that at Naga ed-Deir the greatest number of female figures occurs in the late Old Kingdom (Phase I) rather than, as Tooley found, in the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III). In fact, the evidence from the site suggests a slight decline in the manufacture of offering bearers from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom. Seven of these (47% of the corpus) date to the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), followed by three examples each (20% of the corpus) from the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom (Phases III and IV), and two examples (13% of the corpus) from the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV).

Like Tooley, I also found that there are no provenanced male porters from Naga ed-Deir dated to the late Middle Kingdom. While Tooley found the greatest number of porters in the early Middle Kingdom, at Naga ed-Deir the highest amount of provenanced porters occurs in the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), followed by a decline in the subsequent periods. Of the 13 dated porters from the site, 10 (77% of the corpus) are assigned to the late Old Kingdom (Phase I), and three (23% of the corpus) to the First Intermediate Period (Phase II). Contrary to Tooley's results from other sites, there are no porters from Naga ed-Deir that date to the early Middle Kingdom.

Factoring in the 28 provenanced and/or dated Naga ed-Deir models (i.e., 15 offering bearers and 13 porters) with Tooley's revised totals from other sites gives 212 offering bearers and 42 porters from sites throughout Egypt. There is still no evidence for offering bearers manufactured prior to the 6th Dynasty; however, 21 offering bearers (10% of the corpus) now date to the late Old Kingdom. There also is a slight increase in the number of offering bearers produced in the First Intermediate Period, with 50 examples (24% of the corpus). The largest number, i.e., 128 offering bearers (60% of the corpus), still occurs in the early Middle Kingdom, followed by a sharp decline in the late Middle Kingdom, with only 13 examples (6% of the corpus). For porters, the examples range in date from Dynasties 4/5 to the early Middle Kingdom, with no porters known from the late Middle Kingdom. There are still four porters dated to Dynasties 4/5 (9% of the corpus). Twelve examples now date to the late Old Kingdom (29% of the corpus) and 7 examples (17% of the corpus) to the First Intermediate Period. The

we combined these four porters from Bersha with the four known porters from Sheikh Ibada that Tooley discussed, the total number for the Bersha region would be eight (not 16).

¹²¹⁴ Tooley (1989: 67, Table 5).

number of porters dated to the early Middle Kingdom remains the same, with 19 examples (now 45% of the corpus). With the new evidence from Naga ed-Deir, the overall number of porters dated to the late Old Kingdom increases significantly, and is now second in number to those manufactured in the early Middle Kingdom.

In my study of the Naga ed-Deir material, I also utilized Tooley's criteria to examine the chronological and/or regional characteristics of 12 complete and fragmentary female offering bearers from nine tombs and one unknown grave: late Old Kingdom N.69, S.F.5203 and N.241; First Intermediate Period N.3737; early Middle Kingdom S.F.25, N.9091 and S.F.167; late Middle Kingdom S.F.170 and S.F.209; and undated NNN 100. Some of Tooley's stylistic features of body positions, clothing and hair styles proved *not* to be useful chronological indicators because they are found on offering bearers manufactured from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. As Tooley also found, for example, the striding pose with the left leg advanced appears consistently throughout this date range.¹²¹⁵ Examples of offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir in this pose are from N.69 (Cat. 57a-e), S.F.5203, N.241 (Cat. 69a-d and 70a,b), N.9091 and S.F.209. Pendant and bent raised arms are classic arm positions also found on the majority of Tooley's analyzed offering bearer statuettes dating from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom.¹²¹⁶ Examples of offering bearers with pendant arms from Naga ed-Deir are from N.69 (Cat. 57d), N.241 (Cat. 70a) and S.F.167. Several offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir also have bent, raised arms, including those from N.69 (Cat. 58c), N.241 (Cat. 69b,c) and N.3737. According to Tooley, the straight, raised arm is a fairly uncommon stylistic feature that occurs from the late Old Kingdom to the reign of Senusret II on statuettes that are of poor or mediocre workmanship.¹²¹⁷ At Naga ed-Deir the rather crude offering bearer from N.69 (Cat. 57c) holds her left arm in this pose, in accordance with Tooley's findings.

Similarly, Tooley ascertained that two-strap dresses, and both short and long hairstyles have a broad date range, appearing on offering bearers manufactured from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom.¹²¹⁸ Unfortunately, at Naga ed-Deir only one offering bearer from N.69 (Cat. 57a) has her painted dress straps preserved; this figure, however, does wear a two-strap dress.¹²¹⁹ Both short and long hairstyles appear on the Naga ed-Deir offering bearers, including the short-cropped hair on one statuette from N.69 (Cat. 57a), and the long tripartite wigs worn by those figures from S.F.25, N.9091 and S.F.167, confirming Tooley's findings.

Some of Tooley's analyzed stylistic features of body pose and clothing styles associated with offering bearers *did* prove to be chronological markers, both for her study and at Naga ed-Deir. She found that the forward-raised arm bent at a 90 degree angle occurs only in the Middle Kingdom, from late Dynasty 11 to late Dynasty 12, with known examples from Rifeh, Akhmim, and, predominantly, Thebes.¹²²⁰ At Naga ed-Deir, there is one Middle Kingdom offering bearer from each of tombs N.9091 and S.F.170 with right arms in this position. Tooley also noted that the standing, feet-together pose is a Middle Kingdom feature, with examples known from

¹²¹⁵ Tooley (1989: 239).

¹²¹⁶ Tooley (1989: 240).

¹²¹⁷ Tooley (1989: 239-240).

¹²¹⁸ Tooley (1989: 241-243).

¹²¹⁹ One stylistic feature of this dress does enable it to be dated more securely, as will be discussed below.

¹²²⁰ Tooley (1989: 239, 240), came to the same conclusion as Vandier (1958: 151).

Akhmim, Rifeh, Meir and Sedment.¹²²¹ In accordance with her findings, at Naga ed-Deir this characteristic is found only on Middle Kingdom offering bearers, from tombs S.F.25, S.F.167 and S.F.170.

Tooley further observed that offering bearers wearing two-strapped dresses that form V-shaped necklines are the norm for offering bearers dated to the late Old Kingdom, with examples known from Meir, Saqqara, Dahshur and Sedment.¹²²² At Naga ed-Deir, one offering bearer from late Old Kingdom tomb N.69 (Cat. 57a) possesses this feature. Another type of costume worn by offering bearers includes skirts, with the upper torsos left bare. This attire is relatively rare, found at only a few sites, and dates predominantly to the early Middle Kingdom.¹²²³ The offering bearer from tomb N.9091 is the only offering bearer from Naga ed-Deir of this date who wears this style of garment; she also dates to the early Middle Kingdom.

There are three additional chronological features of offering bearers that we can add to Tooley's list of dating criteria, regarding clothing, hairstyle and carried objects. Tooley argued, contra Vandier, that nudity is *not* a chronological indicator. Instead, she considered it to be a regional characteristic typical of offering bearers from Bersha and Beni Hasan. Tooley's own evidence, however, suggests otherwise.¹²²⁴ In addition to Bersha and Beni Hasan, Tooley noted that nude offering bearers also have been found at Akhmim, Gebelein and Sedment, albeit in smaller numbers.¹²²⁵ The majority of Tooley's examples from all five sites, in fact, date to late Dynasty 11-mid Dynasty 12, with none (except for perhaps two offering bearers from Sedment) known before early Dynasty 11. Similarly, all three of the nude offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir tombs S.F.25, S.F.167 and S.F.170 are of Middle Kingdom date. I would argue, therefore, that nudity is also a chronological marker of Middle Kingdom offering bearers.

Tooley observed that offering bearers with long pigtails originate from early Middle Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, Sedment and, particularly, Asyut and Bersha.¹²²⁶ Two late Old Kingdom offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir tombs N.241 and NNN 100 (Cat. 84) have similar hairstyles, but with shorter pig-tails. Other than Naga ed-Deir, this hairstyle is worn by an offering bearer from a late Old Kingdom tomb at Saqqara. A similar feature of contemporary offering bearers is the short head-cloth that falls behind the shoulders and is bound with ribbons or fillets. Examples of this type of head covering are known from Saqqara, Dahshur and Meir.¹²²⁷ The short pig-tail, therefore, appears to be stylistically related to the female head-coverings of the late Old Kingdom, and may be a precursor to the long ponytail worn by early Middle Kingdom offering bearers.

The round-topped chests transported by offering bearers at Naga ed-Deir are restricted to the late Old Kingdom. One complete statuette from N.69 carries this type of box on her head, and a second, fragmentary trunk from the same tomb presumably belonged to a missing offering

¹²²¹ Tooley (1989: 239).

¹²²² Tooley (1989: 238, 241).

¹²²³ Tooley (1989: 241).

¹²²⁴ Vandier (1958: 151); and Tooley (1989: 239).

¹²²⁵ Tooley (1989: 241).

¹²²⁶ Tooley (1989: 242). Including BMFA 04.1774, from the late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 tomb of *Idwt* at Asyut, which Tooley dated to Dynasty 10/11 (Breasted 1948: 63, Pl. 54a, D'Auria et al. 1988: 102-103, Cat. 36; and Tooley 1989: 198).

¹²²⁷ Tooley (1989: 184-186).

bearer. This type of container may be a chronological marker of the late Old Kingdom, as it is conveyed by other offering bearers of this period from Meir, Dahshur and Saqqara.¹²²⁸

In her examination of female offering bearers from the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh region, Tooley counted six examples, including parts of two offering bearers from N.69 and N.3737 at Naga ed-Deir (Cat. 57a,e and Cat. 17a,b). As noted earlier in this chapter, the “offering bearers” from N.3737 are actually boat figures. Incorporating the 15 additional offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir discussed in Chapter Eight, we can expand Tooley’s total number of offering bearers from the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh area from five to 20 examples.¹²²⁹ The expanded totals also make it clear that some stylistic features of clothing style associated with the Naga ed-Deir offering bearers are regional markers that show affiliations with other sites. For example, Tooley found that offering bearers wearing skirts with bared upper torsos are known from Sedment, Asyut, Beni Hasan and Thebes. The skirts on figures from Sedment are plain, however, while those on figures from Beni Hasan, Asyut and, particularly, Thebes are elaborately decorated.¹²³⁰ The only offering bearer from Naga ed-Deir that wears a long, polychrome skirt with her breasts exposed is the one from N.9091. This early Middle Kingdom offering bearer most likely reflects Theban influence not only because of the style of her garment, but also because of her large size and overall high quality.¹²³¹ Furthermore, as noted above, Tooley found that nude female figures predominate from Bersha and, particularly, Beni Hasan, suggesting that this feature is a regional as well as a chronological marker. The three nude offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir tombs S.F.25, S.F.167 and S.F.170, therefore, have affiliations with offering bearers from northern Middle Egyptian sites. With the evidence from Naga ed-Deir, we can expand the known examples of this regional feature further south. In summary, offering bearers at Naga ed-Deir possess stylistic features of costume (or lack of one) that show the strongest connections with Middle Egypt, especially with the sites of Bersha, Beni Hasan and Asyut, as well as a more tenuous link with the Theban area in Upper Egypt.

In her study of male porters, Tooley counted only one example from the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh region, from tomb N.43 (listed as N.43/202). If we add the 13 additional porters from Naga ed-Deir discussed Chapter Eight to Tooley’s sole example, the number of porters from the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh region increases to 14. Unlike the case of the offering bearers, the body poses, and hair and clothing styles of porters are fairly consistent across time and geographic distribution. In fact, the only pattern Tooley noted for porters is that these figures are known predominantly from Asyut, Meir, Beni Hasan, Sheikh Ibada and Bersha, i.e., Middle Egyptian sites.¹²³² By incorporating the Naga ed-Deir material, we now can extend the regional corpus of male porters further south. Once again, we find that the Naga ed-Deir models share the closest affiliations with those sites in Middle Egypt.

¹²²⁸ Tooley (1989: 183, 184, 185, 186).

¹²²⁹ See above, n. 1157 for the discrepancies in her totals for offering bearers from this region.

¹²³⁰ Tooley (1989: 241).

¹²³¹ See for example, Tooley’s first Theban group, i.e., offering bearers with polychrome dresses (1989: 227). She also noted that Theban offering bearers typically stand over 60 cm in height (1989: 228).

¹²³² Tooley (1989: 73, 74; 183, 184, 201, 203, 206, 207-208, 210-212, 214 and Table 6, pages 69-72). Note on Tooley’s Table 6, there are some errors in her tabulations that must be corrected. In her discussion of porters in her Chapter Four, she cited four porters from Asyut (not three), six from the Bersha region (including two from Bersha and four from Sheikh Ibada, and not 16 total), and four from Giza (not zero). Three of the porters from Giza are made of limestone and are the earliest of this corpus, dating to Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 58, Pl. 50a-c; and Tooley 1989: 187).

Tooley also discovered that model procession scenes with three or more offering bearers, porters, or combinations of the two, are less common than offering bearer statuettes or porters. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, there are 13 known examples of procession scenes that derive from Thebes, Meir, Sedment, Saqqara and, particularly, Bersha. At Naga ed-Deir, there is additional (fragmentary) evidence for a minimum of three procession scenes. The Naga ed-Deir material from late Old Kingdom tomb N.69 includes five imitation faience jars and a base with three pairs of male feet walking in procession, which are fragments of either one or two processions. Other parts of late Old Kingdom processions include one female (Cat. 70a,b) and one male figure from N.241, which may belong to one procession scene or to two separate scenes. Including the Naga ed-Deir material, therefore, we can expand the known corpus of model procession scenes from 13 to 16 (maximum) examples. The processions from Naga ed-Deir date to the late Old Kingdom, with no preserved examples that date to the First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom. These results contrast with Tooley's findings; she noted only one procession scene (from Meir) that dates to the late Old Kingdom, and the remainder of her examples, including those from Bersha, date to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12.

As part of my analysis of the Naga ed-Deir model corpus of people carrying supplies, I also examined the types of carried objects to determine whether there were any anomalies particular to this site. Although mostly fragmentary, the evidence from Naga ed-Deir suggests that the majority of offering bearers carried chests and baskets, typically associated with female figures at other sites, on their heads. As noted above, the round-topped chests are restricted to the late Old Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir, and include two examples from N.69. In contrast, the ubiquitous trapezoidal baskets derive from five tombs at Naga ed-Deir that range in date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom: N.69 (Cat. 58b), N.3737, N.429, N.3795 and S.F.209. Pegs preserved in the heads of offering bearers from N.241 (Cat. 70a), S.F.25 and S.F.167 suggest they likely transported chests or baskets on their heads.

At Naga ed-Deir, offering bearers typically also carried birds or jars in their hands. Two examples of birds survive: a large duck from tomb N.69 and a smaller duck from an unknown tomb in cemetery N.100-400. Even without the actual birds, we can reconstruct which offering bearers from the site likely originally carried fowl, based on the offering bearers' arm and hand positions. Offering bearers from N.69 (Cat. 57d) and S.F.167, therefore, most likely carried birds clutched in their right hands, as their pendant right arms terminate in clenched fists with drilled holes. Tooley noted that numerous examples of offering bearers carrying birds in this position are known from sites throughout Egypt and date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. Finally, the offering bearers from N.9091 and S.F.170 probably both held jars in their bent, forward-raised right arms, as paralleled by Middle Kingdom examples from other sites, including Akhmim, Rifeh and, particularly, Thebes.

Two rather unusual arm poses are found on offering bearers from Naga ed-Deir that appear to be unique to this site. One fragmentary offering bearer from N.241 (Cat. 69b), dated to the late Old Kingdom, carries a mirror in her left, forward-bent arm, rather than the more typical mirror case over one shoulder, as found elsewhere in early Middle Kingdom tombs at Bersha, Deir el-Bahri and Sedment. Only one offering bearer, from an early Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan, grasps a mirror in her left hand. Unlike the Naga ed-Deir offering bearer, however, the Beni Hasan figure holds her left arm pendant. The unusual, angled left arm position of the early Middle Kingdom offering bearer from N.9091 is undocumented elsewhere; a somewhat

similar arm position, however, is found on three female figures carrying jewelry boxes in contemporary Bersha processions. The archaeological evidence from N.9091 further suggests that this offering bearer carried either a wooden kohl jar or a small wooden box in her left hand.

Like the offering bearers, many of the porters at Naga ed-Deir carry objects typically associated with male figures at other sites. Men transporting beer or water jars on their heads likely derive from late Old Kingdom tomb N.69 and First Intermediate Period tombs N.3737 and N.3795. The intact porter from late Old Kingdom tomb N.43 supports a jar on one shoulder. Male porters carrying similar jars on their heads and shoulders are known from both late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom tombs at Giza and Lahun, respectively. A single figure from late Old Kingdom tomb N.69 originally held a yoke that supported two globular water jars. Male porters carrying water jars on yokes also have been excavated from late 11th Dynasty tombs at Beni Hasan and Meir.

Other porters from Naga ed-Deir hold atypical objects. From late Old Kingdom N.69, at least three men who were part of a procession scene carried five (probably originally six) identical, imitation faience offering jars on yokes. There are no known parallels of porters transporting these types of vessels. This model also appears to differ from typical processions in which men (and women) usually carry different objects. The porter from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3907 originally supported an object in front of his chest, perhaps a wicker box that was part of the deceased's funerary equipment. There is only one known parallel of a porter carrying a box in this manner that was discovered in a late Old Kingdom tomb at Meir. Finally, at sites other than Naga ed-Deir, porters carrying ox haunches are rare, with only one known example from Beni Hasan that dates to early Dynasty 11. At Naga ed-Deir, however, there are five possible porters carrying ox haunches. Four of the five porters derive from late Old Kingdom tombs N.69, N.241 and S.F.5210, while the fifth comes from an unprovenanced tomb at the site. The two-dimensional depiction of a male servant offering a haunch to the tomb owner across an offering table is found on several funerary stelae and on decorated tomb chapel walls at Naga ed-Deir, as at other sites. However, the transference of this typical two-dimensional funerary image to a three-dimensional statuette may reflect a Naga ed-Deir preference for this model type.

Finally, three characteristics of the Naga ed-Deir corpus of offering bearers have parallels at other sites, based on Tooley's evidence. First, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Tooley observed that offering bearer statuettes of similar style and size frequently were paired in tombs, either attached to separate bases or placed together on one base. Although tombs N.69 and N.241 at Naga ed-Deir each housed more than one offering bearer, only fragments from N.69 (Cat. 58a-c and Cat. 59) suggest that similar pairs of offering bearer statuettes were deposited together in this grave. Second, none of the offering bearers at Naga ed-Deir were inscribed with texts to identify specific workers or the recipient of the offerings. Last, there is evidence for artists' workshops, including those that produced different sets of offering bearers for the same burials. Differences in size and technical skill of offering bearers deposited together in tombs N.69 and N.241 and male porters in N.69 suggest that different ateliers manufactured these models. In contrast, two offering bearers from separate tombs S.F.167 and N.9091 have similar broad faces with rounded cheeks, suggesting they were made in the same workshop. However, as mentioned above, the offering bearer statuette from N.9091 also may reflect Theban influence because of her large size and elaborately decorated skirt. Interestingly, four

identifiable offering bearers from tombs S.F.5203, S.F.167, N.9091 and S.F.170 wear green-painted jewelry. The offering bearer from N.9091 also wears a skirt decorated with blue and green pigments to imitate beading or a woven textile. One set of imitation faience jars from N.69 likely originally carried by porters were painted blue. The restricted use of expensive blue and green pigments on offering bearer and porter models (in addition to a few boats, discussed in Chapter Seven) reinforces Tooley's conclusions regarding the special status generally afforded these models. Finally, Tooley noted that while wooden planks sometimes were carved specifically to serve as bases for models, they often were made of recycled scraps of wood.¹²³³ One such example at Naga ed-Deir is the carved-out section on the underside of the base of the offering bearer statuette from (pit) N.69, showing it was intended originally for another statuette.

¹²³³ Tooley (1995: 65).

Chapter Nine: Food Storage (Granaries)

9.1 Introduction

Although fewer in number than model boats or offering bearers, model granaries also were an extremely important element of ancient Egyptian burial assemblages, particularly in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. In life, granaries were a necessary part of every household, used for the storage and protection of various kinds of fruit and vegetable seeds, along with cereal grains used to make bread and beer, the staples of the ancient Egyptian diet. Seeds and grains were important both for immediate usage and for longer term storage, because the size of the harvest changed with the occasionally unpredictable Nile floods. A large supply of wheat and barley, held in reserve for future planting seasons, ensured that the population would not starve in times of low (or high) Nile floods and subsequent poor harvests.¹²³⁴ Surplus cereal grain also represented economic wealth, as it could be traded for other desired goods. This stored wealth, correspondingly, reflected the elevated status of the individuals who owned large granaries.¹²³⁵

The economic and cultural ideals pertaining to the importance of granaries in life were transferred to a mortuary context. By incorporating granary models in their burials, tomb owners would be ensured of a continual supply of seeds and grains in the afterlife. Model granaries, representing stored wealth, may have served as a marker of elevated social status in the afterlife. As recorded in ancient Egyptian funerary texts, furthermore, cereals were an important item included in the offering ritual; thus, the symbolic supply of grain in the tomb ensured the continual performance of these mortuary rites.¹²³⁶ Finally, granaries may have functioned on a deeper symbolic level, representing the encapsulation of the agricultural cycle of planting, growing and harvesting that was paralleled by the cycle of death and rebirth in the next life.¹²³⁷

Tooley most thoroughly studied the chronological development of and regional preferences for different forms of model granaries.¹²³⁸ In her analysis of 152 provenanced examples, she discussed two types of model granaries: domed silos and storehouses with peaked enclosure walls and interior magazines with flat roofs.¹²³⁹ She observed differences in the

¹²³⁴ Stooft (1981: 77-78); Bourriau (1988: 105).

¹²³⁵ Adams (2007: 16, 18, 19).

¹²³⁶ Do. Arnold (2005: 26-27). From the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom, two-dimensional representations of granaries were depicted on the interior footboards (symbolic south panels) of coffins. Coffin Text Spells 923 and 924, which appear in association with granaries in the object frieze on Middle Kingdom coffins, refer to the presentation of grains, fruits and vegetables in the offering ceremony (Willems 1988: 203, 208, 210). For translations of these spells, see Faulkner (1978: 65-66).

¹²³⁷ Adams (2007: 14, 16).

¹²³⁸ Tooley (1989: 89-128). For an earlier, brief overview of the main types, see Stooft (1981: 77-87, Figs. 1-7).

¹²³⁹ The provenanced granary models are included in her Table 10 (1989: 124). Note, however, that there are some errors in her totals listed on this table that are corrected here, based on the examples discussed in her Chapter Two: there are two terracotta granaries from Gebelein (not one); zero individual pottery domed silos from Gebelein (not two); one terracotta granary from Salmiya (not included); four terra-cotta granaries with enclosure walls from Beni Hasan (not five); two limestone models of domed silos from Giza (not included); five complete wooden granaries with peaked corners from Asyut (no fragments of a sixth example); two complete and three fragmentary wooden granaries with peaked corners from Abusir (not the reverse); and three fragmentary wooden granaries with peaked corners from Sedment (not one). Furthermore, Tooley's four storehouses from Saqqara

quantities, construction materials, geographic distribution and periods of production of the two granary model types.

In her research, Tooley found that domed silos represent the minority of model granaries, citing 25 examples (16% of her corpus).¹²⁴⁰ Domed silos typically are made of clay or, less often, limestone or wood, and are known predominantly from Upper Egyptian sites, extending from Abydos to Esna.¹²⁴¹ Clay domed silos, with minor variations, occur intermittently from the Archaic Period to the 18th Dynasty, with the greatest numbers found in the Middle Kingdom.¹²⁴² Stone domed silos are known from two 5th Dynasty tombs at Giza.¹²⁴³ Excluding Naga ed-Deir, wooden domed silos have been found in only one First Intermediate Period tomb at Mo'alla.¹²⁴⁴ Old Kingdom models of domed silos are arranged in groups on bases; beginning in the First Intermediate Period, the majority consists of individual silos without bases. Rarely, the domed silo groups are placed within enclosure walls of the same material.¹²⁴⁵ The domed silos have openings in the top, sometimes covered with knobbed, conical lids, through which the grains were meant to be poured. Grains were extracted via real (i.e., movable) or painted doors located

(discussed on her pages 115-116) should be excluded from the list on Table 10 because they are not granaries. As discussed by Arnold, the storehouses from the burials of *Inpw-m-h3t*, *Gmni*, *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-md-dnyt* are scenes of food production and storage (e.g., roasting ducks, slaughtering an ox, drying meat, and, predominantly, brewing beer) that take place inside architectural complexes comprised of enclosed courtyards and covered porticos (Do. Arnold 2005: 34, n. 122; 52-56 and Pls. X.18, X.19 and X.20, i.e., her type 7 models). On Table 6 (the regional model repertoire), the same errors appear in her tabulations of wooden granaries with peaked corners that appear on Table 10. If we then compare Tooley's Table 10 with her (corrected) Table 6 on pages 69-72, it is apparent that she included 127 wooden granary storehouses on Table 6, but none of the clay or terracotta examples. Finally, in Tooley's Tables 1-5 on her pages 3, 14, 28, 60 and 67 (the chronological distribution of model types), she listed 128 total examples of granaries; on these tables, however, she included only 126 wooden granary storehouses (leaving off one early Middle Kingdom example) and added two limestone models of domed granary silos not counted on her Tables 6 or 10. With these corrections, the total number of granaries of both types listed on Tooley's Table 10 should be 152: 127 wooden granary storehouses (122 examples with peaked corners and five examples with different structural details and lacking peaked corners), 16 pottery domed silos, seven terracotta granaries and two limestone silo models.

¹²⁴⁰ To her total, we can add at least four models of clay domed granary silos from El-Kab and Gebelein. The Fourth Dynasty mastaba of *K3-mni* at El-Kab contained two clay models of domed granary silos grouped on bases, of which only one model was found intact (Quibell 1989: 4, 19, Pl. VI.2; Badawy 1948: 119, Fig. 130; and Tooley 1995: 37, Fig. 34). In the late Old Kingdom tomb of the "unknown owners" at Gebelein, Schiaparelli found stoppered clay granaries on bases, described as "35 clay pots ... with bases (and)... 17 small pots like the previous ones" (D'Amicone 1988: 68-81, Figs. 81 and 87). The silos are arranged 2-5 on each base. While I have not been able to determine the total number of clay granary models represented by these numbers, the Turin museum houses two examples: Inv. S.1399 and S.14037.

¹²⁴¹ Tooley (1989: 124, 125-126, Table 10).

¹²⁴² Tooley (1989: 118-122; 1995: 36-38).

¹²⁴³ The tombs of *D333* (D39/40) and (presumably) *Ny-k3w-Inpw* (Breasted 1948: 10-12 and Pls. 8a,b and 9a,b; Tooley 1989: 2, 3, 5 and Table 1; 1995: 37, Fig. 33; Krauspe 1997a: 38, Fig. 33; Krauspe 1997b: 73, and Pl. 66.1-4, Cat. 126; and Teeter 2003a: 21). A limestone fragment of a third possible granary worker is BMFA 13.3444, excavated from Giza tomb 2501, which dates to Dynasty 6. This (unpublished) fragment consists of a pair of male hands touching the top of a measuring basket.

¹²⁴⁴ Fischer (1961: 49, Fig. 2); and Tooley (1989: 94, 124, 126). An interesting wooden variation is J.E. 28839, a post 6th Dynasty model that may derive from Akhmim. On one long side of this model are painted five domed silos on a low platform. Each silo has high, pointed walls and a rectangular window for the extraction of grain. A flight of steps at one end of the model leads to a roof with drilled holes for pouring grain into each silo (Stoof 1981: 81, Fig. 7; Tooley 1989: 90, Pl. 16.1; 1995: 36, fig. 32; and Do. Arnold 2005: 27).

¹²⁴⁵ In the Middle Kingdom sometimes they also are attached to the roofs of "soul houses". See, for example, ÄMB 15090 (Roik 1988: 192, Fig. 306).

at the bases or part-way up the sides of the silos. While the limestone silos were painted black to emulate the brown-black color of sun-dried mud-brick, the clay silos generally were left unpainted.¹²⁴⁶ Finally, human figures rarely appear in conjunction with domed silo granary models.

In contrast, Tooley ascertained that the majority of model granaries are storehouses, citing 127 examples (84% of her corpus). Unlike domed silos, storehouse granary models generally are made of wood.¹²⁴⁷ The storehouses are square or rectangular structures with enclosure walls that usually have peaked corners. The exterior walls typically are yellow or buff-colored, to represent plastered and painted mud-brick walls, with architectural elements (e.g., door frames and interior beams) painted red to simulate wood. The storehouses have single entrances, with doors that provide access to open courtyards. Several magazines, consisting of three or four flat-topped bins with shutters to allow the removal of grain, are placed along one or two walls. The magazines may be partially open at the top or, more frequently, are completely covered with flat roofs that create platforms overlooking the courtyards below. Staircases positioned against one wall lead up to the roofs. In the courtyards, workers measure, fill and carry baskets or sacks of grain. Additional workers transport the grain sacks and baskets up stairways and across roofs, where they empty them into the magazines through holes (usually drilled into the roofs). The workmen's activities sometimes are monitored by overseers standing near the granary doors or the stairs to the roofs. Finally, scribes recording the measurements may be seated on the granary roofs, overlooking the courtyards below.¹²⁴⁸ This basic interior format is found in model granary storehouses at sites from Abusir in the north to Aswan in the south.¹²⁴⁹ As Tooley further observed, storehouses exhibit regional variations in the interior layouts, angle of the peaked corners, heights of the enclosure walls, exterior wall decoration and proportion of the human figures to the granary structures.¹²⁵⁰

According to Tooley's research, model granary storehouses first appeared in Upper Egyptian contexts in the early First Intermediate Period (her Dynasties 8/9); by the end of this period (Dynasties 10/11), they are known from several sites throughout Egypt.¹²⁵¹ Granary storehouses were manufactured in the greatest quantities in the early Middle Kingdom, however,

¹²⁴⁶ One exception is the clay granary model from Salmiya (Castle Norwich 37.2.1), which has five domed silos inside a clay enclosure wall. In this case, the clay silos were painted gray (Blackman 1920: 206ff, Pl. 19, 20; Vandier 1978: 229-230, Pl. 21.1-3, dated to Dynasty 11; Stoof 1981: 81, Fig. 4; Bourriau 1988: 104-105, no. 91, and Pl. I.2, dated to Dynasty 11; Roik 1988: 193: Fig. 308, dated to the Middle Kingdom; and Tooley 1989: 116-117, dated to Dynasty 11).

¹²⁴⁷ Terra-cotta granary storehouses excavated from Beni Hasan are rather exceptional, and may reflect a local preference for this medium (Tooley 1989: 117-118).

¹²⁴⁸ Stoof (1981: 79-80); and Tooley (1989: 93; 1995: 38-39).

¹²⁴⁹ Tooley (1989: 69-72, Table 6; and 124, Table 10).

¹²⁵⁰ Tooley (1989: 124-125).

¹²⁵¹ Granaries have been excavated in First Intermediate Period burials at Qubbet el-Hawa, Gebelein, Deir el-Bahri, Sheikh Ibada, Beni Hasan, Sedment, Saqqara and Abusir (Tooley 1989: 95-96, 97, 98, 101-102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110-111, 115 and Pl. 24:1). The earliest First Intermediate Period granaries derive from Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa. We can now add Naga ed-Deir to Tooley's list of sites. It is important to note here that I revised Tooley's dates of seven granaries from the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom. These changes are discussed in detail in the conclusion to this chapter.

with examples excavated from sites throughout Upper and Lower Egypt.¹²⁵² In contrast to domed silos, the production of the granary storehouse models declined in the later part of the 12th Dynasty, with only two known examples from tombs at Bersha and Beni Hasan dated mid-late Dynasty 12.¹²⁵³

In her study of model granaries, Tooley did not include any examples from Naga ed-Deir. There are, however, three (relatively) complete granary models and 23 fragments of three additional granary models that Reisner excavated from five tombs at the site. These six granaries include three sets of wooden domed silos and three wooden granary storehouses that date to the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (Phases I and II). In my analysis of the Naga ed-Deir granaries, my goal is to incorporate this corpus of wooden domed silos and storehouses with Tooley's known examples. I will compare the Naga ed-Deir data against Tooley's chronological scheme for granaries deriving from sites throughout Egypt and against her regional granary repertoire from the Sheikh-Farag Rifeh area, in order to determine to what extent Naga ed-Deir conforms to her established temporal and regional patterns, and whether there are any features of model granaries that are unique to the site.

Before turning to a specific discussion of the model granaries excavated from Naga ed-Deir, however, it is important to consider the possible significance of the two different forms: the domed silos and the enclosed storehouse. Various scholars have considered why the ancient Egyptians chose to represent two types of granaries iconographically, analyzing discrepancies between the types of granaries portrayed two- and three-dimensionally. While domed silos represent the minority of three-dimensional granary models, throughout Egypt they predominate in two-dimensional tomb scenes dating from the Old to the New Kingdoms and in the object friezes painted on the interiors of coffins dating from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom.¹²⁵⁴ Like some models, in two-dimensional scenes the granary silos are painted black,

¹²⁵² The sites are listed on Tooley's Tables 6 and 10 (1989: 69-72, Table 6; and 124, Table 10). I also redated seven granaries from the Middle Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period, contra Tooley. These revisions also are provided in the conclusion to this chapter.

¹²⁵³ Garstang (1907: 226); and Tooley (1989: 106, 114-115 and Pls. 21.1, 23.2). One post-Middle Kingdom exception is the flat roofed granary from the 18th Dynasty tomb (KV 62) of *Twt-ḥnh-Imn* (Reeves 1990: 145; and Tooley 1995: 40, Fig. 38).

¹²⁵⁴ For the most comprehensive list of two dimensional scenes dating from the Old to the Middle Kingdoms, see Badawy (1948: 116-123, 124, Figs. 123-128, 133-138, 141-145, 149); Vandier (1978: 82, Fig. 47; 141-145; 147-150; 186, Fig. 85; 194, Fig. 89; 198-203; 229-251, Figs. 96-98, 101-103, 105; 273-281, Figs. 116-118, Pls. 18.2-3, 20.1, 22.1-3); Roik (1988: 185-190, 193-201, Figs. 276-296, 309-311); Tooley (1989: 89-92); and Lapp (1993: 5; 17, Fig. 27, Sq46a; 29; 37; 51-52, Fig. 48b, Sq94b; 60-61, Figs. 57a and 61, BH5; 99, Fig. 110, M20; 106, Fig. 118, M21; 135, Fig. 148, S46a; 137; 150, Fig. 159b, Ach24; 162, Fig. 173, T2a; and 235, Nr. 187). Three two-dimensional representations of domed granary silos from Naga ed-Deir can be added to this list. Domed granaries are depicted in conjunction with a side portico on the south wall of the burial chamber in late Old Kingdom tomb N.89 (Brovarski 1989: 436-437, 444-445, fig. 41, and Ex. Ph. B4472 and B4473). In this case, seven domed silos with high, pointed walls are set on a low platform. Each silo has a shutter or door at the base, from which the grain was extracted. Heaps of grain are shown below the platform. This style of granary is typical of the late Old Kingdom, and is similar to the one painted on the side of wooden model J.E. 28839 (Stoof 1981: 81, Fig. 7; Tooley 1989: 90, Pl. 16.1; 1995: 36, fig. 32; and Do. Arnold 2005: 27). Domed granaries topped by columned porticos also are depicted on the interior footboards of two coffins from early Middle Kingdom tombs N.4003 and N.3751 (BMFA 25.1519.4, and PAHMA 6-20130, respectively). For the granary on the coffin from N.4003, see Brovarski (1989: 649-650, fig. 6). The coffin panels from N.4003 and N.3751 are illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8130 and C8133.

gray or blue to represent mud-brick.¹²⁵⁵ The silos also typically are shown within or adjacent to a columned area or portico.¹²⁵⁶ In some cases, the portico appears in conjunction with men performing administrative tasks, including scribes and overseers.¹²⁵⁷ Neither these architectural features nor administrative officials are depicted on the three-dimensional domed silo models from any period. In contrast, while granary storehouses represent the majority of granary models, they rarely show up in tomb scenes of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. In three of the four known examples from these periods, a portico and dais appear in association with flat-roofed granaries.¹²⁵⁸ In some scenes, scribes and overseers are depicted underneath or near the porticos.¹²⁵⁹ While the portico and dais are not found on granary storehouse models, as noted above, many models do contain figures of scribes and overseers.

As part of their analysis of the two types of granaries, scholars have examined iconographic, inscriptional and archaeological evidence in attempts to reconcile it the data. Tooley, for example, studied granary inscriptions on models and in two-dimensional scenes to determine whether domed silos and granary storehouses housed different types of produce. Excluding Naga ed-Deir, there are only two known granary models with hieratic inscriptions that name the types and quantities of grains and seeds contained within: one set of six limestone silos dating to the Old Kingdom and one wooden storehouse dating to the early First Intermediate Period.¹²⁶⁰ Several painted domed silos preserved on tomb walls and coffins of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, however, include inscriptions that list their contents.¹²⁶¹ As Tooley observed, both domed silos and granary storehouses, when labeled, contained combinations of cereal grains and fruit seeds within the same structure.¹²⁶² The most common plants include *bš3* (barley), *bdt* (emmer wheat), *it mhy* (barley of Lower Egypt), *it šm^c* (barley of Upper Egypt), *swt* (wheat), *d3bw* (figs), *bnr* (dates), *isd* (persea fruit), *nbs* (zizyphus fruit), *w^ch* (carob) and *wnš* (currents).¹²⁶³ This inscriptional evidence is corroborated only somewhat by the archaeological

¹²⁵⁵ Tooley (1989: 90).

¹²⁵⁶ See, for example, a scene from the 11th Dynasty tomb of *Ini-iti.f* at Thebes (Jaroš-Deckert 1984: Pl. 18; *idem* in Vandier 1978: 230, Fig. 96; and Do. Arnold 2005: 64, Fig. 31) and the late 12th Dynasty coffin of *Spi* from Bersha (Jéquier 1921: 302, Fig. 785; *idem* in Badawy 1948: 122, Fig. 142; Roik 1988: 189, Fig. 293; and Lapp 1993: 235, Nr. 87).

¹²⁵⁷ Note the 11th Dynasty limestone sarcophagi of *ʿššit* (J.E. 47267) and *K3wit* (J.E. 47397) from Deir el-Bahri (Vandier 1978: 231, Fig. 97; Roik 1988: 196-199, Figs. 309-311; Lapp 1993: 162, Fig. 173) and the 12th Dynasty tomb of *S3-rnpwt* I at Qubbet el-Hawa (Vandier 1978: 276, Fig. 118).

¹²⁵⁸ The First Intermediate Period tomb of *Sbk-htp* at Mo'alla (Vandier 1978: 236, Fig. 101; Tooley 1989: 91) and the Middle Kingdom tombs of *Hnm-htp* (BHIII) and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (BHII) at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893: 24, 69 and Pls. 8, 13, 29, 31; *idem* in Badawy 1948: 122, Figs. 143, 145; Vandier 1978: 243, Fig. 105, 274, Fig. 116; Roik 1988: 186, Fig. 277, 290, 292; Tooley 1989: 91-92; and Do. Arnold 2005: 63, Fig. 29).

¹²⁵⁹ Do. Arnold (2005: 58). See the tombs of *Hnm-htp* (BHIII) and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (BHII), cited in the previous footnote.

¹²⁶⁰ OIM 10643, belonging to a Fifth Dynasty official, *Ny-k3w-Inpw*, and BM21804 from the early First Intermediate Period tomb 98 at Qubbet el-Hawa, belonging to *Stt-k3* (Breasted 1948: 10-12, Pls. 8a,b; 12-13, Pl. 9c; and Tooley 1989: 95, Pl. 16.2).

¹²⁶¹ Two late Old Kingdom examples include the coffin of *Mri* from Deshasheh (Petrie 1898: 46-47, Pl. 28; *idem* in Badawy 1948: 120, fig. 134; and Roik 1988: 187, Pl. 284) and the south wall of the burial chamber of *Mḥi* from Saqqara (Lapp 1993: 17, Fig. 27, Sq46a). Two Middle Kingdom examples include the coffin of *Spi* from Bersha (Jéquier 1921: 302, fig. 785; *idem* in Badawy 1948: 122, fig. 142; Roik 1988: 189, Pl. 293; and Lapp 1993: 235, Nr. 87) and the limestone relief block of *Snwsrt* (Louvre C.16-C.18) (Vandier 1978: 285, 288 and Pl. 20.1).

¹²⁶² Tooley (1989: 94).

¹²⁶³ For the complete list of products, see Jéquier (1921: 301).

data. There are at least 10 excavated model granary storehouses that contained real grains; only emmer wheat and barley have been identified, however.¹²⁶⁴

Other scholars compared archaeological evidence for real ancient Egyptian granaries with architectural features of both model granaries and two dimensional representations of granaries to ascertain the functions of the two granary types. While Do. Arnold suggested that because the earliest examples of granary storehouse models with peaked corners were found at Gebelein and Aswan, this architectural feature may derive from an Upper Egyptian type of building, she also acknowledged that no such building has survived in the archaeological record.¹²⁶⁵ Kemp and Adams noted, however, features of granary storehouse models that have been documented in the archaeological record in First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom houses at Abydos¹²⁶⁶ and Abu Ghalib.¹²⁶⁷ These features include rows of storage units composed of three-four orthogonal chambers inside or adjacent to walled courtyards, and stairways built against one of the side walls of the courtyards to provide access to the tops of the magazines. Archaeological evidence for domed granary silos is known from several Middle Kingdom sites, including Kahun and Abydos. Kemp argued that because only 13 out of 150 small houses at Kahun contained round silos, these silos were used to supplement the grain storage provided for the town from the orthogonal chambered silos found in the large houses.¹²⁶⁸

At Abydos, Adams observed that excavated round granary silos had a smaller storage capacity and tended to be less-solidly built than the orthogonal chambers, being demolished easily and re-built as needed. He further argued that the larger orthogonal units required a greater investment of time and building materials in their construction and, as such, likely represented the long-term storage of large amounts of grain.¹²⁶⁹ Adams' conclusions support Tooley's earlier assessment that model granary storehouses containing orthogonal chambered magazines and courtyards reflected the more permanent storage of large quantities of grains and seeds as needed on private estates, and that domed model silos represented modest and temporary domestic storage of similar kinds of produce.¹²⁷⁰

¹²⁶⁴ The cereal contents of eight granaries have never been identified: BM21804, from the tomb (98) of *Stt-k3* at Qubbet el-Hawa; MMA 20.3.11, from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT280) at Thebes; BM41573, from the tomb of *Sbk-ḥtpi* (BH723) at Beni Hasan; J.E. 37563, from the tomb of *Nfrjy* (BH116) at Beni Hasan; Aberdeen 2.140 from the tomb (BH500) of *M3* at Beni Hasan; AEIN 1630, from the tomb (HMK30) of *Gmni* at Saqqara; one granary (no. 11, present location unknown) from the tomb (2757) of *Inpw-m-ḥ^ct* and *Usr-mwt* at Saqqara; and one granary (no. 5, present location unknown) from the tomb of *K3-rnni* and *Nfr-md-dnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 10, Pls. 12, 13; Quibell and Hayter 1927: 14, 41, Pl. 25:1, Breasted 1948: 12-13, 14, 15, Pls. 9c, 10a,b, 11b, 13a; Garstang 1904: 218, 220, 223, 226, Pls. II:5, III:7, 1907: 72-73, 237 and Figs. 56 and 60; Winlock 1955: 25-27, 87-88, Pls. 20, 62, 63; Tooley 1989: 95, 98, 102-103, 105-106, 109-110 and Pls. 16.2, 19.1, 21.1, 22.1; Jørgensen 1996: 132-133, Cat. 52). The two granaries with cereals that have been identified as emmer wheat and barley include Ash. E2310, from the tomb of *Hty-I* (BH575) at Beni Hasan and J.E. 37564, from the tomb of *T3wy* (BH186) at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1904: 221, 222 and Pls. IV:13, V:16; Garstang 1907: 87, Fig. 76 and 124-125, Fig. 121; and Tooley 1989: 103-104).

¹²⁶⁵ Do. Arnold (2005: 28).

¹²⁶⁶ Adams (2007: 3-16, Figs. 1-6).

¹²⁶⁷ Kemp (1989: 161, 164, 166, Fig. 58); and Adams (2007: 8).

¹²⁶⁸ Kemp (1989: 155-156).

¹²⁶⁹ Adams (2007: 14).

¹²⁷⁰ Tooley (1989: 122).

Scholars noted that other archaeological features of Middle Kingdom granaries excavated at Abydos,¹²⁷¹ Kahun,¹²⁷² Elephantine¹²⁷³ and several Nubian forts¹²⁷⁴ include complexes that consist of a columned area (or portico) and/or raised platform that often lie adjacent to two parallel, elongated rooms. At these sites, archaeological evidence for animal bones, querns, storage bins, water tanks and mud seal impressions in areas attached to granaries indicate general areas of food production, storage and administration.¹²⁷⁵ As mentioned above, the portico and dais typically appear in two-dimensional representations of granary installations, sometimes in conjunction with overseers who have administrative titles.¹²⁷⁶ In these cases, ancient Egyptian painters selected granaries and associated porticos to stress not only the abundant supply but also the proper administration of, cereals. While not used in model granaries, porticos do appear in more architecturally-complex models representing administrative centers in charge of bread, beer and meat production (e.g., slaughtering oxen, cooking fowl) and storage.¹²⁷⁷ Even in model granary storehouses, however, there are often overseers and scribes in charge of administering the cereal supplies.

Do. Arnold further argued that when the ancient Egyptians represented the range of activities pertaining to food production, storage and administration in models, they usually represented separate activities by three different architectural types, with granary storehouses specifically representing the supply of grains.¹²⁷⁸ Adams similarly concluded that model granary storehouses were not meant to represent free-standing granary structures, but rather that the walls denoted an enclosed space within a larger structure in which a variety of activities relating to general food production and storage actually took place.¹²⁷⁹

Do. Arnold also considered the distinction between domed silo models and granary storehouse models from an artistic perspective. She suggested the painters more often chose to depict the older form of granary, i.e., the domed silo, on coffins and in tomb scenes because it was more recognizable in profile view than the storehouses.¹²⁸⁰ In the case of models, she asserted that rectangular grain storehouses are much more common than domed silos because they were easier to manufacture in wood.¹²⁸¹ While it is true that model domed silos typically

¹²⁷¹ Adams (2007: 13).

¹²⁷² Petrie et al. (1923: Pl. 36a); Kemp (1986: 121-122, Fig. 2); and Arnold (2005: 57, 59, Fig. 24).

¹²⁷³ Von Pilgrim (1996: 18, Fig. 25); Do. Arnold (2005: 58, 61, Fig. 27); and Adams (2007: 13).

¹²⁷⁴ Kumma, Shalfak, Uronarti and Mirgissa (Kemp 1986: 123-130, Figs. 3-6); and Do. Arnold (2005: 56, 59, Figs. 22-23, 25-26).

¹²⁷⁵ Kemp (1986: 124-125, 129-130, Fig. 123); Von Pilgrim (1996: 86, with Fig. 25, 88, 89-100); Do. Arnold (2005: 57, 58, 60); and Adams (2007: 6).

¹²⁷⁶ For examples, see above, nn. 1257 and 1259.

¹²⁷⁷ Do. Arnold's type 7 models from early Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes and Saqqara (2005: 34, n.122, pages 52-56, 60-63, and Pls. II.4, III.5, 6 and X.18, 19, 20). These same features are also found on the famous cattle-count model scene from the tomb of *Mkt-Rc* at Thebes, i.e., one of Do. Arnold's type 2 models (2005: 44, 50-51, 57-58, Pl. VII.12). As Do. Arnold pointed out, one exception of a granary storehouse with a canopy erected over a scribe is J.E. 32831, from the mid 12th Dynasty tomb E14 (south) of *Spi* III (Do. Arnold 2005: 62, n. 255; for further description of the model, see Tooley 1989: 114-115; 1995: 41, Fig. 39).

¹²⁷⁸ The other two model types are storehouses with porticos that illustrate the administration of food supplies and bakeries and breweries (usually) on flat boards that illustrate the processing of bread and beer from cereal grains (Do. Arnold 2005: 60, 62).

¹²⁷⁹ Adams (2007: 7, 8).

¹²⁸⁰ Do. Arnold (2005: 60).

¹²⁸¹ Do. Arnold (2005: 60). As noted above, other than Naga ed-Deir the only documented wooden domed silos are from one First Intermediate Period tomb at Mo'alla.

were manufactured of clay-- a material that was more readily available and easier to work with than wood-- it is also possible that clay was selected deliberately for domed silo models because it represented the transient nature of the actual mud-brick domed storage silos. In addition, sections 9.2-9.3 of this chapter establish that there is additional, excavated evidence for wood (rather than clay) domed silos at Naga ed-Deir. Finally, I would argue that both clay *and* wooden model domed silos were simpler to make than granary storehouses because the silos were reduced to their simplest form (i.e., the vault), excluding the porticos, columned halls and (usually) the human figures typically found in two-dimensional granary scenes. Thus, in contrast to Arnold, I believe granary storehouses would have been more time-consuming to manufacture than domed silos because they are larger and more architecturally complex, and include a variety of human figures performing different activities, including not only workers, but also scribes and overseers who served in administrative capacities. Since human figures and architectural elements usually were not found in the domed silo models, it follows, therefore, that storehouses most explicitly and most accurately reflected the actual locations where long-term storage and administration of large quantities of grains and seeds took place on provincial estates. The enclosed courtyards, stairs and flat-roofed magazines of the storehouses also provided areas within the models on which to place workers, scribes and overseers involved in these storage and administrative activities. The granary storehouse, thus, best ensured the tomb owner of the continuation of large quantities of grains and seeds to manufacture bread and beer, to grow fruits and vegetables and to ensure future harvests for his use in the afterlife.

Having summarized the differences between the two main types of granaries depicted in models, I will next turn to the Naga ed-Deir corpus. In this discussion, the granaries are arranged by chronological period. Within each temporal phase, the domed silos are discussed first, followed by the granary storehouses. Each category is further subdivided with the most complete models presented before the fragments.

9.2 Phase I (Late Old Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams excavated wooden granaries from three late Old Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir: (pit) N.69, N.241 and N.105. These granaries include one (relatively) complete set of domed silos and 23 fragments that comprise an additional set of domed silos and two granary storehouses.

In (pit) N.69, Reisner excavated six fragmentary domed silos from one granary model (Cat. 87a-l, Figs. 38 and 136).¹²⁸² Five silos are the most complete: Cat. 87a, b, c-d, f-h and i-l. All five silos all hollow and have holes drilled through the tops, through which real grains and seeds (now lost) likely were poured. The five silos also have rectangular openings on one side where bin doors or shutters (also lost) probably were located originally, to allow the removal of the grains and seeds. The extant heights of the five silos are fairly uniform, ranging from 18.3 to 20.5 cm. The diameters of the three best preserved silos (Cat. 87a, b, c-d) are 12.5, 11.3 and 11.5 cm, respectively. With the exception of one fragment (Cat. 87e), all the silos from (pit) N.69 have remnants of white gesso plaster or white pigments on the interior and exterior surfaces, representing plastered mud-brick. Pegs and thick traces of gesso underneath each silo illustrate how it was secured originally to the (lost) base. Based on similar Old Kingdom stone and clay model grain silos from other sites, it is most likely that Cat. 87a-l were grouped together and

¹²⁸² In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see c/1 and c/2.

attached to one base without an enclosure wall.¹²⁸³ There are no known wooden human figures from (pit) N.69 that can be associated with Cat. 87a-l. Based on wood analysis of one silo (Cat. 87a), the entire granary model from N.69 likely was made of sycamore; i.e., *Ficus sycomorus*.¹²⁸⁴

Late Old Kingdom tomb N.241 also contained remnants of a granary model that likely was comprised originally of a set of domed silos. The two extant fragments include a single domed silo (Cat. 89a, Figs. 43 and 137) and a measuring basket (Cat. 89b, Figs. 43 and 138).¹²⁸⁵ The silo is 11.2 cm tall, with a diameter of 7.5 cm. It is hollow with a hole drilled into the top, perhaps for the insertion of real grain or seeds (now lost). It is painted yellow with a non-functional (painted) bin door that has two white panels set inside a red framework and divided by a central horizontal bar. The top panel of the bin door has a peg for the attachment of an unknown (lost) object. Three pegs inserted underneath the silo indicate how it originally was attached to a base (also lost). The measuring basket is 5.2 cm tall, with a diameter of 6 cm. It is painted red with a black band around the middle and is hollowed out; i.e., the contents are not shown. On one side of the basket are remnants of thickened gesso and a partial wooden peg, suggesting that a worker's hand was attached originally.¹²⁸⁶

Reisner excavated 18 fragments of a wooden granary storehouse from (pit) N.69. The remnants include three beams, six wall sections, five bin door/shutters from individual magazines and four miscellaneous fragments (Cat. 88a-o, Figs. 30, 38 and 139).¹²⁸⁷ Eight wall and beam fragments are painted yellow and red, representing yellow plastered walls with wood trim (Cat. 88a-h). A ninth wall section is known only from one expedition photograph (Cat. 88i). Wall fragments Cat. 88h and Cat. 88i are upper wall sections with double and single doorways, respectively. Although broken, Cat. 88g resembles Cat. 88k and may have been another wall section with a double doorway. All nine wall fragments, Cat. 88a-i, are most likely part of the interior magazines, with sliding shutters or doors originally set into the open doorways of Cat. 88g-i.

¹²⁸³ A similar granary model is Ash. E.408, from the 4th Dynasty mastaba of *K3-mni* at El-Kab. This clay model consists of 12 domed silos arranged in two parallel rows of five silos along the sides of a platform, with two additional silos at one end. The silos have holes in the tops, of which nine retained their conical stoppers. Unlike Cat. 87a-l, the clay silos do not have open doorways on the sides (Quibell 1989: 4, 19, Pl. VI.2; Badawy 1948: 119, Fig. 130; and Tooley 1995: 37, Fig. 34). For a limestone example similar to Cat. 87a-l, see OIM 10643 and OIM 10636, presumably from the 5th Dynasty tomb of *Ny-k3w-Inpw* at Giza. This granary model includes a set of six silos lined up on one base, with an associated male worker on a separate base. The six silos have bin doors carved in relief at the bottom of one side (Breasted 1948: 11 and Pls. 8a,b and 9b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 101 and Pl. 27e; Tooley 1989: 2, 3, 5 and Table 1; and Teeter 2003a: 21). One final example is the collection of clay domed granary silos on bases found in the late Old Kingdom tomb of the "unknown owners" at Gebelein. These granaries, two of which are Turin S.1399 and S.14037, are composed of 2-5 dome silos on each base and lack open doorways on the sides (D'Amicone 1988: 68-81, Figs. 81 and 87).

¹²⁸⁴ Rem (1983-89: letter dated April 6, 1984).

¹²⁸⁵ In Fig. 43, Ex. Ph. C9590, see b/1 and b/2.

¹²⁸⁶ For a granary worker holding a similar basket, see the limestone figure (Leipzig 2566) from the 5th Dynasty tomb of *D333* (D39/40) at Giza (Breasted 1948: 10 and Pl. 9a; Tooley 1989: 2, 3, 5 and Table 1; 1995: 37, Fig. 33; Krauspe 1997a: 38, Fig. 33; and Krauspe 1997b: 73, and Pl. 66.1-4, Cat. 126). Like the Old Kingdom limestone figure, the large size of Cat. 89b compared with Cat. 89a indicates that the worker would have been out of scale with the granary.

¹²⁸⁷ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see b/6. In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see a/1, a/2, a/3, a/4, a/5 and b/1.

The rectangular shutters from (pit) N.69 average 4.2 cm wide x 4.7 cm high (Cat. 88j-n). Like Cat. 89a, the silo from N.241, the shutters from (pit) N.69 have red painted frameworks and central, horizontal bands. Unlike Cat. 89a, however, the shutter panels from (pit) N.69 are painted yellow, rather than white. The top panels of Cat. 88k-n, furthermore, have quantities of unrecorded types of grains/seeds written in hieratic in black pigment: [*ḥkꜣt*] *ḥꜣ* 1 (1,001 *hekat*), [*ḥkꜣt*] *ḥꜣ* 2 (1,002 *hekat*), [*ḥkꜣt*] *ḥꜣ* 3 (1,003 *hekat*) and [*ḥkꜣt*] *ḥꜣ* 4 (1,004 *hekat*), respectively.¹²⁸⁸ On one wall section (Cat. 88f), [*ḥkꜣt*] *ḥꜣ* is written three times on the red framework, possibly to be read 3,000 *hekat*. These numbers express the tomb owner's desire for large quantities of grain/seeds in the afterlife.¹²⁸⁹

Unfortunately, the granary from (pit) N.69 is not preserved enough to determine its exact architectural layout. Based on comparisons with more complete examples of granary storehouses from other sites, however, one would expect to find a courtyard surrounded by an enclosure wall, possibly with peaked corners, a row of magazines set against the back and/or one side wall, and perhaps a staircase leading up to the magazine roof(s).¹²⁹⁰ Originally, there also may have been human figures, including men in the courtyard with bushel baskets measuring grain, men carrying grain sacks up the stairs and pouring it into the storage compartments, scribes keeping records and, possibly, an overseer; however, no male figures from N.69 survived that can be associated with this granary.¹²⁹¹

Late Old Kingdom tomb N.105 at Naga ed-Deir also contained parts of one granary storehouse, including two (possible) wall fragments (Cat. 90b, Fig. 37) and one set of stairs (Cat. 90a, Figs. 37 and 140).¹²⁹² The two wall fragments are known only from one expedition photograph. One wall section, C8882 b/1, appears to have a painted framework, resembling the wall fragments and magazine shutters from (pit) N.69 and N.241, discussed above. The stairway has 14 steps and stands 25.7 cm high. The exterior of the stairway is painted yellow with a black, horizontal band along the bottom. The treads and risers also are painted black. Three small dowels in the interior side of the stairway indicate that it originally was attached to the right, interior enclosure wall surrounding a courtyard. One dowel on the exterior side of the stairway was likely for the attachment of another architectural element (now lost). The stairs would have lead from the granary courtyard up to the magazine roof. The indication of a second level is a feature associated with architectural models. According to Do. Arnold, while group models on flat boards are typical of the First Intermediate Period, the only model type that has structural elements (e.g., stairs, roofs, enclosure walls) prior to the early Middle Kingdom are

¹²⁸⁸ The *ḥkꜣt* was the standard Egyptian unit of dry measure of volume used for grain. One *ḥkꜣt* is equal to 4.36 dry quarts or 4.8 liters (Allen 2000: 102).

¹²⁸⁹ Although not buried with a granary model, the owner of late Old Kingdom (pit) S.F.5203 was interred with two cloth bags bearing hieratic inscriptions that listed the cereal contents as *bšꜣ* (barley) and (possibly) *nkꜣwt* (notched sycamore figs): BMFA 24.756 and BMFA 24.757.

¹²⁹⁰ Possible parallels are three early First Intermediate Period model granary storehouses with square plans, enclosure walls with peaked corners and interior magazines along one or two walls: Turin S.13270, from the tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein; BM21804, from the tomb (98) of *Stt-kꜣ* at Qubbet el-Hawa; and ECMM 1251, attributed to Gebelein (Leospo 1988: 99, no. 129 and Museo Egizio (no date), 30, upper; Tooley 1989: 17-18, 94, 95 and Pls. 16:2, 17:1, 18.2; and Tooley 1994: 345, 346, and Pls. XLII.a, XLIII).

¹²⁹¹ Note that the earliest granaries cited in the previous footnote have few or no human figures. The two granaries from Gebelein do not have any workers. The granary from Qubbet el-Hawa depicts only one worker in the courtyard, whose upraised left arm suggests he once carried a basket of grain on his left shoulder. It is also possible, therefore, that the granary from late Old Kingdom tomb N.69 did not contain any human figures.

¹²⁹² In Fig. 37, Ex. Ph. C8882, see a/1, b/1 and c/1 (shown upside down).

granary storehouses.¹²⁹³ Although fragmentary, therefore, the architectural model from late Old Kingdom tomb N.105 most likely is a granary storehouse.

9.3 Phase II (First Intermediate Period)

Reisner's expedition team excavated two model granaries from two rock-cut tombs dating to the First Intermediate Period: N.3795 and N.3737. These two granaries are one set of domed granary silos on a base and a (relatively) complete granary storehouse. The wooden granary from N.3795 consists of six domed silos attached to a platform and a (now separate) male figure (Cat. 92a,b Figs. 59, 141 and 142).¹²⁹⁴ The plank used for the granary base is roughly hewn, with maximum dimensions of 19.5 cm (width) x 30 cm (length). The top appears to be painted white; alternatively, however, the white may represent the gesso plaster left behind after the colored pigment flaked off. The set of four silos, placed on one long side of the base, was carved as a single unit, while each of the two silos on one short end of the base were carved separately. All six silos are solid, with holes drilled part-way into the tops to represent the openings into which grain (theoretically) was poured. The silo measurements include diameters of 4.8 cm to 5.6 cm, and heights of 6.4 cm to 8.7 cm. The six silos are painted yellow, with red framed shutters or doors containing two white, inset panels. The red framework of each shutter is outlined with a black border. While the yellow color of the silos likely represents the plastered and color-washed mud-brick, the red, white and black on the shutters suggests these elements were meant to be made of wood. The silos are now rather loose and the pegs used to attach them to the base are visible. This domed silo granary model from N.3795 is unique for the First Intermediate Period, with no known wooden parallels.¹²⁹⁵

A central, raised platform is secured to the top of the base of Cat. 92a, set perpendicular to the unit of four bins. Three dowels are inserted into this platform, two of which secure the platform to the base of the model. A third, projecting peg in the end of the platform was for the attachment of an unknown object, now lost. To the right of the platform, a hole drilled into the top of the base may indicate where a squatting male figure was placed originally (Cat. 92b). Although seated male figures associated with domed silos are unknown from other sites, it is likely that Cat. 92a and 92b belong together because the outline of the male figure's butt and feet

¹²⁹³ Do. Arnold (2005: 32-33).

¹²⁹⁴ In Fig. 59, Ex. Ph. C8177, see a/4.

¹²⁹⁵ As noted above, the only known examples of domed wooden granary silos outside of Naga ed-Deir are the tiny pair of silos (J.E. 52085-86) from the 9th Dynasty tomb of *ḥnh-ty.fy* at Mo'alla, which Tooley believes may have been placed in the courtyard of a granary storehouse model (Fischer 1961: 49, Fig. 2; and Tooley (1989: 94, 124, 126). Like Cat. 92a, these small silos also have square openings part-way up their sides, for the placement of the bin shutters/doors. Two clay examples similar to Cat. 92a are Turin S.11960 and Turin S.15802 from an unknown context(s) at Gebelein. Both Gebelein models depict nine domed silos. Each model has two parallel rows of four silos along the sides, with a single silo at one end. Unlike Cat. 92a, none of the silos have openings for shutters. The Gebelein models also have enclosure walls, a feature not found on Cat. 92a (Eggebrecht 1984: 212, S. 11960 dated to the Middle Kingdom; Tooley 1989: 89, 119, Pl. 14.2; Turin S.15802, described as a single silo and Turin S.11960, dated to either the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period; Roveri, ed. 1987: 62-63, no. C3, Turin S.15802 dated to the end of the Old Kingdom; Roik 1988: 192, Fig. 305, S. 11960 dated to the Middle Kingdom; and Do. Arnold 2005: 27, n. 84). Most clay domed granaries of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom consist of individual silos. Examples of First Intermediate Period single domed silos are BM47374 from Hogarth tomb IX at Asyut (Tooley 1989: 23-24, 121, and Pl. 27:4) and Brus. E3186, one of two granaries from Beni Hasan tomb BH16 (Garstang 1907: 212; Tooley 1989: 22, 121). Late Middle Kingdom examples include single domed silos from tomb 121E at Esna and tomb 7 A'06 at Abydos (Tooley 1989: 119-121).

corresponds with the pattern of an ancient adhesive stain on top of the granary base (as seen in Ex. Ph. C8057). A large, broken peg underneath the figure's butt also may have once fit into the hole drilled into the top of the base. This male figure wears a black bag wig, and has rather crude facial features, with big eyes, a large, jutting nose (now partially broken) and a mouth indicated by a horizontal, incised line. His proportions are rather stocky, with a muscular torso and upper left arm (the right arm is missing). It is possible that he is a worker who held a measuring basket in one or both hands, or a scribe holding a papyrus roll (now lost); however, since the right arm is missing and the bent left arm is broken at the elbow, the task that he performed is unknown. At a height of 12.2 cm, he is fairly large with respect to the granary silos. The presence of a male granary worker who is out-of-scale with associated domed silos is reminiscent of the 5th Dynasty limestone granaries from Giza.¹²⁹⁶ The rather unique addition of a seated worker or scribe on the granary from N.3795, furthermore, may reflect the influence of contemporary granary storehouse models, in which such figures frequently are portrayed.

The broken model granary storehouse excavated from N.3737 is comprised of 15 separate parts: one set of four (joined) enclosure walls (with two reattached roof sections), one door, three wall fragments, six shutters from six storage magazines, three male workers and one measuring basket (from a fourth worker). The enclosure walls are nearly square, measuring 51.5 cm wide x 54 cm long (Cat. 91a, Figs. 143 and 144). The walls are 42.5 cm high, and have peaked corners that slope at a 35 degree angle.¹²⁹⁷ Each enclosure wall was constructed by setting two or three planks lengthwise and doweling them together. The sides of the walls were joined by mitre housing and doweled. There are between two and six dowels remaining in the bottom edges of three walls, used to attach the lower wall sections. The fourth wall has no dowels preserved in it, as the lower section of the wall has broken off above the doweled area. More dowels were used originally to attach the walls to the granary floor, missing at the time of excavation. The interior walls of the granary were covered with gesso and painted white. The gesso is extant in traces on the walls, but is thicker along the vertical and horizontal cracks of the wall joints; in these areas drip marks are still visible, illustrating how thickly it was applied in antiquity to conceal the joints. According to Mace's tomb card, the exterior walls of the granary

¹²⁹⁶ OIM 10636 and Leipzig 2566 (Breasted 1948: 10, 11 and Pls. 8a,b and 9a,b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 101 and Pl. 27; Tooley 1989: 2, 3, 5 and Table 1; Tooley 1995: 37, Fig. 33; and Krauspe 1997a: 38, Fig. 33; Krauspe 1997b: 73, and Pl. 66.1-4, Cat. 126; and Teeter 2003a: 21).

¹²⁹⁷ Granary storehouses with peaked corners in the range of 30-40 degrees derive primarily from Middle and Upper Egyptian contexts, including one model from Gebelein, three from Thebes and two from Beni Hasan (Tooley 1989: 113, Table 9; note that she left out one example from Beni Hasan on this table). ECMM 1251, which dates to the First Intermediate Period, is presumed to be from Gebelein (Tooley 1989: 95-96; angle of 35 degrees; 1994: 346, Pl. XLIII). Two Dynasty 11 examples are Di. Arnold's model no. 689 and ROM ON(B) from pit 14 (burial of *Nb- hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II) at Deir el-Bahri (Di. Arnold 1981: 25-27, and Pls. 22a-b, e-f, 23, 25a, d-e, 68, 70; and Tooley 1989: 96-97; angled 36 and 32 degrees, respectively). The third Theban granary is YPM 6743 from Dynasty 11 pit 3 at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1907: 44, Pl. IX:5; Breasted 1948: 15; Scott 1986: 74, Cat. 38B; and Tooley 1989: 97; angled 30 degrees). The two examples from Beni Hasan are Ash. E2310 from the tomb of *Hty-I* (BH575) and J.E. 37563 from the tomb of *Nfry* (BH 116), both dated to the early Middle Kingdom (Garstang 1907: 72-73, Figs. 56, 60 and 124-125, Fig. 121; Tooley 1989: 103-105; angled 39 and 33 degrees, respectively; and Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n.99). A possible seventh example derives from the early Middle Kingdom tomb of *Inpw-m-ht* and *Usr-mwt* (tomb 2757) at Saqqara. Although this example's present location is unknown, Tooley estimated a corner peak in the 30-40 degree range from the expedition photograph (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 14, 41, Pl. 25:1, model no. 11; Tooley 1989: 109-110, dated to Dynasty 11; angled ca. 35 degrees; Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n.102, dated to early Dynasty 12; see her pages 36-42 for her discussion of the tomb date).

were painted yellow; this pigment is now no longer visible with the naked eye, however, and the exterior walls appear more of a dirty, buff color.¹²⁹⁸

The doorway leading into the granary courtyard is centrally placed in one enclosure wall. Inside the doorway on the right side (viewed from the exterior) is a semi-circular wooden projection or hinge with a hole for the insertion of the door pivot.¹²⁹⁹ The door, which is no longer attached to the doorframe, measures 23.7 cm high x 17.7 cm wide (Cat. 91b, Fig. 145).¹³⁰⁰ The door would not have closed completely, but more likely would have remained partially propped open on the inside of the courtyard because it is about two cm too wide for the doorway. The front (exterior) of the door was carved leaving five horizontal beams, representing wooden cross-bars used to strengthen the door, which were painted red against a yellow background. The back (interior) of the door is painted yellow with a red stripe running down each side. A pivot was preserved on the top, right corner of the door when carved to insert into the door hinge. The left side of the door has a hole drilled through the central horizontal beam, perhaps meant for the placement of a door latch. The doorway (jambs and lintel) and the interior beam supports used to hold up the roof were gessoed with an overlying layer of red paint to represent wood.

The granary magazine roof is composed of two sections of wooden planks that lie perpendicular to each other; together they cover the interior area along the back and right walls of the granary, leaving a small, open courtyard (Cat. 91a, see Figs. 143 and 144).¹³⁰¹ Each roof section is composed of two smaller planks that were laid next to each other lengthwise and pegged together. Two fragments illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8154 a/2 and c/4 have been reattached to the roof and glued back together in modern times. The reconstructed roof is still broken,

¹²⁹⁸ Yellow and buff are the typical colors used on model granary exterior walls. Some other examples of storehouses with similarly painted exterior walls include BM21804, from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Stt-k3* (tomb 98) at Qubbet el-Hawa (Breasted 1948: 12, Pl. 9c; and Tooley 1989: 95, Pl. 16.2); Turin S.13270, from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein (Leospo 1988: 99, no. 129 and Museo Egizio (no date), 30, upper; Tooley 1989: 17, 95 and Pl. 17:1; and Tooley 1994: 345, Pl. XLII.a); YPM 6743 from 11th Dynasty pit 3 at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1907: 44, Pl. IX:5; Breasted 1948: 15; Scott 1986: 74, Cat. 38B; and Tooley 1989: 97); and BMFA 21.409 and 21.808 from early 12th Dynasty tomb 10A at Bersha (D'Auria et al. 1988: 113, Figs. 58-59; Tooley 1989: 101; and Freed et al. 2003: 120). Some granary storehouses have black or gray painted exterior walls to simulate unpainted mud brick. Examples of these models include Louvre E11938 from the late 11th-early 12th Dynasty tomb of *Nhtj* (tomb 7) at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911:50; Breasted 1948: 14, Pl. 12a; Tooley 1989: 99), and BM41573 from the late Dynasty 11 tomb (BH723) of *Sbk-htpi* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 237; Tooley 1989: 102-103, Pl. 19:1). Still other granary storehouses are more elaborately painted with exterior combinations of yellow, blue-gray, red and white. Two examples of this type of decoration are Ash. E2310, from tomb (BH575) of *Hty-I* at Beni Hasan and Ash. E2311, from the tomb (BH394) of *Hnm-htp* at Beni Hasan, dated late Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1904: 222, 224; Garstang 1907: 124-125, Fig. 121; Tooley 1989: 22, 47, 103-104, 105 and Pl. 20:2; and Moorey 1992: 47, Fig. 25).

¹²⁹⁹ For a similar view of this architectural detail, see granary MMA 20.3.11 from the early 12th Dynasty tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-Rc* at Thebes (Breasted 1948: 14, Pl. 11b; Winlock 1955: 25-27, 87, Pls. 20, 21, 24, 62, 63; Tooley 1989: 98; and Do. Arnold 2005: 4).

¹³⁰⁰ In Fig. 145, Ex. Ph. C8154, see b/1 (shown upside down).

¹³⁰¹ One other granary model with this internal magazine layout is MMA 20.3.11, the granary of *Mkt-Rc* (Breasted 1948: 14, Pl. 11b; Winlock 1955: 25-27, 87, Pls. 20, 21, 24, 62, 63; Tooley 1989: 98; and Do. Arnold 2005: 4). Other interior plans are known as well. For example, BM21804 from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Stt-k3* (tomb 98) at Qubbet el-Hawa, has magazines constructed against the front and back walls (Breasted 1948: 12, Pl. 9c; and Tooley 1989: 95, Pl. 16.2). Ash. E2310 from tomb (BH575) of *Hty-I* at Beni Hasan and Leipzig 33, from the late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 tomb MR6 at Abusir each have two magazines: one along the back wall and the other against the left wall (Garstang 1904: 222; Garstang 1907: 124-125, Fig. 121; Schäfer 1908: 45, 63-65, Figs. 60, 94-95; and Tooley 1989: 47, 58, 103-104, 111).

however, with missing fragments. Interior beams, serving as roof supports, run underneath each roof section along the outer edge. The roof beams were gessoed with an overlying layer of red paint. The roof represents the top of the storage magazines, which may have been accessed by a set of stairs (now missing) constructed against the left enclosure wall. Unfortunately, because the lower portion of the left wall is gone, it is impossible to determine whether or not stairs were pegged to the wall. The magazines are closed across the top, and lack holes in the roof to represent the openings through which grain was poured into the bins below. Three small magazine fragments illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8154 a/1, b/2 and b/3 (Cat. 91c-e, Fig. 145) were found broken at the time of excavation and have not been reattached to the granary because too much of the magazine walls is missing.

Six movable window shutters or doors were used to gain access to the grains and seeds stored inside the magazine bins constructed along the two enclosure walls (Cat. 91f-k, Fig. 146). The (broken) shutters would have slid into the exterior magazine wall sections. There may have been three storage bins along each wall; because the interior of the granary is incomplete, however, the exact layout is unknown. The shutter dimensions range from 7.1 cm to 8.5 cm in width and 6.3 cm to 8.2 cm in height. All six shutters are painted yellow, with three carved horizontal beams on the fronts. The backs of the shutters are painted yellow. The front of each shutter has a hieratic inscription written in black. The inscriptions list symbolic amounts of fruit seeds and grains contained inside the bins: 1,020 *ḥkꜣt* each of *bnr* (dates), *bšꜣ* (barley), *swt* (wheat), *bdꜣ* (emmer), *it šmꜣ* (Upper Egyptian barley) and an unknown grain whose name has been lost because the shutter is broken.¹³⁰² On the last fragment, only the hieratic symbols listing the quantity (1,020 *ḥkꜣt*) remain. The storage magazines from N.3737 originally may have contained actual grains and seeds, which did not survive.¹³⁰³

The granary N.3737 storehouse originally contained at least four workers (Cat. 911-o). Three workers carry baskets of grain on their heads (Cat. 911-n, Figs. 70 and 147).¹³⁰⁴ These figures' heights range from 15.2 to 16 cm (including the baskets), compared to the 42.5 cm high granary enclosure walls (without the missing floor). Thus, the human figures are in scale with the granary.¹³⁰⁵ The body proportions and details of the facial features also illustrate a highly skilled level of craftsmanship for figures of this small size. Each man stands with his left arm

¹³⁰² The only other known granary storehouse with labeled contents is BM21804 from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Stt-kꜣ* (tomb 98) at Qubbet el-Hawa (Breasted 1948: 12, Pl. 9c; and Tooley 1989: 95, Pl. 16.2). On this example, the shutter doors list *bšꜣ* (barley), *swt* (wheat), *isd* (persea fruit) and *wꜣh* (carob beans).

¹³⁰³ For the known granaries with real grains and seeds, see above, n. 1264.

¹³⁰⁴ In Fig. 70, Ex. Ph. B8120, see c/3, c/4, c/5.

¹³⁰⁵ Granary storehouses with human figures roughly in proportion with the enclosure walls are known from several other sites. A few examples include BM21804, from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Stt-kꜣ* (tomb 98) at Qubbet el-Hawa (Breasted 1948: 12, Pl. 9c; and Tooley 1989: 95, Pl. 16.2), LM 55.82.2, from the late Dynasty 11 tomb (BH1) of *ꜣntf* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 57-58, Figs. 41-44; Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 38; and Tooley 1989: 44, 102), MMA 20.3.11, the granary of *Mkt-Rꜣ* from the early 12th Dynasty TT280 (Breasted 1948: 14, Pl. 11b; Winlock 1955: 25-27, 87, Pls. 20, 21, 24, 62, 63; Tooley 1989: 98; and Do. Arnold 2005: 4) and the early Middle Kingdom granaries excavated from Saqqara, including AEIN 1630, the granary of *Gmni* from tomb HMK30 (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 30a,b; Breasted 1948: 13, Pl. 10a,b; Tooley 1989: 110; Jørgensen 1996: 132-133, Cat. 52). At other sites, there are examples of granary storehouses in which the human figures are grossly out of proportion with the enclosure walls. These granaries are known predominantly from Sedment. One such example is AEIN 1572, from the First Intermediate Period tomb (2106) of *Wꜣdt-ḥtp* (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 7, 11, Pl. XX.1; Mogensen 1930: 66, Pl. LXIII; Tooley 1989: 107, miswritten as AEIN 1571, which is a combined bakery-brewery-butcher scene; Jørgensen 1996: Cat. 41, 110-111).

raised to support the basket on his head, holding his right arm pendant.¹³⁰⁶ Each man has red flesh, and wears a black bag wig that covers his ears and a white kilt. The large, painted eyes with their white corneas and black pupils are preserved only on two figures (Cat. 911,n). The baskets are painted yellow, with the top of each one painted white to represent the transported grain. Each man was hand-carved as a single unit, with the feet acting as a tenon that would have been mortised to the granary floor (there are no mortise holes in the magazine roofs for the attachment of the figures). These three male figures suffered severe damage from rodents, particularly the legs and faces of both Cat. 911 and 91n and the right arm of Cat. 911.

A fourth (lost) granary worker from N.3737 once held a measuring basket (Cat. 91o, Figs. 51 and 148).¹³⁰⁷ This small basket is 2.6 cm in diameter x 2.5 cm high. It is painted red, with three horizontal bands in black, indicating different levels for measurement. The top of the basket is yellow, representing grain, and has a slot for the insertion of a worker's fingers.¹³⁰⁸

9.4 Conclusion

In her study of model granaries (primarily) from excavated contexts throughout Egypt, Tooley calculated totals for domed silos and storehouses. Excluding Naga ed-Deir, Tooley found 152 complete and fragmentary granaries that dated from the Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. This total includes 127 granary storehouses and 25 domed silo models, 84% and 16% of her corpus, respectively. In the introduction to Chapter 9, I discussed five provenanced examples of domed silo granaries from El-Kab, Gebelein and Akhmim that Tooley did not incorporate into her final calculations in her dissertation.¹³⁰⁹ With these additions, the revised corpus of granary models consists of 157 examples. I also amended Tooley's dates of 13 granaries. Based on these modifications to Tooley's data, there are four (two limestone and two pottery) sets of granary silos dated to Dynasties 4-5 that represent 3% of the corpus. Tooley observed a gap in the production of granary models in the late Old Kingdom, followed by the introduction of the granary storehouse and the reappearance of the domed granary silo in the First Intermediate Period; however, there are two pottery domed silos from Gebelein and one

¹³⁰⁶ Male workers typically carry grain sacks on their backs or supported on one shoulder. See, for example, AEIN 1572, from the First Intermediate Period tomb (2106) of *W3dt-htp* from Sedment. In the courtyard three male workers hold their arms bent against their chests, grasping the cords that secure grain sacks on their backs (reference cited above, n. 1299). For an example of a worker transporting a basket of grain on one shoulder while walking up stairs, see LM 55.82.2, from the tomb (BH1) of *3ntf* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 57-58, Figs. 41-44; Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 38; and Tooley 1989: 44, 102). Finally, for an example of a worker carrying a grain sack on his head, see the granary (current location unknown) from the late Dynasty 11 tomb (BH275) of *T33y* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 221; and Tooley 1989: 103, and Pl. 19:2).

¹³⁰⁷ In Fig. 51, Ex. Ph. C8191, see top, right.

¹³⁰⁸ Note the hand position of the grain measurer who holds a basket in MMA 20.3.11, the granary from TT280 at Thebes. The worker's left hand supports the bottom edge of the basket, and his right hand is cupped over the top of the basket (Winlock 1955: Pl. 21). For further comparison, see Phil. E 14259, the granary from the early Middle Kingdom tomb (2111) of *Hnty-hty* at Sedment, in which an overseer raises a baton to a stooping man who scoops grain into a basket (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 7, 12, Pl. 20.5; Breasted 1948: 14; O'Connor and Silverman 1980: 80, Fig. 92; Tooley 1989: 108, dated Dynasty 11 to Senusret I; Do. Arnold 2005: 30, n.103, dated pre-reunification Dynasty 11; Merriman 2009: 611, 616, and Cat. Nos. 515, and 520, boats from tomb dated to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11). For other examples of granary workers with measuring baskets, see BMFA 21.808 and BMFA 21.409, from early Dynasty 12 tomb 10A at Bersha. In each of these two granaries, one worker leans forward slightly with the left leg bent, supporting a measuring basket on the left thigh (D'Auria et al. 1988: 113, Figs. 58-59; Tooley 1989: 101; and Freed et al. 2003: 120).

¹³⁰⁹ See above, nn. 1240 and 1244.

wooden model with domed silos on the sides likely from Akhmim that date to the late Old Kingdom. Thus, there are three models, or 2% of the corpus, dated to this period.¹³¹⁰ The granaries from Gebelein and Akhmim are particularly important because, when the evidence from these two sites is combined with the Naga ed-Deir data (discussed further below), it suggests there was no gap in the production of model granaries in the late Old Kingdom, as Tooley argued. In the First Intermediate Period, the majority of granary models are storehouses, with 32 examples (20% of the corpus).¹³¹¹ In contrast, there are only six examples of domed silos in this period (4% of the corpus): three examples of individual clay domed silos and three examples of what Tooley referred to as “terracotta” granaries, i.e., sets of clay domed silos that make up part of a larger granary structure.¹³¹² In the early Middle Kingdom, there are only four additional examples of terracotta granaries (just over 2% of the corpus), and no individual domed silos.¹³¹³ In contrast, in this period there was a sharp increase in the number of granary storehouses, with 92 examples (just under 59% of the corpus).¹³¹⁴ In the late Middle Kingdom, she noted the reappearance of the individual clay domed silo, with 13 examples (8% of the corpus).¹³¹⁵ In contrast, in this phase the granary storehouse all but disappeared from the model repertoire, with only three known examples (2% of her corpus).

In sections 9.2-9.3 of this chapter, I presented additional evidence of granary models excavated from Naga ed-Deir. The Naga ed-Deir corpus consists of three relatively complete granary models and 23 fragments of three additional granary models from five tombs at the site. These six granaries include three sets of wooden domed silos and three wooden granary

¹³¹⁰ Although Tooley discussed the Akhmim model (J.E. 28839) briefly in her dissertation (1989: 90), she did not include the model on Table 10, her list of provenanced granary types.

¹³¹¹ Tooley (1989: 28, Table 3). Tooley listed 32 model granaries on her Table 3. However, I revised the dates of seven of her granaries from the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom: Turin S.8651, from the tomb of *Hp-df* at Asyut, Brus. E785.2, from the second burial in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada, AEIN 1572, from tomb 2106 at Sedment, Rostock (lost), from tomb MR42 at Abusir, ÄMB 17442, from tomb MR43 at Abusir, ÄMB 1364-1365, from Lepsius tomb 10 at Saqqara and LM 55.82.2, from tomb BH1 at Beni Hasan (Tooley 1989: 20, 21, 24, 25, 38, 99, 101-102, 107, 109, 110-111). For the redating of the tombs from Asyut and Abusir, see, for example, Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n.101 and 31, n. 110). I also redated seven granaries from the Middle Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period: Brus. E5798c, Manchester 6601, OIM 11494, Edin. 1921.1661 and UCL NN, from Sedment tombs 374, 1525, 2105, 2112 and 2127, respectively, in addition to granaries (current location unknown) from Sedment tombs 2101 and 2107 (Tooley 1989: 44-45, 50-51, 103, 107-109). Even with these revisions, the total number of First Intermediate Period granary models remains 32.

¹³¹² For the dates of the three single silos from Asyut and Beni Hasan, see Tooley (1989: 22-24 and 121). For the dates of the three terracotta granaries from Beni Hasan and Gebelein, see Tooley (1989: 117, 119). Note that Tooley placed the two terracotta granaries from Gebelein in her section on individual pottery domed silos (1989: 119). Furthermore, these two granary models from Gebelein have been dated by various scholars to the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, as mentioned above.

¹³¹³ The four terracotta granaries are from Salmiya and Beni Hasan (Tooley 1989: 116-118 and 124, Table 10, with corrections discussed in n. 1239).

¹³¹⁴ Although Tooley listed 92 granary models on her Table 4 (1989: 60), she discussed 93 examples in her Chapter Two (1989: 95-111). In additions to the date changes discussed in my n. 1311, I also modified the date of granary MMA 32.1.125, from mastaba B at Lisht, from early to late Dynasty 12 (Tooley 1989: 52-53, 109). The total number of granary models for the early Middle Kingdom is now 92. Note also, that although Tooley dated the granary (current location unknown) from BH275 to the early Middle Kingdom (1989: 103, and Pl. 19.2), elsewhere she dated the offering bearer and porters from the tomb to early Dynasty 11 (i.e., the First Intermediate Period) (Tooley 1989: 210-211). Furthermore, she did not include the boat models from BH275 in her boat chapter (i.e., Chapter Three); however, she apparently did date them to early Dynasty 11 in her general discussion of the tomb chronology (1989: 44-45).

¹³¹⁵ From Esna, Thebes, Ballas, Hu, Abydos and Beni Hasan (Tooley 1989: 118-121).

storehouses that date to the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (Phases I and II). Sixty-seven percent of the granary corpus from Naga ed-Deir is represented by four granary models that date to the late Old Kingdom: two probable sets of domed silos and two granary storehouses. In contrast, for the First Intermediate Period, I found only two granary models that represent 33% of my corpus: one set of domed silos and one granary storehouse. Incorporating the data for three granary storehouses and three domed silo models from Naga ed-Deir, with the five additional silo models from El-Kab, Gebelein and Akhmim, the new total is 163: 130 granary storehouses and 33 domed silos, or 80% and 20% of the corpus, respectively. Four examples of domed silos date to the Old Kingdom, Dynasties 4-5 (3% of the corpus). In the late Old Kingdom, there are at least five domed silos (3% of the corpus). In this period, the granary storehouse first appears, with two examples (1% of the corpus). In the First Intermediate Period, the granary storehouse model outnumbers the domed silos, with 33 examples of storehouses (20% of the corpus), compared with seven examples of domed silos (4% of the corpus). In the early Middle Kingdom, the number of granary storehouses remains unchanged, at 92 (56% of the corpus). The number of terracotta granaries in this period is also the same, with four examples (2% of the corpus). In the late Middle Kingdom, the numbers of both (individual) domed silos and granary storehouses again remains unaffected, with 13 and three examples, respectively (8% and 3% of the corpus).

There are both differences and similarities in comparing the Naga ed-Deir collection of model granaries against Tooley's data from other sites. First, based on the new evidence from Naga ed-Deir (and Gebelein), of which Tooley was unaware when writing her dissertation, there now appears to be no break in the production of model granaries in the late Old Kingdom. Specifically, there is evidence for domed silo granary models in this period. Furthermore, while (with one exception) domed granary silo models from other sites are made of clay, at Naga ed-Deir they are made exclusively of wood, perhaps suggesting a site preference for this material. One of the six silos from N.69 underwent wood analysis, and was shown to be made of sycamore fig. The granary storehouse model also made its initial appearance at Naga ed-Deir in the late Old Kingdom, a little earlier than Tooley observed at other sites.¹³¹⁶ The combined evidence for model granaries from Naga ed-Deir and other sites discussed by Tooley, however, still indicates that the production of granary storehouse models began to surpass that of domed silo granary models in the First Intermediate Period. Furthermore, in this period at Asyut and Beni Hasan we find the first appearance of the individual domed silo, a form that in the late 12th Dynasty replaced the domed silo sets arranged on bases that were typical of the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. The earlier form of domed silo model is known from a few provincial sites in addition to Naga ed-Deir, including El-Kab, Gebelein, Salmiya and Beni Hasan. There are no examples of individual domed silos from Naga ed-Deir dated to the late Middle Kingdom. Finally, as noted above, Tooley found the peak production period of the granary storehouse to be the early Middle Kingdom, followed by a sharp decline in the late

¹³¹⁶ As mentioned previously, Tooley dated the earliest known granaries from the tombs of *Stt-k3* (tomb 98) at Qubbet el-Hawa and *Ini* at Gebelein to Dynasties 8/9 (i.e., her early First Intermediate Period). Because I use a slightly different chronology in the current study, considering Dynasties 6-8 to be the late Old Kingdom, there is some overlap in our two dating systems. The granary storehouses from N.69 and N.105, therefore, are likely very close in date to those from Qubbet el-Hawa and Gebelein. Note also that in her study of boat models, Merriman dated boats from Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 98 to Dynasty 8, slightly earlier than those from *Ini*'s tomb at Gebelein, which she dated to Theban early Dynasty 11 (2009: 332, 340, 342 and Cat. Nos. 73, 74, 88, and 91); however, she still assigned the boats from both sites to the First Intermediate Period.

Middle Kingdom; however, there are no extant granary storehouses of either period from Naga ed-Deir that can be incorporated with Tooley's data from other sites.

Excluding Naga ed-Deir, Tooley observed several regional patterns in the production of model granary storehouses based on a few crucial features: interior plans, angles of the peaked corners, heights of the enclosure walls, exterior wall decoration and proportion of the human figures to the granary structures.¹³¹⁷ In contrast, Tooley found only two stylistic attributes of the storehouses to be diagnostic markers for dating: open-topped magazines and the placement of magazines on opposite sides of a central court.¹³¹⁸

In my study of the Naga ed-Deir material, I utilized Tooley's criteria to examine the regional and chronological characteristics of the six granaries excavated from the site. For domed granary silo models, Tooley observed an Upper Egyptian distribution pattern, with only three examples known as far north as Asyut and Beni Hasan.¹³¹⁹ The three additional domed granary silos excavated from Naga ed-Deir also fit this pattern. In her regional analysis of model granary storehouses, Tooley observed a gap between Thebes and Asyut in the sites where such models have been excavated, with no examples cited from the Sheikh-Farag-Rifeh area.¹³²⁰ The Naga ed-Deir corpus of granary storehouses, therefore, is important because it contributes to our knowledge of such models produced in this region. Although it is impossible to do a detailed analysis based on a corpus of three mostly fragmentary storehouse models, we can draw some general conclusions regarding the granaries from N.69, N.105 and N.3737. Interestingly, the two granaries from N.69 and N.3737 have the names and/or quantities of cereal grains recorded in hieratic on the magazine doors. For both granaries from N.105 and N.3737, we have some information about their interior plans. The staircase excavated from N.105 originally was located on the right side of a granary enclosure wall. While it is not certain that the granary storehouse from N.3737 had an interior staircase, if so, it would have been placed against the left enclosure wall because of the position of the storage magazines. These two storage magazines are closed-topped, one set against the back enclosure wall and the other placed against the right enclosure wall. Because the granary storehouse from N.3737 is better preserved than those from N.69 and N.105, we have additional information regarding interior/exterior decoration, enclosure wall height and scale of the granary workers. The enclosure walls are painted white on the interior and yellow (or buff) on the exterior. The enclosure walls are high (at 42.5 cm), with small granary workers (ca. 15-16 cm high) that are in proportion to the granary structure. Finally, the enclosure walls have peaked corners at a 35 degree angle.

¹³¹⁷ Tooley (1989: 124-125).

¹³¹⁸ Tooley (1989: 113-114). While she noted that open-topped magazines appear to have little chronological significance, she also observed that none of the known examples date earlier than reunification Dynasty 11, with most falling into the early Middle Kingdom. This magazine feature is found on granaries excavated from Thebes, Sheikh Ibada, Beni Hasan, Lisht and Abusir. For her discussions of specific examples, see Tooley (1989: 96-97, 98, 101-102, 103, 104-105, 106, 109, and 111). Although Tooley (1989: 101-102) dated the granary from Sheikh Ibada to the First Intermediate Period, she correctly noted (1989: 24) the type of boat (IV/V) from the burial was more typical of late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12. Since Merriman (2009: 400; Cat. 204) also dated the boat model to late Dynasty 11, I retained this date for the granary as well. Granaries with side magazines date to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12, with known examples from Meir, Beni Hasan and Saqqara. For her discussions of these examples, see Tooley (1989: 100, 104, 105 and 110).

¹³¹⁹ The Upper Egyptian sites are Esna, Thebes, Ballas, Hu, Abydos and Beni Hasan (Tooley 1989: 118-121 and 124, Table 10).

¹³²⁰ Tooley (1989: 69, Table 6).

With the exception of the corner angle of the peaked enclosure walls and possibly the magazine inscriptions, the stylistic features of the granary storehouse from N.3737 proved not to be regional or chronological markers. As Tooley observed, granary storehouses with high angled peaks are concentrated in Upper Egypt, while those with low angled peaks predominate in Lower Egypt. Specifically, she noted a peaked angle range of 30-40 degrees at sites concentrated in Middle and Upper Egypt, including Beni Hasan, Asyut and Thebes.¹³²¹ With its corner angle peak of 35 degrees, we can add the granary storehouse from N.3737 to this list. One other possible regional feature not discussed by Tooley is the labeling of the magazine contents. Other than N.69 and N.3737, the only other known example of a granary storehouse with the cereal contents labeled in hieratic derives from tomb 98 at Qubbet el-Hawa, perhaps suggesting an Upper Egyptian trend. Since these three tombs fall into the range of the late Old Kingdom-early First Intermediate Period, it is also possible, however, that the inclusion of inscriptions is a chronological feature.

¹³²¹ Tooley (1989: 113, Table 9).

Chapter Ten: Food Preparation and Processing (Kitchens)

10.1 Introduction

The fourth, and final, category in the core tomb model repertoire is food preparation and processing, also known as kitchen scenes. The four primary kitchen activities depicted in models involve baking bread and brewing beer (i.e., marking two of the staples of the Egyptian diet), slaughtering oxen¹³²² and cooking meat (poultry and beef). These domestic scenes, which may occur individually, in pairs or in group models, fulfilled multiple symbolic functions. Most basically, they represented narrative sequences of activities performed not only to provide the deceased with food and drink in the afterlife, but also to invoke the action of offering provisions at the tomb.¹³²³ As with luxury funerary goods deposited in burials, abundant model food offerings likely reflected the economic wealth and, by extension, the elevated social rank of the deceased.¹³²⁴ Finally, the specific, ritual act of butchering oxen may have served to reanimate the deceased in the afterlife.¹³²⁵

As in tomb scenes dating from the Old through the Middle Kingdoms, the format of contemporary kitchen models is highly standardized and represents vignettes of activities adapted from real life. In contrast to two-dimensional tomb scenes, however, three-dimensional kitchen models are more restricted in their depictions of the specific tasks in which the figures are engaged. The same iconographic motifs appear repeatedly in the models, with workers performing a few crucial tasks encapsulating the entire range of food preparation activities that took place in real secular (and sacred) contexts. Of the four main activities, baking and brewing often are paired, while butchering and cooking meat frequently also appear together.

Bread and beer-making activities are shown together in group kitchen models because both manufacturing processes used the same basic ingredients (barley and emmer wheat) and

¹³²² The butchered animal is always an ox. Oxen (castrated male bovids) were used as meat animals, while cows generally were used for the production of milk and other dairy products (Ikram 1995: 10, 12).

¹³²³ Tooley (1989: 4-5). Kitchen workers are responsible for the four key provisions (i.e., bread, beer, oxen and fowl) named in the offering formula and depicted in the associated tableau on false doors and funerary stelae inside tomb chapels. Further reinforcement of the connection between models and the offering ritual is found in other funerary texts, such as Coffin Text Spell 604, which refers to the presentation of bread and beer in the offering ceremony (Faulkner 1977: 194).

¹³²⁴ Ikram (1995: 203, 205-206). The depiction of beef, in particular, illustrates this point. Beef was not accessible to all social classes on a regular basis, but was consumed more often by wealthier people who could afford to own oxen or purchase cuts of beef (Darby et al. 1977: 139, 142; Wilson 1988: 35, 38; and Ikram 1995: 219, 229; 2000: 669). In contrast, wildfowl were part of the food supply of the lower classes (Darby et al. 1977: 139, 142; Wilson 1988: 35, 38; and Ikram 1995: 229; 2000: 669; contra Tooley 1989: 4-5, who argued that the provisioning of fowl (together with butchering oxen) lay outside the staple diet and was available only to a privileged few. Information on the consumption of meat by nobles in the Old and Middle Kingdoms is derived primarily from the artistic evidence. Actual remains of meat offerings in non-royal burials are rare (Ikram 1995: 205). At Naga ed-Deir several of the tombs with models did contain faunal material identified in the excavation reports as ox or calf bones and ox horns: N.110, N.3737, N.3756, N.9292, S.F.95 and S.F.209. S.F.187 also contained pottery (i.e., model) ox horns.

¹³²⁵ Do. Arnold (2005: 65) suggested that tomb scenes and models depicting not only the deceased's ownership of large herds of cattle, but the slaughter of oxen, provided "life-affirming potency" to the deceased. The ox foreleg or haunch-- a choice cut of meat-- offered to the tomb owner reinforced this concept. For the symbolism of the foreleg, see above, n.1171.

similar technologies.¹³²⁶ In bread production, eight basic stages are represented by models.¹³²⁷ Teams of men and women work together, although some activities appear to be gender-specific. Standing men and women dehusk grain in mortars with long pestles.¹³²⁸ Seated figures, usually women, sift the crushed grain through rush-work sieves to separate the chaff.¹³²⁹ Other individuals, also typically women, either kneel or stand to mill the winnowed and cleaned grain in a saddle quern with a grinding stone.¹³³⁰ Men and woman bend or kneel, kneading dough in a vat.¹³³¹ Seated men shape the dough into loaves on low tables.¹³³² Standing men and women carry trays of unbaked loaves.¹³³³ Seated figures, frequently women, preheat or temper stacks of bread molds before use.¹³³⁴ The dough is never depicted in the act of being poured into or baked in the heated molds; instead, female attendants are shown seated in front of ovens that are either conical, cylindrical or rectangular, baking hand-formed loaves.¹³³⁵ In other cases, ovens are

¹³²⁶ It has been argued traditionally that baking and brewing are shown together because partially baked bread was the main ingredient used to make beer (e.g., see Darby et al. 1977: 526, 534-538). A more recent examination of the evidence, using archaeological data, ethnographic analogy and experimental reconstruction, has demonstrated that partially cooked emmer wheat or barley grains (rather than bread) were mixed with uncooked malt (i.e., germinated grains) and water to create the mash (Samuel 2000: 551-555). The revised processes of both bread and beer production are provided in Samuel (2000: 537-576), and summarized on her tables in Figs. 22.2 and 22.3, in comparison with the assumed traditional methods outlined in her Fig. 21.1a,b.

¹³²⁷ The specific processes involved in flour production, i.e., dehusking, sieving and milling grains, have been reconstructed primarily from the types of analyses discussed above, in n. 1316 (Samuel 2000: 560-563). In contrast, our knowledge of ancient Egyptian baking techniques is known mainly from archaeological evidence (e.g., bread molds, ovens and preserved bread loaves) and artistic data, including tomb models and tomb scenes (Samuel 2000: 563-568).

¹³²⁸ E.g., Cairo (number unknown), from the tomb (BH186) of *T3wy* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 81, Fig. 69, and 85-86, Fig. 75; Breasted 1948: 41; Tooley 1989: 46, identified as a baker-butcher model; and Arnold 2005: 44).

¹³²⁹ E.g., Leipzig 2564 from mastaba D 39/40 of *D333* at Giza (Breasted 1948: 25, Pl. 25c; Krauspe 1997b: 75-76, and Pl. 69.1-4, Cat. 129; and Hill 1999: 394-395, Cat. 142).

¹³³⁰ E.g., CG 504, from tomb (S24) of *Špy* at Dahshur (Borchardt 1925: 73, and Pl. 86; Breasted 1948: 21, identified as female; and Tooley 1989: 10, identified as male).

¹³³¹ E.g., J.E.72231, a kneeling woman with a vat between her knees, from the mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr* at Giza (S. Hassan 1950: 181, and Pl. 80A-C).

¹³³² E.g., OIM 10624, part of the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group from Giza (Breasted 1948: 26, Pl. 26b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98; and Tooley 1995: 30, Fig. 21).

¹³³³ E.g., one figure in model Bristol H.4587 or H.4596, from tomb BH275 of *T33y* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1904: 221; Garstang 1907: 221, Breasted 1948: 38, listed the museum number as H.4596; Tooley 1989: 44, 211, and Pl. 48:1, listed both Bristol H.4587 and H.4596).

¹³³⁴ E.g., BMFA 21.2600 from Giza tomb 2415 depicts a female baker seated before a stack of bread molds (Stevenson Smith 1949: 65, 75, 98 and Fig. 15; Breasted 1948: 27, Pl. 28b; and Hill 1999: 386). In tempering real bread molds, the interiors are greased and then heated, with this process repeated several times to create a non-stick surface. After the molds are heated, the dough is poured inside, with the bread baking quickly in the residual heat (Darby et al. 1977: 512; Wilson 1988: 16; Wilson 1989: 89-100; and Jørgensen 1996: 128). Note that Tooley (1989: 4; 1995: 29) asserted that in models, the dough is shown being baked inside the stacked molds that essentially functioned as ovens; therefore, she called the associated figures “oven stokers” or “oven attendants”.

¹³³⁵ Inside the ovens, the dough was placed either on a flat baking stone or pressed onto the interior walls to bake (Darby et al. 1977: 512; Wilson 1988: 11-12). For an example of a domed/conical oven, see AEIN 1571 from tomb 2106 of *W3dt-htp* at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 11, Pl. 20:3, called “cooking” group”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Mogensen 1930: 211, and Pl. LXIII; Breasted 1948: 40, and Pl. 39a; Tooley 1989: 217-218, and Pl.56, misidentified as AEIN 1572; and Jørgensen 1996: 109, identified as a “kitchen”). For a cylindrical oven, see BM41576 from tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htpi* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 237; Wilson 1988: 18, Fig. 16; Tooley 1989: 46; and Taylor 2001: 101, Fig. 62). Note, this model also has a second, domed oven. Finally, both domed

makeshift structures comprised of three-four round slabs that probably represented limestone.¹³³⁶ The bakers who monitor the stacked bread molds and ovens keep the fires stoked with long pokers, while protecting their faces from the heat with raised hands.

Like model baking scenes, brewing scenes also shown workers milling and sieving grains. Other individuals in brewing scenes perform activities more specifically associated with the production of beer, rather than bread.¹³³⁷ In beer production, in addition to milling and sieving grain, six other stages are represented by models. As in baking scenes, men and women work together in the production of beer; in breweries, however, more activities are performed by men alone. Both men and women strain mash through sieves attached to the tops of large vats used for fermentation. The vats are secured on ringed bases, perhaps representing stands made of basketry.¹³³⁸ Women sometimes sit before cylindrical braziers topped with jars, perhaps cooking the grains used to make mash.¹³³⁹ Men carry jars of water needed for the fermentation process.¹³⁴⁰ Seated men clean the interiors of beer (*dwiw*) jars in preparation for use.¹³⁴¹ Seated men also seal these small storage jars-- containing the finished product-- with conical mud stoppers.¹³⁴² The sixth image found in brewing scenes is a man standing inside a large vat, performing an activity that likely represents mixing mash with his feet, but also has been identified as kneading dough or stomping dates.¹³⁴³

Meat processing consisted of four main stages: slaughtering, segmentation/jointing, processing/preserving and storage/transportation.¹³⁴⁴ While all four activities are well-documented in tomb reliefs and paintings, only the act of 1) killing an ox (by slitting its throat); 2) processing/preserving different types of meat; and (rarely) 3) storing meat are depicted in

and rectangular ovens were found in pit 14 of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II at Deir el-Bahri (Di. Arnold 1981: 29-30, and Pls. 30a,c,d and 31a,b,c).

¹³³⁶ E.g., BM55730, from tomb 274 of *Mry-R^c-h^c-št.f* at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 2, and Pl. 11.6; Breasted 1948: 29; Wilson 1988: 51, Fig. 57; Tooley 1989: 10; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3401).

¹³³⁷ As in bread baking scenes, our knowledge of the stages of beer production is drawn primarily from both tomb models and tomb scenes (Samuel 2000: 554-555).

¹³³⁸ E.g., location unknown (formerly in the MacGregor Collection), from the tomb (BH1) of *Intf* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 64, Fig. 50; Breasted 1948: 32; and Tooley 1989: 44).

¹³³⁹ E.g., OIM 11495 from Sedment tomb 2105 (Petrie and Brunton 1924, 10, called “domestic scene”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Breasted, 40, Pl. 40a, dated to 9th Dynasty; and Teeter 2003a: 35-36, Fig. 13, dated to Dynasties 9/10, and suggested this function).

¹³⁴⁰ E.g., BMFA 04.1782, from tomb 14 of *Wp-w3wt-m-h^ct* at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 164, Pl. 34.1,3; Breasted 1948: 34-35; D’Auria et al. 1988: 100-101, tomb dated Dynasty 10 or 11; Tooley 1989: 35, dated late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12; Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n.110, dated to Dynasty 11 by pottery).

¹³⁴¹ E.g., J.E.67570, from Giza tomb 2420, shaft D (Stevenson Smith 1949: 91, Fig. 18a, and 97; and Breasted 1948: 47, Pl. 44c).

¹³⁴² E.g., OIM 10630, part of the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group from Giza (Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; and Breasted 1948: 16, and Pl. 14a).

¹³⁴³ E.g., Cairo (number unknown), from the tomb (BH116) of *Nfry* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 73-74, Figs. 61, 62; Breasted 1948: 35; Tooley 1989: 48; and Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99). Traditionally, it has been argued that dates were used to enrich or flavor beer or to facilitate the fermentation process (e.g., Darby et al. 1977: 543-547, Fig. 13.7; Wilson 1988: 19, 27; and Eggebrecht 1996: 32). More recent chemical analyses of beer residue excavated from New Kingdom sites, however, have not found any actual evidence for dates (Samuel 2000: 548-550, 556-557). It is also possible that in models, this mixing activity is another version of the bending or kneeling male and female figures identified as bakers who knead dough in vats with their hands (see n. 1331). Therefore, it is possible that the “dough kneaders” actually represent a stage of beer, rather than bread, production.

¹³⁴⁴ Ikram (1995); and summarized in Do. Arnold (2005: 8-9).

models.¹³⁴⁵ In models, furthermore, the various stages of meat processing that took place in different locations in real life are combined frequently into single scenes.¹³⁴⁶ Typically, the workers performing these activities are men. First, a man bends over a bound ox, holding a knife to slit its throat.¹³⁴⁷ A second, standing man holds the ends of the rope used to bind the animal.¹³⁴⁸ A third man (or woman) sits, holding a basin in which to catch the ox's blood.¹³⁴⁹ Rarely, a man stacks jars, presumably containing stored meat.¹³⁵⁰ Some model butcher shops also depict meat storage, with slabs of dried or salted/spiced pieces of meat hanging from lines or racks in shops.¹³⁵¹

The fourth category of models depicting kitchen activities is cooking, which typically is done in conjunction with the stage of meat processing. The cooking of beef appears infrequently, and involves boiling joints of meat in cauldrons.¹³⁵² It is also possible that this activity represents a boil-and-dry or brining technique of preserving beef, rather than cooking for immediate consumption.¹³⁵³ In association with butchering, a man sometimes sits with a fan before a small basin; because this figure typically is placed near a slaughtered ox, it has been suggested that he is using the animal's blood to cook a type of blood/fat "pudding" mixture.¹³⁵⁴

¹³⁴⁵ The main source of evidence for meat processing is artistic representation: i.e., two-dimensional scenes from tombs and temples and three-dimensional models. Other important sources of information include ethnographic analogy, experimental reconstruction and archaeological data (e.g., faunal remains and mummified joints of meat, vessels used for meat storage and transportation, and sites/buildings where meat processing took place) (Ikram 1995).

¹³⁴⁶ Archaeological evidence for meat processing primarily derives from Old Kingdom pyramid temple complexes at Abusir, and from New Kingdom temples at Abydos and Amarna and one private estate at Amarna (Ikram 1995: 89-93, Fig. 19; 98-100, Figs. 23, 26; 102-106, Fig. 25; and Do. Arnold 2005: 9-16, Figs. 6-10, 28). The slaughtering and segmentation of oxen took place in large, open courtyards surrounded by enclosure walls, while meat processing took place in rooms with chopping blocks and cooking facilities. Finally, as with other types of food items, meat was stored in rectangular rooms aligned in rows along corridors.

¹³⁴⁷ E.g., OIM 10626, part of the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group from Giza (Stevenson Smith 1949: 100, and Pl. 28e; and Breasted 1948: 35, and Pl. 32a).

¹³⁴⁸ E.g., BMFA 04.1781, from tomb 7 of *Nhti* at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 49, Pl. XV.1; Breasted 1948: 36-37, and Pl. 33; D'Auria et al. 1988: 102, No. 35; Tooley 1989: 35, 61).

¹³⁴⁹ For one example of a model that includes a male figure holding a container to catch the ox's blood, see AEIN1631, from the tomb (HMK30) of *Gmni-m-h't* (*Gmni*) at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, and Pl. 31a-b; Breasted 1948: 41, and Pl. 40b; Tooley 1989: 55; 1995: Fig. 28; Jørgensen 1996: 128-129, no. 50; and Do. Arnold 2005: 47, Pl. 8.14).

¹³⁵⁰ E.g., BM55729, from tomb 274 of *Mry-R^c-h^c-št.f* at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 2, and Pl. 11.4; Breasted 1948: 45; Tooley 1989: 11; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3399).

¹³⁵¹ E.g., MMA 20.3.10, from the tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-R^c* at Thebes (Breasted 1948: 37, and Pl. 34c; Winlock 1955: 23-25, 86-87, and Pls. 18-19, 21, 24, 60-61; Tooley 1989: 61; and Do. Arnold 2005: 1-8, 62-, Figs. 1-5, and Pls. I, II, III).

¹³⁵² In OIM 10629, part of the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group from Giza, a man cooks what appear to be cuts of meat in a cauldron (Stevenson Smith 1949: 100; and Breasted 1948: 44, Pl. 42a,b). In Leipzig 2562, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, a man grasps a spatula with which he stirs the contents of a cauldron; in this case, the food items have been identified as bread pellets or small morsels of fish or meat (Breasted 1948: 45, and Pls. 42c, 43; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100; Tooley 1995: 35, Fig. 30, museum number given as 2526; Krauspe 1997a: 40-41, Fig. 35; Krauspe 1997b: 72, and Pl. 64.1-4, Cat. 124; and Hill 1999: 395, Cat. 143).

¹³⁵³ Ikram (1995: 151, 165; 2000: 661, 663).

¹³⁵⁴ E.g., OIM 11495 from Sedment tomb 2105 (Petrie and Brunton 1924, 10, called "domestic scene", and Pl. 39, called "group"; Breasted, 40, and Pl. 40a, dated to Dynasty 9; and Teeter 2003a: 35-36, Fig. 13, dated to Dynasties 9/10). The cooked ingredients are indicated with red and white pigments, indicating to some scholars that it represents a mixture of blood and fat, i.e., a kind of "blood pudding" (Winlock 1955: 24; Wilson 1988: 41; and Ikram 1995: 179, 180-182). However, Ikram (1995: 179, 182) also pointed out that there is no modern counterpart

Most frequently, however, cooking scenes depict a man roasting a wildfowl (duck or goose) over a brazier, while fanning the flames.¹³⁵⁵

Tooley included kitchen models in her examination of tomb models from sites throughout Egypt. Tooley did not discuss this model type as a separate category, as she did with model boats, offering bearers and granaries. She did, however, integrate examples of kitchen scenes into her first chapter, which incorporated her general discussion on the types of models produced from the Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom, based on data derived (primarily) from archaeological excavations.¹³⁵⁶ Tooley divided kitchen scenes into specific activities, which she also included on her chronological and regional tables of model types.¹³⁵⁷ Citing 211 total examples of kitchen scenes, she drew general conclusions about the chronological development of these models, including form (i.e., single, paired and group scenes composed of three or more figures), manufacturing materials, and activity types specific to each period.

In her analysis of kitchen models, Tooley included only two examples from Naga ed-Deir: one wooden bakery group from N.202, which she referred to as a kitchen scene,¹³⁵⁸ and a limestone figure of a woman standing before an oven from S.F. 95.¹³⁵⁹ She mentioned the latter figure in her section on models made of materials other than wood, but did not include it in her chronological or regional discussions of model types. On her table of models dating to the First Intermediate Period, Table 3, she listed one complete “kitchen” model, which is probably the bakery scene from N.202.¹³⁶⁰ Her corpus of kitchen models from the Sheikh-Farag-Rifeh region correspondingly was very limited, with only the “kitchen” model from N.202 listed on her regional Table 6.¹³⁶¹

After re-examining Tooley’s Chapter One and chronological and regional Tables 1-6, I made several adjustments to her kitchen model database and incorporated additional evidence for kitchen models, based on my own research. Excluding Naga ed-Deir material, I calculated another 94 kitchen models, expanding the known total from 211 to 305 examples. Like Tooley, my data includes provenanced models from excavated archaeological contexts and unprovenanced models (excluding pastiches) that are attributed to specific sites and are securely dated. My additions date to all five periods, with the greatest discrepancy in number between

to Egyptian blood pudding. She further suggested the collected blood may have been reserved for ritual purposes, rather than food, although it does appear as an ingredient in medical papyri. Although in models the ox is depicted whole (i.e., not yet segmented), I believe it is possible that this activity represents a later stage of meat processing, perhaps another version of the cook boiling cuts of meat in a cauldron.

¹³⁵⁵ E.g., CG 242, from the tomb (A1) of *Ny-ḥ-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 127; Borchardt 1911: 157-158, and Pl. 51; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99; and Tooley 1989: 12). Although zoologically geese and ducks are similar and both were eaten by the ancient Egyptians, it is perhaps more likely that ducks are represented because, as Ikram pointed out (1995: 27-28), ducks have a much higher percentage of protein and fat and, therefore, would provide greater sustenance in the afterlife.

¹³⁵⁶ Tooley (1989: 1-88).

¹³⁵⁷ Tooley (1989: chronological Tables 1-5, on pages 3, 14, 28, 60 and 67; and regional Table 6, on pages 69-72).

¹³⁵⁸ Tooley (1989: 23).

¹³⁵⁹ Tooley (1980: 86).

¹³⁶⁰ Tooley (1989: 28).

¹³⁶¹ Tooley (1989: 69, Table 6). On this table, Tooley also listed a single fragment of a bakery-brewery model from this region; I have not been able to determine to which site she referred, however, as she did not discuss any such fragments from sites in this region in her Chapter One.

our two data sets occurring in the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5). Within each chronological phase, I amended Tooley's dates, current locations (i.e., museum inventory numbers) and descriptions (models assigned to the wrong categories), and added examples unknown to Tooley (e.g., recent archaeological discoveries, and models in museum collections inaccessible to her). Because these changes are too numerous to list here, I provide a separate list of these 305 kitchen models in my Appendix J. The information is arranged chronologically, further subdivided into single, paired and group models and then organized by type. Included are Tooley's data and my additions. Also in Appendix J is a table that compares Tooley's totals against mine for each kitchen model type. It is important to note here that, like Tooley, when numerous kitchen model fragments are documented for single tombs, I list them only once (i.e., representing the minimum number of models) because it is difficult to determine the original number of intact models when considering fragments that could have derived from multiple group scenes. As mentioned above, Appendix J excludes kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir, which are discussed in sections 10.2-10.6 of this chapter and organized separately in Appendices F and G.

My study of the Naga ed-Deir corpus of kitchen models resulted in a further expansion of Tooley's data set for this site. All together, Reisner's expedition teams excavated 30 kitchen models from 20 tombs ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), in addition to 10 (maximum) kitchen models from perhaps nine undocumented tombs. The 40 total scenes include all four major kitchen activities: baking bread, brewing beer, butchering oxen and cooking meat (wildfowl only). These four activities are represented by 20 single and two paired figures and 18 group scenes of single and related activities. Eleven of the 40 models are complete, and 29 are fragmentary. Finally, five of the 40 models are composites, manufactured from different materials that include wood and either clay or limestone, while the remaining 35 are made entirely of wood.

In sections 10.2-10.6 of this chapter, I will discuss the four categories of kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir in detail, providing information on specific activity types, forms (i.e., single statuettes vs. combined scenes) and manufacturing materials by time period. In the conclusion to this chapter, for each chronological phase I will compare the Naga ed-Deir kitchen models against the revised data from other sites to determine how the Naga ed-Deir corpus compares with the rest of Egypt in the proposed developmental scheme for this model type. As part of this analysis, I will consider in what ways (i.e., quantities, activity types, forms and materials) Naga ed-Deir conforms to and differs from the established corpus of kitchen models. A detailed examination of the Naga ed-Deir material, therefore, not only contributes to an understanding of the general chronological development of kitchen models throughout Egypt, but also expands our knowledge of the regional development of this model type specifically in the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh area.

Before turning to a discussion of the Naga ed-Deir material, it is necessary first to provide an overview of the chronological development of kitchen models from other sites in order to provide a context in which to examine the Naga ed-Deir corpus. It is important to present a synopsis of Tooley's arguments because she did not discuss kitchen scenes as a comprehensive unit in her study of tomb models, and because I have amended her database. It must be noted, however, that despite discrepancies in our two data sets, Tooley's *general* conclusions regarding the chronological development of kitchen models are still valid.

In the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5) kitchen models overwhelmingly outnumbered all other model types, with 92 examples.¹³⁶² Single figures in limestone predominated. In this period, private tombs located in the capital cemeteries (at Giza and Saqqara) typically contained 1-3 examples of serving statuettes engaged in kitchen activities; in some cases, however, large numbers of statuettes were interred together that represented an expanded range of activities.¹³⁶³ There is at least one example of a limestone kitchen scene with two figures on one base from this period.¹³⁶⁴ Kneeling millers were the most common serving statuette of Dynasties 4-5, and not only represented the act of grinding grain, but also -- based on their popularity -- may have encapsulated all bread and beer-producing activities in one figure.¹³⁶⁵ Miller statuettes also often were deposited in pairs in Old Kingdom tombs.¹³⁶⁶ In general descending order of importance, the other categories of kitchen figures for the Old Kingdom are brewers straining mash into vats, beer jar cleaners/sealers, bakers forming loaves and bakers preheating molds (tied), flour sifters, duck roasters, butchers and cooks and bakers kneading dough (tied). The majority of the single activity scene models pertain to the processing of cereal grains to make bread and beer, with meat production forming the minority. Finally, Old Kingdom kitchen statuettes from a few tombs were inscribed with the names and affiliation of the tomb owner's family members (i.e., sons and daughters) and dependents responsible for maintaining the funerary cult.¹³⁶⁷ The named statuettes are primarily those dealing with the production of bread and beer and, less frequently, cooking and roasting ducks; interestingly, none of the known butcher statuettes is inscribed.

¹³⁶² The majority of these models date to Dynasty 5. With my adjustments to Tooley's totals (1989: 3, Table 1) for other model types, discussed in the conclusions to my Chapters Seven-Nine, the comparative results for the other core model groups are five boats, four porters (i.e., no offering bearers) and four granaries.

¹³⁶³ Tooley (1989: 3-4). For example, the mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr* at Giza contained nine kitchen figures: one female miller, one female flour sifter, one man cleaning a duck, one cook, one man cleaning jars, one female baker preheating molds, one brewer, one man forming loaves on a board and one woman kneading dough in a vat. Among the cache of serving statuettes from the mastaba of *D333* at Giza (mastaba D 39/40) are 12 identifiable kitchen figures: one miller, two bakers forming loaves, one cook, one flour sifter, one baker preheating molds, two brewers, two jar cleaners, one butcher and one duck roaster. For museum inventory numbers and references for both model sets, see Appendix J. A thirteenth serving statuette, Leipzig 2571, from mastaba D39/40 also may be a kitchen figure. The statuette is broken, but is represented bending forward, performing an unknown activity (Breasted 1948: 104, and Pl. 99; and Krauspe 1997b: 76-77, and Pl. 71.1-4, Cat. 131).

¹³⁶⁴ J.E.72139, a standing miller pounding grain with pestle and a squatting female flour sifter depicted together, from tomb G2088 at Giza (Breasted 1948: 29, Pl. 29a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 91, fig. 18b; Roth 1995: 81, Fig. 32, and Pl. 32c; Hill 1999: 386). Another possible example is OIM 10632, part of the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group from Giza. This broken pair statuette includes two male figures facing each other, engaged in unknown activities (Breasted 1948: 105, and Pl. 98b). This evidence counters Tooley's statement that limestone figures were always single statuettes and that groups of two or three figures were made only of wood (1989: 16).

¹³⁶⁵ Tooley (1989: 4).

¹³⁶⁶ For example, CG110 and CG114, from the 5th Dynasty mastaba D 20 of *Wr-irni* at Saqqara (Borchardt 1897: 122; Borchardt 1911: 86, 88-89, and Pls. 24 and 25; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96; Breasted 1948: 17; Tooley 1995: 20, Fig. 9, and 28, Fig. 19; and Hill 1999: 386).

¹³⁶⁷ For example, included among the 23 limestone serving statuettes believed to derive from the (unlocated) 5th Dynasty tomb of *Ny-k3w-Inpw* at Giza, 13 are identifiable as kitchen models. Six of the 13 statuettes are inscribed with the names of family members, five of which are the tomb owner's children: his daughter, *Nbt-m-pt* (miller, OIM 6-10622), (his) daughter *Mr(t)* (brewer, OIM 10635), his son, *Mnw-h^c.f* (baker forming loaves, OIM 10624), his son, *Hnw* (cook, OIM 10629) and his son, *Hw[fw]-im3* (baker preheating molds, OIM 10634). For further examples from other tombs, see my Appendix J.

In the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8) tomb model production began to expand outside the core areas of Giza and Saqqara to other sites in Middle Egypt. Unlike other models, which have a wide geographic range in Middle and Upper Egypt, kitchens are known only from a few sites.¹³⁶⁸ In the late Old Kingdom, the quantities of model boats and offering bearers increased, but the number of model kitchen scenes declined; overall, however, kitchen scenes still outnumbered all the remaining types, with a total of 61 examples.¹³⁶⁹ The apparent decrease in food-producing models is explained partly by changes in model formats. Smaller quantities of single statuettes were produced, but the number of paired figures increased and combined scenes (with three figures) attached to one base first appeared. Therefore, one model could serve the same function as two or three models in earlier periods. The late Old Kingdom kitchen model totals also may be higher than they appear in my Appendix J. There are a few tombs with limestone elements from broken wooden kitchen models, which, although assumed here to belong to (a minimum of) one model, could derive instead from two or more models.¹³⁷⁰

Although limestone kitchen statuettes continued to be made in the late Old Kingdom, single figures more often were manufactured of wood, sometimes with the addition of limestone components.¹³⁷¹ Since wood is much easier to carve than stone, individual body parts of human figures could be made separately, freeing the limbs from the torsos.¹³⁷² Wooden serving statuettes and grouped models, therefore, exhibit a greater sense of movement than their stone counterparts. With wood, artists could transfer more two-dimensional images from kitchen scenes not easily rendered in stone to three-dimensional wooden models; e.g., millers using long, slender pestles to pound grain in mortars or men carrying jars suspended on yokes carried across their shoulders. It also was much easier to depict grouped compositions in wood, as artists could create a variety of scenes simply by arranging a stock set of human figures and accessories in different layouts and doweling them to boards. The earliest wooden models-- including kitchens-- derive from cemeteries in the Memphite region. For kitchen models, the single statuettes and combined scenes of 2-3 figures made in the late Old Kingdom typically are of higher quality than the more complex grouped scenes with multiple figures and accessories manufactured in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.¹³⁷³ This difference in quality likely is due to the fact that the models of the late Old Kingdom were made either in royal workshops or by skilled artists who were influenced by royal workshop traditions, in contrast to the models of the later periods, which were manufactured in provincial workshops by artists whose skills varied from region to region (and sometimes within regions).

As in the early Old Kingdom, in the late Old Kingdom private individuals typically were interred with 1-3 kitchen models. Similarly, individuals occasionally owned more than three

¹³⁶⁸ Tooley (1989: 16). Excluding Naga ed-Deir, late Old Kingdom tombs with kitchen models are located only at Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur, Sedment, Dara and Meir (listed in my Appendix J).

¹³⁶⁹ With my revisions of Tooley's totals (1989: 14, Table 2) for the other three core model groups in this period, the comparative results are 38 boats, 16 models of people carrying supplies and three granaries. The number of granary models remained low, as in the previous period.

¹³⁷⁰ Note, for example, the large number of limestone kitchen model elements found in tomb G2385 and G2347.

¹³⁷¹ Tooley (1989: 7).

¹³⁷² Page (1976: xvii); and Russmann (1995: 272).

¹³⁷³ Tooley (1989: 16, 18).

models, representing a wide range of activities.¹³⁷⁴ The most popular categories of single statuettes involved in bread and beer-making were bakers preheating molds, closely followed by brewers and millers, and then jar cleaners, bakers forming loaves, flour sifters and standing women dehusking grain.¹³⁷⁵ Paired kitchen figures (on one base) primarily represented milling and brewing activities. While there are no known examples of butcher models in the late Old Kingdom, the number of duck roaster statuettes increased slightly from Dynasty 5. Finally, beginning in the late Old Kingdom, figures in kitchen scenes no longer were identified by name, and, as such, likely represented generic servants and not specific individuals.¹³⁷⁶

In the First Intermediate Period, there are 47 known examples of kitchen models. This total was slightly below those for people carrying supplies and model boats, but higher than that for granaries.¹³⁷⁷ Interestingly, the number of kitchen models produced in the First Intermediate Period continues to decline from the Old Kingdom, while the quantities of the other three core model types exhibit a rather dramatic increase. However, this apparent decrease in kitchen model totals is somewhat misleading. The Old Kingdom data are skewed by the large caches of kitchen models from only a few tombs, particularly those of *D333* (12 or 13 examples) and *Ny-k3w-Inpw* (13 examples) from the 5th Dynasty tombs at Giza, and that of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* (13 examples) from his 6th Dynasty tomb at Meir, referenced above and listed in Appendix J. In the First Intermediate Period, the large sets of kitchen models disappeared and private people typically were buried only with 1-2 models of single, paired or (predominantly) grouped compositions.¹³⁷⁸ Kitchen models, furthermore, were distributed more widely in cemeteries throughout Egypt in the First Intermediate Period than in the previous periods.¹³⁷⁹ Therefore, although the amount of models declined, there was an increase in the number of tomb owners buried with them. Finally, the First Intermediate Period kitchen model totals may have been

¹³⁷⁴ The largest cache of kitchen figures from this period derives from the tomb of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* (A 1) at Meir. This tomb contained 13 single and paired kitchen statuettes: two bakers preheating molds, two bakers forming loaves, two brewers, one jar cleaner, two duck roasters, one model of paired millers, one paired miller and baker model and two models of paired brewers (Legrain 1900: 66-69; Tooley 1989: 11; see also my Appendix J for museum inventory numbers and further references).

¹³⁷⁵ My findings are in contrast to Tooley's, who argued that *millers* and brewers were the two most popular kitchen model types, followed by the bakers preheating molds, in this period (1989: 15).

¹³⁷⁶ Tooley (1989: 85).

¹³⁷⁷ Although Tooley stated that kitchen scenes as a group were the third most popular category in this period, after boats and granary storehouses (1989: 29), on her Table 3 (1989: 28), kitchen scenes appear to rank third after boats and *offering bearers*, and were followed by granary storehouses. With my revisions of Tooley's figures, the totals for the other three core model types are 91 boats, 54 people carrying supplies and 38 granaries.

¹³⁷⁸ In contrast to earlier periods, the largest set of First Intermediate Period kitchen models was comprised of only four examples. The tomb of *Mr-ḥnt* at Sheikh Ibada contained a duck roaster statuette (Brus. E785. 22), two female miller statuettes (Brus. E785. 9-10) and two cooks on one base (Brus. E785. 8) (Breasted 1948: 30; Tooley 1989: 24, and Pl. 6.1). Two other tombs of this period housed three examples: *Hnw* at Deir el-Bersha and tomb 389 at Sedment. *Hnw*'s models include a female brewer statuette, a statuette of a woman dehusking grain in a tall mortar and a combined scene of three kneeling female millers (KUL (number unknown), de Meyer 2007: 22, 23, No. 31). The kitchen models from Sedment tomb 389 consist of three separate group scenes involving baking, brewing and cooking, likely all UCL 31721 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 36; and Tooley 1989: 20).

¹³⁷⁹ Excluding Naga ed-Deir, the sites with kitchen models are Abusir, Saqqara, Sedment, Sheikh Ibada, Deir el-Bersha, Asyut and Gebelein (see my Appendix J).

higher than they appear. There are a small number of tombs with fragments from group scenes that could have derived from two (or more) models instead of one, as assumed here.¹³⁸⁰

The First Intermediate Period corpus of kitchen models also differs from those of earlier periods in manufacturing materials, quality and format. Models now were made entirely of wood, without limestone elements. There is a wide range in quality among the wooden models produced in provincial workshops in different regions as well as within the same areas.¹³⁸¹ In the First Intermediate Period, the number of single statuettes declined sharply, while the number of combined scenes composed of three or more figures increased. Therefore, in comparing the numbers of single and group scenes produced in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (listed in Appendix J), we find an almost complete reversal in format. In the First Intermediate Period, single statuettes were restricted to milling and brewing activities. Paired scenes on one base were also rare, and depicted the production of bread and beer. Single activity group scenes portrayed baking and (less frequently) brewing. Baking and brewing were depicted together occasionally in group scenes; more often, however, these two activities were combined with butchering oxen.¹³⁸² The provisioning of meat is exemplified further by perhaps one group kitchen model that included a man roasting a duck.¹³⁸³

¹³⁸⁰ E.g., the bakery scene fragments from Hogarth tombs LVII at Asyut and Saqqara tomb 507 (Tooley 1989: 13, 22).

¹³⁸¹ For example, Tooley (1994: 343-353) identified a distinctive style shared by human figures in various models (including kitchens) from Gebelein, characterized by truncated legs, elongated torsos and arms, crude, triangular faces with large eyes that slant downwards and have tiny pupils, jutting noses and thin, pinched mouths. The differences in quality between regions is evident in comparing the crude “stick figures” produced at Sedment (e.g., OIM 11495, Edin.1921.1657) with the more naturalistically rendered human figures manufactured at Deir el-Bersha (e.g., the cache from the recently-discovered tomb of *Hnw* at Deir el-Bersha), listed in my Appendix J.

¹³⁸² Tooley (1989: 29). She argued that butcher models appeared only sporadically in the First Intermediate Period, showing a marked difference from the previous two periods. To support this statement, she listed only two examples of butcher models and one example of a combined bakery-brewery-butcher shop on her Table 3. However, in her general discussion of First Intermediate Period model types, Tooley mentioned *four* models with butcher elements: two combined bakery-brewery-butcher models (from tomb 2106 at Sedment and tomb MR43 at Abusir), one butcher scene (from the burial chamber of *Gmn-wsr* in tomb group 10 at Saqqara) and a “model kitchen scene and parts of a butcher scene” from tomb HMK68 at Saqqara (Tooley 1989: 20, 25, 26-27). Because the kitchen model from Sedment (AEIN 1571) includes an offering bearer, she apparently counted the model in her offering bearer category. After revising the dates of several of her tombs with kitchen models, I derived a new total of five combined bakery-brewery-butcher scenes from tombs Sedment 374, 1593, 2105, 2112 and Saqqara HMK68 that likely date to the First Intermediate Period. Although I retained Tooley’s date for HMK68, because the tomb contained no burial or other associated material to help date it (e.g., pottery), and because group kitchen models also are known from the Middle Kingdom, the model may date to the later period. Furthermore, the model description in the excavation report for HMK68 is rather vague, allowing for the possibility that four separate kitchen statuettes were deposited in the tomb, rather than one combined scene (Firth and Gunn 1926: 55). Additional combined bakery-brewery-butcher scenes also may be represented by some (or all) of the 20 models labeled as “groups” and “cooks” in early excavation reports, particularly Petrie’s work at Sedment, as Tooley noted (1989: 29). For example, Petrie (in Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38), referred to the combined bakery-brewery-butcher shop model from tomb 1593 as a “cooking” scene; a recent publication of this model, however, included an excavation photograph (PMAN 3447), which clearly shows all three activities (Picton and Pridden 2008: 120-121). Therefore, butcher scenes appear to have been represented more frequently in the First Intermediate Period than Tooley believed, although they predominated in northern Egyptian sites.

¹³⁸³ Tooley (1989: 29-30). Tooley listed *ÄMB* 1366, from burial chamber 2 (of *Gmni*) in Lepsius’ tomb group 10 at Saqqara (Lepsius 1913: Pl. XLVI; Tooley 1989: 25, and Pl. 5.2) and the scene (current location unknown) from tomb HMK68 at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 55; and Tooley 1989: 26-27). The Berlin model, however, more likely dates to the early Middle Kingdom, based on Merriman’s analysis of the boat models from

In reality, slaughtering activities took place in areas separated from baking, brewing and cooking installations, and food storage centers.¹³⁸⁴ Butchering scenes were combined with baking, brewing and cooking activities in models, in part, simply because they were all domestic scenes, together representing the abundance of key food and beverage items for the deceased, and not because they reflected a real life correspondence between localities and activities.¹³⁸⁵ In the First Intermediate Period, the sharp increase in the amount of combined three-dimensional kitchen scenes also corresponded with the decline in the number of *two-dimensional* kitchen scenes. The greatest numbers of two-dimensional kitchen scenes are found in Old Kingdom tombs.¹³⁸⁶ Because fewer tombs of the First Intermediate Period (and Middle Kingdom) were decorated than in the Old Kingdom, genre or daily life scenes -- including kitchen activities -- were transferred to three-dimensional models.¹³⁸⁷ While in the Old Kingdom one or two serving statuettes could stand in for the entire range of baking and brewing activities, in the First Intermediate Period (and Middle Kingdom), therefore, kitchen models needed to be more explicit in their depictions to ensure the continuation of provisions for the deceased in the afterlife. It was also more economical for an individual to purchase one or two group kitchen models of combined scenes than a large set of individual statuettes performing related, but separate, activities.

In the early Middle Kingdom, the production of kitchen scenes reached its peak, both in number and distribution throughout Egypt.¹³⁸⁸ There are 99 known examples of provenanced kitchen models. These kitchen models still ranked third in number, after model boats and offering bearers, with granaries placed fourth.¹³⁸⁹ In contrast to models of boats and people carrying supplies, the number of kitchen models does not increase as dramatically from the First

burial chambers 2 and 3 (2009: 365, Cat. 136 and 401, Cat. 205). As mentioned above, the model from HMK68 also may date to the Middle Kingdom.

¹³⁸⁴ Wilson (1988: 53); Ikram (1995: 86); and Do. Arnold (2005: 44-45, 62). For example, as discussed in Section 9.1, in Middle Kingdom domestic contexts food processing and cooking activities are documented in the archaeological record in columned spaces attached to granaries. Other rooms associated with these kitchen activities were used to store food commodities, including bread, beer and roasted fowl. Based on textual evidence, these centers of storage and production are known as the *pr-šnꜥ*, beginning in the Old Kingdom (Brovarski 1989: 432-434; and Do. Arnold 2005: 60). In addition, there is archaeological and artistic evidence dating to the Middle and New Kingdoms for temporary kitchen installations supported by poles in the courtyards of smaller houses where food was prepared, including baking, brewing and cooking activities (Ikram 1995: 86; and Do. Arnold 2005: 23). There is also archaeological evidence dating to the Middle and New Kingdoms for food storage in the cellars of houses at Kahun, Deir el-Medina, Amarna and Sesebi (Ikram 1995: 188-189). In small households, baking and cooking would have been done in the open air or a courtyard or the upper floor or roof of a house to allow the escape of smoke (Wilson 1988: 53). Finally, as noted above, n. 1319, the archaeological evidence for slaughtering indicates that it took place in enclosed courtyards.

¹³⁸⁵ Do. Arnold (2005: 21, 25).

¹³⁸⁶ Samuel (2000: 537).

¹³⁸⁷ For summaries of the known baking and brewing tomb scenes dating from the Old to Middle Kingdoms, see Vandier (1964: 272-305, Figs. 124, 126-129, 133-139, 141-145 and Pl. X, fig. 130, Pl. XI, figs. 131-132, and Pl. XII, fig. 140) and, for a more recent overview of key scenes, Samuel (2000: 537-538). For a list of all known meat processing (oxen, poultry, fish and pig) tomb scenes, see Ikram (1995: Tables I-IV, including New Kingdom tombs and with further references to Porter and Moss).

¹³⁸⁸ Excluding Naga ed-Deir, kitchen models are known from Middle Kingdom burials at Abusir, Saqqara, Lisht, Lahun, Sedment, Beni Hasan, Sheikh Ibada, Deir el-Bersha, Meir, Asyut and Thebes (see my Appendix J).

¹³⁸⁹ With my adjustments to Tooley's totals on her Table 4 (1989: 60), the other three core models types consist of 368 boats, 144 people carrying supplies and 96 granaries. As in the First Intermediate Period, granaries rank fourth, after kitchen models.

Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom. There are various possible explanations why the amount of kitchen models is not as high in the early Middle Kingdom as one might expect. First, a large quantity of kitchen model fragments derive from 18 burials at Beni Hasan with a wide date range from early Dynasty 11 to mid or late Dynasty 12 due to extensive tomb reuse.¹³⁹⁰ Because of these dating problems I excluded these Beni Hasan fragments from the known corpus of provenanced kitchen models.¹³⁹¹ It is possible, however, that many of these elements represent group kitchen models that date to the early Middle Kingdom. Second, as mentioned previously, it is very difficult to ascertain the original number of intact models from fragments that could derive from multiple group scenes. As seen in Appendix J, the early Middle Kingdom has more known fragments of wooden kitchen models that could represent additional scenes than the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. For these reasons, it is likely that the totals for Middle Kingdom kitchen models are lower than they should be.

Kitchen models of the early Middle Kingdom share some similarities with those manufactured in earlier periods. As in the First Intermediate Period, single kitchen figures were rare, restricted to brewers and, less frequently, millers. Single, paired and group kitchen models still were made entirely of wood. Private individuals continued to be interred with 1-2 single and/or double activity kitchen model(s) or one combined group activity kitchen model that fulfilled all the necessary food and beverage requirements of the deceased.¹³⁹² The range in quality found in the First Intermediate Period also continued. Some group kitchen scenes (predominantly from the capital cemeteries at Thebes and Saqqara) are of high quality, with naturalistic anatomical proportions of the human figures and activities rendered in realistic detail; many other early Middle Kingdom group scenes from provincial workshops, however, are mediocre in comparison.¹³⁹³ The shared features (including body proportions and poses) of the

¹³⁹⁰ Tooley (1989: 22). The 18 tombs that contained wooden elements from bakeries, breweries and/or butcher scenes when excavated are BH53, BH76, BH81, BH269, BH271, BH540, BH566, BH577, BH584, BH651, BH656, BH728, BH752, BH812, BH850, BH859, BH865 and BH875 (Garstang 1907: 213, 214, 215, 220, 221, 228, 230, 231, 234, 238, 240, 241, 242 and 243).

¹³⁹¹ In addition to these 18 tombs, Tooley listed several others from this site with similarly wide date ranges. Although she stated that the results obtained from analyses of the models in these tombs were essentially useless, she apparently dated offering bearers from tombs BH362, BH81, BH105, BH394, BH771, BH850, BH862 and BH865 in this group to the First Intermediate Period (1989: 208-209), terracotta grain silos from BH53 and BH774/775 and a clay silo from BH16 to the First Intermediate Period (1989: 117, 118, 121), and the wooden granary storehouse from BH394 to the early Middle Kingdom (1989: 105).

¹³⁹² For example, a man named *Hty* was buried in tomb BH366 at Beni Hasan with both a bakery-brewery model (Fitz. E.71d.1903) and a butcher shop model (Fitz. E.71c.1903) (Garstang 1907: 105, Fig. 94 and 126-128, Fig. 124; Breasted 1948: 37; Bourriau 1981: 63, no. 113; Bourriau 1988: 105-106, nos. 92, 93; Tooley 1989: 46-47, 61; and Samuel 1994: 9, with colored photograph). For comparison, see Ash. E.2312, the sole bakery-brewery-butcher shop buried with a man named *Hty-i* in tomb BH575 (Garstang 1904: 222; Garstang 1907: 129, Fig. 127; Breasted 1948: 42; and Tooley 1989: 45). The largest set of models from this period derives from tomb 10A at Bersha, and includes a bakery scene (BMFA 21.11768) and two baking-brewing scenes (BMFA 21.807 and BMFA 21.21.886 (Breasted 1948: 39, Pl. 37b; Tooley 1989: 40, described as combined bakery-brewery-butcher scene; and Freed et al. 2003: 120).

¹³⁹³ For example, compare MMA 20.3.10, the well-made bakery-brewery model from the tomb of *Mkt-R^c* (TT280) at Thebes (Breasted 1948: 38, Pl. 36a,b; Winlock 1955: 27-29, Pls. 22-24, 64, 65; Tooley 1989: 32) with BMFA 21.886, the cruder bakery-brewery model from tomb 10A at Bersha (Breasted 1948: 39, Pl. 37b; Tooley 1989: 40, described as combined bakery-brewery-butcher scene; Freed et al. 2003: 120). Differences in quality do not necessarily reflect the economic wealth or social status of the tomb owners; thus, most clearly illustrated by a comparison of *Mkt-R^c*'s kitchen models with those from the tomb (pit 14) of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp II* at Deir el-Bahri (Tooley 1989: 381). For example, *Nb-hpt-R^c*'s crude human figures exhibit characteristics of the late Old Kingdom

early 12th Dynasty models from Thebes and Saqqara may indicate they were all donations from royal Memphite workshops.¹³⁹⁴ Finally, as in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, the figures in early Middle Kingdom kitchen models were uninscribed and, as such, likely represented generic workers.

Other features of Middle Kingdom kitchen models differ from earlier periods. In contrast to the First Intermediate Period, in the early Middle Kingdom there are more known examples of single activity scenes with multiple individuals performing related tasks: the majority of these scenes are bakeries, followed by butcher scenes and breweries. Related activities also were merged more frequently, predominantly the combination of bakeries with breweries. Meat processing was depicted most frequently in the early Middle Kingdom in comparison with all other periods of model production, not only as single activity butcher scenes but also as butchering/cooking activities integrated with the production of bread and beer.¹³⁹⁵ Other features more typical of early Middle Kingdom combined kitchen scenes include men carrying jars on yokes,¹³⁹⁶ men standing in large vats,¹³⁹⁷ female millers standing at waist-high querns (in contrast to earlier periods, where they generally kneel to work at lower querns),¹³⁹⁸ styles of ovens that differ from those of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period¹³⁹⁹ and architectural elements.

and First Intermediate Period Second Style (e.g., long slender bodies and elongated limbs), while *Mkt-R*'s have more anatomically correct proportions, with defined musculature and narrow waistlines, and naturalistic body and limb positions (Do. Arnold 1991: 22, 25, 26-27 and Figs. 27 and 34).

¹³⁹⁴ Do. Arnold (1991: 25, 26, and 32).

¹³⁹⁵ As in the First Intermediate Period, these combined activities also may be represented by the fragmentary models labeled as "groups" and "domestic scenes", as in Petrie's excavation reports on Sedment (Tooley 1989: 61, 74).

¹³⁹⁶ E.g., Fitz. E.71d.1903, from the tomb (BH366) of *Hty*, dated to late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 126-128, Fig. 124; Bourriau, 1981: 63, no. 113; Bourriau 1988: 105-106, no. 92; Tooley 1989: 46-47; and Samuel 1994: 9, for colored photograph).

¹³⁹⁷ Two examples are Cairo (number unknown) from the tomb (BH116) of *Nfry* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 73-74, Figs. 61, 62; Breasted 1948: 35; and Tooley 1989: 48; and Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99), and J.E.45496, from the burial of *Inpw-m-h't* in tomb 2757 (of *Inpw-m-h't* and *Usr-mwt*) at Saqqara (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 40 and Pl. 24.1; Tooley 1989: 55; and Do. Arnold 2005: 45).

¹³⁹⁸ Tooley (1995: 28). See, for example, BM40915, a bakery-brewery scene from pit 3 at Deir el-Bahri dated to Dynasty 11, with 13 standing millers (Naville 1907: 44, IX; Breasted 1948: 38(3); Do. Arnold 1981: 29, Pls. 62b, 63, identified as a bakery; Tooley 1989: 32-33, identified as a bakery-brewery; and Quirke and Spencer 1992: 18, Fig. 7).

¹³⁹⁹ In general, tall cylindrical, conical and rectangular model ovens date to the Middle Kingdom. For examples of each type, see above, n. 1335. While slab ovens typically date to the Old Kingdom through First Intermediate Period, there are a few examples that may date to mid-late Dynasty 11 (e.g., Brus. E785.17, from the second burial in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada (Breasted 1948: 30, dated to 12th Dynasty; and Tooley 1989: 24, Pl. 5.1, dated to late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12). The models of stacked bread molds may represent real Type A ceramic molds, which were manufactured from the Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period. This form is characterized by a flat base, slightly flared or straight sides and a width to height ratio of approximately 4:5 (Jacquet-Gordon 1981: 11-15, and Figs. 1-3). In models, however, this mold type continued into the early Middle Kingdom, as in Turin S.8652, from the tomb of *Hpw-df* at Asyut (Roveri, ed. 1987: 64, C5; Tooley 1989: 38, Pl. 7.1, dated to early Dynasty 11; Malek 2003: 108; and Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n. 110, tomb dated to late Dynasty 11). For an Old Kingdom example of stacked bread molds, see above, n. 1334. In some early Middle Kingdom models, the bread molds are more elongated, perhaps duplicating the contemporary Type C form, with its width to height ratio of 1:3 (Jacquet-Gordon 1981: 16-17, 19, and Fig. 4). Leicester 86.1929, a bakery model from tomb BH1 of *3ntf* at Beni Hasan, includes an interesting oven variation composed of round slabs topped by elongated bread molds (Garstang 1907: 63-64, Fig. 51; Breasted 1948: 40; and Tooley 1989: 44).

As Do. Arnold observed, prior to the 12th Dynasty, group kitchen scenes were arranged on flat boards without any architectural framework.¹⁴⁰⁰ In the 12th Dynasty, however, a variety of architectural forms existed: flat boards,¹⁴⁰¹ wall sections,¹⁴⁰² low enclosure walls,¹⁴⁰³ high enclosure walls with partial roofs,¹⁴⁰⁴ and, the most complex, enclosure walls surrounding a courtyard, two-storied verandas and roofs supported by columns.¹⁴⁰⁵ For this last model variation, Do. Arnold suggested that different kitchen activities (brewing, butchering oxen and cooking fowl) were set in locations that possessed these architectural features to represent administrative centers of general food production and storage. In reality, centers of administration were linked with other areas of food production and storage. However, as discussed in Chapter Nine, in models these three locations more typically were represented by separate models: bakeries and breweries (food production and storage from cereal grains), butcher shops (production and storage of meat) and granaries (cereal storage).¹⁴⁰⁶

In the late Middle Kingdom, there was a sharp decline in the manufacture of kitchen scenes, along with other model types. Kitchens now ranked last in quantity-- after model boats, offering bearers and granaries-- with only six known examples of kitchen scenes.¹⁴⁰⁷ The

¹⁴⁰⁰ Do. Arnold (1991: 25-26).

¹⁴⁰¹ E.g., BM41576, a bakery-brewery-butcher scene from tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htpi* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 237; Wilson 1988: 18, Fig. 16; Tooley 1989: 46; and Taylor 2001: 101, Fig. 62).

¹⁴⁰² E.g., Cairo (number unknown), a bakery-brewery-butcher scene from tomb BH186 of *T3wy* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 81, Fig. 69, 85-86, Fig. 75; Breasted 1948: 41; Tooley 1989: 46, identified as a baker-butcher model; and Do. Arnold 2005: 44).

¹⁴⁰³ E.g., J.E.45496 (or J.E. 45497?), a bakery-brewery-butcher scene from the burial of *Inpw-m-h't* in tomb 2757 (of *Inpw-m-h't* and *Usr-mwt*) at Saqqara (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 40 and Pl. 24.1; Tooley 1989: 55; and Do. Arnold 2005: 45).

¹⁴⁰⁴ E.g., AEIN1631, a bakery-brewery-butcher scene from tomb (HMK30) of *Gmni-m-h't* (*Gmni*) at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 31a-b; Breasted 1948: 41, Pl. 40b; Tooley 1989: 55; 1995: fig. 28; Jørgensen 1996: 128-129, no. 50; and Do. Arnold 2005: 47, Pl. 8.14).

¹⁴⁰⁵ The five known examples are Do. Arnold's type 7 architectural models from early Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes and Saqqara: MMA 20.3.10, from the tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-r'* (Breasted 1948: 37, Pl. 34c; Winlock 1955: 23-25, 86-87, and Pls. 18-19, 21, 24, 60-61; Tooley 1989: 61; and Do. Arnold 2005: 1-8, 62-65, Figs. 1-2, Pls. I.2, II, III); AEIN1632, from tomb (HMK30) of *Gmni-m-h't* (*Gmni*) at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn: 53, Pl. 28a-b; Breasted 1948: 34, Pl. 32c; Tooley 1989: 56-57; Jørgensen 1996: 130-131, Cat. 51; and Do. Arnold 2005: 52, 54, Pl. 10.20); Cairo 14/3/15/8, from the burial of *K3-rnn* in the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 8-9, Pl. 12; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 56; 1995: 42, Fig. 40, there identified as Cairo 14/3/5/8; and Do. Arnold 2005: 52, n. 218, Pl. 10.18); Cairo 4/3/23/1, from the burial of *Nfr-mddnyt* in the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 10-11, 76, Pl. 19.1; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 55; and Do. Arnold 2005: 52, 54, n. 218 and Pl. 10.19); and Cairo (J.E?) from the burial of *Usr-mwt*(?) in tomb 2757 at Saqqara (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 12-13; Tooley 1989: 55, 115, attributed to *Usr-mwt*'s burial, museum number given as J.E. 45496?; Do. Arnold 2005: 34, 35, n. 122 and Table 1, attributed to *Inpw-m-h't*'s burial).

¹⁴⁰⁶ Do. Arnold (2005: 60, 62). There are a small number of granary models, however, which incorporate elements of kitchen scenes. One example is BM2463, an early 12th Dynasty granary from Thebes that includes a woman milling grain in the courtyard (Roik 1988: 36, and Pl. 49; Taylor 2001: 101, Fig. 62 (miller alone); and Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n. 112). Another example is Copenhagen 5493, possibly originating from Bersha. This early 12th Dynasty granary includes a man straining mash into a vat in the courtyard (Breasted 1948: 15, and Pl. 14b; Tooley 1989: 115; and Do. Arnold 2005: 45, n. 172). A third model is Brus. E785.27, from the burial of *Mr-snt* in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada, a granary storehouses lacking the usual peaked corners and containing a slab oven (topped with bread molds), a beer vat and a mortar(?) in the courtyard, in conjunction with two standing male kitchen workers (Breasted 1948: 46; and Tooley 1989: 115, and Pl. 24.1).

¹⁴⁰⁷ With my adjustments of Tooley's data (1989: 67, Table 5), the totals for the other three core model types are 61 boats, 16 granaries, and 11 offering bearers (i.e., no porters). The known kitchen models of this period derive from Meir, Beni Hasan and Lisht.

kitchen models included cooking and brewing activities, and perhaps two unique scenes depicting kitchen activities combined with a granary (in one case) and weaving sheds (in both cases). In this period, artists returned to limestone as a medium for constructing kitchen models. Four of the six models of this period were wood, while two were limestone. The limestone models include a brewer statuette from Beni Hasan and a (possible) combined scene from Lisht.¹⁴⁰⁸ Although the evidence for kitchen models is scant for this period, it demonstrates that single activity scenes and combined scenes of various tasks continued to be manufactured in the latter part of the 12th Dynasty. Finally, as in the late Old Kingdom through the early Middle Kingdom, the figures in these latest kitchen models typically were uninscribed.¹⁴⁰⁹

Having presented an overview of the kitchen model corpus from the Old to Middle Kingdoms, I will now turn to the examination of the Naga ed-Deir data to determine how they affect the established chronological and regional developmental schemes for this model type. In sections 10.2-10.5 the evidence for kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir is arranged chronologically, and further subdivided by activity type within each period: bakeries, breweries, butcher shops and cooking scenes (i.e., duck roasters). Within each category, the more complete models are discussed first, followed by the fragmentary examples. In section 10.6, because the dates of the kitchen models from unrecorded tombs at the site are largely unknown, the models are organized simply by type. Because of the highly fragmentary nature of the evidence, it has proven difficult in some cases to determine totals for the different categories of kitchen models. For this reason, when multiple fragments of closely related activities derive from single tombs, rather than counting each category as a separate activity model (e.g., millers, bakers preheating molds), it is assumed that the fragments together represent a minimum of one single activity scene (e.g., bakery). It is important to note, therefore, that the calculated totals for group scenes from Naga ed-Deir are minimal estimates.

10.2 Phase I (Late Old Kingdom)

Reisner's expedition teams excavated 17 kitchen scenes from 10 (maximum) late Old Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir: N.248, N.70/71, N.11, N.67/69, S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202, N.89, N.43, N.269 and N.105. These kitchen scenes include five complete models and 49 fragments that comprise an additional 12 scenes. The kitchen activities are performed by single figures and combined workers. The estimated number of single figures is 13 (maximum): two millers, one baker preheating molds, six brewers and four duck roasters. Combined scenes are represented further by perhaps four models: one paired brewing scene and three (maximum) group scenes of baking and/or brewing.

¹⁴⁰⁸ The limestone brewer statuette from BH487 is J.E.43307 (Garstang 1907: 146, Fig. 144, left; Breasted 1948: 33, called earthenware; and Tooley 1989: 86, identified as clay; Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 161). Elements of a possible combined model from pit 428 at Lisht North include MMA15.3.94, MMA15.3.95, MMA15.3.97, MMA15.3.98, MMA15.3.99, i.e., a bound/slaughtered ox, a tray with carved vegetables, a vat or cauldron, a sealed beer jar and a spinning bowl (unpublished).

¹⁴⁰⁹ One related exception is ÄMB 12, kitchen figures on a wooden boat model from the late 12th Dynasty tomb of *Mntw-ḥtp*, located in cemetery 600 at Thebes. On deck, two kitchen workers are inscribed with their names and those of their mothers: the female miller is *S3t-Imn irt n Hri* (Sat-Amen, born of Hori) and the male brewer is *Sbk-ḥtp ir n Ity* (Sobek-hotep, born of Ity) (Steindorff 1896: 36, and Pls. VIII and X; Aegyptische Inschriften 1901: 249; Breasted 1948: 81; Tooley 1989: 156; and Merriman 2009: 636-637, Cat. 545). Tooley suggested that rare examples of named servants in models made after the Old Kingdom reflected their favored roles in the deceased's household in life, and their continued existence in the same capacities in the afterlife (1989: 245).

The two mostly intact bakery serving statuettes include a female miller from N.43 and a male baker from N.269. For the female owner of tomb N.43, the entire range of bread-making activities was encapsulated in the single miller interred with her (Cat. 109, Figs. 117, 149 and 150).¹⁴¹⁰ This female serving statuette is 18.5 cm high, including the base. The figure kneels to mill grain in a saddle quern with a grinding stone; a small, cylindrical container next to the quern holds the grain. As with a real saddle quern, the model quern slopes down from back to front, to facilitate the dispersal of grain as it is milled. The figure and the saddle quern are attached to the base by a small, open mortise joint. The grinding stone is doweled to the quern; similarly, the small, cylindrical cup on the right side of the quern is doweled to the base. Dowels also originally secured the figure's arms to the shoulder sockets. Her left arm is now lost, but was still attached to the statuette upon its discovery, as evident in the expedition photograph (B4883). In this photograph the left arm is obviously shorter than the right, appears to have rodent damage, and is not long enough to touch the grinding stone. There is also now a visible gouge on the miller's right hip, which was covered with gesso in antiquity to conceal the flaw. The thickly-applied gesso was still intact in the expedition photograph, but has fallen off since the photograph was taken.

The miller from N.43 wears only a kilt, leaving the torso bared. She has an egg-shaped head that is over-large in proportion to the rest of her body, along with the large painted eyes, rather broad nose, small pointed chin, full-lipped mouth and elongated limbs that are typical of wooden statuettes of the late Old Kingdom. Her black hair is cropped short, with the carved ears left exposed. Her legs are an extension of the torso, carved from the same piece of wood. The feet are not delineated, and instead appear as two simple pegs. Since the top of the base was painted black, the space between the woman's calves and ankles, which rest on the base, also was painted this color to mark the separation of her legs and feet. The grinding stone, which extends beyond either side of the saddle quern, is red, as are the sides of the quern and the cylindrical cup; the red color was used to represent both stone and wood. The miller's flesh is painted the usual yellow reserved for women. The top of the cylindrical cup is also yellow, here representing grain. Gesso was applied, as usual, over the wood and served to create a smooth surface in preparation for the paint. It is coated more thickly around the bottom of the quern and the woman's legs, concealing the areas where these pieces joined to the base. The top of the quern, both in front of and behind the grinding stone, has thicker areas of molded gesso to simulate piles of grain. Gesso also was used in front of the quern to represent the grain spilling out over the edge.

The baker statuette from N.269 consists of a stack of limestone bread molds and one squatting wooden male figure (Cat. 111a,b, Figs. 81 and 151).¹⁴¹¹ The burial contained two other limestone model fragments (a beer vat and hearth), and two additional wooden male figures, only one of which has been located. Because none of the five extant fragments was found attached to a base(s), the exact arrangement of the scene(s) is unknown. However, because baking, brewing and cooking are represented-- activities which were not combined into single scenes at other sites in the late Old Kingdom-- it is assumed here that these fragments represent three separate serving statuettes (with the brewing and cooking scenes to be discussed further below). Furthermore, because Mace photographed one seated male figure (Cat. 111b) with the stack of bread molds

¹⁴¹⁰ In Fig. 117, Ex. Ph. B4883, the miller is on the left.

¹⁴¹¹ In Fig. 95, Ex. Ph. C8993, see a/2 and d/3. In Fig. 151, the baker and stacked bread molds are on the right.

(Cat. 111a) in Ex. Ph. C8993 (Fig. 95), it is likely that he found these two fragments together and that they belong to the same scene.¹⁴¹²

Cat. 111a, the limestone stack of bread molds from N.269, measures 7 cm high, and has a hole drilled underneath, into which a wooden dowel was inserted originally to secure it to a base. Cat. 111a is painted pinkish-red and black to represent smoke-blackened ceramic molds heated over a hearth. Cat. 111b, the accompanying male baker, is 14.2 cm high, and was carved with the head, torso and legs as one unit. The separately attached arms are missing, and, apparently, were not recovered from the tomb. There is a single hole drilled underneath the figure's butt for a dowel to secure him to the (lost) base. The head is egg-shaped and over-large, with short hair that exposes the carved ears. Damage on the face and back of the torso was caused either by termites or rodents during deposition. Remnants of black pigment survive on the head, indicating hair color. Traces of paint also remain on the body: pinkish-red on the torso and white on the kilt. The rather unusual streaky, pinkish-red color used on the bread molds and the baker was applied to the other kitchen model fragments from N.269 (discussed further below).

Two late Old Kingdom tombs with fragmentary bakery figures are N.248 and (pit) N.69. The sole remnant of a (possible) miller statuette from N.248 (Cat. 93, Fig. 152) consists of a straight forearm with the palm resting on an object, which may be a grinding stone.¹⁴¹³ In contrast, tomb N.69 contained eight bakery fragments, perhaps from a group scene, including two fragments of a male miller, three slabs of a makeshift oven, a stack of bread molds, the bent arm of a male baker and a tall mortar.

The miller from N.69 is comprised of the head and torso of a kneeling, male figure and a saddle quern (Cats. 101a,b, Fig. 153, 154). The miller, Cat. 101a, measures 13.7 cm high. Both arms, which were secured to the shoulder joints with dowels, are missing. Although the lower part of his body also is missing, the original, kneeling pose is suggested by the preserved section of the upper thighs. The miller has a large head with black-painted hair in a cropped style that leaves the carved ears exposed. His carved and painted facial features are fairly well-preserved, and include large, almond-shaped eyes, a broad, jutting nose, full lips and a tapered chin. The figure wears a white kilt, and has a bared upper torso that is painted red. Cat. 101b, the accompanying saddle quern, measures 12 cm in length, and slopes down from back to front. The grinding stone is attached to the quern with two tiny pegs. Two small dowels similarly secured the quern to the base (now lost). As with the saddle quern used by the miller from N.43 (Cat. 109), the quern from N.69 (Cat. 101b) is painted red on the sides, and white on top. The

¹⁴¹² The figure associated with the limestone beer vat also shown in Ex. Ph. C8993 would have been standing, and not sitting. Although Mace mentioned three figures in his field notes, the location of the third (standing) figure is unknown. For another late Old Kingdom example of a baker seated before a stack of bread molds, see CG 247, from tomb A1 of *Ny-nh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 126; Borchardt 1911: 160, Pl. 53; and Tooley 1989: 12). For examples of limestone elements from baker statuettes, including stacked bread molds, see Ob. Reg. 35-11-23, 35-11-24, 35-11-30, 35-11-31 from tomb G 2347a= G5564 at Giza (Stevenson Smith 1949: 98-99, and Fig. 24).

¹⁴¹³ In Fig. 152, Ex. Ph. C8879, see b/1. Tomb N.248 also contained a brewing and baking scene painted on one chapel wall. The scene, which is located in the lowest register at the south end of the east wall of the chapel, included two standing female millers facing each other as they work, one male(?) brewer straining mash into a beer vat and one baker, seated with knees drawn up (Peck 1958: 46, 49-51, Fig. 3.6c and Pl. III; and Brovarski 1989: 273).

grinding stone, similarly, is red. The two querns differ, however, in that the top, lower end of Cat. 101b has the addition of carved ridges to represent rivulets of grain.

Among the six other bakery fragments from (pit) N.69 are remnants of two bakers. Cat. 98a-c is comprised of three wooden discs that originally were pegged together with a fourth piece to create a crude oven, probably in imitation of an actual oven made of limestone slabs (Figs. 38 and 155).¹⁴¹⁴ Two discs are side pieces (Cat. 98a-b), each with two dowels on the “bottom” edge that originally secured it to a base (now lost) and one dowel in the “top” edge to attach the roof section (Cat. 98c, now separate). The diameters of both extant side pieces measure 11 cm. The roof section, which has a diameter of 11.8 cm, has three pegs on the interior side, where it was attached to (originally) three side pieces. While the interiors of all three discs are unpainted, the edges are red and the exteriors are black, providing the illusion of smoke blackening. The second baker from N.69 is represented by a model of stacked bread molds (Cat. 99, Figs. 38 and 156).¹⁴¹⁵ The stack was carved as one unit, with three tiers of individual molds topped by a single bread mold. Like Cat. 111a (from N.269), it is painted as black molds against a red background, simulating ceramic molds blackened from smoke. Underneath the stack are two pegs that secured it to a (lost) base. A bent, left arm of a male baker from N.69 originally belonged with either the slab oven or stacked bread molds (Cat. 100, Fig. 157). This arm is identified as a baker’s because these figures typically sat with one hand raised to protect their faces from the heat.¹⁴¹⁶

The final possible model bakery fragment from N.69 is a tall, cylindrical mortar with a hole in the top, into which a pestle (now lost) once fit (Cat. 102, Fig. 158).¹⁴¹⁷ The mortar may also belong with the brewery fragments from this tomb, discussed further below.¹⁴¹⁸ The mortar stands 8.5 cm high, and originally was pegged to a base (now lost). The sides of the mortar are painted yellow, with a white top that simulates grain. Traces of black remain along the bottom edge, probably splashed onto the mortar when the ancient artist painted the base black.

Because figures of millers, standing women dehusking grain in tall mortars and bakers preheating molds are known from both single and combined scenes in the late Old Kingdom, it is unknown whether these bakery fragments from N.69 belonged to separate statuettes or were combined to form paired or group scenes. The presence of two oven types from N.69 suggests that at least two bakery models are represented.¹⁴¹⁹ Tomb N.69 also contained fragments of

¹⁴¹⁴ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see b/6. For a complete, late Old Kingdom statuette of a baker seated before this type of oven, see CG 238, from tomb A1 of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 126; Borchardt 1911: 155, and Pl. 50; Breasted 1948: 28; and Tooley 1989: 12).

¹⁴¹⁵ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see c/7.

¹⁴¹⁶ For comparison, see Cat. 126 in the current study.

¹⁴¹⁷ For the only known example of a late Old Kingdom miller statuette standing before a tall pestle, see J.E. 88580, from the tomb of *Iṣṭi* at Saqqara (Lauer 1950: 16-17, Pl. IIc, left; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 216, Pls. Xa-b, left and XIa, left; and Tooley 1989: 8-9, 15).

¹⁴¹⁸ For a late Old Kingdom brewery scene with four figures that include a male miller dehusking grain with a pestle, a woman straining mash into vat and a man cleaning beer jars, see BM55728, from tomb 274 of *Mry-Rḥ-ṣt.f.*, at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 3, Pl. 11.5; Breasted 1948: 33-34; Tooley 1989: 185, and Pl. 33:2; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3400).

¹⁴¹⁹ I have not found any examples of bakery models in which separate slab ovens and stacked bread molds are depicted together. However, for an unusual combination of the two, see Leicester 86.1929, the group bakery scene from the 11th Dynasty tomb (BH1) of *ḥntf*, which includes two standing female millers and a woman seated

additional human figures, some of which also could derive from baking (or brewing) scenes. The fragments include two male figures (Cat. 151a,b), two pairs of straight female and male arms with the palms turned down (Cat. 152a,b and Cat. 153a,b), nine unmatched female arms and legs (Cat.154a-i) and three unmatched arms, at least two of which are male (Cat. 155a-c). These model fragments are listed in Appendix F, but not described here in detail because the exact activities in which they were engaged are unknown. For the purposes of this study, therefore, it is assumed there is a (minimum) of one bakery scene from N.69.

Two possible late Old Kingdom kitchen scenes from Naga ed-Deir are represented by the extremely fragmentary models from tombs S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202. As discussed previously in reference to the boat models excavated from these adjacent tombs, Reisner's expedition team found three disturbed burial assemblages, with the contents (including the tomb models) inter-mixed. All together, there are 24 wooden model fragments from tombs S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 that derive either from separate bakery and brewery models or from a combined bakery-brewery-cooking scene; because of the ambiguous nature of the evidence, all 24 fragments are discussed together in this section. These model fragments include two (maximum) model bases for group scenes, three model human limbs in identifiable poses, and model accessories, including a tall mortar with (missing) pestle, three baskets or trays of dough, two fans from bakers or cooks and 13 beer jars.

The kitchen model fragments from S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 are known from Dunham's object register log, one expedition photograph (B5040) and brief references in Dunham's field journal. One model base is referenced only in the journal in conjunction with other model fragments found in pit S.F.5201 on November 18, 1923 (Cat. 104a).¹⁴²⁰ The existence of this base is uncertain because Dunham did not record it in his object register log. Dunham also listed (and sketched) a second base from a model scene from S.F.5202 (Cat. 107a, Fig. 159) -- excavated on November 23, 1923-- in his object register log, but did not discuss it in his field journal entry for S.F.5202 for that day.¹⁴²¹ This latter base was painted black on the sides and top, and had 26 peg holes and two plastered areas where model elements -- human figures and bakery and/or brewery accessories -- originally were attached. It is possible, therefore, that the two model bases from S.F.5201 and S.F.5202 are one and the same.

The other twenty-two model bakery-brewery fragments from tomb complex S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 include elements that originally were attached to one or both bases. One fragment is the straight, right arm of a female figure from (pit) S.F.5201 (Cat. 104b), identified here as a miller because Dunham described the hand clenched over a "block", perhaps a grinding stone. A second fragment appears to be a tall, cylindrical mortar from (pit) S.F.5203 (Cat. 105a, Fig. 160). The mortar is painted red, with a shallow, circular hole in the white plastered top for the insertion of a (lost) pestle. The other end has a small dowel to secure the mortar to a (lost) base.¹⁴²² Excavators also discovered three fragments in (pit) S.F.5203, which

before a slab oven topped with bread molds (Garstang 1907: 63-64, Fig. 51; Breasted 1948: 40; and Tooley 1989: 44).

¹⁴²⁰ Dunham (1923-24a: 56).

¹⁴²¹ Dunham (1923-24a: 64).

¹⁴²² For an early Middle Kingdom group bakery scene that includes a man pounding grain in a tall mortar, see Cairo (number unknown), from the tomb of *Nfry* (BH116) (Garstang 1907: 76, Fig. 63; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 48; and Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99).

they believed derived from the heads of model figures: one much decayed (and unidentifiable) object; one oval tray, preserving its red and black paint (Cat. 105b, Fig. 161, left); and a yellow circular basket, containing a round, white cake (Cat. 105c, Fig. 161, right). It is possible that a worker carried the tray on his/her head or on one shoulder in a kitchen scene.¹⁴²³ These fragments also may represent baskets of dough attached to the base of a bakery-brewery.¹⁴²⁴ The thirteen small ovoid beer storage (*dwiw*) jars: six from pit S.F.5201 (Cat. 104d-f, Fig. 162) and seven from pit S.F.5203 (Cat. 105d). The jars are painted red and black, to represent clay jars capped with conical mud seals. Two of the six ovoid jars from S.F.5201 (Cat. 104d) have constricted necks.¹⁴²⁵ Two small male arms from pit S.F.5201 (Cat. 104c) and pit S.F.5202 (Cat. 107b, Fig. 163) are bent backwards to carry loads on their shoulders, possibly water jars suspended on yokes.¹⁴²⁶ Finally, two wooden fragments from (pit) S.F.5202 are model fans that originally may have been held by cooks (Cat. 107c, Fig. 164).¹⁴²⁷

Tomb complex S.F.5201/5203 and S.F.5202 also contained additional parts of model human figures, some of which likely also belonged with the bakery and brewery fragments, but are not described in detail here because they were too damaged to ascertain what activities they represent. These 48 fragments are listed in Appendix F: two male figures and four fragments of male figures (Cat. 156a-f), one broken female figure (Cat. 157) and two arms (Cat. 158) from (pit) S.F.5201; eight (male and/or female) figures in various poses (Cat. 159) and 16 arms (Cat. 160) from (pit) S.F.5203; and one stooped male figure (Cat. 161), six squatting (male and/or female) figures and eight limbs (Cat. 162a-g) from (pit) S.F.5202. Some of the standing and squatting figures also may derive from the boat models excavated from this complex, as discussed in Chapter Seven. One female figure from (pit) S.F.5203 also may be an offering bearer, as proposed in Chapter Eight. However, the stooping pose of Cat. 161 is suggestive of a kitchen worker. Furthermore, one large, squatting figure (Cat. 162, Fig. 41)¹⁴²⁸ could be a baker or a duck roaster.

¹⁴²³ For an offering bearer carrying a tray of cakes supported on the left shoulder, see the figure in the combined baker/brewer model (Turin S.13271) from the tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein, dated to the early First Intermediate Period (Tooley 1989: 17, 182-183, and Pls. 4.1, 32.2, identified as a “kitchen” scene; Tooley 1994: 344, Pl. XLI.c; and Roveri (no date): 30).

¹⁴²⁴ For example, MMA 20.3.12, the combined bakery-brewery scene from the early 12th Dynasty tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-R^c*, includes baskets and trays of dough in conjunction with men mixing dough, forming cakes and tending ovens (Breasted 1948: 38, Pl. 36a,b; Winlock 1955: 27-29, Pls. 22-24, 64, 65; and Tooley 1989: 32).

¹⁴²⁵ The ovoid form is typical of the 6th – early 12th Dynasties (see Do. Arnold, in Di. Arnold 1981: 68). However, constricted necks are also found on ovoid jars from early Middle Kingdom contexts, e.g., from tomb scenes as well as actual, excavated ceramic jars (e.g., see Paice 1997: 23, and Figs. 12a-b). For examples of model beer jars with constricted necks from pit 14 at Deir el-Bahri, the burial complex of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II, see Di. Arnold (1981: 42, and Pls. 54a-d, and 75.7-8, 12). For a similar model ovoid jar with a constricted neck and a conical seal from Naga ed-Deir, see Cat.50e, from one of the two boat models interred in S.F.170.

¹⁴²⁶ For a brewing scene that includes a man carrying water jars on a yoke, see the model (location unknown) from the shaft tomb of *K3y-Hnnt*, located north of tomb B3 at Meir, and dated late Dynasty 11 (Kamal 1911: 24; and Tooley 1989: 39).

¹⁴²⁷ Cooks typically hold fans, while bakers hold pokers. For example, see Cairo 14/3/15/8, a brewery storehouse model that includes a duck roaster holding a fan, from the burial of *K3-rnn* in the early Middle Kingdom tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 8-9, Pl. 12; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 56; 1995: 42, Fig. 40; and Do. Arnold 2005: 52, Pl. 10.18). In Sunderland (number unknown), a group bakery-brewery-butcher scene from First Intermediate Period tomb 1593 at Sedment, a cook sits before a vat of ox blood/fat or meat, holding a fan (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38, “cooking” scene; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 120-121, 243, 259, PMAN 3447).

¹⁴²⁸ In Fig. 41, Ex. Ph. B5040, see a/5.

Some features of the kitchen model(s) from S.F.5201/5203 and/or S.F.5202 are more typical of the Middle Kingdom, than the late Old Kingdom: the model base with its 26+ holes to attach multiple human figures and accessories from S.F.5202; the combination of bakery-brewery and cooking fragments from both tombs; the workers with bent arms for carrying water jars on yokes from S.F.5201 and S.F.5202; and the beer jars with constricted necks from S.F.5201. As discussed in Chapter Four, there is evidence for Middle Kingdom re-use of both tombs. Therefore, it is possible that the kitchen scene(s) are from the later interment(s).

In addition to bakery models, Reisner excavated seven models of beer brewers from late Old Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir, including six serving statuettes and one paired scene. Of the seven models, Reisner's expedition teams found only one intact brewer statuette, from tomb N.89 (Cat. 108a,b, Figs. 165-166).¹⁴²⁹ This female brewer stands 20.5 cm high, with the base. She leans forward with slightly bent knees, straining mash through a sieve into a large, spouted vat. Her arms extend straight in front of her, with her fingertips just barely touching the mash, which she pushes through the top of the sieve. A shouldered storage jar originally was attached to the base in front of the vat, but was separated already at the time of the statuette's discovery. The brewer model is composed of composite materials: the female figure and base are wood, and the vat and storage jar are limestone.¹⁴³⁰ With the exception of the arms, the head, torso, legs and feet of the brewer were carved as one unit. Her feet are attached to the black-painted base in a mortise joint, while the vat and jar are secured with dowels (the small dowel in the base where the storage jar attached is still visible). The brewer's arms also are doweled to her shoulders, with the joints concealed by a thick layer of plaster. Similarly, the joint between the limestone accessories and the wooden base is covered by plaster, which was flaking at the time of the statuette's discovery and has been repaired in modern times. Both limestone vessels were covered with a gesso layer before being painted. The vat is red with a yellow band around the top, representing a woven, wicker tray sitting on top of a clay vat. The band of gesso around the bottom of the vat (visible in the expedition photographs) represents a stand for the vat. The inside of the tray is stippled red, to indicate the holes in the sieve. A small lump of gesso represents the mash being pushed through it. Finally, the accompanying storage jar is painted red with a black top, representing a clay jar with a mud seal.

Like the miller from N.43 (Cat. 109), the brewer from N.89 (Cat. 108a,b) wears a long white kilt, with her upper torso bared and her flesh painted yellow. The brewer also shares the same general physical features as this miller: short black hair with the carved ears exposed, a large, egg-shaped head with big, painted eyes and a small, pointed chin, and long, attenuated limbs. As discussed in Chapter Four, these general physical traits are characteristic of late Old Kingdom (and First Intermediate Period) provincial statuary. Details of the brewer's facial features, furthermore, are strikingly similar to those of the offering bearer from late Old

¹⁴²⁹ In Fig. 165, Ex. Ph. C11355, see a/1 and b/1. In N.89, the south wall of the chapel also was decorated with kitchen scenes that Brovarski identified as brewing, but which also include baking activities (Brovarski 1989: 429-432, and Fig. 40). The scenes are arranged in five registers (from the bottom up): 1) a baker seated before stacked bread molds, 2) one figure kneading dough(?) and a second standing figure dehusking grain(?), 3) two female millers facing each other, 4) a brewer sieving mash into a vat, and 5) a man pouring the finished beer into small storage jars.

¹⁴³⁰ Other late Old Kingdom composite brewer models are known from Giza and Saqqara. For example, see Ob. Reg. 35-11-25 and 35-10-29, two limestone beer vats from Giza tomb G2347a (Stevenson Smith 1949: 97, 99, Fig. 24) and number unknown(?), a model limestone beer mash vat from Saqqara tomb 213 (Firth and Gunn 1926: 40; and Tooley 1989: 9).

Kingdom (pit) N.69 (Cat. 57a-e, see Fig. 104): specifically, both have summarily modeled noses and undelineated mouths. Although the treatment of the eyes, brows and ears of the two statuettes differs slightly-- the brewer's eyes tilt down more at the inner corners, the offering bearer's eyebrows are more sharply angled, and the offering bearer's ears are painted-- the similarities in the noses and mouths suggest the offering bearer from N.69 and the brewer from N.89 were made by contemporary artists (if not the same artist) in the same workshop.

The five additional, but more fragmentary, brewer statuettes are from late Old Kingdom tombs N.71, S.F.5203, N.269, N.105 and N.11. The female brewer from (pit) N.71 stands 23.5 cm tall, without the (missing) base, suggesting she was a single statuette and not part of a paired or group scene (Cat. 94, Figs. 29 and 167).¹⁴³¹ The head, torso and legs were carved as one unit, with the two arms doweled to the shoulders. The connected ankles form a single tenon, which was mortised into the base. When excavated, the head and arms were missing. Traces of yellow pigment on the back of the legs indicate the brewer's gender. Remnants of a white-painted dress or skirt also remain on the thighs. This figure is identified as a brewer because the standing pose, with legs together and torso bent forward slightly at the waist, is typical of brewers manufactured in the late Old Kingdom, and not of other kitchen figures of this period.¹⁴³² Conversely, in (pit) S.F.5203 excavators found only the base of a serving statuette, which is identified tentatively here as a brewer statuette (Cat. 106). This identification is based on Dunham's description of the top of this base in his object register log, as "two plastered feet (together) and in the centre a small round hole surrounded by a circle of plaster", i.e., the original placement for a beer vat.

The sole remnant of a composite brewer statuette from N.269 is a limestone beer vat (Cat. 112a,b, Figs. 81 and 151); although Mace recorded finding a third wooden figure in the tomb (undoubtedly the now missing brewer), its current location is unknown.¹⁴³³ The beer vat is 6.3 cm high, and is carved in limestone to represent a wicker sieve sitting on top of a pottery vat, supported, in turn, on a basketry stand. The vat is painted red, while the stand and sieve are yellow. The top of the sieve is white, with splashes of pinkish/red. Two holes drilled into the sieve were for the placement of the (lost) brewer's arms. The bottom of the vat has a single hole for the insertion of a dowel to secure the vat to the (missing) base.

Two fragments of a beer brewer statuette were discovered in N.105: a wooden beer vat and a broken wooden human figure (Cat. 114a,b, Figs. 168-170).¹⁴³⁴ The beer vat is 12.2 cm high. It was made from one piece of wood, but with three sections delineated by carving: the top sieve, the central vat and the bottom stand. The divisions were enhanced by the artist's use of three different colors: yellow, red and black, respectively. Like its sides, the top of the sieve is painted yellow around the outer edge. The center of the sieve is red, to represent the holes through which the mash was strained. A central slot carved into the top of the sieve was for the insertion of the brewer's arms. The bottom of the vat tapers to a point that tenoned into the now

¹⁴³¹ N.71 also contained kitchen scenes painted on the north end of the east wall of the chapel (Wreszinski (1927: Pls. 23 and 24A; Vandier 1964: Pl. XII, fig. 140; and Brovarski 1989: 308). Kitchen workers appear in two registers behind the male tomb owner, seated before an offering table. In the top register, two female brewers bend over vats, facing a male figure holding a beer jar. In the middle register two female millers work at raised querns.

¹⁴³² The only exception is J.E. 88580, a female miller standing before a mortar dehusking grain from the tomb of *Isiti* at Saqqara, mentioned above (Lauer 1950: 16-17, Pl. Iic, left; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 216, Pls. Xa-b, left and XIa, left; and Tooley 1989: 8-9, 15).

¹⁴³³ In Fig. 95, C8993, see c/2.

¹⁴³⁴ In Fig. 168, Ex. Ph. C9000a, the beer vat is b/1.

lost base. The side of the vat has either a drilled hole with a peg for the attachment of an unknown object, or a natural knot in the wood. The accompanying brewer figure is known only from Reisner's sketch on the tomb card for N.105. When found, all that survived was a damaged torso that bent forward slightly at the waist; i.e., the head, arms and lower legs were missing. Since Reisner did not note whether any pigments survived on the figure, there are no clues as to its gender.

Two brewer fragments excavated from N.11 are known only from two expedition photographs, and are a spouted beer vat and a large beer jar (Cat. 96a,b, Figs. 171-172).¹⁴³⁵ Judging by similar models from other sites, the fragments from N.11 derive from a statuette of either a brewer straining mash or a man sealing beer jars.¹⁴³⁶ Because it has not been located and because the tomb notes (with Reisner's descriptions) are missing, it is unknown whether the vat was made limestone, like contemporary models Cat. 108a and Cat. 112a, or of wood.

Four wooden model fragments from N.69 may be from a paired brewing scene: two beer vats, a female brewer's right arm and a beer jar (Cat. 103a-d, Figs. 38, 173 and 174).¹⁴³⁷ Both vats are 13.9 cm high. Each vat has two pegs inserted into the bottom to secure it to a now lost base and two holes drilled into the top for the insertion of the brewer's arms. Only one of the four arms survived, but is no longer attached to the vat. This 14 cm long arm is identified as female, because of its yellow-painted flesh. Remnants of the three other (broken) arms remain inside the vat holes. There are also areas of gesso loss around these holes, indicating that the arms were secured with gesso and/or that the brewers' hands were modeled in gesso. Both vats are painted red, and topped with yellow and red sieves to represent clay jars covered with woven matt strainers.¹⁴³⁸ The accompanying beer (*dwiw*) jar is 9.4 cm high, and painted red and black to represent the clay jar with its mud sealing. This jar may derive from the same model as the vats in a combined scene or from a second model.¹⁴³⁹ As mentioned above, the tall mortar (Cat.

¹⁴³⁵ In Fig. 171, Ex. Ph. C9304, see center, right. In Fig. 172, Ex. Ph. C9305, see center, left. Ex. Ph. C9305 is attributed to tomb N.12 in cemetery N.100-400. However, there is no N.12 on the expedition map, no extant notes for this tomb and the material shown in the photograph-- sherds of large painted jars, vessels with incised necks, and large, coarsely-made jars-- is almost identical to that illustrated in Ex. Ph. C9304, from tomb N.11. The other photographs depicting the contents of tomb N.11 are part of the same negative sequence: Ex. Ph. C9301, C9302, and C9303. Since Ex. Ph. C9306 also shows the tomb entrances of N.112 and N.111, it is possible that the previous entry was an error, with N.12 accidentally written for N.11 in the photograph register. Therefore, I eliminated tomb N.12 from my database, considering the provenance of the model fragments shown in Ex. Ph. C9305 to be N.11.

For an example of a wooden spouted model beer vat, see BM47.654.29, the brewery fragment from an 11th Dynasty tomb at Deir el-Bahri (Di. Arnold 1981: 31, and Pl. 33.d).

¹⁴³⁶ A late Old Kingdom statuette of a male jar sealer sitting beside a beer vat and several sealed jars is CG 251, from tomb A1 of *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt 1911: 162, and Pl. 54; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; and Breasted 1948: 16). For further comparison, note BM45196, a First Intermediate Period statuette of a female brewer straining mash into vat behind 11 sealed beer jars and an ovoid storage jar, from coffin C in Tomb 45 at Asyut (Edwards, James and Shore, eds., 1964: 9, Fig. 3; and Tooley 1989: 37, dated to the Middle Kingdom).

¹⁴³⁷ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see b/5 and c/8.

¹⁴³⁸ For an example of a complete late Old Kingdom model depicting paired brewers, see CG 253 from the tomb (A1) of *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt 1911: 162; Pl. 54; Breasted 1948: 32; and Tooley 1989: 12).

¹⁴³⁹ For a late Old Kingdom group brewing scene that includes one miller dehusking grain, one brewer, one jar sealer and a group of beer jars, see BM55728, from Sedment tomb 274 of *Mry-Rꜥ-hꜥ-št.f* (Petrie and Brunton

102) from the tomb may be part of the same brewing scene. It is even possible that the water carrier from this tomb, represented by a pair of globular jars on a yoke (Cat. 63a,b), derives from the brewing scene. For the purposes of this study, however, the two vats, the brewer's arm and the beer jar from (pit) N.69 are assumed to represent a minimum of one paired brewing model.

Four additional late Old Kingdom kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir are duck roasters.¹⁴⁴⁰ One of the two more complete models is the male statuette from N.43 (Cat. 110, Figs. 117, 175 and 176).¹⁴⁴¹ This wooden cook is 27 cm high with the base, which measures 20 cm long x 9.5 cm wide. In this scene the cook sits before a round hearth, with his straight arms held forward. As seen in Ex. Ph. B4883 (Fig. 117), when excavated, the right arm was raised higher than the left. Originally, the cook grasped a spitted duck or goose in his left hand and a fan to stoke the flames in his right.¹⁴⁴² Neither of these implements survived, however; they were missing even at the time of excavation, as illustrated in the expedition photograph. The duck roaster's body and the hearth are attached to the base in open mortise-tenon joints, while the arms are doweled to both shoulder sockets. There are holes in both clenched fists for the attachment of the now lost spit and fan, although the right hand position is difficult to see because it is destroyed partially from rodent damage.

The duck roaster's physical characteristics follow the artistic standards of the late Old Kingdom: over-large, egg-shaped head; tapered chin; broad nose; big, almond-shaped eyes; wide, full-lipped mouth; and long, attenuated arms. The hair is cropped short, with the carved ears exposed. The entire surface of the model was covered with a layer of gesso to smooth and prepare the surface for painting. The gesso was, as usual, more thickly applied in the joints (for example, around the shoulder sockets, and in the two areas where the cook and hearth join the base). The entire model was painted with black, red and white pigments. The figure's pupils, outlines of the eyes and brows all are delineated with black. The sides and top of the base, including the area between the man's feet, and the man's nipples are also black. White was reserved for the figure's corneas and for the short kilt that he wears. The color of his flesh is painted red, the usual color used for men. The outer edge and inside of the hearth are also red, with round daubs of color applied over a black layer to represent the heated coals.

The second relatively complete late Old Kingdom duck roaster is a composite model from N.269 that includes a limestone hearth and a wooden male figure (Cat. 113a-c, Figs. 151 and 168).¹⁴⁴³ The hearth (Cat. 113a) measures 7.5 cm in diameter. On the underside is a hole for the insertion of a wooden peg to secure it to the now lost base. Thick traces of gesso around the hole illustrate how the joint was both strengthened and concealed. The top of the hearth is painted pinkish/red, with splotches of darker red and black pigments to represent the coals of the

1924: 3, Pl. 11.5; Breasted 1948: 33-34; Tooley 1989: 185, Pl. 33:2, counted as offering bearer; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3400).

¹⁴⁴⁰ While there are no late Old Kingdom butcher models from Naga ed-Deir, one tomb, N.248, had butcher scenes painted on one chapel wall. The damaged scenes appear in the middle and bottom registers on the north end of the west wall, and include four men slaughtering two oxen and two men cooking meat joints in separate cauldrons, respectively (Peck 1958: 46, 71-74, Fig. 3.6c and Pl. V).

¹⁴⁴¹ In Fig. 117, Ex. Ph. B4883, the duck roaster is on the right.

¹⁴⁴² For a similar example of a late Old Kingdom duck roaster, see Ash. 1921.1422, from the tomb (604) of *Nbi-m-hnn-nswt* at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 4, 10, Pl. 17.3; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 242, 258, PMAN 3415).

¹⁴⁴³ In Fig. 168, Ex. Ph. C9000a, see c/3, c/4, c/5.

fire. The seated wooden cook (Cat. 113b) is 14 cm high, and was carved with the head, torso and legs as one unit. His arms originally were pegged to his shoulders, but are now missing; however, one arm (Cat. 113c) is illustrated in expedition photograph C9000a. A single hole drilled underneath the figure's butt was for a dowel to secure him to the now lost base. The cook's head is over-large, with short hair and exposed, carved ears. The slightly smiling mouth is indicated by an incised line. The carved nose now is abraded at the tip. Black pigment was used for the figure's hair, brows, pupils and outline of his large eyes. White was used for the corneas and the kilt. The rather unusual streaky, pinkish-red color found on the other model fragments from N.269 was used here as well to represent the flesh of this male figure.

Two additional, fragmentary duck roasters derive from late Old Kingdom tombs N.70 and N.11. A 17cm tall male statuette from N.70 is tentatively identified here as duck roaster, because of its squatting position and the type of base to which the figure originally was secured (Cat. 95a,b, Figs. 30 and 177).¹⁴⁴⁴ The cook was carved with the head, torso and legs as a single unit. The forward position of the small dowels inserted into the shoulder sockets indicates the attached arms (now missing) were held out in front of the figure. The figure has short black hair with large, exposed ears. His facial features were carved in detail, and include a broad nose and a wide, full-lipped mouth. Traces of the black pigment that outlined his large eyes survive. His flesh is painted red, with small areas of white between his legs remaining from the painted kilt. Unfortunately, the objects the he once held also are missing. The statuette's base, known only from one expedition photograph (B10697, Fig. 30), has one drilled hole and one peg in the top, presumably for the attachment of the cook and a round hearth, respectively. Although Reisner did not locate a model hearth in the tomb, the circular pattern of gesso surrounding the peg on the statuette base suggests its original placement, opposite the seated cook.

The final late Old Kingdom duck roaster model derives from N.11. This statuette consists of two fragments, identified only from one expedition photograph: a slightly bent left arm with the fist clenched to grasp a spit or handle of a fan; and a broken duck or goose on a spit (Cat. 97a,b, Fig. 171).¹⁴⁴⁵

10.3 First Intermediate Period (Phase II)

Reisner's expedition teams excavated 10 kitchen models from seven First Intermediate Period tombs at Naga ed-Deir: N.3765, N.3737, N.3774, S.F.5214, N.4172, N.3916 and N.202. These kitchen models include four complete examples (two serving statuettes and two baking scenes) and 21 fragments that comprise an additional six examples. There are three serving statuettes and seven combined models with workers performing various activities. The three statuettes comprise one brewer and two duck roasters. The seven combined kitchen scenes include one paired miller model, one intact bakery scene and broken elements from a minimum of three bakery scenes, one brewing scene and one butcher scene. Some of these fragments also may represent combined activity scenes (i.e., a bakery-brewery, or a bakery-brewery-butcher shop).

¹⁴⁴⁴ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see c/7 and d/9. Eight objects (one broken) from pit N.70 are shown on the right side of this photograph. The seated male serving statuette (Cat. 95a) and wooden sandal (PAHMA 6-15472), in the third row (c/7 and c/8, respectively) have the tomb number N.70 written on them. In his notes on this expedition photograph, Mace wrote that the box fragment and two statue bases shown in the bottom row were from N.70. The base furthest to the right (Cat. 95b), appears to belong with Cat. 95a.

¹⁴⁴⁵ In Fig. 171, Ex. Ph. C9304, see center, left and bottom, left.

The only two intact bakery scenes excavated from First Intermediate Period tombs at Naga ed-Deir are from N.4172 and N.202. The model from N.4172 consists of paired millers, one male and one female, attached to one board (Cat. 123, Figs. 178-179).¹⁴⁴⁶ The scene measures 16.5 cm high (with the base), 6 cm wide and 37.5 cm long. The two kneeling figures face each other, each grinding grain in his/her own saddle quern. The millers' knees and the saddle querns are pegged to the base. The upper arms of both figures are secured to the shoulders with small dowels. The ends of their arms (originally) were carved into pegs that fit into holes in the grinding stones. A thick layer of gesso around the arm/shoulder sockets of the figures and in the areas between the querns and the base conceals the joints. A thin layer of gesso also was applied to the wood surface to prepare it for painting. The man wears a short, black wig that covers his ears, while the woman's black hair is cropped close to her head, with her ears exposed. The man's flesh is painted red, while the woman's is the usual yellow reserved for females. The kilts and the saddle querns of both figures are painted white. The eyes also are represented by large blobs of white pigment outlined in black, with black dots for the pupils. The top of the base also is painted black. There are patches of red preserved on the man's grinding stone. Additional splashes of red on the top of the base and along its edges are the likely result of the ancient artist's carelessness when painting the red elements of the model.

The base of the intact kitchen model from N.4172 is of poor quality wood that was not well-carved, but was left asymmetrical in shape with uneven edges. Knots on the side of the base are visible in the expedition photograph (B7119). The wood used for the millers appears to have suffered from rot during tomb deposition, with the damage exacerbated by insects-- either termites or white ants-- and rodents.¹⁴⁴⁷ The extensive damage occurs on the figures' bodies, arms, and heads, all of which are extremely pitted. In comparing Figs. 178 and 179, it is apparent that the male miller's condition has worsened since excavation, and the figure is now missing the forearms.

The second intact First Intermediate Period bakery scene derives from N.202 (Cat. 126, Figs. 180-181). The measurements of the model are 25.7 cm high (with the base), 55 cm long and 10.5 cm wide. This group of four figures can be read as an abbreviated narrative sequence of bread production.¹⁴⁴⁸ A squatting woman sifts grain through a sieve to separate out the chaff, while a male miller kneels, grinding the winnowed grain in a saddle quern. A standing man leans over to stack the bread molds to be preheated. A jar, probably meant to contain dough, is placed next to him on his left side. The fourth figure, another woman, sits facing the unfinished stack of bread molds, with her right arm raised to protect her face from the heat of the fire and her left arm at her side, holding a poker in her left hand to stoke the coals; obviously, however, the fire has not yet been started. The poker is visible in the baker's hand in expedition photographs B4886 and C4840 (Fig. 180), but is now missing.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Paired millers attached to single bases are rare. For a late Old Kingdom kitchen model with two female figures on one base facing each other, see CG 237, from the tomb (A1) of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 123; Borchardt 1911: 155, Pl. 49; Breasted 1948: 21; and Tooley 1989: 12).

¹⁴⁴⁷ The insects' presence is illustrated by the tunnels left in the wood; it is difficult to tell for certain which species caused the damage, however, because both termites and white ants leave tunnels (personal communication, Madeleine Fang, Hearst Museum conservator, 2003).

¹⁴⁴⁸ There are very few bakery models dating to the First Intermediate Period from other sites. One intact example is KUL (number unknown), the model of three millers on one base from the tomb of *Ḥmw* at Deir el-Bersha (De Meyer 2007: 22, no. 31).

The base of the bakery scene from N.202 is a roughly carved, irregularly-shaped plank. The area behind the man stacking the bread molds appears to have been damaged in antiquity, with the craftsman filling in a missing section of the wood with gesso. The various components are secured to the base with either tenons or dowels. The two male figures are tenoned, but dowels secure the female figures and the accessories. The figures' arms and the held objects also are pegged into position. The arms of the male figures are doweled to the shoulder joints, while the upper arms of the female figures and the left arm of the female baker were carved from the same piece of wood as the bodies. The forearms of the miller were made separately and doweled to her upper arms at the elbows to allow her to hold the sifting tray out in front of her body. Similarly, the baker's right arm is made up of two separate pieces, enabling the forearm to bend in front of her face to protect it from the heat and smoke of the fire.

On this kitchen model from N.202, a coating of gesso underlies the applied pigments, having been added more thickly around the joints to secure the pieces and to conceal the spaces. Additional elements also are made of gesso. A large lump of gesso, representing the overflow of ground grain in front of and partly along the sides of the quern, is still visible in the expedition photographs. The wrists of the miller end in pegs inserted into holes in the quern, with her hands molded in gesso on top of the grinding stone. Four pigments were applied to the model over the gesso layer: yellow, red, black and white. The women's bodies are painted yellow, as are the edges of the sieve, the grinding stone and the sides of the quern, while the men's bodies, the jar of dough, and the sides of the bread molds are red. The flour sifter has short black hair, with his carved ears exposed, while the remaining figures wear short, black wigs that cover their ears. The tops of the bread molds and the base also are painted black. All of the figures wear white kilts, even the women, and have bare upper torsos. The figures all have large, almond-shaped eyes painted white with the enormous round pupils, cosmetic lines and brows demarcated in black. The center of the sifting tray, the top of the quern and the top surface of the jar are also white, to represent the ground grain or dough.

Three additional, fragmentary bread-making models derive from First Intermediate Period tombs at Naga ed-Deir. Seven model fragments from N.3737 likely belong to a single bakery scene similar to the one excavated from N.202. These seven fragments represent three figures: a female miller, a male flour sifter and a male figure who may be a baker preheating molds (Cat. 116-118, Figs. 70, 182-184). The miller (Cat. 116, Fig. 182) is 18.9 cm high, including the large tenon used to attach the figure to the now lost base. The head and torso were carved from a single piece of wood that split and separated into two pieces (front and back) in ancient times. The craftsman applied gesso inside the two parts to join them; the gesso is visible today because the pieces have separated once again. The miller's knees (now broken and separate from the torso) have a peg inserted underneath that would have fit into a drilled hole in the base. Her arms, of which only one survives, were secured to her shoulders with dowels. The right arm is disproportionately long (14 cm) and straight. The lost left arm undoubtedly was the same length. Both arms originally would have been held forward to grind grain in a saddle quern, also missing. The miller's hair is short-cropped, with her large, carved ears exposed. Her flesh is represented by a mottled yellow-red color. She wears a short, white kilt, with her upper torso bared. Her facial features are carved, and include a broad nose and wide, full-lipped mouth set into a rather grim expression. Her painted eyes are very large, with round pupils surrounded by an expanse of white, representing the corneas.

The male flour sifter from N.3737 (Cat. 117, Fig. 183) is 16.5 cm high. He sits with his knees drawn up, holding a sieve in his two straight, outstretched arms. The figure's head, torso, legs and feet were carved as a single unit. The long arms (13 cm) originally were doweled to the shoulders, but are now separate. The sieve is still secured to the figure's left palm with a small peg. There is a hole underneath the figure's butt for a peg to secure him to the now lost base. The flour sifter wears a black bag wig that covers his ears and a short, white kilt. His facial features are nicely detailed, with a carved nose and full lips. The almond-shaped, painted eyes appear to look off to the right, because of the placement of the pupils. The red pigment used to demarcate the flour sifter's flesh is well-preserved on his face, torso and legs. The sides and top of the sieve are painted yellow and white, to represent the plant material, from which the tray was made and the sifted grain, respectively.

The third model figure from N.3737 that may be part of a bakery scene is a squatting man (Cat. 118, Fig. 184). He is 15cm high. The head, torso and legs were carved from a single piece of wood, with the now lost arms originally secured to the shoulders with dowels. There is a single peg underneath the figure to secure his butt to the now lost base. Some traces of pigments survive: red on his torso and white on his kilt. Although both arms and the object(s) he once held are missing, the squatting pose is suggestive of a baker. Like Cat. 117, Cat. 118 wears a black bag wig. Although the facial features are worn, the shape of the face, with its broad cheekbones and small, tapered chin, is reminiscent of Cat. 117. Thus, although slightly smaller, Cat. 118 is stylistically similar to Cat. 117, suggesting the two were made by the same artist or workshop. Interestingly, there is a difference in quality among these three figures presumed to belong to the same model (Cat. 116-118). The facial features of Cat. 116 are crude in comparison with the smaller, more refined features of Cat. 117 and 118.

Two model fragments from N.3774 likely represent another bakery model: a small table with attached model bread loaves and a small, squatting male figure (Cat. 121a,b, Figs. 185-186).¹⁴⁴⁹ The table measures 6.8 cm wide by 9.7 cm long. Five oval and rectangular bread loaves are pegged to the top. Five additional round and oval loaves are now missing; however, the original locations are determined by the extant pegs or drilled holes outlined in gesso, where the loaves have fallen off. The remaining loaves preserve traces of white and red pigment, while the table surface appears to have been painted white. The associated male figure is 12.5 cm high. He was carved from one piece of wood, with separately-pegged arms, now lost. His overall proportions are long and slender. He wears a bag wig that covers his ears. The face originally may have been carved with detailed features, but is now very worn. There is also no paint preserved on the figure. His poor condition apparently is due to water damage caused during tomb deposition. It is possible that the table and male figure belonged to the same scene, since Mace both found together, although in a disturbed context, in the offering chapel. If the male

¹⁴⁴⁹ Tables are found in bakery and brewery models, predominantly from Middle Kingdom contexts. For example, Garstang excavated a model table from a bakery scene (present location unknown) from tomb BH563, dated to Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 230; and Tooley 1989: 49). Garstang also discovered a model table in conjunction with both bakery and brewery fragments in BH516, the 12th Dynasty tomb of *ḥryt-ḥtp* and *ḥi-n-mwt* (Garstang 1907: 227; and Tooley 1989: 49). Because the model table from N.3774 derives from the chapel, rather than one of the two burial chambers, and because Mace also found parts of a Middle Kingdom cartonnage mummy mask and coffin fragments in the chapel debris, it is possible that the table and seated male figure are part of a Middle Kingdom, rather than First Intermediate Period, interment. For a similar table with loaves of bread, cakes and joints of meat, see Brus. E6273 + J.E. 51347-48, a clay model banquet scene from a Middle Kingdom tomb at Hu (Breasted 1948: 48; Tooley 1989: 87, and Pl. 15.1-2; and Tooley 1995: 58, Fig. 61).

figure is from a kitchen scene, the squatting pose suggests a baker or duck roaster. This figure is undoubtedly the one Mace referred to a “wooden statuette from a boat(?)” in his field notes; however, it is not likely to derive from a boat model because it does not have holes drilled into the thighs for the placement of oars and because there is no other evidence for boats from N.3774. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the table with bread loaves and associated male figure are assumed to belong to a bakery scene.

Mace found remnants of a third, fragmentary bakery model in N.3916. This bakery is reconstructed from three fragments, known only from one expedition photograph (C8557, Fig. 53). These three fragments include a male miller, a baker and a broken stack of bread molds (Cat. 125a-c). Their exact dimensions are unknown because Mace did not include a scale in the photograph; however, he did note in the photograph register that the fragments were shown 1/5 the actual size. The presumed baker sits in a squatting position (Cat. 125a).¹⁴⁵⁰ Both of the baker’s arms were missing when excavated. It is possible, nevertheless, to reconstruct the original arm positions from the remnants of gesso around the shoulder sockets. The baker’s left arm appears to have been raised, perhaps bent in front of his (or her) face, while the left arm was held pendant, presumably to hold a poker at his (or her) side. Because the head is badly damaged, the wig and facial features are not preserved. The baker does wear a kilt, however, and has a bared torso. The figure identified as a miller (Cat. 125b) kneels with both arms originally held forward. Only the straight, left arm is intact.¹⁴⁵¹ This figure wears a bag wig and a white kilt. Remnants of the large, painted eyes with white corneas and tiny, black pupils are visible in the photograph. Finally, the bread molds that may belong with this model are represented by one broken, section (Cat. 125c).¹⁴⁵²

First Intermediate Period brewer models from Naga ed-Deir are represented only by one incomplete serving statuette from N.3765 and remnants of a possible group scene from N.3737. The fragmentary female figure from N.3765 is identified as a brewer statuette because of her large size and body position (Cat. 115, Fig. 187). She stands 29 cm high, bent forward at the waist and with her legs together. Her head, torso and legs were carved as one unit, with her missing arms attached separately with pegs. Her two ankles taper to form a single tenon that would have been mortised into the now lost base. Presumably, her feet were made of plaster and molded onto the statuette base. Because she is incomplete (i.e., missing her arms, the base and the accessories), the exact activity she performed is unknown. Her pose strongly suggests, however, that she was leaning forward to strain beer mash through a sieve into a large vat.¹⁴⁵³ The rather naturalistic rendering of her anatomy and carving of her facial features demonstrate that this statuette originally was one of fine quality. She is tall and slender, with small, modeled breasts, an indented waist, narrow hips and long legs. She has a short face with broad cheekbones, a wide nose, now abraded, a small, pointed chin and a wide, full-lipped mouth. Her large, almond-shaped eyes are outlined in black, and topped by straight brows in the same color. Her black hair is short, with carved ears exposed. Her face and upper torso are painted yellow, the standard color reserved for women. The only garment she wears is a short, white painted kilt.

¹⁴⁵⁰ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see c/5.

¹⁴⁵¹ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see b/5.

¹⁴⁵² In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see c/2.

¹⁴⁵³ For an example of a complete female brewer dated to the First Intermediate Period, see statuette KUL (number unknown), from the tomb of *Hnw*, at Deir el-Bersha (de Meyer 2007: 22, 23, no. 31).

The remains of a brewery scene from N.3737 consist of three small model beer storage jars and a pair of male arms from a brewer figure (Cat. 120, 121, Figs. 51, 188 and 189). The beer jars range in size from 8.7 to 12 cm high. They are painted red with black tops, to represent mud sealed clay (*dwiw*) jars.¹⁴⁵⁴ Two of the three jars are broken. The lower portion of the third, intact jar tapers to a point, illustrating that originally it was secured in a hole drilled into the now lost base. The male brewer's red-painted right and left arms measure 13.3 cm and 13.4 cm, respectively. Both arms end at wrists that once were inserted into a beer vat, now lost, similar to way the female brewer's arm from (pit) N.69 (Cat. 103c, Fig. 173) were attached. While these five small fragments from N.3737 are considered here to derive from a figure in a brewing scene, it is also possible that they belong with the bakery fragments excavated from this tomb, and originally were combined into a bakery-brewery kitchen model.¹⁴⁵⁵ Finally, Mace also recovered several other model fragments of human figures from N.3737, some of which could represent kitchen figures carrying objects, milling or straining mash as part of baking or brewing activities. These fragments include a pair of male workers in stooped poses (Cat. 165a,b), a squatting male figure (Cat. 166), three pairs of straight male arms with open palms facing either inward or down (Cat. 167-169) and eight unmatched male arms (Cat. 170a-h). Because the exact activities are unknown, these fragments are not discussed here in detail, but are listed in Appendix F.

At Naga ed-Deir, First Intermediate Period duck roasting scenes are represented by only two relatively complete serving statuettes, excavated from tombs S.F.5214 and N.202.¹⁴⁵⁶ The wooden duck roaster from S.F.5214 is known only from one expedition photograph and Dunham's sketch and description provided in the 1923-24 object register log (Cat. 122, Figs. 41 and 190).¹⁴⁵⁷ This serving statuette measures 13.2 cm high (with the base), 23.6 cm long and 6.7 cm wide. The figure was fastened to the base by a single wooden peg. His knees were carved from a separate piece of wood and attached separately, but were missing at the time of the statuette's excavation. The arms were secured to the shoulders with pegs. Although the description in the object register log noted that only the left arm was discovered, the right arm (identified by the object register number) is attached to the cook in expedition photograph B5040. This upraised right arm was straight and ended in a broken fist with a drilled hole, through which a fan likely originally was secured. The left arm, sketched in the object register log, was bent slightly with an upwards-projecting peg in the hand that probably secured a spitted duck or goose. The crudely-made figure was covered with a thin layer of gesso and painted with short black hair, enormous, almond-shaped eyes with small black pupils, black eyebrows and red skin. The base was painted black as well, to represent the ground upon which the figure sat. The cook's nose and mouth appear to have been carved originally, but are abraded in the expedition photograph. In front of the squatting cook was a hearth. This nearly circular hearth, which measured 6.7 cm wide x 6.3 cm long, was made of plaster. It was painted with a red border

¹⁴⁵⁴ For similar models from 11th Dynasty tombs, including pit 14 of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II at Deir el-Bahri, see Di. Arnold (1981: 42-43, and Pl. 33a-c).

¹⁴⁵⁵ For comparison, see Turin S.13271, a combined bakery-brewery scene from the early First Intermediate Period tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein (Tooley 1989: 17, called a kitchen scene; 182-183, Pls. 4.1, 32.2; Tooley 1994: 344, Pl. XLLc; and Roveri (no date): 30).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Provenanced duck roaster serving statuettes are otherwise unattested for the First Intermediate Period. However, Breasted cited two examples (BM29596 and CG 499) of unknown provenance. Although he dated both wooden statuettes to the Middle Kingdom the form suggests they are earlier, dating either to the late Old Kingdom or to the First Intermediate Period (Breasted 1948: 43; for BM29596, see also Taylor and Strudwick 2005: 180-181, with Plate; and for CG 499, see also Borchardt 1925: 71, and Pl. 85).

¹⁴⁵⁷ In Fig. 41, Ex. Ph. B5040, see b/1.

around a yellow circle with a white center. The yellow and white areas were covered with daubs of black and red pigments to simulate heated coals.

The duck roaster statuette from N.202 (Cat. 127, Figs. 191-192) is better-preserved than the one from S.F.5214. This male figure sits before a hearth, holding a spitted duck or goose in his left hand and a fan in his right. The base upon which he sits was carved from an irregularly-shaped wooden board. The figure and the hearth are tenoned to the base in a closed mortise joint. The duck roaster's head, torso, left arm and upper right arm were carved as a single unit. Dowels secure the figure's bent, right forearm to his elbow. The handle of the fan fits into a hole drilled into the figure's right fist. The spit goes through the clenched, left hand in the same way. The duck was not carved separately, but is a continuation of the spit. Remnants of gesso inside and along the edges of the crack that runs down the back of the kilt suggests the figure split during carving and the ancient artist repaired the damage, rather than creating a new statuette from another piece of wood. A layer of gesso also underlies the pigments. The three pigments used to decorate the model are black, red and white. The figure wears a short bag wig that covers his ears. The man's flesh, the spit and the background of the fan all are painted red. Three black horizontal lines on both sides of the fan represent the ties that bind the feathers together. The central area of the hearth also is black, representing coals, as are the top and sides of the base, to depict the ground upon which the duck roaster sat. The hearth flames are represented as round daubs of red, painted over the black layer. White pigment survives only on the duck roaster's kilt. Traces of pigment on the duck's body suggest it originally had black wings. Angular depressions in the wood of both of the duck roaster's hands, particularly the right one, were caused by rodents gnawing on the statuette during tomb deposition. The statuette base was damaged in ancient times, as the left, front corner was broken at the time of excavation.

By comparing the expedition photograph (C4838, Fig. 191) with a recent photograph (Fig. 192), it is apparent that some changes have taken place since the model was excavated. In the expedition photograph, the duck was positioned over the center of the hearth, so that two holes-- one drilled through the top of the duck and one in the center of the hearth-- lined up. Originally, there must have been a peg, now missing, which secured these two pieces in place. Similarly, gesso was once applied thickly over the joints for concealment, especially between the figure's butt and the top of the base, but is gone entirely now. The left, rear corner of the base apparently also split in antiquity, and was infilled with gesso before painting; however, the gesso has fallen away from this area since excavation. The left side of the figure's face is more abraded than when found; the figure's large, left eye is visible in the expedition photograph is now gone. Finally, the duck roaster originally grasped the handle of the fan much closer to its end than he does now.

With one possible exception, butcher models are unattested at Naga ed-Deir in the First Intermediate Period.¹⁴⁵⁸ One possible butcher scene made from composite materials is

¹⁴⁵⁸ Butcher scenes do appear in the chapel decoration of two First Intermediate Period tombs: N.3737 and S.F.5015. In N.3737, the scenes are located on the north wall. Below and to the right of the depiction of the tomb owner seated before an offering table, two men slaughter an ox, while another man carries a haunch towards a cauldron in which a fourth man cooks joints of meat (Peck 1958: 97, Fig. 5, and 107, Pl. 12). In S.F.5015, the scene is located on the south wall of the outer room of the chapel (Stevenson Smith 1949: 226, attributed to tomb S.F.5105; Brovarski 1989: 945-946, 948 and Fig. 88, Exp. Ph. B5124, bottom register). In this scene, two standing men cook joints of meat in a cauldron. Behind them an animal carcass hangs from a tree, perhaps an ovicaprid or

represented by three model fragments from N.3916. These fragments include two wooden male figures and a clay ox (Cat. 124a,b). The male figures bend forward at the waist, with both arms, now lost, originally hanging down (Cat. 124b, Fig. 53).¹⁴⁵⁹ One of the figures still has the remnant of a peg in the sole of his left foot. The poses of these two stooped figures are identical to that of Cat. 22b, a boat figure from S.F.18.¹⁴⁶⁰ It is also possible that Cat. 124b represent boat balers or servants, like Cat. 22b; however, they are tentatively classified here as butchers, stooping to bind and slit the throat of an ox.¹⁴⁶¹ This identification may be strengthened by their association with the clay ox excavated from the tomb (Cat. 124a, Fig. 193). The highly stylized, bound ox measures 13 cm long x 5 cm wide. The clay is covered in a gesso layer and painted black and white, to represent the hide. At one end, a thick red line represents the severed throat. Because butcher activities typically were combined with baking and brewing in the First Intermediate Period, it is also possible that Cat. 124a,b originally were combined with the bakery fragments from N.3916 (discussed above) to form a combined kitchen scene. Four other human figures shown in the expedition photograph were identified as crewmembers from a model boat (Cat. 26a-f) in Chapters Seven and Eight, the function of a standing human figure shown in the same photograph is unknown (Cat. 175), and may belong with either the boat or the kitchen model(s) interred in the tomb.¹⁴⁶²

10.4 Early Middle Kingdom (Phase III)

Reisner's expedition teams excavated only two kitchen models from an early Middle Kingdom context: tombs N.263 and N.361 at Naga ed-Deir. All together, these two scenes are comprised of 14 fragments that are considered to represent two group models: one bakery-brewery scene and one brewery scene.

Ten of the fragments from N.263 belong to the wooden bakery-brewery model and consist of two jars, one table and seven human figures in standing and squatting poses. Similar elements are known from combined kitchen scenes dating to the early Middle Kingdom from other sites.¹⁴⁶³ The two model jars consist of one beer (*dwiw*) and one *hs* vessel. The ovoid beer (*dwiw*) jar measures 15.4 cm high, and is painted red and black to represent a clay vessel capped

gazelle, which typically are flayed while suspended from trees (Ikram 1995: 49). To the right of the tree, two kneeling men stack conical jars, perhaps containing stored meat.

¹⁴⁵⁹ In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see b/2 and b/3. One figure (b/2) preserves part of the right arm, broken just below the shoulder joint.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Compare Ex. Ph. C8557, b/2, b/3 and Ex. Ph. B1812, a/6 in Figs. 54 and 55.

¹⁴⁶¹ For an example of a First Intermediate Period combined scene with butchers, see Sunderland (number unknown), the combined bakery-brewery-butcher shop model from tomb 1593 at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 120-121, PMAN 3447). For an early Middle Kingdom example of butchers in more bent positions, see Fitz. E.71c.1903, a butcher shop with men slaughtering an ox, binding the legs and collecting blood in a basin, from tomb BH366 of *Hty* (Garstang 1907: 105, Fig. 94; Breasted 1948: 37; Bourriau 1988: 106, no. 93; and Tooley 1989: 46-47, 61).

¹⁴⁶² In Fig. 53, Ex. Ph. C8557, see b/6.

¹⁴⁶³ Garstang excavated remnants of a bakery-brewery scene from tomb complex BH822-823 that included wooden figures, two querns, a table with circular holes for jars, and a beer vat. The tomb is dated to late Dynasty 11-mid 12 (Garstang 1907: 240; Tooley 1989: 45). For a similarly dated intact model, see LM 55.82.7, a baker-brewer-butcher scene from the burial of *Hnm-nhti* in tomb BH585 at Beni Hasan. This scene includes two standing female millers, a woman seated before an oven, a man slaughtering an ox, a male brewer and a table with jars (Garstang 1907: 94, Fig. 84, bottom; Bienkowski and Southworth, 1986, Pl. 3; O'Connor and Silverman 1980: 80, Fig. 91; Baines and Malek 2000: 193; and Tooley 1989: 47).

with a mud seal (Cat. 128a, Fig. 194). The bottom of the beer jar tapers to a point, which would have been inserted into a drilled hole in the now lost base of the model. On one side of the jar is a small knot in the wood. The model *hs* jar is shouldered, with a tall neck, but lacking the usual footed base (Cat. 128b, Figs. 35 and 195).¹⁴⁶⁴ This jar measures 10.3 cm high, and is painted with a red body and black top. A peg inserted in the flat bottom originally secured the jar to the now lost base of the model. Although the *hs* jar likely belongs with the other model bakery-brewery elements from N.263, it is not typical of such scenes.¹⁴⁶⁵ The third model accessory from N.263 is a wooden table, which measures 14 cm long x 5.3 cm wide (Cat. 128c, Fig. 196).¹⁴⁶⁶ It has four legs with a peg inserted underneath each to attach to a (lost) base. On the table surface, a central carved section originally supported an unknown object. Traces of white pigment survive on the table top.

The human figures that may belong with the model jars and table from N.263 include four men and three women. The male figures all stand, and are of varying heights that range from 11.5 cm to 14.5 cm (Cat. 129a-d, Figs. 35 and 92).¹⁴⁶⁷ Two of the men stand upright with both legs together (Cat. 129a,c, Fig. 92, a/1, a/3). One bends forward at the waist (Cat. 129b, Fig. 92, a/2). The fourth man stands with legs slightly apart (Cat. 129d, Fig. 92, a/6). His physical appearance differs from the three other male figures, which are small and slender; he is taller and rather pudgy with a drilled navel. During the carving of this figure's legs, the wood apparently split above the knees and the craftsman repaired the crack with gesso, which still survives in traces. All four male figures have pegs inserted beneath their feet to secure them to the now lost base. The figures wear black bag wigs, black moustaches and beards painted over sharply-pointed chins. One man, Cat. 129d, has traces of back pigment on his chest that may represent a painted broad collar. Unfortunately, because all the arms are missing, the exact activities performed by these four male figures are unknown. The hunched pose of Cat. 129b, however, suggests he may be a brewer, who stood before a beer vat, leaning forward to push mash through a sieve. Standing male figures found in Middle Kingdom bakery-brewery models also crush grain in tall mortars or carry water jars on yokes.¹⁴⁶⁸ It is possible, therefore, that Cat. 129a,c fulfilled one or more of these functions. Finally, the combination of Cat. 129d's physical traits and broad collar differentiate him from the other male kitchen figures from N.263, suggesting he was a person of more elevated status, such as an overseer.

N.263 also contained three female figures that may have originated from the same bakery-brewery model as the four men (Cat. 130a-c, Figs. 35 and 197).¹⁴⁶⁹ Two women in squatting positions measure approximately 11 cm in height, while the third woman stands 15.3

¹⁴⁶⁴ In Fig. 35, B10698, see c/3.

¹⁴⁶⁵ For a similar wooden model *hs* jar from the tomb (pit 14) of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II at Deir-el-Bahri, see Do. Arnold (in Di. Arnold 1981: 72, and Pls. 55h and 75.19). Paice identified this type of vessel as a milk jar, from tomb scenes and excavated pottery (1997: 2, 23, and Fig. 13b).

¹⁴⁶⁶ In Fig. 35, B10698, see a/4.

¹⁴⁶⁷ In Fig. 35, Ex. Ph. B10698, see c/4 and c/5.

¹⁴⁶⁸ For an example of a kitchen model with a man dehusking grain, see Turin S.8652, a baking-brewing scene from the tomb of *Htp-df* at Asyut (Roveri, ed. 1987: 64, C5; Tooley 1989: 38, Pl. 7.1, dated to early Dynasty 11; Malek 2003: 108; and Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n. 110, tomb dated to late Dynasty 11). Another model that includes a man straining mash into a vat and two men carrying jars on yokes is Fitz. E.71d.1903, from the tomb of *Hty* (BH366) at Beni Hasan, dated to early Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 126-128, Fig. 124; Bourriau, 1981: 63, no. 113; Bourriau 1988: 105-106, no. 92; Tooley 1989: 46-47; and Samuel 1994: 9, with colored plate).

¹⁴⁶⁹ The standing woman is illustrated in Fig. 35 (Ex. Ph. B10698, c/7).

cm high. All three figures were carved originally from single pieces of wood, and had separately-attached arms. Pegs inserted underneath the two squatting women secured them to the now lost base. The standing woman's broken legs taper at the ankles to form a tenon that originally mortised into the base. Each woman wears a long black wig with bangs and short sections of hair that fall to chin level on the sides and taper down to a longer section in the back. Their facial features were carved originally, but are now worn. Two of the women (Cat. 130b,c) are better preserved than the third. Like those of the male figures from this tomb, the women's faces taper to sharply-pointed chins. Their incised mouths are set into rather grim expressions, reminiscent of the female offering bearer from S.F.25 (Cat. 79) of the same date. Only the large, black-outlined eyes of the standing woman (Cat. 130c) are preserved. This woman also has a small knot (i.e., a flaw in the wood) in her forehead. Traces of yellow pigment survive on the faces and chests of all three female figures, with remnants of white on the kilts of two (Cat. 130a,c). Although the arms of all three women are missing, the body poses suggest the possible baking activities in which they were engaged: the two squatting women may have been bakers or flour sifters, while the standing woman may have been a miller or a brewer.¹⁴⁷⁰

Remnants of one other early Middle Kingdom kitchen model from Naga ed-Deir derive from tomb N.361, where Reisner recovered four model beer (*dwiw*) jars that range in (extant) height from 4 cm to 10.5 cm high (Cat. 131a-d, Fig. 198).¹⁴⁷¹ The two best preserved jars (Cat. 131a,d) are painted the usual colors for ceramic beer containers: red bodies capped with black, conical seals. All four jars also have pegs inserted into the pointed bottoms to secure them to a now lost base. Although no other model fragments were recovered from this tomb, based on parallels from other sites, the beer jars originally likely originated from either a group brewery scene, or from a combined scene that also depicted other kitchen activities, such as baking and butchering.¹⁴⁷²

10.5 Late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV)

Reisner's expedition team excavated only one late Middle Kingdom kitchen model, discovered in S.F.95. This limestone serving statuette is of a female baker standing in front of an oven (Cat. 132, Fig. 199).¹⁴⁷³ The statuette is very small, measuring only 8.1 cm high, and is crudely made. Originally carved from a single block of limestone, it now is broken into three pieces. The baker stands before a raised oven with a domed top, with her arms outstretched to place bread loaves inside. The oven sits on a tray, which is in turn supported on a cubical block. Both the figure and the oven stand on the same base. The figure is identified as a woman by her

¹⁴⁷⁰ For one example of an early Middle Kingdom kitchen scene with two standing female millers, see BMFA 04.1782, a baker-brewer model from tomb 14 of *Wp-w3wt-m-hʿt* at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 164, Pl. 34.1,3; Breasted 1948: 34-35; D'Auria et al. 1988: 100-101, dated to Dynasty 10 or 11; Tooley 1989: 35, dated late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12; Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n.110, dated to Dynasty 11 by pottery).

¹⁴⁷¹ Although neither listed in the tomb notes nor photographed, the model beer jars are attributed to N.361 because Reisner wrote the tomb number on all four jars.

¹⁴⁷² An intact First Intermediate Period baker-brewer-butcher model that includes a basket containing beer jars with conical stoppers is Brus. E5798d, from Sedment tomb 374 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 26.13; Breasted 1948: 42; Tooley 1989: 50, dated late Dynasty 11-early 12; Picton and Pridden 2008: 109, 242, 259, PMAN 3429, 3430). For a bakery-brewery model with a rack of eight similar beer jars see Leiden F1939/1.4, from tomb 23 of *Dhwtj-htp* at Bersha, dated to late Dynasty 11 (Kamal 1901: 38-40; Schneider 1981: 62, Cat. 7, identified as a brewery; and Tooley 1989: 42).

¹⁴⁷³ Breasted (1948: 106, Pl. 98c).

yellow-painted flesh. She wears a short black wig and white kilt. Traces of pigments also survive on her face: black on her left eye and red on her mouth. The oven is painted red, and the statuette base is yellow. This tiny statuette is unique, as there are no other known examples of this type of bakery figure.

10.6 Kitchen Models of Uncertain Date and Provenance

Reisner's expedition teams recovered one relatively intact serving statuette and 20 fragments of kitchen models from unknown tombs presumably in cemetery N.100-400 at Naga ed-Deir. All but three fragments were shipped to California in box number 100 in 1903 (i.e., museum provenance NNN100).¹⁴⁷⁴ Of the 20 fragments, two likely represent two serving statuettes, while five fragments could be from either four separate statuettes or combined scenes, and the remaining 13 fragments likely derive from a maximum of three group kitchen scenes. These 10 models are assumed to come from nine separate tombs, for the purposes of this study. Little analysis can be performed to date these models, except to note that comparative material from other sites suggests that the single statuettes most likely date to the late Old Kingdom and one element from a group scene may date to the early Middle Kingdom.

Three bakery models are represented by one broken serving statuette and three fragments from two statuettes or combined scenes. The damaged serving statuette is a male miller (Cat. 133, Figs. 30 and 200).¹⁴⁷⁵ Although the arms, base and accessories are missing, the figure's occupation is suggested by its large size (27.5 cm) and kneeling position. The head, torso and thighs were carved as one unit. The knees, which either were made of wood and attached separately to the base or were molded in gesso, are missing. The kneeling pose, however, is reconstructed from the preserved section of the upper thighs. Although now badly damaged, the statuette appears to have been well-made originally, with naturalistically rendered anatomy and detailed facial features. The nose, mouth and two ears were carved, but are now heavily abraded. The gesso and pigment layers are badly worn on the head and torso. The figure is identified as male by the (traces) of pinkish-red surviving on the torso. His short hair is painted black. He also has large, painted eyes outlined in black with round, black pupils; of the two eyes, the right one is better preserved. Two knots in the wood on the inside of the thighs (i.e., the area where the knee section joined) illustrate the poor quality of the timber. Wooden statuettes of millers are known from late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and possibly early Middle Kingdom contexts at other sites (see Appendix J). The rather unusual pinkish-red color on Cat. 133 is similar to that used on Cat. 111-113 from late Old Kingdom tomb N.269 and unprovenanced Cat. 141 (discussed further below), suggesting all five statuettes may have been made by the same atelier.

Three unprovenanced bakery fragments derive from either two serving statuettes or two combined scenes at Naga ed-Deir. Two of the three fragments are wooden arms belonging to a male miller who stood to dehusk grain in a now lost mortar with a pestle (Cat. 134a,b, Fig. 201). Both arms end in clenched fists. The right arm is bent, and measures 11.9 cm long. The left arm is straight, and is slightly longer than the right, measuring 13.2 cm. The left arm holds the pestle. Traces of red pigments survive on both arms, identifying them as male. Because this type of

¹⁴⁷⁴ The reasons for attributing these fragments to this cemetery and the problems in assigning specific tomb numbers to the NNN100 fragments were discussed above, in n. 1114.

¹⁴⁷⁵ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see d/1.

figure is found in baking and brewing models ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom through the early Middle Kingdom, both as single statuettes and in group scenes, the exact date and form of the original model cannot be determined. The third unprovenanced bakery fragment from Naga ed-Deir is a model of stacked bread molds (Cat. 137, Fig. 202).¹⁴⁷⁶ The stack is 10.2 cm high, represented as four tiers of stacked molds topped by a single bread mold. Traces of red and black pigments, representing smoke-blackening, survive. Underneath is a peg to secure the fragment to a now lost base. Because wooden models depicting Type A ceramic bread molds have a date range of late Old Kingdom-early Middle Kingdom, without a secure provenance the exact date of this fragment cannot be determined. As with the miller's arms, the form of model from which the stacked bread molds originated is unknown, because such bread molds are elements in both serving statuettes and combined baking scenes.

Two additional unprovenanced model fragments from Naga ed-Deir derive from two bakery, brewery or combined kitchen scenes: a model table and a vat. The table measures 11.5 cm long x 5.3 cm wide (Cat. 135, Fig. 203). On the top surface is a rectangular, hollowed area for the placement of an unknown object and six drilled holes, likely for model beer jars.¹⁴⁷⁷ Like Cat. 128c, the table has four legs, each with a peg underneath to secure it to a base. Unlike Cat. 128c, the top of Cat. 135 preserves traces of red (rather than white) pigment. The table may date to the early Middle Kingdom, since similar tables also are known from combined kitchen scenes of this period from other sites. The vat stands 6.3 cm high, and is painted red on the sides and white on top, perhaps representing a ceramic container filled with dough or grain (Cat. 136, Figs. 30 and 204).¹⁴⁷⁸ This type of vat differs from those used by brewers in that it lacks a sieve on top for straining mash and a side spout for pouring out the fermented beer. The exact date of Cat. 136 cannot be determined because similar examples are known from both First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom combined kitchen scenes.¹⁴⁷⁹

¹⁴⁷⁶ Ex. Ph. C8914 depicts two wooden male *k3* statues, a mallet, a sandal and furniture or box fragments, all of which are attributed to tomb 202 and are listed alongside other tombs located in cemetery N.100-400 in the expedition photograph register. Although not illustrated in this expedition photograph, the model of stacked bread molds (Cat. 137) was catalogued together with the statue fragments under PAHMA 6-2716, and also assigned to tomb 202 in the Hearst Museum records. Tomb N.202 is well-documented, and the field notes and expedition photographs do not include any of the material shown in Ex. Ph. C8914 or the model bread molds. Therefore, the tomb number must have been recorded erroneously in the photograph register. There is a record for tomb 232 (Ex. Ph. C8907) on the same page of the photograph register, seven lines above the entry for tomb 202, and one for tomb 292 (Ex. Ph. C8920) on the next page, six lines below this entry. It is likely that Mace miswrote 202 for one of these other tombs; this possibility cannot be verified, however, because the tomb cards for N.232 and N.292 no longer exist. The same wooden mallet also is illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8894 and C8895 along with other wooden implements from tombs N.434, N.90, N.429 and N.477, all of which are located in cemetery N.100-400. Unfortunately, the tomb number for the mallet is not included in these entries in the photograph register. Therefore, although the cemetery of origin for the material illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8914 -- and, by association, the model of stacked bread molds -- is likely N.100-400, the exact tomb number is unknown.

¹⁴⁷⁷ For example, see Cairo 4/3/23/1 from the burial of *Nfr-mddnyt* in the tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, dated to the late 11th/early 12th Dynasty. This storehouse model depicts brewing-butchering activities that include a table with beer jars (Quibell 1908: 10-11, 76, Pl. 19.1, "kitchen or slaughterhouse"; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 55; and Do. Arnold 2005: 52, 54, and Pl. 10.19).

¹⁴⁷⁸ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see b/3.

¹⁴⁷⁹ For an example of a large vat in a First Intermediate Period bakery-brewery-butcher shop model, see Sunderland (number unknown), from Sedment, tomb 1593 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38, "cooking" scene; Tooley 1989: 20, dated tomb First Intermediate Period-Senusret I; Picton and Pridden 2008: 120-121, 243, 259, PMAN 3447). Another example of a vat is found on a Cairo museum model bakery scene (number unknown) from

There are three unprovenanced brewer models excavated from Naga ed-Deir, including one fragment of a serving statuette, a second fragment from either a serving statuette or combined scene and 11 beer jar fragments, possibly from a group scene. Two brewers from an unknown tomb probably located in cemetery N.100-400 are known from only one expedition photograph (C8882, Fig. 37).¹⁴⁸⁰ The first two fragments are the base of a brewer statuette and a small beer (*dwiw*) jar from a separate model, either a serving statuette or a combined brewery scene (Cat. 139a,b). Although the base is missing its statuette and accessory, it is identified as a belonging to a brewer because of the open mortise, into which the tenon (i.e., ankles) of a standing statuette would fit, and the outline of a circular depression around the drilled hole where a beer vat once was attached. The statuette cannot be dated because wooden brewer statuettes are known from other sites from contexts ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom. Similarly, wooden beer jars are known from jar sealer and brewer statuettes and brewery scenes with a wide date range. Finally, a minimum of one brewery scene is estimated from a group of 11 unprovenanced beer (*dwiw*) jars (Cat. 138a-k; Figs. 30 and 205).¹⁴⁸¹ The jar sizes fall into two main groups (small and large) that together range from 8.8 cm to 18.7 cm high. The jars are painted the usual red and black reserved for beer (*dwiw*) jars with conical seals. Because the base(s) to which they were pegged is missing, the number of scenes to which they belonged originally is unknown. These jars also may derive from more than one tomb. As with unprovenanced Cat. 139a,b, the date(s) of Cat. 138a-k cannot be determined.

There is evidence for two duck roaster models from unknown tombs at Naga ed-Deir: a serving statuette and a fragment from either a serving statuette or a cook in a combined scene. The serving statuette depicts a squatting man, missing his left arm, the base and the accessories (Cat. 140a,b, Figs. 30 and 206).¹⁴⁸² The figure was carved from a single block of wood with the head, torso and legs as one unit. A peg underneath his butt secured him to the (lost) base. The arms originally were pegged separately to the shoulders. The large size (26.5cm high), squatting pose and right arm position together suggests the statuette is a duck roaster. The now separate right arm is bent upwards at a 90 degree angle, and probably held a fan in the clenched, right fist. The statuette may have grasped a spitted wildfowl in the missing left hand. The figure is in poor condition, with the carved facial features abraded and most of the thick gesso and pigment layers missing. He has no feet, which likely were modeled in gesso on the statuette base and are now lost. Traces of some pigment survives: black on his short hair, pinkish-red on his torso and white on his kilt. With the exception of Naga ed-Deir, wooden duck roaster statuettes are known only from late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period contexts. Cat. 141a,b may derive as the same tomb as Cat. 133 because both statuettes are painted with the same pinkish-red color

the tomb (BH116) of *Nfry* at Beni Hasan, dated to the late 11th-early 12th Dynasty (Garstang 1907: 76, Figs. 61, 63; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 48; and Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99).

¹⁴⁸⁰ In Fig. 37, Ex. Ph. C8882, see a/2 and c/3. The contents of N.105 and another, unidentified, tomb are illustrated in Ex. Ph. C8882. On the right side of the photograph are grouped four fragments of serving statuettes and models from the unknown tomb, also assumed to be located in cemetery N.100-400. The present locations of the statuette base (Cat. 139a) and beer jar (Cat. 139b) are unknown. Two wooden arms illustrated in this photograph are now in the Hearst Museum: PAHMA 6-16111 (arm from a male serving statuette) and 6-16112 (small arm from a male figure), i.e., my Cat. 187a,b. Excavated by Reisner in 1901-03, the provenance of these wooden fragments had been forgotten, apparently, by the 1904-05 season when Mace took the photograph, because he entered it into the photograph register as "105 + ?".

¹⁴⁸¹ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see b/5, d/5, d/6.

¹⁴⁸² In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see d/2.

and because Mace placed them beside each other in his expedition photograph (B10697). As mentioned above, based on painting techniques that are similar to the three serving statuettes from N.269, Cat. 133 and Cat. 141a,b most likely date to the late Old Kingdom.

One final unprovenanced duck roaster fragment from Naga ed-Deir is a spitted wildfowl (Cat. 141, Figs. 30 and 207).¹⁴⁸³ The duck or goose was carved as a continuation of the spit--now broken at the bird's beak and measuring 9.5 cm long. Traces of black pigment survive on the bird's body, with red underneath that was likely splashed when the missing hearth was painted. A broken peg inserted underneath the bird attached it originally to the now lost base. Like Cat. 140a,b, Cat. 141 probably originated from a tomb in cemetery N.100-400. Mace also photographed the two fragments in the same expedition photograph (but not next to each other). While it is possible that Cat. 140a,b and Cat. 141 belong together, the wildfowl fragment also may belong to another duck roaster statuette or a duck roaster figure in a group scene excavated from a different tomb in cemetery N.100-400.

10.7 Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter, I discussed the general function of kitchen models, providing descriptions of the main activities associated with the production of bread and beer from cereal grains and the processing of meat from butchered oxen and fowl. In conjunction with this analysis, I revised Tooley's data on kitchen models dating from the Old through Middle Kingdoms and deriving from primarily excavated contexts throughout Egypt. Excluding those from Naga ed-Deir, I calculated a new total of 305 known kitchen scenes, which are listed in my Appendix J along with detailed descriptions and references. This new total is comprised of 159 single, 10 paired and 136 combined (single and related activity) scenes of figures performing the four main kitchen tasks: baking bread, brewing beer, slaughtering oxen and cooking meat (i.e., beef and wildfowl). In the introduction, I also presented an overview of the chronological development of kitchen models to provide a context in which to examine the Naga ed-Deir data. For each of five chronological phases of production, I observed patterns and identified trends in quantities, geographic distribution, numbers deposited in tombs, form, specific activity types, range of quality and manufacturing materials.

The first trend I observed is a change in the quantities of kitchen models produced over time. The overall numbers of kitchen models began high in the Old Kingdom (92 models, or 30% of the corpus), declined steadily through the late Old Kingdom (61 models, or 20% of the corpus) and First Intermediate Period (47 models, or 15% of the corpus), rose sharply in the early Middle Kingdom (99 models, or 33% of the corpus) to supersede the Old Kingdom totals, and, finally, essentially ceased in the late Middle Kingdom (six models, or 2% of the corpus). The apparent decline in the manufacture of kitchen models from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period may be explained at least partially by skewed evidence created by large caches from a few Old Kingdom tombs and the change in format from single figures to complex multi-figure scenes over time. Furthermore, as discussed in this chapter, the Middle Kingdom totals probably were even higher originally, because the fragmentary nature of the evidence makes it difficult to calculate the numbers of complete models.

¹⁴⁸³ In Fig. 30, Ex. Ph. B10697, see a/3.

The second major trend I found among kitchen models is an expansion in geographic distribution over time. The production of kitchen models began in the northern, capital cemeteries of Giza and Saqqara, spread further into Lower and Middle Egypt in the late Old Kingdom and, ultimately, proliferated throughout Lower and Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. Within each chronological period, however, individuals typically were buried with 1-3 kitchen models. The occasional larger caches comprising up to 13 models are found exclusively in the early and later Old Kingdom, i.e., Dynasties 4-5 and 6-8.

I also observed an evolution in the form in which kitchen models were manufactured over time, i.e., from single statuettes to complex groups. In fact, the quantities of single statuettes and group models are inversely proportional in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The peak production of single statuettes occurred in the Old Kingdom, with 91 examples, and the numbers declined through the late Middle Kingdom to two examples. Conversely, the quantities of group scenes were lowest during the late Old Kingdom, with four examples, and rose steadily through the early Middle Kingdom to 93 examples. In all five periods, paired models on single bases were rare, with only one example found in each of the Old and early Middle Kingdoms, five in the late Old Kingdom and three in the First Intermediate Period.

Although all four major kitchen activities -- baking bread, brewing beer, slaughtering oxen and cooking meat -- were depicted in models manufactured from the Old to the Middle Kingdom, in some periods certain activities were more popular than others. Throughout time, bread and beer-making predominated over meat processing activities, with 215 identifiable models total. Among the meat processing scenes, however, the quantities of duck roaster, butchering and cooking models manufactured in the Old Kingdom were roughly equivalent, with five, four and three examples, respectively. The only known meat processing models made in the late Old Kingdom are eight duck roasters. Subsequently, models of butchering oxen became more prevalent in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, either as single activity scenes (12 models total) or combined with baking, brewing and (occasionally) duck roasting (27 identifiable models total).

There is also an observable pattern in quality among kitchen models through time. In general, the statuettes and combined scenes of 2-3 figures manufactured in the late Old Kingdom tend to be larger and better-made than the cruder models of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, which were comprised of multiple figures and accessories. Within each time period, however, there is also a range of quality in general among various regions or sites.

The final development I observed among kitchen models is a modification in the choice of materials used in their manufacture from the Old to Middle Kingdoms. The earliest models (Dynasties 4-early 6) were made entirely of limestone. Composite models of wood with limestone elements were introduced in the late Old Kingdom. Beginning in the First Intermediate Period and continuing through the early Middle Kingdom, kitchen models were made entirely of wood. In the late Middle Kingdom, limestone was reintroduced for uninscribed statuettes of kitchen figures (and other model types) that were generally smaller and more crudely made than their Old Kingdom counterparts.

Using intact models from other sites for comparison, I established the activity types and forms of the kitchen models excavated from Naga ed-Deir. The comparative evidence is

necessary in reconstructing the Naga ed-Deir kitchen model corpus, because of the highly fragmentary nature of the material. The Naga ed-Deir data consists of 30 kitchen scenes from 20 tombs that range in date from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), in addition to 10 (maximum) scenes from an estimated nine tombs in unknown locations at the site. These 40 models from Naga ed-Deir include 11 complete and 29 fragmentary examples that depict all four major kitchen activities: baking, brewing beer, butchering oxen and cooking fowl. These kitchen tasks are performed by 20 (maximum) single figures, two paired and 18 (maximum) group scenes of single and related activities. For each of the four chronological phases of production, I also observed patterns in quantity, form, specific activity types and manufacturing materials. By examining modifications in these patterns over time, I identified trends that are both similar to and different from those observed for the established kitchen model database for the rest of Egypt. Of the 10 unprovenanced kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir, only two possess stylistic features that help date them, which permitted their incorporation into this analysis.

Since kitchen models dated to Dynasties 4-5 are known only from the northern, capital cemeteries at Giza and Saqqara, it is not surprising that there were no kitchen models of this period excavated from Naga ed-Deir (0% of the corpus). The initial appearance of kitchen models occurred at the site in the late Old Kingdom. In contrast to the general developmental scheme for other sites, however, at Naga ed-Deir there is a marked and steady decline in kitchen model production from the late Old Kingdom through the early Middle Kingdom. The number of kitchen models was highest in the late Old Kingdom, with 19 models (60% of the corpus), declined to 10 models (31% of the corpus) in the First Intermediate Period, dropped further down to two models (6% of the corpus) in the early Middle Kingdom and, finally, culminated in one model (3% of the corpus) in the late Middle Kingdom.

Factoring in the 32 provenanced Naga ed-Deir kitchen models with the revised total of 305 from other sites gives 337 kitchen models from sites throughout Egypt that date from the Old to Middle Kingdoms. The number of kitchen models produced prior to the 6th Dynasty remains unchanged, with 92 examples (27% of the corpus). In the late Old Kingdom, there are 80 examples (24% of the corpus). There is still a decline in the number of kitchen models produced in the First Intermediate Period, with 57 examples (17% of the corpus). The highest amount, i.e., 101 examples (30% of the corpus), still occurs in the early Middle Kingdom, followed by a sharp decline in the late Middle Kingdom, with only 7 examples (2% of the corpus).

Despite the fragmentary nature of much of the Naga ed-Deir corpus of kitchen models, it is also possible to draw some general conclusions regarding the quantities deposited in tombs in different periods. Typical of other sites throughout Egypt, at Naga ed-Deir in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, 1-3 kitchen models were interred in burials. In the late Old Kingdom, three tombs at Naga ed-Deir each had evidence for only one model: N.248, N.89 and N.105. In the same period, four tombs housed two models each: N.43, possibly S.F.5201/5203, N.11 and N.70/71. The largest caches of three kitchen models are known from late Old Kingdom tombs N.269 and, perhaps, N.69, although the latter evidence is quite fragmentary, making it difficult to reconstruct the total number of models. In the First Intermediate Period, four tombs also contained only one kitchen model each: N.3765, N.4172, S.F.5214 and N.3774. Three First Intermediate Period tombs housed two models each: N.202,

(possibly) N.3737 and N.3916. The two early Middle Kingdom tombs with kitchen models, N.263 and N.361, may have had one model each, although the evidence is again very fragmentary. Finally, one late Middle Kingdom tomb housed one kitchen model.

Over time, we also can observe at Naga ed-Deir, to some extent, the change in format from single to complex kitchen model scenes, as found elsewhere in Egypt. At Naga ed-Deir in the late Old Kingdom, single statuettes form the majority of kitchen models, with 15 examples, compared to only one paired scene and three (maximum) combined scenes. In the First Intermediate period, there is somewhat of a reversal in model format at the site, with three serving statuettes and six group models. As in the late Old Kingdom, paired models are still rare in the First Intermediate Period, with only one example. In the early Middle Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir, the fragmentary evidence suggests two group scenes. Finally, in the late Middle Kingdom, there is one example of a single serving statuette, otherwise unattested only at two Egyptian sites in this period.

The significance of the Naga ed-Deir kitchen model corpus lies in the relatively large numbers of late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and late Middle Kingdom examples compared to other sites. In the late Old Kingdom, there are 15 single statuettes from Naga ed-Deir in comparison to the collective total of 52 from Giza, Saqqara, Dahshur, Sedment, Dara and Meir. The one paired and three maximum group scenes of this period from Naga ed-Deir also can be contrasted with the four other known examples of combined scenes from Giza, Saqqara, Meir and Sedment. With the Naga ed-Deir data, we can extend the known corpus of kitchen models manufactured in the late Old Kingdom further south, into northern Upper Egypt.

In comparing the number of kitchen models produced for Naga ed-Deir burials in the First Intermediate Period with those from other sites, the Naga ed-Deir total is again relatively high. There are three single statuettes from the site that date to this period, compared to the collective nine single models known from similarly dated contexts at Abusir, Sheikh Ibada, Deir el-Bersha, Asyut and Gebelein. There is one paired scene at Naga ed-Deir, and only three other known examples all together from Sheikh Ibada, Asyut and Gebelein. Finally, the six group scenes from Naga ed-Deir can be compared against the 35 total group models known from Abusir, Saqqara, Sedment, Deir el-Bersha, Asyut and Gebelein. With the Naga ed-Deir data, we can expand the known kitchen models made in the First Intermediate Period into the region between Asyut and Gebelein.

In contrast to the totals for the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, quantities of early Middle Kingdom kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir are extremely low. There are, however, a few unidentifiable model fragments from early Middle Kingdom tombs N.3945, S.F.5025, S.F.5029, S.F.5011, N.450 and possibly N.3579 that could belong to kitchen models (listed in Appendix F as Cat. 177-182). This material either was not well-documented in Reisner's field records or could not be identified by type because of its deteriorated condition. There are additional small male figures and miscellaneous male and female wooden limbs that originated from unknown tombs at Naga ed-Deir, probably located in cemetery N.100-400 (listed in Appendix F as Cat. 184-190). It is possible that some of these model fragments also represent parts of Middle Kingdom kitchen models. Elsewhere, group kitchen models that date to the early Middle Kingdom have been found at Abusir, Saqqara, Lisht, Lahun, Sedment, Beni Hasan, Sheikh Ibada, Deir el-Bersha, Meir, Asyut and Thebes. With the Naga ed-Deir evidence, such as it is, we can further expand the known model repertoire into northern Upper Egypt.

Finally, there is one late Middle Kingdom serving statuette at Naga ed-Deir, compared to the two other known kitchen statuettes from Meir and Beni Hasan and the four group models from Beni Hasan and Lisht. With this one example from Naga ed-Deir, we can expand the known regional corpus of late Middle Kingdom kitchen models further south.

In analyzing the specific model kitchen activities produced in different periods at Naga ed-Deir, there are again both similarities and differences with models from other sites. In the late Old Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir, the 15 serving statuettes involved in kitchen activities include, in general descending order of quantity: six brewers (N.89, N.71, S.F.5203, N.269, N.105 and N.11), five duck roasters (N.43, N.269, N.70, N.11 and tomb unknown), three millers (N.43, N.248 and tomb unknown) and one baker preheating molds (N.269). The relatively large number of brewer and duck roaster statuettes from Naga ed-Deir is typical for the late Old Kingdom, based on comparative evidence of 10 brewers and eight duck roasters from Giza, Saqqara, Sedment and Meir. The low number of millers and, particularly, bakers preheating molds from Naga ed-Deir is more unusual, when contrasted against the nine millers and 12 bakers known also from Giza, Saqqara, Sedment and Meir, plus Dahshur. The possible double brewer model from N.69 is comparable to the two known examples of this period from Meir. The reconstructed group baking scene from N.69 may be analogous to a combined bakery model from Sedment that also dates to the late Old Kingdom. However, while the two fragmentary millers and two bakers from N.69 were classified as part of a group model in this study, it is also possible that they represent four separate serving statuettes or combinations of paired scenes and single statuettes. Finally, the fragmentary group models from S.F.5201/5203 and/or S.F.5202 have parallels with four contemporary models from Saqqara and Sedment if they are two separate baking and brewing scenes. The one or two models excavated from the burials in S.F.5201/5203-S.F.5202 also may represent combined bakery-brewery-cooking scenes, with features that elsewhere are indicative of a Middle Kingdom date. For the purposes of this study, however, the kitchen models are dated to the late Old Kingdom, along with the other models excavated from this tomb complex.

In the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Deir, the activities portrayed in kitchen models again share both similarities and differences with models from other sites. The three Naga ed-Deir serving statuettes include one brewer (N.3765) and two duck roasters (S.F.5214 and N.202). The brewer is one of the three standard types (along with millers with querns and millers with mortars) that continued as single statuettes in the First Intermediate Period. Brewer statuettes are also known from Asyut, Deir el-Bersha and Sheikh Ibada in the First Intermediate Period. That there are two duck roaster statuettes from Naga ed-Deir dating to the First Intermediate Period is rather unusual, because there are no known examples from other excavated contexts for this period. However, there is a possible group bakery-brewery-butcher scene with an incorporated duck roaster from Saqqara that may be contemporary. Interestingly, there are no known miller serving statuettes from Naga ed-Deir that can be dated to the First Intermediate Period. Although still found in this period at other sites, miller statuettes are not as common as in earlier periods. The six known examples derive from Abusir, Sheikh Ibada, Bersha, Asyut and Gebelein. Furthermore, the paired miller model from N.4172 is unusual, because preserved bakery scenes for this period are rare; the closest parallel is a contemporary model of three millers on one base from Bersha. The milling theme itself, however, is standard for this period, and is found in other combined bakery scenes from Saqqara, Sedment, Asyut and Gebelein. Further remains of First Intermediate Period group scenes from Naga ed-Deir include

the bakery elements from N.3737, N.3916 and N.3774, brewery elements from N.3737 and remnants of butcher activities from N.3916. The fragments from N.3737 could represent either separate bakery and brewery scenes or a combined bakery-brewery, as all three model types are known from contemporary sites, including Saqqara, Asyut, Bersha, Sedment and Gebelein. It is also possible that the bakery and butcher elements from N.3916 were integrated to form a combined scene, as found elsewhere only at Saqqara and Sedment in this period. The inclusion of any format of butcher model in a burial at Naga ed-Deir is unusual for this period, as no other examples have been excavated outside these other two sites.

The evidence for early Middle Kingdom kitchen models at Naga ed-Deir consists of fragments of group scenes of bakeries and/or breweries from tombs N.263 and N.361. As mentioned above, it is possible that the combined bakery-brewery-cooking model(s) from S.F.5201/5203 and/or S.F. 5202 also date to this period. Contemporary group models of bakeries, breweries and combinations of the two (sometimes with incorporated cooking scenes) are known from Abusir, Saqqara, Lisht, Lahun, Sedment, Beni Hasan, Bersha, Meir, Asyut and Thebes. The Naga ed-Deir kitchen model corpus for the early Middle Kingdom differs from that of the other sites in the complete absence of butcher scenes. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the activities associated with meat processing were depicted most frequently in early Middle Kingdom models (in comparison with all other periods of manufacture) both as single activity scenes or combined with the production of bread and beer. Models depicting butchering activities are known from contemporary burials at the same sites as bakery and brewery models (except for perhaps Lisht), and butchering, baking and brewing often are incorporated into the same scenes. At Naga ed-Deir, however, butcher models are represented solely by fragmentary material from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3916, as noted above. Furthermore, the early Middle Kingdom evidence for kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir does not include waist-high querns, yokes with water jars (except for perhaps Cat. 63a,b, the male figure from N.69 classified in Chapter Eight as a porter), men standing in vats, boards with architectural elements or tall, cylindrical or rectangular ovens, i.e., features commonly found among contemporary kitchen models from various sites throughout Egypt. While some of these elements may have existed originally at Naga ed-Deir, none were preserved among the highly fragmentary and sparse material that survived in the two Middle Kingdom tombs under consideration.

The one late Middle Kingdom serving statuette excavated from Naga ed-Deir is a limestone baker from tomb S.F.95. This activity type is unique, as there are no other known three-dimensional examples of bakers standing before ovens from other sites. Interestingly, while I have not found any exact parallels for the small, domed oven placed on a stand in front of the baker, the tall format is a general characteristic of Middle Kingdom model ovens.

The range of quality exhibited by the Naga ed-Deir kitchen models over time again shares both differences and similarities with models from other sites. At Naga ed-Deir, the wooden serving statuettes of the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period are characterized by “Second Style” features, which also are found on *k3* statuettes and other types of serving statuettes at the site. These features, which include over-large and rather egg-shaped heads, facial features characterized by large eyes, full-lipped and slightly smiling mouths and small, pointed chins, and limbs that are long and attenuated, with large hands and feet, are found on kitchen serving statuettes from N.43, N.89, N.70/71, N.269, N.3765, S.F.5214 and N.202. Likewise, these physical characteristics are typical of serving statuettes from other provincial

sites in these two periods. There is a range in quality at Naga ed-Deir for the smaller figures from group kitchen scenes, not only between chronological periods, but among and within tombs dating to the same period. For example, the facial features on the flour sifter and possible baker in the bakery model from N.3737 and on all four figures in the bakery scene from N.202 are rather naturalistic, even delicate and refined. In comparison, the facial features on the millers from N.3737, N.4172 and N.3916 are cruder, with sloppily-painted eyes. In further contrasting the miller and flour sifter from N.3737, the miller's features are more coarsely exaggerated, and include a broader nose with pronounced naso-labial fold. These stylistic differences suggest at least two different artists or ateliers worked on the models deposited in this tomb.

Some of the late Old Kingdom models from different tombs at Naga ed-Deir exhibit features that suggest they were made by the same artist or in the same workshop. One example is the similar treatment of the noses and mouths on one offering bearer from N.69 (Cat. 57a-e) and the female brewer from N.89. Another example is the unusual pinkish-red color used for the flesh of five serving statuettes: a baker, brewer and duck roaster (Cat. 111-113) from tomb N.269, and a miller (Cat. 133) and duck roaster (Cat. 140a,b) probably from cemetery N.100-400 (but not from N.269, according to Reisner's field notes).

The wooden human figures from early Middle Kingdom tomb N.263 differ from those of both the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period that were excavated from other tombs at Naga ed-Deir in that they have triangular faces with sharply tapered chins and straight-lipped mouths that sometimes create a grimaced expression. The male figures, furthermore, have beards and moustaches, like the boat crew members from the same tomb. These facial features are found on models from other Middle Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir, including the male boat crew member from S.F.64 and the female offering bearer (excluding the beard) from S.F.25, suggesting that the same artist(s) worked on model sets for multiple burials. However, the beards, which also are found on boat figures (with rounder faces) from S.F.170 and S.F.209, may be a chronological marker for the Middle Kingdom.

One final, observable trend among the corpus of kitchen models at Naga ed-Deir is the change in manufacturing materials over time, mirroring the pattern established for the collective kitchen model data from other sites. There are four composite serving statuettes from Naga ed-Deir that date to the late Old Kingdom: a baker preheating molds, a beer brewer and a duck roaster from tomb N.269, and a beer brewer from N.89. As with contemporary examples from Giza and Saqqara, the human figures are made of wood, while the elements -- stacked bread molds, hearths and vats -- are made of limestone. What is unique about the Naga ed-Deir composite models, however, is that previously the *only* known composite examples of this period derived from Giza and Saqqara. At Naga ed-Deir, all forms of First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom models (single, pairs and groups), with one exception, are made entirely of wood, as found at other sites throughout Egypt in these two periods. The sole exception of a slaughtered clay ox excavated from N.3916 is unparalleled for any period in which butcher models were produced. Finally, the use of limestone to manufacture serving statuettes reoccurred in the mid-late 12th Dynasty at Naga ed-Deir, as it did at other sites throughout Egypt. The small limestone baker statuette from S.F.95 reflects a trend exhibited by contemporary model types. Only two additional Middle Kingdom limestone kitchen models are known from other sites: the limestone brewer statuette from BH487 and the limestone elements possibly belonging to a combined scene from pit 428 at North Lisht. A third possible limestone kitchen

model is an unprovenanced figure of a man seated before a vat, now in the Berlin Museum.¹⁴⁸⁴ Other limestone models of this period include entertainment figures (e.g., wrestlers, dancers and musicians), workers performing domestic activities (e.g., potters, men feeding dogs, women dressing hair and wet-nurses) and boats.¹⁴⁸⁵ The other limestone models produced Naga ed-Deir in this period include Cat. 52, the boat model from S.F.218 (discussed in Chapter Seven) and Cat. 143, the harpist statuette from S.F.132 (to be discussed in Chapter Eleven).

¹⁴⁸⁴ ÄMB 14489 (Kaiser, ed. 1967: 46, Cat. 470; and Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 162).

¹⁴⁸⁵ For a discussion of known examples of limestone (and faience) genre figurines of humans, animals and boats from various sites (e.g., Abydos, Beni Hasan, Lisht) and from unknown contexts, see Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 145-146, 161-168), with further references.

Chapter Eleven: Miscellaneous Model Types

11.1 Introduction

In addition to the primary tomb model repertoire of boats, people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens, a few further categories of models were manufactured in relatively small quantities throughout Egypt from the Old to Middle Kingdoms. Based on Tooley's research, these miscellaneous models are divided into seven main groups: agriculture, craft production, entertainment, military combat, domestic activities (excluding kitchen scenes), personal transport (other than boats) and houses/gardens. Four models excavated at Naga ed-Deir fall into three of these seven categories: one dancer and one harpist (entertainment), one brick-making scene (craft production), and one soldier (combat). Four additional Naga ed-Deir models are unusual in that they are more typical of figures depicted in the four core groups, but cannot be assigned to a specific category with any certainty: two priests and two overseers. Therefore, these latter four Naga ed-Deir models are assigned to two additional miscellaneous categories designated as priests and overseers. Because there are so few variant models from Naga ed-Deir, all eight examples are analyzed collectively in this chapter. All together, these eight models date to the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and early and late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV). Of the eight models, seven are wood, and one is limestone. Three are single statuettes, while the remaining five are either group models or fragmentary parts of group models.

Tooley did not include any of the eight variant Naga ed-Deir models in her study. Other than examples of dancers from other sites mentioned in her Chapter Six, on "concubine" figures, she also did not discuss the miscellaneous model categories in detail. Instead, she provided examples of some of the different groups in her Chapter One, her examination of tomb model archaeological contexts, and on her chronological and regional Tables 1-6.¹⁴⁸⁶ Because the eight variant models from Naga ed-Deir have never been analyzed thoroughly, the goals of my Chapter Eleven are threefold: 1) to describe each Naga ed-Deir model, identifying the specific function(s) of the model type; 2) to incorporate the Naga ed-Deir miscellaneous models into the known corpora from other sites; and 3) to determine whether there are any features of the Naga ed-Deir models with regard to subject matter, form or manufacturing materials that are unique to the site or share affinities with other sites or regions.

In sections 11.2-11.7 of this chapter, the models are discussed in the following order: dancer, harpist, brick-makers, pikeman, priests and overseers. For categories with more than one model, the examples are arranged chronologically. Since there are so few parallels for the variant Naga ed-Deir model types, the known examples from other sites are provided below for each category, rather than summarized here in the introduction. These comparative totals from other sites include additional models, of which Tooley was unaware.

11.2 Dancers

Reisner excavated a female wooden statuette that may represent a dancer in the debris of late Old Kingdom tomb N.297 (Cat. 142, Figs. 208-209). When found, the statuette was broken at the ankles and the base was missing. It is quite possible that the woman's name and titles

¹⁴⁸⁶ Tooley (1989: chronological Tables 1-5, on pages 3, 14, 28, 60 and 67; and regional Table 6, on pages 69-72).

were inscribed on the original base. She currently stands ca. 25-30 cm high, secured to a modern stand.¹⁴⁸⁷ She is depicted in a striding pose, with her left leg advanced. Her arms are pendant at her sides. She probably wears a dress, although it is difficult to be certain because no shoulder straps or neckline are indicated with paint. However, her nipples are not demarcated, which they likely would be if she was wearing a skirt that left her upper torso bare. It is possible that the garment originally was painted white over a layer of yellow; however, it is now entirely yellow, i.e., the same color as her flesh. There is one small area of gesso loss on her right hip, where some of the yellow pigment has flaked off. The figure wears a broad collar, indicated by three painted black bands on her chest, in addition to painted black bracelets. Traces of black around her broken ankles suggest she originally wore anklets, too. Her distinctive hair style consists of a single long braid that is pegged to the back of her shaved head and extends down the length of her back, ending in a large disc. The woman's physiognomy is characteristic of the Second Style, with long, attenuated limbs, large hands, and thin face with its small chin, wide, full-lipped mouth and large, painted eyes. Her facial features are carved, as are her ears. There is also a suggestion of modeling on her torso, evidence by her small breasts and slightly protruding hip bones. Remnants of black pigment survive on her braid and brows. Her eyes are indicated with black pupils painted over large splotches of white (i.e., corneas) that are outlined in black. In addition to the broken ankles and flaking on her right hip, other damage sustained by the statuette before excavation include cracks running vertically through her right cheek and down the front, right side and back of her torso and dress, the broken tip of her right thumb, and gesso loss around both shoulder joints.

Comparisons of the female statuette from N.297 with two- and three-dimensional representations of women wearing similar hairstyles clarify the figure's possible function(s) and significance. Braids are worn by young, aristocratic women in the late Old Kingdom, as well as by dancers, singers and musicians in Old and Middle Kingdom tomb scenes. In private tombs of the 6th Dynasty at Saqqara, female tomb owners and the wives and daughters of male tomb owners sometimes wear the single braid-and-disc hairstyle, also known as the "ball headdress." For example, in the tomb of *Idwt* at Saqqara, this female tomb owner -- who was a king's daughter -- is depicted throughout the chapel wearing this hairstyle.¹⁴⁸⁸ Kanawati suggested that *Idwt* died young, because she is depicted with her wet nurse.¹⁴⁸⁹ In the tomb chapel of *Mrrw-k3.i*'s wife, *W^ctt-ht-Hr*, her daughter, *Ib-nbw*, appears once on the west wall of Room B1.¹⁴⁹⁰ In this scene, *Ib-nbw* wears the single plait-and-disc hairstyle. *Ib-nbw* was also a member of the royal family, since her mother was the eldest daughter of King *Tti*. Another princess, *Nb.ty-nb-ht*, is portrayed with her husband, *K3-gmni*, in Room III in his mastaba tomb. Once again, *Nb.ty-nb-ht* wears the distinctive "ball headdress".¹⁴⁹¹

Dancers, singers and musicians with braids also first appeared in tomb paintings in the 6th Dynasty, and continued into the Middle Kingdom. In the 6th Dynasty tomb chapel of *W^ctt-ht-Hr* from Saqqara, mentioned above, female dancers appear in five registers on the north wall of Room B1 wearing broad collars, kilts and the single plait-and-disc hairstyle, as they perform a

¹⁴⁸⁷ For a view of the reconstructed statuette, see Macramallah (1935: 13, Figs. 6, 7).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Macramallah (1935: 13-17, 24-28 and Pls. 7, 15-17, 20).

¹⁴⁸⁹ Kanawati and Abder-Raziz (2008: 20).

¹⁴⁹⁰ Kanawati and Abder-Raziz (2008: 12, 20 and Pls. 5-7, 57a)

¹⁴⁹¹ Harpur and Scremin (2006: 394-395, and Pl. 153).

variety of acrobatic movements.¹⁴⁹² In *Mrrw-k3.i*'s chapel in this same mastaba tomb, on the north wall of chamber A13, female dancers with this hairstyle and dressed in short kilts or long dresses hold mirrors and clappers, both of which are symbols of Hathor.¹⁴⁹³ In another 6th Dynasty tomb, belonging to *Idw* (G7102) at Giza, a female dancer wearing a kilt and a single braid terminating in a disc performs with her arms above her head, mimicking the appearance of cow's horns, on the south wall of the chapel. The associated texts refer to the cult of Hathor.¹⁴⁹⁴ In the late Old Kingdom rock-cut tomb of *Ibi* at Deir el-Gebrawi, on the west wall of the chapel, female dancers performing the "mystery of birth" dances also wear kilts and single braids weighted with discs.¹⁴⁹⁵ In the early 12th Dynasty rock-cut tomb (TT60) of *Intf-ikr* at Thebes, dancers attired in short kilts, single braids and jewelry (i.e., collars, anklets and bracelets) appear on the south wall of the chapel, with upraised arms and one foot lifted slightly above the ground, as they perform in honor of Hathor in conjunction with a funerary banquet. Above them, the texts refer to the arrival of the "Golden One", i.e., Hathor.¹⁴⁹⁶ Acrobatic dancers, in particular, wore plaited hair, which was weighted to swing during dancing.¹⁴⁹⁷ For example, acrobats with shaved crowns and three weighted braids (a variant "ball headdress" hairstyle) are shown playing ball games on the north wall of the chapel in the early 12th Dynasty tomb 15 of *B3kt* at Beni Hasan.¹⁴⁹⁸

Dancer statuettes are quite rare. Excluding the possible dancer from N.297, there is only one other known provenanced example, from the late Old Kingdom: CG 248, from tomb A1 of *Ny-ḥ-Ppy-km* at Meir.¹⁴⁹⁹ This nude female figure is missing her arms, but stands with her legs together in a static pose. She has a shaved crown, originally with three weighted braids, of which two plaits remain. Although more provenanced dancer statuettes date to the Middle Kingdom, they are still relatively few in number. A more energetic dancing theme is illustrated in Brooklyn 13.1024, a limestone acrobat statuette from the tomb (D303) of *S3-Inḥrt* at Abydos dated to Dynasty 12-13.¹⁵⁰⁰ This female figure arches backwards, with her feet, hands and long, unbraided hair touching the base. A series of red lines painted around her body likely represent tattooing or beading. A braided hairstyle appears on a virtually identical (but unprovenanced) limestone statuette of a female acrobat: ÄMB 14202. The tripartite braided hairstyle also is found on some of Tooley's Types IIIa-b female "concubine figures", i.e., statuettes which end at the knees and depict women with their arms close to their bodies and decorated with jewelry or tattoos, and sometimes skirts.¹⁵⁰¹ One late Middle Kingdom Type IIIb figure is Fitz. E.16.1899,

¹⁴⁹² Kanawati and Abder-Raziz (2008: 25-26, and Pls. 26-31, 60).

¹⁴⁹³ Duell (1938: 17, and Pls. 164-165); Brunner-Traut (1958: 22-23, Fig. 7); Wild (1963: 71); Vandier (1964: 410-412, and Fig. 215; Lilyquist (1979: 97-98, Figs. 106, 107, 111); and Anderson (1995: 2563).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Simpson (1976: 24-25, and Fig. 38).

¹⁴⁹⁵ Davies (1902: 14-15, and Pl. X, and frontispiece); Brunner Traut (1958: 26, Fig. 9); Vandier (1964: 406, and Fig. 12); and Anderson 1995: 2563).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Davies (1920: 22, and Pls. XXIII, XXIIIa); Brunner Traut (1958: 20, Fig. 5); Vandier (1964: 431-436, and Fig. 230); and Anderson (1995: 2564, Fig. 8).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Tooley (1989: 330).

¹⁴⁹⁸ Newberry (1893: 47, and Pl. IV).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Borchardt (1911: 160, and Pl. 53); and Tooley (1989: 12, 16, 331).

¹⁵⁰⁰ Peet and Loat (1913: 27, Fig. 12 and and Pl. 9.2); Breasted (1948: 89, and Pls. 84, 85b); Brunner-Traut (1958: 39: Fig. 16; Vandier (1958: 98, and Pl. XL.10); Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 161); and Tooley (1989: 353, dated Dynasty 12).

¹⁵⁰¹ Tooley (1989: 319-321, Table 17, and 328). Type IIIb figurines typically date to the late Middle Kingdom and derive from sites in Upper Egypt (Tooley 1989: 366).

a nude ivory statuette from grave W72 at Hu, which wears earrings and bracelets and has markings in the back of her head for the insertion of three separate braids.¹⁵⁰² Tooley suggested that the iconographic features of the Type IIIb figures denoted their function as dancers.¹⁵⁰³

In tomb scenes, troupes of female dancers generally are accompanied by singers and people clapping their hands to maintain rhythm, sometimes in proximity to musicians.¹⁵⁰⁴ Like dancers, these other entertainers also sometimes wore braided hairstyles. In J.E. 39130, an early Middle Kingdom model scene from the tomb of *K3-rnn* and (*Sm-dt*) *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, the tomb owner and his wife are entertained by two harpists, one male and one female, and three seated female singers/clappers, one of whom has a single, long braid with a knob at the end.¹⁵⁰⁵ On J.E. 1778, a painted relief fragment from the 4th Dynasty mastaba of *In-Snfrw-ist.f* at Dahshur, two female harpists sport this hairstyle.¹⁵⁰⁶ In some scenes, harpists and singers are named as the daughters or young relatives of the deceased.¹⁵⁰⁷ For example, in the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Ppy-ꜥnh* at Meir, two female harpists shown on the north wall of the chapel have shaved crowns with single, weighted braids. Both girls are named as the tomb owner's daughters.¹⁵⁰⁸

The entertainers depicted on tomb walls, including those with hair braids, are sometimes labeled as members of the *hnr(w)t* in the associated inscriptions.¹⁵⁰⁹ The *hnr(w)t* were a troupe of musical performers who sang and danced, in both secular and religious contexts.¹⁵¹⁰ The *hnr(w)t* performed in honor of Hathor, whose many guises included the goddess of music and dance, as well as of sexual love and fertility.¹⁵¹¹ The women who danced for royalty may have been part of the court, associated with ritual dancing during ceremonies in honor of Hathor. For example, a mummified tattooed dancer from pit 25 in the mortuary complex of *Nb-hpt-Rꜥ Mntw-hꜣtp* II at Deir el-Bahri, named *Imnt* held the titles *hkrt nswt wꜥtt* (sole ornamented one of the king) and *hmt-ntr Hthr* (priestess of Hathor), showing her connection with the royal court and the cult of Hathor.¹⁵¹² In private contexts, the *hnr(w)t* could be part of household staffs or attached to funerary estates.¹⁵¹³ Finally, the *hnr(w)t* dancers also could be attached to the cult of a divinity, performing in temple ceremonies.¹⁵¹⁴ At Naga ed-Deir, for example, at least two women were connected with the *hnr(w)t* in the First Intermediate Period. One woman named *Hsi* is described on her funerary stela from tomb N.3910 as an *imit-wrt* (priestess) of the

¹⁵⁰² Petrie (1901: 44, and Pl. XXVI); Manniche (1987: 50-51, and Fig. 42); Bourriau (1988: 124, no. 117); and Tooley (1989: 328, 329, 332 and Pl. 94.2).

¹⁵⁰³ Tooley (1989: 331).

¹⁵⁰⁴ Nord (1981: 141).

¹⁵⁰⁵ Quibell (1908: 10, Pl. 16); Leibovitch (1960: 55-56); Breasted (1948: 87); and Tooley (1989: 62).

¹⁵⁰⁶ Hickmann (1954: Pl. II).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Harpur (1987: 136).

¹⁵⁰⁸ Blackman (1924: 30-31, and Pls. 9-10).

¹⁵⁰⁹ The entertainers' titles include *hsit* (singer), *hnti/ hnwt* (musician) and *hbyt* (dancer); and the activities typically are labeled *ibꜣ in hnr* (dancing by the "harem") or *hst in hnr* (singing by the "harem") (Brunner Traut 1958: 44-46, 83-87; Ward (1986: 69-72); and Nord 1981: 141).

¹⁵¹⁰ Fischer (1989: 14); Nord (1981: 137-148); Bryan (1982: 35-53); and Jones (2000: 689; no. 2519).

¹⁵¹¹ Nord (1981: 141-142).

¹⁵¹² Tooley (1989: 321-322, 367).

¹⁵¹³ Nord 1981: (141, 145).

¹⁵¹⁴ Nord (1981: 143); and Brovarski (1989: 113).

hnr(w)t.¹⁵¹⁵ Another woman, named *Sn-hnnyt*, was an *imy(t)-r^c hnr(w)t* (overseer of the musical performers), as documented in her coffin inscriptions.¹⁵¹⁶ *Sn-hnnyt*, specifically, would have been in charge of the training and practice of the musicians who performed in the local temple of *Inhrt*.¹⁵¹⁷

In conclusion, the Naga ed-Deir female statuette from late Old Kingdom tomb N.297 could be a *k3* statuette, representing a young noblewoman -- perhaps the tomb owner herself, or the tomb owner's wife or daughter -- interred in this grave, as paralleled in contemporary tomb scenes of aristocratic Egyptian women wearing the "ball headdress". As a *k3* statuette, the braid simply could signify her youthful age. Alternatively, however, the braided hairstyle could indicate that the figure is an entertainer, which would classify it as a serving statuette. Because she is not shown clapping or playing a musical instrument, the figure more likely would be a dancer, and not a singer or musician. Another possibility is that the statuette represents a *hnr* who was attached to the tomb owner's funerary estate and performed as part of the funeral ceremony. This statuette could even depict the female tomb owner or the wife/daughter of the male tomb owner specifically in the guise of a *hnr*, reflecting her role as a musician-priestess in the local temple of *Inhrt* during the late Old Kingdom. Because of the *hnr(w)t*'s connections to Hathor, ritual dances were associated with the symbolic rebirth of the deceased. The act of dancing instilled the performer with sexuality and power, which were transferred to the tomb owner.¹⁵¹⁸ Tooley also pointed out a link between dancing and creation recorded in Coffin Text spell 771.¹⁵¹⁹ As she further noted, the braids worn by the frog goddesses in Coffin Text spell 317 alludes to a connection between this hairstyle and the forces of creation.¹⁵²⁰ In fact, the braided hairstyles worn by noblewomen and female entertainers in the Old and Middle Kingdoms appear to connote youth, vigor and vitality, all important symbols in ancient Egyptian funerary contexts. Therefore, by including this female statuette in his (or her) tomb, the owner of N.297 would have ensured himself or herself a successful rebirth and continued virility in the afterlife, most likely through an association with dancing.

11.3 Harpists

Reisner discovered a statuette of a harpist in Middle Kingdom tomb S.F.132 at Naga ed-Deir (Cat. 143, Figs. 210-211). This limestone statuette, which depicts a man playing a shovel-shaped harp, measures 18cm high, with a base that is 6cm wide by 9cm long. The harpist sits on the ground, with his right knee folded underneath him and his left knee raised, with his left foot on the ground to support the harp. He holds the harp against his left shoulder. His head is turned to the right, so as to see around the instrument. His body also leans toward the right, resulting in

¹⁵¹⁵ The stela is in the Hearst Museum, inventory number PAHMA 6-1951 (Lutz stela 37, Pl. 19; Dunham (1937: 54-55, no. 41); Fischer (1956: 106ff); Nord (1981: 137); Ward (1986: 73); and Brovarski (1989: 112, 557).

¹⁵¹⁶ Dunham (1956: 106); Ward (1986: 73); and Brovarski (1989: 963). The coffin is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ob. Reg. 23-12-177a,b.

¹⁵¹⁷ Nord (1981: 143-144); and Robins (1993: 149).

¹⁵¹⁸ Tooley (1989: 367-368).

¹⁵¹⁹ Tooley (1989: 364). In spell 771, referring to the First Event of creation, in which the deceased states "I fly up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose, I have trodden on the Mound of the Dancer ". For a translation of the spell, see Faulkner (1977: 301).

¹⁵²⁰ Tooley (1989: 363-365). "Truth is conducted to me as to Re, my women with braided hair are like the frog-goddesses". For a full translation of this spell, see Faulkner (1973: 242).

his right shoulder being slightly lower than his left. His hands are positioned on the strings, with his left hand above his right; his left hand appears to be plucking the strings, while his other hand holds the strings down, perhaps to adjust the chord.¹⁵²¹ The rather asymmetrical body position reflects the harpist's movements while playing; i.e., it is not a static pose.

Four primary colors were used to decorate the Naga ed-Deir harpist statuette: red, yellow, black and white. The figure's eyes are open and the pupils are indicated with black paint. His black hair is short-cropped, and his ears are exposed. His skin is painted yellow in order to distinguish it from the red painted sections of the harp and, perhaps, to indicate that he did not work outdoors in the sun, rather than to depict the figure as a woman. The three fat rolls on his abdomen also reinforce his identification as a man.¹⁵²² Finally, the harpist wears a white kilt with red painted vertical dashes under the top edge, likely representing creases in the fabric below his belt line.

The Naga ed-Deir harpist statuette likely dates to the mid 12th Dynasty, based on the style of the instrument, which is classified as Hickmann's transitional form of Middle Kingdom harp. These harps have a shallow sounding box (i.e., body), from which a slightly curved neck extends. On the Naga ed-Deir harp, the upper edges of the sounding box terminate in two points, creating a resemblance to a shovel, a feature sometimes found on transitional Middle Kingdom harps.¹⁵²³ Furthermore, the sounding box does not rest directly on the ground, but is elevated and supported by means of a suspension rod with a knob at the bottom to prevent the harp from sliding. The sides of the sounding box and neck of the harp are painted red (representing wood), as is the statuette base. The top surface of the sounding box is yellow, with two *wꜥꜣt* eyes painted on it in black and white.¹⁵²⁴ The top of the neck is decorated with a radiating pattern in red and white, surrounded by red vertical lines and, further below, horizontal bands of yellow and black. The suspension pegs of the harp are represented by a carved ridge on the back of the neck, with the six individual pegs painted red. The strings, which are tied around the suspension pegs at the top and the suspension rod at the bottom, also are painted red. The negative space between the six strings and the harp neck is not carved out, and is painted yellow.

Models of harpists are rare, with only nine provenanced examples dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms. As with Cat. 143, the harpist from tomb S.F.132, the majority are made of limestone. Three Dynasty 5 limestone examples of musicians playing Hickmann's shovel-shaped harps, with straighter necks characteristic of the Old Kingdom, are OIM 10642 (female harpist), OIM 10640 (male harpist), and OIM 10641 (male dwarf harpist), from the *Ny-kꜣw-Inpw*

¹⁵²¹ See, for example, Manniche (1991: 27-28, and Fig. 13).

¹⁵²² In tomb scenes of the Middle and New Kingdom, only male harpists are shown with fat rolls (Boderman n.d.: 47-48).

¹⁵²³ According to Hickmann (1954: 323-324, Fig. 16a,b), in other instances the two points are not present. The transitional harp that appeared in the Middle Kingdom had a sounding box that was essentially the same form as the shovel-shape of the Old Kingdom harps, but was larger and more elongated. The Middle Kingdom sounding box resembled a round or oval bowl, the latter foreshadowing the ladle-shaped sounding box of the New Kingdom. The neck of the Middle Kingdom harps also were more curved than those of the Old Kingdom. For illustrations of shovel-shaped harps, see Hickmann (1954: 315, Fig. 7, "a" and 340, Fig. 37a, 1-3). The sounding box of my Cat. 143 is most similar to Hickmann's Fig. 37a, 3b (1954: 315).

¹⁵²⁴ The sounding boxes of harps are rarely decorated prior to the New Kingdom. For comparison, note a shovel-shaped harp with a single *wꜥꜣt* eye painted on the sound box that is depicted in the 5th Dynasty tomb of *ꜥꜥꜣt-ḥtp* at Saqqara (Ziegler 1993: 86-87).

group at Giza.¹⁵²⁵ J.E. 39130, the wooden model from Saqqara mentioned previously, includes two harpists playing transitional shovel-shaped harps.¹⁵²⁶ On one of *Mkt-R*'s boat models, MMA 20.3.1, a male musician, who is accompanied by a male singer, plays a harp that is virtually identical to those in model J.E.39130.¹⁵²⁷ Two limestone models from Abydos tomb 416 are a male harpist (Ash. E.3298) and two monkeys, with one playing a harp (current location unknown). Both models portray transitional shovel-shaped harps with round sound boxes, and have been dated by Kemp and Merrillees to mid Dynasty 12-Dynasty 13.¹⁵²⁸ One provenanced late Middle Kingdom limestone harpist figurine, current location unknown, was excavated by Petrie at Kahun and derives from a settlement context. According to Petrie's brief account, this harpist is female, wears a brightly-painted striped dress and has hair that falls behind her in "three curly tails"; unfortunately, he did not describe the harp itself.¹⁵²⁹ Finally, Brus. E.262.1, from Abydos tomb D94, is a limestone model of a female harpist that likely dates to the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁵³⁰ The neck of this harp is more curved, and appears to be adorned with a goddess's head at the top. These features are characteristic of transitional shovel-shaped harps that date to the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁵³¹

In funerary contexts, depictions of musicians functioned as symbols of sexual arousal, procreation and fertility in the next life. Music, like dancing, was associated with Hathor in her role as a goddess of renewal and rebirth.¹⁵³² For example, on the west wall of chamber A1 in the tomb chapel of *Mrrw-k3.i* at Saqqara, his wife, *W^ctt-ht-Hr*, sits on a bed with her husband while

¹⁵²⁵ Breasted (1948: 86-87, and Pls. 80b, 81a,b); Stevenson Smith (1949: 101, Pl. 27); Leibovitch (1960: 54-55); and Hill (1999: 391-392, Cat. Nos. 139, 140). Obj. Reg. 39-4-1, a broken male limestone statuette excavated outside tomb G2230 + G2231 at Giza may represent another Dynasty 5 harpist (Roth 1995: 156-157, and Pl. 130c). OIM 10631, also from the *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, appears to represent a man holding a musical wind instrument (perhaps a flute) to his mouth, with a cylindrical drum in front of him (Breasted 1948: 50, and Pl. 45a, identified the instrument as a blowpipe; Roth 2002: 105, identified the figure as a musician playing a wind instrument). A parallel model is *ÄMB 16616*, an unprovenanced figurine of a man playing a wind instrument that may date to the late Middle Kingdom (Kaiser 1967: 46, Cat. 471; and Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 161).

¹⁵²⁶ Quibell (1908: 10, Pl. 16); Breasted (1948: 87); Hickmann (1954: 324, Fig. 15; Leibovitch (1960: 55-56); and Tooley (1989: 56).

¹⁵²⁷ Winlock (1955: 56, 94, and Pls. 35, 39, traveling boat O); and Merriman (2009: 262, Fig. 4.71, and 609, Cat. 513). Another boat model, current location unknown, from the early Middle Kingdom tomb of *K3-rmn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, apparently had a female harpist on board (Quibell 1908: 6-15, no. 16, 75, and Pl. XVII.2; Tooley 1989: 159; and Merriman 2009: 484, Cat. 333).

¹⁵²⁸ Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 146, and Pls. 10, 11, 13, 17).

¹⁵²⁹ Petrie (1891: 11); and description from Petrie's 1889-1890 field journal cited from Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 146, 167).

¹⁵³⁰ Randall-MacIver and Mace (1902: 87, 101 and Pl. XLIII); Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 146, tomb dated to the Hyksos period based on a sherd of Kerma ware); and Tooley (1989: 336). Furthermore, the harpist wears a distinctive hairstyle, consisting of a braided wig that is parted into three sections, with two lappets hanging down in the front. The third plait is pulled back, exposing the sides of her neck. This hair style is found first on statues of non-royal women dating to the late Middle Kingdom, and may have identified the women as unmarried and of child-bearing age in this period (Bourriau 1988: 124-125; and Roehrig et al. 2005: 40, n. 3). Tooley's Type IIIc-d "concubine" figures, which she dates to late Dynasty 12, also wear this hair style. It is distinctive from the plaited hair of her Type IIIb figures (Tooley 1989: 333-334, 338, 339). Contra Borriau, Tooley argued that the tripartite hairstyle was worn by married women, as her Type IIIc female figures who wear it are shown carrying babies (Tooley 1989: 339).

¹⁵³¹ Ziegler (1979: 103); and Bodemann (n.d.: 15, Fig. 9b; page 16, Fig. 10b; and page 19). Bodemann's illustrated examples are taken from the tomb of *Intf-ikr* (TT60) and stela CG 20257, respectively (Davies 1920: Pl. XXVII; and Hickmann 1956: Pl. LXIVA).

¹⁵³² Tooley (1995: 59-60).

playing the harp for him.¹⁵³³ A similar scene appears on the south wall of tomb chapel D1 at Meir, belonging to a man named *Ppy* and dated to the late Old Kingdom.¹⁵³⁴ In the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Snbi* at Meir, on the north wall of the chapel, musicians and dancers perform for the dead while, in the register above them, three priestesses (or dancers) offer menats and sistra, symbols of Hathor, to the deceased. Texts above the harpist praise Hathor, while the inscriptions above the male attendants behind the harpist refer to the goddess as the “Golden One”.¹⁵³⁵

In conclusion, the harpist statuette from S.F.132 likely was interred with the tomb owner not only to supply him (or her) with musical entertainment and to facilitate procreation in the afterlife, but also, on a deeper symbolic level, to promote his (or her) rebirth into the next world.

11.4 Brick-making

At Naga ed-Deir, one brick-making model was found in First Intermediate Period tomb N.202 (Cat. 144, Figs. 212-213). This scene can be read as a sequence of events that took place in a brickyard, with five men involved in the various stages of brick manufacture.¹⁵³⁶ The first man is a porter who carries a jar on his head, containing water to be mixed with the soil. A second standing man leans forward, using a hoe to break up the earth. Another porter carries a basket on his head containing the final product (i.e., mud combined with the sand and/or straw needed to strengthen the bricks and for aeration) to be used by the man sitting at the end, who puts the mixture into a single brick mold. When removed from the mold, the bricks would be left to lie in the sun to dry for several days. The fifth, and final, man in this scene also sits, stacking the finished (dried) bricks.

The base of the model is asymmetrical and very irregular in thickness, indicating that it was probably originally a piece of scrap or recycled wood. On each figure the legs were carved as an extension of their torsos, excluding the right leg of the water-carrier, which was made separately and pegged to his kilt. The man filling the brick mold was tenoned into the base in a closed mortise. The remaining men and the stack of bricks had open mortises. Dowels secured the figures' arms to their shoulders, except for the man carrying the basket and the man stacking the bricks. On the basket-carrier, the right arm was carved from the same piece of wood as the body. On the brick-stacker, only the lower arms were made separately and attached at the elbows.

The wide variation in proportions sometimes found among group scenes is well-illustrated in the brick-maker's model from N.202. For example, the hoer would have towered over the other workmen if he were standing fully upright. The man filling the brick mold also has incredibly long arms that are disproportionate to the rest of his body. This variation in proportion undoubtedly reflects the processes of the model's manufacture. By having a stock set of human figures and separately-attached limbs at his disposal, the craftsman could create the scene as he went, rather than designing the whole beforehand. Limbs (especially arms) were attached to bodies in order to fit the existing scene, regardless of the final proportions. In the

¹⁵³³ Duell (1938: 17, and Pls. 94-95).

¹⁵³⁴ Blackman (1953: 58, and Pl. XLV).

¹⁵³⁵ Blackman (1914: 23-25, and Pls. II, XVIII.1,2); Vandier (1964: 428, Fig. 227); and Anderson (1995: 2565).

¹⁵³⁶ Kemp (2000: 789-84).

case of the man filling the brick-mold, for example, it was more important that his arms touched the mold to illustrate the activity being performed, than to represent accurately the correct proportions of the man's body.

The ancient craftsman used four basic colors to decorate the Naga ed-Deir brick-maker's model: black, red, yellow and white. The men all have large, almond-shaped eyes painted white, with black used for the outlines and the pupils. The black eyebrows arch slightly over the figure's eyes, except for those of the hoer, which extend straight across. All the figures wear black bag wigs that cover their ears. The contents of the basket, the top of the stacked bricks and the brick set inside the single mold frame are all painted black, representing the mud/straw mixture used in the construction of the bricks. The top of the base (i.e., the ground upon which the workers are standing) is painted black. The men's flesh is painted red. The sides of the stacked molds and the single mold frame are also red, in the latter case to denote the color of the wood used in this apparatus. The water jar and basket are yellow, likely representing clay and woven plant materials, respectively. The men's kilts are white, as are the fingernails of the man filling the mold and the water carrier. A layer of gesso underlies the pigments and was applied, as usual, to conceal the cracks left by the joining of the various pieces to each other and to the base. Gesso also was used to mold the large feet of the water carrier and the hoer.

The brick-maker's scene from N.202 is the only Naga ed-Deir model that has undergone pigment analysis. James Martin, Director of Analytical Services and Research at the Williamstown Art Conservation Center, carried out this analysis in 1998.¹⁵³⁷ He took samples from six different locations, placed them on a glass slide, and examined them with a stereomicroscope and a Polarizing Light Microscope (PLM) equipped for epi-flouescence illumination. He then prepared particles of each sample and analyzed them for qualitative identification of elements using Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy-Dispersive Spectroscopy (SEM-EDS). He also prepared additional samples and analyzed them for qualitative analysis, using Fourier Transform Infrared Microspectroscopy (FTIR) to identify organic, as well as inorganic, materials. The major elements he found were calcium sulfate and calcium carbonate for the white paint, iron oxide, clay and calcium sulfate for the red paint, charcoal for the black paint and calcium carbonate, iron, silica, and calcium sulfate for the yellow paint.¹⁵³⁸

Calcium sulfate, rather than calcium carbonate, most likely was used for the ground layer, since it appeared to lie below all of the colors, except for the black. Clay may have been the source of the red iron oxide. The yellow ochre also was identified as an iron mineral. The

¹⁵³⁷ No other models in the Hearst collection were available for pigment analysis due to cost and time constraints. For this reason, the brickmakers' model was chosen as a representative of the entire collection because it contained the basic color scheme found on all the other Naga ed-Deir models. All results, e-mailed to Madeleine Fang from James Martin on June 8, 1998.

¹⁵³⁸ In the analysis of the white layers, the results included calcium sulfate and a minor amount of calcium carbonate (using FTIR) and calcium, sulfur and minor silica (using SEM-EDS). Using FTIR, no binder was identified. In the analysis of the red layer, iron oxides and calcium sulfate was identified with FTIR. Iron, sulphur, calcium, silica, aluminum and a minor amount of potassium was detected using SEM-EDS. Clay also was present in the sample, but no binders. Analysis of the yellow detected sulphur, iron, aluminum and minor potassium and calcium by SEM-EDS. Calcium carbonate and other unidentified minerals were detected by PLM. Calcium carbonate and clay were detected by FTIR, but other mineral(s) also were present. Martin concluded that X-ray diffraction would be required for more conclusive examination of this sample. Finally, the black sample was found to contain calcium, silica, potassium, sulphur, aluminum, and trace amounts of iron and sodium by SEM-EDS. PLM examination showed the black particles to be coarse and angular, consistent with charcoal black.

calcium carbonate found in the analysis of the yellow likely was the result of deliberate mixing of yellow and white pigments to obtain a pale shade of yellow. The only pigment that contained a binder was the black, which Martin found to be a plant gum.¹⁵³⁹ Martin also suggested the presence of a binder explained the present shiny appearance of the black paint. The other pigments may have contained an organic binder that has not been preserved; alternatively, they may have bound closely with the underlying layer of calcium sulfate and did not need a binder.¹⁵⁴⁰

The brick-maker's model had suffered damage during deposition. The base was broken, with a section missing from the left end (viewed from the front). All the figures had suffered rodent damage on their heads, torsos and limbs, likely the work of the mouse whose bones Reisner also found in tomb N.202. The poor quality of the wood is illustrated by several cracks in these same areas of the figures, some of which may have occurred when the artist carved them. The model has undergone additional damage and faulty restoration since excavation, apparent when comparing recent (Fig. 213) and expedition photographs (Ex. Ph. B4475 and C4843, Figs. 26 and 212). The gessoed feet of the water-carrier and hoer are now missing. The areas where the feet were molded originally are still visible on the base. The hoe also is gone, but was present when the model was discovered. The hoer's legs have been secured to the base with a modern adhesive, causing the figure to tilt too far forward. The basket-carrier and man filling the brick mold have been glued to the base in the wrong orientations. The oval-shaped mortise cut into the base and the outlined area of missing gesso around the basket-carrier indicate that this figure originally was turned at a forty-five degree angle to the left (viewed from the front). This position is found in the *in situ* photo (Fig. 26), but not in the post-excavation photo (Fig. 212), where the figure was shifted too far to the left, at about a ninety-degree angle. The basket-carrier subsequently was glued facing straight ahead at a later, unknown, time. The forearms of the man stacking the molds also were reattached with a modern adhesive, but were positioned too low and too close together, causing the stack of brick molds to be shifted further in front of the figure: i.e., set down inside the gap where the base had broken away and glued to the side of the base, rather than placed on top of the base and in front of the male figure, where it originally sat. The original position of the brick stack is evident in the outline of exposed wood from the lost gesso flakes on top of the base. Finally, the man filling the mold has been turned further to his right since excavation. The figure's left arm also is loose and hangs pendant at the man's side, whereas in the *in situ* photo it almost touches the brick mold. The broken section of the base upon which this figure sits was separate when the model was discovered, but now is glued to the main portion of the base.

Brick-maker's models are rare, with only four examples known from other sites.¹⁵⁴¹ A recently discovered model from the First Intermediate Period tomb of *Hnw* at Bersha is the only

¹⁵³⁹ Indicated by the FTIR spectrum. This scientific technique is used to identify the presence of a plant gum, but not the specific type of gum. In this case, the gum most likely was derived from a species of acacia, which was available widely throughout Egypt in ancient times (Newmand and Serpico 2000: 476-477, 485, 487).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Although soot, yellow and red ochres do adhere to plaster to some extent if applied dry, they adhere better if wetted (Lucas and Harris 1962: 351).

¹⁵⁴¹ This activity is even rarer in tomb scenes, with only one identifiable example depicted on the south wall of the corridor passage in the 18th Dynasty tomb chapel of *Rh-mi-Rc* (TT100) at Thebes. This scene portrays the construction of buildings at Karnak, for which *Rh-mi-Rc* was the acting supervisor (Davies 1935: Pls. XVI, XVII, XXIII; Davies 1943: 54-55, Pls. LVIII, LIX, LX, and with *Rh-mi-Rc*'s administrative titles listed on page 98).

other known brick-maker's model of this period.¹⁵⁴² The three other models date to the early Middle Kingdom, and are from Beni Hasan and Bersha. One of these three models is from tomb BH275 of *T33y* at Beni Hasan, now in the British Museum (BM63837).¹⁵⁴³ The other two are from tomb 10A of *Dhwtj-nht* at Bersha, currently in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (BMFA 21.411 and BMFA 21.821).¹⁵⁴⁴ Thus, previously brick-makers were known exclusively from Middle Egypt in the region from Bersha to Beni Hasan.¹⁵⁴⁵ The four brick-maker models from this region depict some, but not all, of the same activities of the Naga ed-Deir model. All four include a man with a hoe, while only the three from Bersha each have paired men carrying a yoke from which a (lost) basket containing the mud and straw mixture was suspended. The Naga ed-Deir model has one figure carrying the brick mixture in a basket on top of his head, instead of using a yoke. It is also the only model to include a water carrier. However, the Naga ed-Deir model excludes the man combining the mud and straw together, as found on two other models: BMFA 21.411, from Bersha, and BM63837, from Beni Hasan. While the Naga ed-Deir model includes a man pressing the mud and straw mixture into a brick mold, as do three of the four other known examples (excluding BMFA 21.821), it is the only one that does not show the mud bricks lined up to dry in the sun. Instead, the Naga ed-Deir model is unique in depicting the final stage of the brick-making process: a man stacking the finished bricks.

Tooley classified brick-making scenes in the category of housing models.¹⁵⁴⁶ Therefore, the brick-maker's model deposited in N.202 would have enabled the continued refurbishing of existing buildings on the tomb owner's estate as well as the construction of new buildings by his laborers in the afterlife. It is possible that the brick-maker's model also reflects the tomb owner's duties in life. Unfortunately, neither the name nor the titles of the man buried in N.202 are known. Perhaps he held one or more administrative titles *imy-r3 k3t* (overseer of work), *hk3 hwt* (estate manager/property administrator) or *imy-r3 pr* (overseer/steward of the house/estate), reflecting his involvement in the construction and maintenance of buildings in the Thinite nome, perhaps even those in the local temple complex of *Inhrt*.¹⁵⁴⁷

11.5 Soldiers

Reisner excavated one military figure from (pit) N.69, which dates to the late Old Kingdom (Cat. 145, Figs. 38 and 214).¹⁵⁴⁸ This male wooden figure stands 16.5cm high. Because he is depicted in a striding pose and carrying a spear over his left shoulder, he is classified as a pikeman. He wears a black bag wig that covers his ears. His facial features are carved, with a jutting nose (now abraded), a small, pointed chin and a crude mouth indicated by a

¹⁵⁴² KUL (number unknown) (De Meyer 2007: 22, no. 31).

¹⁵⁴³ Garstang (1907: 131, Fig. 129); Breasted (1948: 52); Tooley (1989: 44-45, tomb dated to early Dynasty 11, but model placed on her early Middle Kingdom Table 4); and Tooley (1995: 45, Fig. 43).

¹⁵⁴⁴ Breasted (1948: 52, and Pl. 46c); D'Auria et al. (1988: 114, Fig. 63); Tooley (1989: 40); and Freed et al. (2009: 165, Fig. 125).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Tooley (1989: 76).

¹⁵⁴⁶ Tooley (1989: 62).

¹⁵⁴⁷ At Bersha, *Dhwtj-nht* was a *h3ty-ꜥ* (mayor) and *hrp-ns.ty* (director of the two seats/thrones). In the Middle Kingdom, the title *h3ty-ꜥ* fulfilled an administrative function. The exact meaning of the title *hrp-ns.ty* is unknown, and denoted either a political or religious office linked to the concept of the duality of kingship (Terrace 1968a: 24-25). *Hnw*, also from Bersha, and *T33y*, buried in BH275, both had the honorific title *smr-wꜥty* and the mid-high ranking administrative title *imy-r3 pr* (De Meyer 2007: 21; and Garstang 1907: Pl. VII).

¹⁵⁴⁸ In Fig. 38, Ex. Ph. B10699, see c/3.

horizontal, incised line. He has large, almond-shaped eyes, painted white with black pupils and outlined in black. His black brows are painted in an arch over each eye. His flesh is red, likely indicating that he is Egyptian rather than Nubian.¹⁵⁴⁹ On his chest, the nipples are indicated with black dots, each surrounded by a circular pattern of six smaller spots. He wears a short, white kilt. Both arms were secured to his shoulder joints with small dowels, but are now loose. While his left arm hung slightly forward, his right arm was positioned further behind him (indicated by the remnants of gesso in the shoulder joints), thus imitating a swinging motion that reinforced the sense of movement as the soldier marched. He no longer holds objects in his broken hands; however, traces of black pigment around both wrists and remnants of gesso on his right wrist suggest that he originally may have held a quiver, shield and/or other weapons. The pikeman's spear is doveled to the top of his left shoulder, with the point facing forward. The end of the spear is broken, indicating that originally it was longer. The pikeman is broken below the knees, and is no longer attached to a base. An abraded area of the front of his kilt, above his left knee, is probably a natural flaw in the wood that the ancient artist covered in gesso and painted. The figure's small size suggests he was once part of a battalion, marching in formation with other soldiers.

Model processions of soldiers are rare, with six known provenanced examples from early Middle Kingdom contexts. The most famous models are the two battalions of 40 Nubian bowmen holding bows and arrows (CG257) and 40 Egyptian pikemen carrying shields and spears (CG258) from the tomb of *Msh.ti* at Asyut.¹⁵⁵⁰ Naville excavated two model Nubian soldiers, each carrying a shield and a spear, and additional model shields from an unnamed woman's burial in pit 5 at Deir el-Bahri. The two soldiers and shields, current locations unknown, likely belonged originally to a battalion.¹⁵⁵¹ Reisner also found three military processions in *Dhwtj-nht's* tomb (10A) at Bersha: BMFA 21.803, BMFA 21.806 and BMFA number unknown (perhaps Ob. Reg. 15-5-394 or 15-5-283).¹⁵⁵² On BMFA 21.803, the best preserved of the group from Bersha, four men march in single file. The first and third men carry shields with bent, left arms and may have held spears, now lost, in their clenched right fists. The second and fourth men support large quivers on their upraised left arms and shoulders. Because of their size, the quivers likely were meant to hold spears or javelins.¹⁵⁵³ As in the other known examples of model soldiers from other sites, the shields and quivers are painted black and white to resemble spotted oxhide coverings.

Military personnel usually carrying weapons (e.g., quivers with spears, javelins, bows and arrows, axes) or shields, or both, also appear on eight model boats from Meir, Beni Hasan and Bersha. All eight models date to the early Middle Kingdom and, with one exception, are Type II vessels that likely represent armed escorts.¹⁵⁵⁴ The soldiers are Egyptian, apart from one

¹⁵⁴⁹ Nubian bowmen sometimes are depicted in military models, as discussed further below.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Grébaud (1890-1900: 30-36, and Pls. 33-36); Borchardt (1911: 164-165, and Pls. 55-56); Breasted (1948: 101-102); Saleh and Sourouzian (1987: Cat. Nos. 72-73); Tooley (1989: 36); Tooley (1995: 61); and McDermott (2002: 112, 115, 165 and Fig. 30).

¹⁵⁵¹ Naville (1907: 46); Breasted (1948: 102); Tooley (1989: 33, dated early 12th Dynasty); and Tooley (1995: 61).

¹⁵⁵² D'Auria et al. (1988: 114, Fig. 64); Tooley (1995: 61); McDermott (2002: 62, and Figs. 86, 87); and Freed et al. (2009: 158, 159, Fig. 118, with shields restored).

¹⁵⁵³ McDermott (2002: 146).

¹⁵⁵⁴ Merriman (2009: 253-254, Figs. 4.52, 4.53 and pages 374, 470-473, 480-481, 490, 558, 559, 561, and Cat. No. 153 (Meir, Type V), No. 313 (Meir, Type II), No. 316 (Beni Hasan, Type II), No. 328 (Beni Hasan, Type

Nubian bowman (perhaps a mercenary soldier), who is identified by his black-painted skin tone.¹⁵⁵⁵ Additionally, caches of transported quivers or shields, or both, are found on 50 model boats from 14 First Intermediate Period tombs at Sedment and 36 early Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes, Meir, Beni Hasan, Bersha, Sedment, Saqqara and Abusir.¹⁵⁵⁶

The pikeman from N.69 has no exact parallel among the model military figures known from Thebes, Asyut, Meir, Beni Hasan or Bersha. The Naga ed-Deir soldier is unusual in the position of the spear, which is carried over his shoulder with the point facing forward, rather than grasped in his hand or stored inside a quiver.¹⁵⁵⁷ As a pikeman, one would expect him to have carried a shield; however, in all other known models, soldiers hold shields with bent arms. If Cat. 145 did once bear a shield, the straight arm position would be unprecedented.

Excluding the pikeman from Naga ed-Deir, all known models depicting soldiers and military equipment originate from First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom contexts. The need for such models likely reflects real political instability and a need for protection that was carried over into the afterlife.¹⁵⁵⁸ The pikeman from N.69 is unique in that he is the only known example of a model soldier that dates to the late Old Kingdom, unless he derives from a later, intrusive burial in the tomb. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, contemporary tomb N.248 records military skirmishes in this period against foreign invaders who traveled north through the desert route via the Kharga oasis into the regions of Dendera and This.¹⁵⁵⁹ Therefore, it is possible that the model soldier from N.69 was part of a military procession that was interred in the original late Old Kingdom burial and that reflected political or social turmoil in the Thinite nome during this period. The pikeman would have provided the tomb owner with

II), No. 342 (Beni Hasan, Type II), No. 450 (Bersha, Type II), No. 452 (Bersha, Type II) and No. 454 (Bersha, Type II)).

¹⁵⁵⁵ On boat Ash. E.2301, from tomb BH186 (McDermott 2002: 115, n.79; and Merriman 2009: 253, Fig. 4.52., and 490-491, Cat. 342).

¹⁵⁵⁶ McDermott (2002: 62). The total provided here includes decorative shields painted on the canopies of 26 model boats. Three First Intermediate Period boats from Sedment and one early Middle Kingdom boat from Saqqara have both model quivers secured to the decks and shields painted on the canopies. For a general discussion of military equipment on boats, see Merriman (2009: 199, 238, 254-255, and Figs. 454, 455).

¹⁵⁵⁷ In tomb scenes, pikemen sometimes march with their spears over their shoulders, gripped in one hand and oriented with the points behind them. For one example, note the foot soldiers depicted on the east wall of the chapel in the early Middle Kingdom tomb (No. 17) of *Hty* at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893: 59-60, Pl. XV).

¹⁵⁵⁸ Tooley (1989: 62); and Merriman (2009: 254). Shields and weapons (including bows, quivers, arrows, daggers, axes and throwsticks) also appear in the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins and as models in Middle Kingdom tombs. For examples of shields and weapons on coffins from Saqqara, Beni Hasan, Bersha, Meir and Thebes, see Lapp (1993: 46-48, Fig. 35a-d, coffins Sq10, Sq58, Sq100b; 51-52, Fig. 46a-g, coffins Sq80b and Sq94a; 59-60, Fig. 55a-d, coffins BH5a, BH12a; 64-65, Fig. a-g, coffins BH10, BH18; 73-74, Fig. 75a-f, coffins B22a, B23b, B24; 80, 82, 84, Fig. 87a-j, coffins B1b, B6a,b, B2b, B19a,b, B21a; 86-87, Fig. 102a-d, coffins B29a,b; 101-103, Fig. 114a-f, coffins M8, M11, M49, M44, M50; 106-107, Fig. 122a-d, coffins M12 and M39; 111-112, Fig. 132a-e, coffins M6a, M25a; 165-166, Fig. 183a-e, coffins T15, T24a, T19a, T26; and 173-174, Fig. 193a-c, coffins T11a,T28). Three model weapon sets are the full-size (i.e., dummy or non-functional) spears, quivers, bows with arrows and shields from tomb 7 of *Nhti* at Asyut (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 47-48, Fig. 3, and Pl. XIII; Shaw 1991: 34; and Tooley 1989: 35), a shield and a quiver with javelins from the tomb of *Ppy-^hnh-hty-ib* at Asyut (Hayes 1953: Fig. 180), and model arrows, shields and an axe from tomb 10A at Bersha (McDermott 2002: 59, n. 81, BMFA 21.427 and Ob. Reg. 15-5-213; and Freed et al. 2009: 144, 146-147, and Figs. 107-109, with BMFA 21.438; BMFA 21.430-21.433 and BMFA 21.845 illustrated).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Peck (1958: 52-54, 84-86, Pl. 3); Fischer (1968: 141); and Brovarski (1989: 268-272, Fig. 20).

a continued sense of security in the afterlife, protecting him from potential dangers in the underworld.

11.6 Priests

Two wooden models of priests originated from Sheikh Farag cemetery S.F.5200: one from late Old Kingdom tomb S.F.5201 and a second from First Intermediate Period tomb S.F.5214. The priest figurine from S.F.5201 stands 18.1 cm tall, without the now missing base (Cat. 146, Fig. 215). He either was part of a procession scene or a single statuette. He is depicted in a striding pose, with his left leg (now broken) originally advanced forward. Remnants of gesso on his right ankle suggest the front part of both feet were molded in gesso on top of the base. He likely carried an object, such as a censor, papyrus scroll or *hs* jar, in his now lost arms, which were doveled to his shoulders. The figure is light-skinned with yellow painted flesh, the skin tone in this case indicating an indoor occupation and not gender. His black hair is short, with his carved ears exposed. He has delicate facial features, with large, almond-shaped eyes topped by slanted black brows, a small nose and mouth, and a square, dimpled chin. His nipples are indicated with black paint. He wears a long, white kilt with a triangular, projecting front panel and a white band around his torso that extends from his left shoulder to his right armpit. There are some areas of gesso/pigment loss on his kilt and on the back of his head.

The second priest figure, from S.F.5214, stands 20.1cm tall on his own red-painted base (Cat. 147, Fig. 216). Like Cat. 146, Cat. 147 is in a striding pose and wears a long white kilt with a triangular front panel. There are traces of white pigment on his right shoulder and chest, suggesting he also wore a strap across his torso. Both ankles are tenoned into the base in open mortise joints, with his feet molded in gesso. Cat. 147 is in worse condition than Cat. 146, however, as the figure is missing his head and upper left arm. The front panel of the priest's kilt also is separated from the figurine, and may have split in antiquity when carved and repaired with gesso (now lost). The projecting knot on the front of his kilt is abraded. There is evidence of rodent damage on his right arm, on the front panel of his kilt and along the edges of the base. Cat. 147 further differs from Cat. 146 in his arm positions and skin color. Cat. 147 holds his left arm crossed over his chest (in a mourning gesture) and his right arm pendant at his side, with his hand grasping the stiffened panel of his kilt. He does not carry any ritual objects. His flesh also is darker, painted a pinkish-red instead of yellow.

Priest figures were incorporated into model scenes of boats and porter processions from the First Intermediate Period to the late Middle Kingdom. Priests appear frequently on boats from various sites throughout Egypt,¹⁵⁶⁰ where they serve as lector priests reading scrolls for the deceased (who is represented as a living person or a mummy, or personified as a coffin or a sarcophagus),¹⁵⁶¹ hold ritual objects¹⁵⁶² or simply stand with one or both arms crossed in

¹⁵⁶⁰ Merriman (2009: 263, and Fig. 4.73).

¹⁵⁶¹ For example, note the two lector priests standing at the heads of coffins on the two rowed boats from N.202, i.e., my Cat. 27 and 28. For additional examples of lector priests on boats, see Merriman (2009: 334, Cat. 77, from Saqqara (perhaps two priests, one identified as a scribe); 339, Cat. 86, from Akhmim (two priests, one with a tablet); 341-342, Cat. 90, from Akhmim (three priests, one standing before the seated owner holding papyrus scroll); 535, Cat. 418, from Abusir (priest holding a tablet); and 595-596, Cat. 497, from Lisht (priest reading from a papyrus scroll).

¹⁵⁶² E.g., Merriman (2009: 450-451, Cat. 282, from Bersha (priest with censor)).

mourning gestures.¹⁵⁶³ As discussed in the introduction to Chapter Eight, priests also take part in processions, where they hold objects employed in private offering rituals, including libation jars and censors for purification rites, and altars or tables with food.¹⁵⁶⁴ There are five known procession models that include priests, all of which date to the early Middle Kingdom. MMA 20.3.8, from the tomb (TT280) of *Mkt-R^c* at Thebes, depicts a line of two male and two female figures, with the leading priest holding both a *hs* vase and a censor.¹⁵⁶⁵ In the procession of eight figures, current location unknown, from the tomb of *Wh-htpi* at Meir, the final male figure is a priest who holds a *hs* jar and perhaps a table or altar.¹⁵⁶⁶ Three models from tomb 10A at Bersha include priests. In BMFA 21.326, a procession of four figures, the lead priest carries both a *hs* vase and a censor, as in the Theban model.¹⁵⁶⁷ BMFA 21.11769 is fragmentary, but originally included a priest figure.¹⁵⁶⁸ BMFA 21.12494 is a sequence of 10 male figures lead by a priest who carries a now lost object on his right shoulder.¹⁵⁶⁹

The two priest figures from Naga ed-Deir are placed here in a separate category and not incorporated with my porters or boat models because they do not carry objects and because at least one figure (and possibly both) were single statuettes. Additionally, neither of the owners of tombs S.F.5201/S.F.5203 or S.F.5214 was a *hry-hbt* (lector priest). Therefore, the priest models interred in their burials likely represent not the tomb owners, but rather celebrants who officiated in funerary ceremonies and in offering rituals. By including these priest figures in their burial equipment, the tomb owners were ensured of the continuation of priestly services in perpetuity.

11.7 Overseers

Reisner's expedition teams unearthed two wooden models that may be overseers from cemeteries N.3500 and S.F.200. The male figure from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3567 in cemetery N.3500 stands 14.8cm tall (Cat. 148, Fig. 217). He was carved from a single piece of wood and stands with his legs together and both arms pendant at his sides. A hole drilled through each hand was for the placement of an object, both now lost. His large feet were carved as an extension of his legs (rather than molded in gesso) and were secured to a now lost base with a single peg inserted into the soles of his feet. His navel is drilled. He wears a black bag wig that covers his ears and a short white kilt. His flesh is painted red. His facial features likely were carved originally, but are now worn, with only traces of white pigment where his left eye

¹⁵⁶³ E.g., Merriman (2009: 364, Cat. 134, from Deir el-Bahri (four priests or mourners); 447, Cat. 277, from Gebelein (four priests or mourners); 527, Cat. 406, from Bersha (priest with crossed arms); and 514-515, Cat. 519, from Asyut (priest or boat officer with arms crossed over chest).

¹⁵⁶⁴ The importance of the specific items presented in the private offering ritual is signified by their appearance in various Coffin Text spells, including censors (530), *hs* jars (589), tables of offerings (591) and natron chests (592). For translations of these spells, see Faulkner (1977, 153, 191).

¹⁵⁶⁵ Winlock (1955: 41-42, 91-92, and Pls. 7, 32 and 55); Breasted (1948: 67, and Pl. 62b); and Tooley (1989: 190).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Kamal (1911: 16); Breasted (1948: 59); and Tooley (1989: 203).

¹⁵⁶⁷ Steindorff (1896: 40, XI:1, 3-5); Dunham (1921: 45-46); Breasted (1948: 65, 67 and Pls. 61b, 63); Terrace (1968a: XLV; 1968b: 8-18, Figs. 1-3, 7-8, 10-17); Lilyquist (1979: 43, Fig. 52); Roth and Roehrig (1989: 33, Fig. 2, after reconstruction); Tooley (1989: 193, 204-205, Pl. 42); Tooley (1995: 25, Fig. 16); Freed et al. (2003: 124-125, image reversed); and Freed et al. (2009: 153, Fig. 113).

¹⁵⁶⁸ Only a scribe from the scene is identified by this inventory number (D'Auria et al. 1988: 116, and Fig. 72; Tooley 1989: 206; and Tooley 1995: 26, Fig. 17). I do not know if the associated figures from this model, which now are all separated, are catalogued under the same number.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Freed et al. (2009: 156-157 and Fig. 117, identified as an overseer figure).

was painted. During deposition, the figure also suffered rodent damage to his right leg. Based on the figure's size, he was probably part of a group model. He likely is an overseer who was part of a granary or possibly a kitchen scene, and who originally held batons or scepters, needed to keep his workers in line.¹⁵⁷⁰ The exact type of model to which the figure belonged is unknown, because the only other model excavated from N.3567 was a rower from a boat (Cat. 21). Overseers are not found on model boats, and the arm and hand positions of Cat. 148 are not typical of boat crewmen.¹⁵⁷¹

The striding male figure from early Middle Kingdom tomb S.F.187 in cemetery S.F.200 is another possible overseer (Cat. 149, Fig. 218). He stands 17.3cm tall, without his now missing base, and may have been part of a group scene. Despite the fact that the left side of his head is broken off, the figure is in remarkably good condition. His long, straight arms are doveled to his shoulders, and his small feet are carved in wood, with the toes delineated with black paint. His face is rather square, with carved and painted features that are well-preserved. He has large painted eyes, topped with slanted black brows. His nose is large and jutting, with the tip lightly abraded. His thin lips are curved in a slight smile. He wears a short black bag wig that covers his ears and a long, white kilt with a stiffened side panel. He has a rather broad chest, with a narrow waist. His flesh is painted red. His large, open hands are held against the sides of his kilt. Although he does not hold any objects, he is classified as an overseer because of similarities with a contemporary model from tomb 10A at Bersha (BMFA 21.887) that likely depicts a procession of three male administrators.¹⁵⁷² The Bersha model differs from my Cat. 149 in that the three men have yellow flesh, indicating that they worked indoors, rather than performing manual labor outside, and short-cropped hair. Like my Cat. 149, however, all three men on the Bersha model wear long kilts and hold their arms pendant at their sides, with hands open.

11.8 Conclusion

In addition to the four main categories of boats, offering bearers, granaries and kitchens, the Naga ed-Deir tomb model repertoire includes eight examples of uncommon types. These eight models consist of a probable dancer, a harpist, a brick-making scene, a soldier, two priests and two overseers. Four of these rare Naga ed-Deir models are classified into the categories of entertainment, craft production and combat; four others are more typical of the four core model groups. In this chapter, I described these eight unusual models in detail, considering the specific function(s) of each type. As part of this analysis, I cited known parallels from other sites. My examination of the rare Naga ed-Deir model types has shown that they provided the tomb owners with various goods and services in the afterlife. Specifically, the dancer and harpist statuettes not only provided the tomb owners with entertainment in the afterlife, but also evoked rebirth

¹⁵⁷⁰ For two examples of early Middle Kingdom granary models, each with an overseer raising a baton or scepter over a worker, see Phil. E 14259, from tomb 2111 of *Hnty-hty* at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 7, 12, Pl. 20.5; Breasted 1948: 14; O'Connor and Silverman 1980: 80, Fig. 92; Tooley 1989: 108) and BM41573, from tomb BH723 of *Sbk-htpi* at Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907: 237; and Tooley 1989: 102-103, and Pl. 19:1). For two overseers holding batons in a butcher shop model, see MMA 20.3.10, from the early Middle Kingdom tomb TT280 of *Mkt-R* (Breasted 1948: 37, Pl. 34c; Winlock 1955: 23-25, 86-87, and Pls. 18-19, 21, 24, 60-61; Tooley 1989: 32, 61; Ikram 1995: 87-88; and Do. Arnold 2005: 1-8, 62-65, Figs. 1-2, and Pls. I.2, II, III).

¹⁵⁷¹ For a discussion of the various types of crewmen and other personnel found on boat models, see Merriman (2009: 247-254, 256, 259-263).

¹⁵⁷² Freed et al. (2009: 157, and Fig. 117).

and rejuvenation. The brick-making scene allowed for the continual refurbishment and construction of buildings. The soldier provided the deceased with protection for overcoming the dangers he or she faced in the underworld. Priests performed the ceremonies that took place at the tomb chapel during the funeral and the offering ritual, and which were necessary for the continued survival of the deceased. Finally, the overseers served as high-level administrators who monitored the activities of workers, to ensure that the workers effectively produced the goods required to sustain the deceased.

These eight miscellaneous models that Reisner excavated from Naga ed-Deir share similarities with comparable models from other sites, in the areas of subject matter, form and/or manufacturing materials. Entertainment scenes first appeared in limestone in the Old Kingdom at Saqqara in the guise of musician statuettes, and continued in the late Old Kingdom at Meir, with one known wooden dancer statuette. The Meir statuette has only one contemporary parallel, which is from tomb N.297 at Naga ed-Deir and also is made of wood. In the Middle Kingdom, entertainment models are slightly more common and occur in small numbers at a few sites, constructed from a variety of materials. Provenanced wooden entertainment scenes of this period include a group model from Saqqara, in which singers and harpists perform for the tomb owner and his wife, a harpist on a boat model from Saqqara, and a harpist and singer on a boat model from Thebes. All three date to the early Middle Kingdom. One late Middle Kingdom ivory statuette from Hu depicts a dancer. Most of the provenanced Middle Kingdom entertainment models are limestone statuettes, however, and consist of one acrobatic dancer and three harpists from Abydos and one harpist from Kahun. The 12th Dynasty limestone harpist statuette from S.F.132 conforms to known types of entertainment models in this period, with its closest affinities originating from Abydos, located near Naga ed-Deir. Furthermore, as discussed in the conclusion to Chapter Ten, the limestone material is typical not only of dancer and musician statuettes produced in the late Middle Kingdom, but also of other model types such as boats, domestic workers and additional entertainment figures (e.g., wrestlers) from various sites, such as Naga ed-Deir, Abydos, Beni Hasan, Bersha and Lisht.

The rare brick-making theme portrayed in the model from First Intermediate Period N.202 is attested elsewhere in the Beni Hasan-Bersha region. Of the four other known examples, only one model of the same date derives from Bersha, while three originate from early Middle Kingdom tombs at Bersha and Beni Hasan. Pigment analysis of the Naga ed-Deir wooden brick-maker's model showed that the four common colors used in its decoration consisted of the following mineral elements: calcium sulfate and calcium carbonate (white); iron oxide, clay and calcium sulfate (red); charcoal (black); and calcium carbonate, iron, silica, and calcium sulfate (yellow). Only the black pigment was secured to the underlying gesso layer with a binder, which was identified as plant gum.

Military themes similarly are rare at other sites. Other than the soldier from N.69, military regiments have been excavated from Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes, Bersha and Asyut. Soldiers on boats are known from Middle Kingdom graves at Meir and Beni Hasan, in addition to Bersha. Models of priests walking in processions with porters are perhaps the closest parallels to the Naga ed-Deir priest figures from S.F.5201 and S.F.5214. Outside of Naga ed-Deir, the known examples of model priests originate in Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes, Meir and Bersha. Finally, the male figure from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3567 may be an overseer, a typical element of model granaries and, occasionally, kitchens, from other sites

throughout Egypt in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. However, the second possible overseer, from early Middle Kingdom tomb S.F.187, is most similar to a unique model of three male administrators walking in procession from a contemporary tomb at Bersha.

Three of the eight Naga ed-Deir miscellaneous models are unique because they may be the earliest known examples of their particular types. The soldier from (pit) N.69 dates to the late Old Kingdom. The priests from S.F.5201 and S.F.5214 are dated to the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, respectively. As noted above, comparable models from other sites date to the early Middle Kingdom. Thus, as demonstrated elsewhere in this dissertation, one significant aspect of the Naga ed-Deir tomb model corpus is the early appearance of a number of different types at the site.

Chapter Twelve: Summary and Conclusions

12.1 Summary and Conclusions

In her broad study of tomb models and related material, Angela Tooley noted that, although models are known to have originated in northern Upper Egypt between the sites of Naga ed-Deir and Rifeh, few models from the region are actually published. In her analysis she was able to include only 24 tomb models attributed to this region, eight of which were excavated from the Naga ed-Deir cemeteries. Her primary sources of information on the Naga ed-Deir models were a few unpublished excavation photographs. As a result, not only were her specific findings on the Naga ed-Deir model corpus limited, but some of her general conclusions regarding the chronological and regional developments of tomb model types throughout Egypt were problematic.

In actuality, the collection of tomb models excavated at Naga ed-Deir is extensive, it spans the major phases of model production from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom and it is well documented. The entire corpus consists of 25 single statuettes, 15 model scenes and 553 fragments of single, paired and grouped compositions. Of this total, 24 statuettes, 15 model scenes and 508 fragments originate from 62 documented tombs. Another statuette and 45 fragments of single and grouped compositions derive from unrecorded contexts at the site. The majority of the corpus appears in Tooley's established core model repertoire: boats, people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens. Other less common categories of models not explicitly discussed by Tooley are entertainment (dancers and harpists), craft production (brick-making), military combat, priests and overseers. Thus, not only are there large quantities of core models from the site, but model repertoire encompasses model types not included in Tooley's study. Therefore, the expansive Naga ed-Deir database provided a unique opportunity both to examine the development of the tomb model repertoire in the local cemetery of a southern provincial capital and to expand Tooley's chronological analyses of model types distributed throughout Egypt and spatial analyses of Upper Egyptian regional model groups.

The goals of this dissertation were twofold: first, to produce a detailed analysis of the tomb models in each phase of production represented at Naga ed-Deir; and second, to compare this material with Tooley's chronological scheme for model production throughout Egypt and regional patterns within Upper Egypt, in order to determine how Naga ed-Deir conformed to, or was different from, her identified trends. In studying the archaeological context of the Naga ed-Deir models, I observed patterns in tomb distribution, grave types, titles and names preserved in the tomb inscriptions and the quality and range of the associated burial goods. All this data provided information about the social status and gender of the model-owning classes. In addition, I noted trends in the disposition of the models within the tombs. My study revealed patterns in social status and gender of ownership, typology, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, qualities and quantities for the models. I analyzed changes in all these patterns over time to illustrate the evolution of the tomb model corpus at this site. In my comparisons of the Naga ed-Deir data with Tooley's findings, I observed many similarities in the social ranks and genders of model owners. While some model disposition patterns at Naga ed-Deir are comparable to Tooley's findings, there also seem to be differences in model placement and orientation. Unfortunately, since my analysis was based on limited data caused by a high number of disturbed burials, the results cannot be more conclusive. In my investigation of the

models themselves, I found some aspects of the Naga ed-Deir corpus to be comparable to those from other sites, and others to be unique to Naga ed-Deir.

In Chapter Two, I provided a background on the site of Naga ed-Deir, including the site description, the history and methodology of George Reisner's excavations for both the Hearst Egyptian Expedition (1901-1904) and the Harvard-Boston Expedition (1910, 1912, 1913 and 1923-24), as well as a summary of the archaeological material recovered during both expeditions and its sources of documentation. As part of my discussion, I noted problems with Reisner's excavations, including incomplete or missing field notes and expedition maps, errors in his written and photographic documentation and unaccounted for archaeological and archival material. I also identified the current locations of the archival and archaeological material, conveying how both arrived at their final destinations. Such a synthesis of background data was necessary because it not only served as the context for analyzing the Naga ed-Deir tomb model corpus, but also because problems with the original documentation affected my database and the strength of the conclusions that could be drawn from the cultural material.

In Chapter Three, I turned to the corpus of tomb models excavated from Naga ed-Deir, including both the complete and fragmentary models that comprise it. I identified the specific cemeteries and tombs from which the models originated, the present locations of the models and previous research on the Naga ed-Deir material. The excavated tomb models from Naga ed-Deir ultimately went to four museums: the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University in Cambridge and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The bulk of this material is housed in the Hearst Museum. Although Reisner saved very few models from the Harvard-Boston expeditions, the available documentation enabled me to include these models in my corpus. My examination of previous research completed on the tomb models from Naga ed-Deir showed that, while Reisner understood the significance of the wooden statuettes and models, particularly those from cemetery N.100-400, he published little of this material during his lifetime. Subsequent publications comprised museum catalogues and other brief reports, in which the models were presented with little or no archaeological context.

Chapter Four summarized the sources of material for dating the Naga ed-Deir tombs with models and discussed the chronology used by the current study. I began with Brovarski's chronological scheme, based on his examination of the inscribed material, primarily stelae, from Naga ed-Deir, and expanded both his data sources and time frame. I presented additional inscribed material (stelae, coffins, mummy masks and scarabs), which Brovarski either omitted from his analysis or did not discuss in detail. I also considered diagnostic features of uninscribed material (pottery, jewelry, stone vessels, cosmetic items, furniture, weapons, tools, funerary figurines and *k3* statues), from the Naga ed-Deir burials of model-owners in establishing my chronology. Despite problems with limited field records, missing archaeological material, incomplete original documentation and disturbed burials from tomb reuse, looting and Nile flooding, I established the chronology of the 62 tombs containing models. I used four general dating phases as the organizational framework for discussing tombs and tomb models: 14 tombs were assigned to the late Old Kingdom (Phase I); 20 tombs to the First Intermediate Period (Phase II); 21 tombs to the early Middle Kingdom (Phase III); and seven tombs to the late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV).

In Chapter Five I analyzed the archaeological contexts of the graves with models at Naga ed-Deir to determine the social status and gender of the tomb owners. I considered four factors: 1) the spatial location of the tombs; 2) the size, type and quality of each grave; 3) the types and materials of the funerary goods; and 4) the sex of the individuals interred in the graves. The 62 documented graves containing models at Naga ed-Deir are distributed throughout six cemeteries at Naga ed-Deir: S.F.500, S.F.200, N.9000, S.F.5000-5400, N.3500 and N.100-400. Model owners were buried in three types of graves: Type I pit tombs; Type II shaft-and-chamber tombs; and Type III rock-cut tombs with offering chapels, separate burial compartments and, frequently, inscribed and decorated funerary stelae. Fifty-six of the 62 tombs are rock-cut, suggesting that they belonged to members of the upper classes who had the wealth to construct them. All but four of these rock-cut tombs were situated in prominent locations in the limestone cliffs of the cemeteries with access to the finest quality limestone available at the site. All this evidence reflects the prominence of the tomb owners in the local social hierarchy. The five undecorated shaft-and-chamber tombs with models belonged to lower- and mid-ranking members of society, and were clustered around the higher-status rock-cut tombs. Finally, the one low-status pit tomb containing one model was placed in the lowest part of the foothills of one cemetery.

I also examined the names and representations provided in tomb inscriptions and scenes as well as the associated burial goods from the 62 graves of model owners at Naga ed-Deir to further analyze social status. I identified three categories of model-owners: titled individuals (26 tombs), presumed titled individuals (17 tombs) and untitled individuals (19 tombs). The surviving inscribed and decorated evidence from Naga ed-Deir tombs tells us that almost half of these people worked in the local administration of the Thinite nome and served the cult temple of the local god, *Inhrt*. I also found that the graves of high-status individuals contained a wider range of funerary objects than those of the lower classes. Based on similarity of burial goods, 13 of the 19 untitled individuals likely were of comparable status to the mid-high ranking titled individuals. Therefore, of 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir, 56 belonged to the mid-upper echelons of society, with only one belonging to a poor person. The remaining five tombs were too disturbed to ascertain social status from funerary goods; in these cases, however, inferences about rank were made from the tomb architecture. Three of the five tombs were fairly large, rock-cut graves, suggesting that they belonged to well-off people. The remaining two shaft-and-chamber tombs probably belonged to individuals of lower status who had to make do with smaller graves. At Naga ed-Deir, therefore, the data suggest that the majority of people with access to tomb models belonged to one component of society: mid- and high-ranking provincial bureaucrats. Tooley, however, found a wider social distribution of models throughout Egypt as a whole. According to her study, models were interred with individuals of varying ranks, ranging from the king at the state level, to the high- and mid-level bureaucrats who worked at the capital and in the provincial districts, to the lowest level, workers who were employed by these higher-ranking individuals and performed services or supplied products for them.

To some extent, I was able to ascertain the gender of the model-owners at Naga ed-Deir. Unfortunately, the human skeletal remains yielded little information about their sex, because the burials had been plundered and/or reused, and because of Reisner's incomplete documentation. However, I tentatively identified the gender of 51 men and 26 women in 46 tombs, based on names and images depicted on tomb walls and funerary stelae, as well as on burial goods generally (although not exclusively) associated with either men or women. Such gender-specific

items included functional weapons and tools, walking staves and scribal palettes typically used by men and certain forms of amulets frequently worn by women. In some cases, I also was able to reconstruct familial relationships among the model owners. The majority of models excavated from Naga ed-Deir derive from the graves of men. Some were buried alone, some with their wives and/or other family members. Unfortunately, due to the amount of disturbance in most of the 62 burials, particularly in the cases where there were multiple tomb owners, it was virtually impossible to correlate individual interments or tomb models with specific burial chambers.

Chapter Six completed my discussion of the archaeological context of the Naga ed-Deir tomb models by analyzing disposition patterns in burials. Of the 62 tombs at Naga ed-Deir with models, only 42 have written and photographic documentation describing models found in them. In only 14 of the 42 tombs was I able to verify that models and model fragments originated from burial chambers or niches situated below tomb chapel floors. Finally, of these 14 tombs, only seven were relatively undisturbed and contained models found in specified locations within the tomb substructure that could be analyzed to establish patterns in placement and orientation.

In tombs N.3575, N.408 and N.4172 single boat models were deposited in the burial chambers next to the head, foot and front panels of the coffins, respectively. In tomb N.202, two boat models were interred together in the *serdab*, which has no known associated burial chamber. Similarly, in tombs N.89, N.43 and N.4172, tall serving statuettes (including porters) were placed on the burial chamber floors beside the head, foot and front panels of the coffins, respectively. Finally, in N.3737 one model granary originally was situated on the coffin lid of its owner. The serving statuettes and model figures in tombs N.43, N.202 and N.4172 were oriented to face the chamber entrances on the south. The boat model in N.4172, equipped for sailing upstream, thus faced the appropriate direction. However, in N.202, paired model boats outfitted for rowing downstream were oriented east-west, rather than the more typical north-south, in order to fit into the niche. In N.3575, the boat was oriented northeast-southwest.

In her study, Tooley analyzed the specific placement and orientation of boats, offering bearers and granaries in tombs. Tooley ascertained that, in general, the most common placement for model boats was the coffin lid, followed by the coffin sides. Additionally, rowed and sailed boats often were paired facing opposite directions to represent north-south travel on the Nile. She also found proportionally more offering bearer statuettes located on the front (symbolic “east”) side of coffins, with the head and foot being the two least common positions. Tooley did, however, observe that granary models typically were placed either on coffin lids or beside the coffins, with a slightly higher percentage in the former position. She further determined that serving statuettes generally were oriented to face the burial chamber entrances. Therefore, based on the very limited available evidence, the patterns of model disposition at Naga ed-Deir are consistent with some, but not all, of Tooley’s established trends.

In Chapters Seven through Eleven I analyzed in detail the tomb model corpus, divided into types by function. Chapters Seven through Ten dealt with the core tomb model group, comprised of boats, people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens. Chapter Eleven covered the less common miscellaneous model types. For each model type, I reconstructed both quantities and represented activities. In my analyses, I compared the Naga ed-Deir material with intact models from other Egyptian sites as well as with two-dimensional representations on tomb walls, coffins and/or stelae from various sites, including Naga ed-Deir. The comparative data were necessary in reconstructing the Naga ed-Deir model types, because of the highly

fragmentary nature of many of the models. My analysis of the Naga ed-Deir models revealed continuities as well as idiosyncrasies in typology, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, quality and quantities, compared with Tooley's findings from other Egyptian sites.

I began my analysis of the Naga ed-Deir tomb model core group with boats in Chapter Seven. All together, Reisner's teams excavated, from 36 tombs, nine complete boats and a minimum of 243 fragments, representing approximately another 36 boats. They also recovered four fragments from three boats from unknown locations. Thus, there are an estimated 48 boats from the site. This corpus of model boats spans all four major phases (I-IV) of model production at Naga ed-Deir, ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. A variety of boat types that fulfilled both religious and utilitarian functions are represented by this corpus.

At Naga ed-Deir boats comprised the majority of the model corpus, as was the case with Tooley's models. Like Tooley, I found a succession of boat types over time, beginning with Type IV papyriform boats in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. Type II boats were introduced in the late First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Deir. The greatest variety in types, i.e., Types II, II/viii, IV/V, (possibly) V and VIII, occurred in the early Middle Kingdom. As Tooley also found at other sites, at Naga ed-Deir the later Middle Kingdom boat repertoire included boat Types II and V, with the papyriform Type V replacing the earlier Type IV. Also in agreement with Tooley's findings, at Naga ed-Deir, boats that fulfilled funerary and pilgrimage purposes, or both combined, were more popular than those with utilitarian functions. Although there is some evidence for pairs of sailed and rowed boats being deposited together in tombs, to represent travel in opposite directions, like Tooley, I found that rowed predominated over sailed boats in the repertoire. Many of the boats from Naga ed-Deir also share stylistic similarities with those excavated from other sites throughout Egypt. Specifically, falcon-headed terminals on rudders and stanchions of Naga ed-Deir Type V boats also are found at Meir, Thebes, Beni Hasan and Gebelein. The transitional Naga ed-Deir papyriform Type IV/V boat has parallels at Gebelein, Meir, Bersha and Sheikh Ibada. The small limestone Type VII boat is comparable to other models found in locations from Aswan, in the south, to Bersha, in the north. Finally, the unusual hollow-hulled Type II boat shares attributes of boats from Beni Hasan and Bersha.

The Naga ed-Deir boats have both structural and non-structural attributes that enable them to be dated according to Merriman's dating criteria. The Naga ed-Deir boats also provide insight into wooden model production techniques. In one instance, analysis of a wooden rower demonstrated that the figure (and possibly the whole boat) was made of sycamore fig. While red, yellow, black and white typically were used to decorate the Naga ed-Deir boat models (and other model types at the site), blue and green were used only sparingly in decorative elements on three boats and for the hair of one boat figure. Excavators found remnants of linen wrappings on the canopies of the two boats in N.202, suggesting the models originally were enshrouded in cloth. Finally, there is evidence for artists' workshops at Naga ed-Deir that produced sets of stylistically different boat models for the same tomb owners and stylistically similar boat models for patrons buried in different graves.

One feature of the Naga ed-Deir boat model corpus that stands out as being rather unique is that the peak of production occurred in the First Intermediate Period, rather than in the early Middle Kingdom. The numbers of early and late Middle Kingdom models, in fact, are extremely low when compared to other sites. The Naga ed-Deir boat model corpus also has six rare boat

types, including the hollow-hulled Types II, II/viii, VIII and V, from tombs S.F.170, N.4401, N.449 and N.3575, respectively. Other unusual boats from Naga ed-Deir include the transitional Type IV/V from N.4003, and the solid limestone Type VII from S.F.218.

In Chapter Eight, I studied the second core model type of people carrying supplies, represented by single, paired and group compositions of female offering bearers and male porters. All together, Reisner's expedition teams excavated 14 offering bearers and 13 porters from 15 tombs at Naga ed-Deir, in addition to two offering bearers and one porter from possibly three unknown tombs at the site. The provenanced offering bearers date from the late Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), while the provenanced porters date only from the late Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period (Phases I-II). This set of 30 offering bearers and porters includes 27 individual statuettes (both complete and fragmentary), and human figures and other fragments from perhaps three procession scenes.

Some stylistic features that serve as chronological markers of the Naga ed-Deir offering bearers are consistent with those from other sites: costume, nudity, body pose, hairstyle and, possibly, carried objects. Stylistic traits of the Naga ed-Deir offering bearer corpus that display the strongest regional affiliation with Middle Egypt, particularly Beni Hasan, Bersha and Asyut, include costume design and nudity. The occurrence of porters in the Middle Egyptian sites of Asyut, Meir, Beni Hasan, Sheikh Ibada and Bersha is a regional trend that is now expanded to include Naga ed-Deir. At Naga ed-Deir there also are similarities with other sites in the following: 1) types of objects transported by female offering bearers and male porters; 2) the lack of inscriptions on the statuettes; 3) the pairing of offering bearers in tombs; and 4) evidence for artists' workshops. Two offering bearers from S.F.167 and N.9091 have similar facial features, suggesting they were made in the same workshop. However, the offering bearer statuette from N.9091 may reflect Theban influence in her large size and elaborately decorated skirt. In further contrast, differences in the sizes and quality of offering bearers deposited together in tombs N.69 and N.241 and male porters in N.69 suggest that different ateliers produced sets of models for the same burials. Decorative elements on clothing and/or jewelry of four offering bearers and jars carried by one porter are painted blue and green. Other than a few boats, these offering bearers are the only models from Naga ed-Deir painted in these presumably costly pigments, reflecting their economic value and special status. The use of blue and green pigments on offering bearers also reinforces Tooley's conclusions regarding the elevated importance of these models in the tomb model repertoire.

Some aspects of the Naga ed-Deir model corpus of people carrying supplies are anomalous. In contrast to Tooley's results from other sites, at Naga ed-Deir we find a more uniform ratio of female to male figures and a larger number of both sexes (including single statuettes and figures from processions) that date to the late Old Kingdom. A few unusual Naga ed-Deir features include the short pigtailed worn by two offering bearers from N.241 and NNN 100, the bent left arm positions of two offering bearers from N.241 and N.9091, and the imitation faience jars and the beef haunches carried by perhaps eight porters from tombs N.69, N.241, S.F.521 and NNN100, which are either unknown or rare elsewhere. Additionally, some of the Naga ed-Deir models of people carrying supplies are atypical in that they date to the late Old Kingdom, while, at other sites, comparable models date only to the early Middle Kingdom. The late Old Kingdom Naga ed-Deir models consist of three fragmentary procession scenes and two globular jars originally transported on a yoke by a water-carrier.

I examined the third core model group of granaries in Chapter Nine. Model granaries consist of both domed silos and storehouses with square plans. The Naga ed-Deir granary model corpus is comprised of three relatively intact models and 23 fragments of three additional granary models excavated from five tombs. These six granaries include three sets of wooden domed silos and three square storehouses that date to the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (Phases I and II). Incorporating this additional evidence for model domed silo and storehouse granaries from Naga ed-Deir, we can expand the known model granary repertoire both temporally and geographically. Together with the new data from Gebelein presented in Chapter Nine, the Naga ed-Deir material demonstrates not only that there is no gap in the production of granary models in the late Old Kingdom, but also that the granary storehouse first appeared earlier than previously thought. Geographically, the Naga ed-Deir granaries are important because they fill in a previous lacuna in our knowledge of model granaries manufactured in the Sheikh Farag-Rifeh region. Although the Naga ed-Deir evidence admittedly is limited, the 35 degree angle peaks on the sole granary model from N.3737 shows continuity with models excavated from other Upper Egyptian sites, in accordance with Tooley's findings. Similarly, the domed granary silo models at Naga ed-Deir fit Tooley's observed Upper Egyptian distribution pattern for this granary form. Two rather unusual features of the Naga ed-Deir corpus, however, are the use of wood in the production of the domed granary silos from tombs N.69, N.241 and N.3795, and the labeled magazine contents (in hieratic) of the two storehouses from tombs N.69 and N.3737. The replacement of the more typical clay with wood may indicate a site preference for this material in manufacturing the domed silos. Wood analysis of one of six domed silos from N.69 proved it to be made of sycamore fig.

In Chapter Ten, I considered the fourth, and final, model type in the core group: kitchens. Unlike boats, offering bearers and granaries, Tooley did not discuss kitchen models as a separate category in her study. Instead, she included examples of kitchens in her introductory chapter (i.e., her overview of the types of models produced from the Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom from archaeological data) and listed the totals on her chronological and regional tables. Therefore, in Chapter Ten I first reviewed the known kitchen model database in order to provide a source of comparison for the Naga ed-Deir material, calculating a total of 305 examples. The Naga ed-Deir corpus itself is comprised of 30 kitchen models from 20 tombs ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom through the late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV), in addition to a maximum of 10 models from perhaps nine undocumented tombs. The 40 total scenes include all four major kitchen activities: baking bread, brewing beer, butchering oxen and cooking meat (wildfowl only). These four activities are represented by 20 single and two paired figures and 18 group scenes of single and related activities. Eleven of the 40 models are complete, and 29 are fragmentary. Finally, five of the 40 models are composites, manufactured from different materials that include wood and either clay or limestone, while the remaining 35 are made entirely of wood.

Shared characteristics of Naga ed-Deir models with those from other sites include the typical caches of 1-3 kitchen models per tomb burials and the evolution of kitchen model forms from simple to complex over time. Naga ed-Deir kitchen models also exhibit activities comparable and contemporary to those represented elsewhere. Like other sites, for example, Naga ed-Deir has brewer and duck roasters in late Old Kingdom tombs and brewers in First Intermediate Period interments. Other shared features include the use of limestone as a medium in the manufacture of composite models in the late Old Kingdom and small statuettes in the late

Middle Kingdom, and a range in kitchen model quality, even among and within tombs dating to the same period. Unusual attributes of the Naga ed-Deir kitchen model repertoire are the relatively large amounts produced in the late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and late Middle Kingdom, compared to the low number made in the early Middle Kingdom. The inclusion of duck roaster statuettes in First Intermediate Period tombs N.202 and S.F.5214 is unattested elsewhere in this period. At Naga ed-Deir the low quantity of millers made in the late Old Kingdom is atypical, as is the absence of millers in the First Intermediate Period. The use of clay for the stylized ox from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3916 is unique for any era in which butcher models were produced. While I found that kitchen models from other sites have some features that are diagnostic for Middle Kingdom dating, the corpus of Middle Kingdom kitchen models from Naga ed-Deir was too small to identify similar patterns. However, the male kitchen workers from N.263 have beards, a possible chronological feature found on other Middle Kingdom models from the site.

In my last data chapter, Chapter Eleven, I analyzed the few miscellaneous models excavated from Naga ed-Deir. Eight uncommon Naga ed-Deir models represent five different categories that appear infrequently at other sites as well: entertainment, craft production, military combat, priests and overseers. All together, these eight Naga ed-Deir models date from the late Old to late Middle Kingdom (Phases I-IV). Of the eight models, seven are wood, and one is limestone. Three are single statuettes, while the remaining five are either group models or fragmentary parts of group models.

Considered as a group, the eight uncommon Naga ed-Deir models have the closest affinities in theme, form and material with others from Middle and Upper Egyptian sites. The wooden dancer and limestone harpist statuettes from late Old Kingdom N.297 and late Middle Kingdom S.F.132, respectively, are comparable to entertainment statuettes from Meir and Abydos that were made in the same time periods. Two wooden group scenes from Naga ed-Deir, the pikeman from late Old Kingdom N.69 and the intact brick-maker's model from First Intermediate Period N.202, both have parallels with military and craft production models from Thebes, Asyut, Meir, Bersha and Beni Hasan that also were manufactured in wood. While military scenes from elsewhere date only to the Middle Kingdom, the brick-maker's model from Naga ed-Deir has one contemporary parallel and three others that date to the early Middle Kingdom. The wooden overseer from First Intermediate Period tomb N.3567 is comparable to administrative figures in granary models made in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom and found at numerous Egyptian sites; however, the figure's pendant arm positions appear to be unique. The wooden priests from late Old Kingdom tomb S.F.5201 and First Intermediate Period tomb S.F.5214 are rare in form, but not in theme or material. Wooden priests taking part in processions are known from early Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes, Meir and Bersha. Priests also comprise personnel on numerous wooden model boats made from the First Intermediate Period to the late Middle Kingdom at sites throughout Egypt. Three of the eight Naga ed-Deir miscellaneous models are unique because they appear to be the earliest known examples of their types: the soldier from (pit) N.69, and the priest statuettes from (pit) S.F.5201 and tomb S.F.5214. Finally, the brick-making scene also is important because it is one of few tomb models (and the only one from Naga ed-Deir) to have undergone pigment analysis.

Having concluded my summary of each model type represented at Naga ed-Deir, in the last section I provide a synthesis of these data, in which I compare and contrast different aspects

of the tomb model corpus. The activity types, forms, materials, production techniques, artistic styles, qualities and quantities of models from Naga ed-Deir are partly comparable to those from other sites and partly unique to Naga ed-Deir.

The core model categories represented at numerous other sites occur at Naga ed-Deir, including boats (Types II, IV and V), people carrying supplies, granaries and kitchens. Rare model varieties, only known in limited quantities from other sites, also are known from Naga ed-Deir: certain types of boats (Types II/viii, IV/V, VII, VIII), an offering bearer carrying a mirror, porters carrying ox haunches, a dancer statuette, a harpist statuette, a soldier from a battalion, a brick production scene and an overseer statuette. Model types that are unique to Naga ed-Deir are a hollow-hulled Type II wooden boat, a hollow-hulled Type V clay boat, a procession of people carrying faience jars and a baker statuette. Additionally, while there is only one other known porter carrying an ox haunch, from Beni Hasan, the five possible Naga ed-Deir examples suggest a site preference for this activity. At Naga ed-Deir, the objects originally carried by one porter (from N.3907) and one offering bearer (from N.9091) are lost, but the positions in which they were carried are unusual for statuettes of people carrying supplies. Some model types at Naga ed-Deir are also unique because of the time period in which they were produced. These examples include late Old Kingdom soldier and priest statuettes, and First Intermediate Period duck roaster and priest statuettes and a butcher scene. All known comparable models from other sites date to the early Middle Kingdom. Interestingly, agricultural scenes, known predominantly from Middle Egyptian sites from Asyut in the south to Beni Hasan in the north, are not found at Naga ed-Deir.

The chronological evolution in form from single statuettes to combined groups of models on single bases at Naga ed-Deir follows the general pattern for other sites. Other models at Naga ed-Deir, however, are unusual in their individual formats. Kitchen models with paired workers on one base are uncommon in the universal tomb model repertoire. At Naga ed-Deir, there is one First Intermediate Period model of two millers on one base; only two other examples are known, and are from Meir and Giza. While priests are known from model processions and boats from other sites, two single statuettes of priests from late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs at Naga ed-Deir are unique. Three possible procession scenes of porters derive from late Old Kingdom tombs at Naga ed-Deir. Procession scenes in general are rare, with only 13 other known examples from sites throughout Egypt. These six uncommon Naga ed-Deir models are also unique because of their dating. At other sites paired miller models date to the late Old Kingdom, and procession scenes of priests and porters date to the early Middle Kingdom.

Model production techniques at Naga ed-Deir are comparable to those at other sites. The majority of the Naga ed-Deir tomb models is made of wood. Analyses of one boat figure and one granary silo showed the wood species to be sycamore fig in both cases. Clay was another material used to the manufacture the Naga ed-Deir models. In the case of one clay boat model deposited in a simple pit grave, the material also reflected the tomb owner's low social status. Tooley similarly found at other sites that clay, an inexpensive material that was easy to work with, was used to make models for low-status people without the means to acquire models constructed of more expensive materials, such as wood or limestone. The use of limestone in the manufacture of a small boat model and harpist and baker statuettes at Naga ed-Deir is typical of late Middle Kingdom diminutive, and generally crude models from other sites. In two other

cases at Naga ed-Deir, the materials used to make the models are atypical: wood was substituted for clay in the manufacture of three domed granary silos, and clay for wood to make a bound ox for a butcher model. The clay ox may have been part of a unique composite model, with the associated male figures made of wood. The combination of wood and limestone in the production of four late Old Kingdom statuettes of kitchen workers and possibly a porter at Naga ed-Deir is also unusual, because the only other known examples of composite models are from contemporary tombs in the northern capital cemeteries at Giza and Saqqara.

As at other sites, the manufacturing techniques of the Naga ed-Deir wooden models were influenced by the poor quality of the available material. Because large pieces of wood typically were not readily available to Egyptian craftsmen, smaller pieces had to be carved and doweled together with wooden pegs or attached with mortise and tenon joints. Large papyriform model boats were constructed of solid blocks of wood for the hull, bow and stern appendages. The appendages, in turn, were attached to the hulls either with dowels or by mortise and tenon constructions. Structures (canopies, coffins and chairs), steering and propulsion gear attachments (rudder stanchions and mast supports) and boat personnel were pegged onto the decks. Hollow-hulled wooden boats were made from single large pieces of wood, with steering gear elements attached separately. For human figures, the bodies typically were carved as single units with the heads. A stock set of bodies were prepared ahead of time in two basic poses: standing and sitting/squatting. The limbs were attached independently to create a variety of positions. On striding figures, one or both of the legs sometimes were carved separately. Most frequently, however, only the arms of the human figures were discrete elements. The pre-made human torsos were used for both single statuettes and figures in group scenes. The performed activity was distinguished by the positioning of the arms and carried objects. The feet sometimes were carved separately and pegged to the ankles; or, more frequently, the legs simply terminated in pegs that fit into holes in the bases. In these latter cases, gesso was used to mold the feet.

At Naga ed-Deir, as elsewhere, wood, stone and clay models typically were covered in gesso layers, which concealed joints, covered imperfections and created smooth surfaces for applying pigments. Also, at other sites, the four primary colors used to decorate the Naga ed-Deir models were red, yellow, black and white, while green and blue were applied more sparingly. On human figures, black pigments were used for the hair, eyes and brows; yellow and red for the skin tones of women and men; white for clothing and details of anatomy, including the corneas and fingernails; and red, blue and green for dress and accessory details. At Naga ed-Deir the four primary colors also were used consistently to denote various materials in models: cereal grains (yellow, white); bread loaves (red); linen (white); beaded bracelets (red); limestone querns, tall mortars, grinding stones and ovens (red, yellow); feather fans (yellow, red); heated coals (red, black); clay beer and water jars and bread molds (red, yellow); woven plant fiber baskets and sieves (yellow, white); mud and plaster used in granary storehouses and silos (yellow, buff); and wooden containers, structural elements of buildings and musical instruments (red). All but one of the bases of the serving statuettes and group models made of wood from Naga ed-Deir are painted black on top (one priest statuette has a red base). This black paint may be a rendering of the ground upon which the figures walked, or, perhaps, was just a conventional use of this color. The limestone baker and harpist statuettes have yellow- and red-painted bases, respectively. The same basic four-color scheme was used on the Naga ed-Deir boat hulls and as structural and decorative elements on the boats, including stitching, gunwale stripes and papyrus bindings. Rarely, blue and green were included in the painted decoration of boat canopies,

papyrus ties and, in one instance, the hair of a boat crew member. Another model figure of unknown type from S.F.5203 (listed only in Appendix F) had traces of green pigment on it. Additionally, for one set of jars from N.69 and a tree from an unknown tomb (also only in Appendix F) blue and green colors were used to imitate faience composition and vegetation, respectively. The careful use of blue and green on just a few models at Naga ed-Deir is also typical for models from other sites; undoubtedly these colors were reserved for the most esteemed models. Analysis of red, yellow, black and white pigments on one Naga ed-Deir model revealed the same mineral compositions and plant gum binder found in comparable scientific examinations of painted wooden objects (including models) from other sites. Finally, excavators found scraps of linen wrappings in association with models in N.202, and wrapped around at least one figure in S.F.5203 (in Appendix F), suggesting some of the Naga ed-Deir models originally were enshrouded in cloth after being painted.

Three of Tooley's four core groups of models (i.e., boats, offering bearers and granaries) from Naga ed-Deir share datable and regionally distinct stylistic traits with models from various other sites, including Gebelein, Thebes, Asyut, Meir, Beni Hasan, Bersha and Sheikh Ibada. Specific boat features that proved to be chronological and/or regional markers were hull form, papyriform appendage design, mast types, stern structure and bow and steering gear attachments, and styles of steering and propulsion gear. Hair and clothing fashions, nudity and objects carried by female offering bearers also proved to be chronological markers, while only clothing style and nudity proved to be regional markers. Male porters themselves are regional markers for Middle Egypt. Unfortunately, the surviving corpus of Naga ed-Deir granary storehouses proved to be too incomplete to identify Tooley's diagnostic dating markers. Stylistic features of Naga ed-Deir granaries that have regional affiliations with Upper and Middle Egypt include the corner angle peaks of one storehouse and the domed silo form of three models. Finally, in my own research I noted that beards worn by male figures in two of the four core model groups, boats (from N.263, S.F.170, S.F.64 and S.F.209) and kitchens (from N.263), could be chronological markers for the Middle Kingdom.

"Second Style" artistic features characterize the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period serving statuettes at Naga ed-Deir, and are shared by models from other provincial sites in these periods. There are, however, no identifiable artistic traits that typify the site as a whole, as Tooley found for Gebelein. Furthermore, as Tooley also observed at other sites, there is a range in model quality among and within Naga ed-Deir tombs of the same date. Evidence for different artists or ateliers manufacturing models for the same burials consists of variations in painting techniques and styles of boats and human figures in scenes. At Naga ed-Deir, this evidence is found in three tombs: S.F.5201/5203 or S.F.5202 (boats); N.69 (offering bearer and porter statuettes); and N.3737 (boats, and figures from boats and kitchens). Each of these tombs had models made by more than one artist or atelier. Not only were these models made by different artists, but also likely were produced in different times, with the selection perhaps begun during the tomb owner's life and completed after death by his or her immediate heirs, as suggested by Tooley for model sets from other sites. Conversely, there is evidence for the same artist or atelier producing models for different patrons buried in separate graves. Stylistically similar models are found in six sets of tombs: S.F.5203 and N.105 (boats); N.3737 and N.3916 (boats); N.69 and N.89 (offering bearer and brewer statuettes); N.269 and NNN 100 (kitchen serving statuettes); N.263, S.F.25 and S.F.167 (figures from boats and kitchens, offering bearer); and S.F.167, N.9091, S.F.170 and S.F.209 (offering bearers and boat figures). Although the models

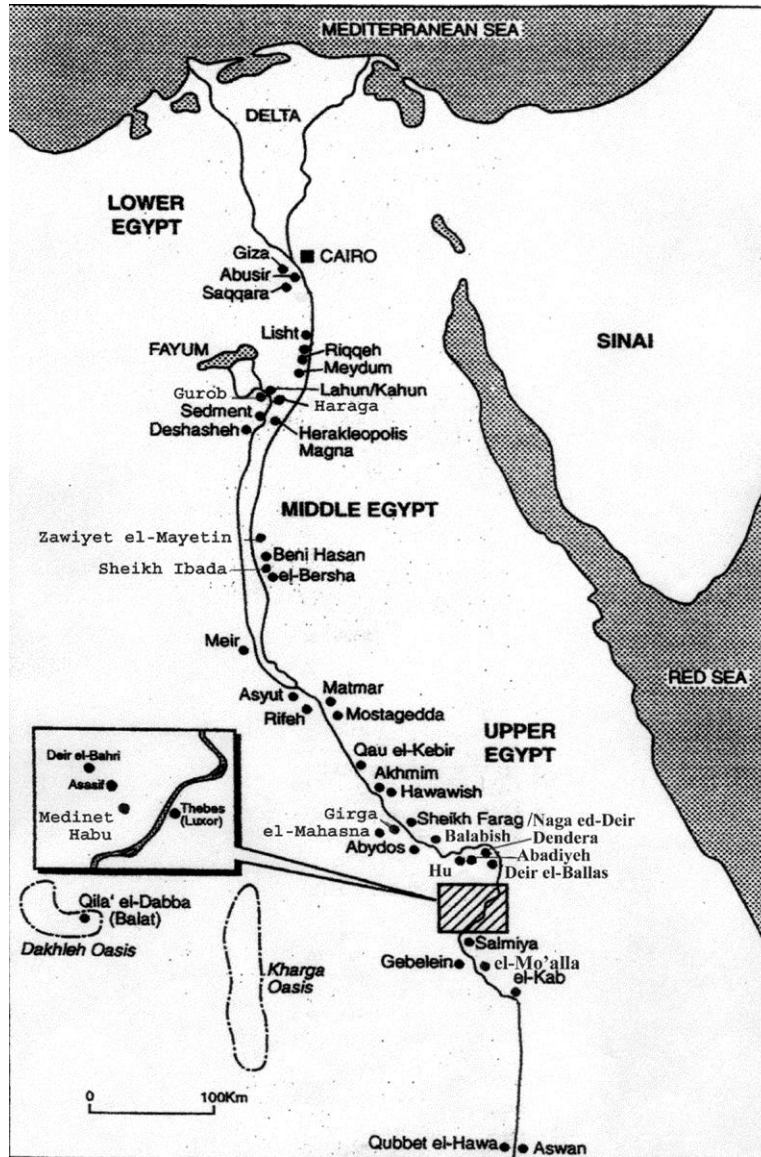
from tombs SF.167, N.9091, S.F.170 and S.F.209 have a date range of late Dynasty 11 to mid Dynasty 12, the similarities in the human figures could be the result of one workshop continuing to produce stylistically similar models over an extended period of time.

One aspect in which the Naga ed-Deir model corpus stands apart from those at other sites is the difference in quantities of models manufactured in different time periods. Tooley concluded from her evidence that the peak of model production and diversity was the early Middle Kingdom. In fact, at Naga ed-Deir the greatest variety of boat types does occur in the early Middle Kingdom. Overall, however, at Naga ed-Deir the greatest amount and range of models date to the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, not in the early Middle Kingdom. As mentioned above, several models at Naga ed-Deir are the earliest known examples of their respective types. There is little or no evidence for all four core model types surviving into the early Middle Kingdom at Naga ed-Deir. Instead, the model quantities actually decline over time. The estimated totals of complete and fragmentary models from Naga ed-Deir that were classified and dated in this study are: 46 models from the late Old Kingdom, 38 models from the First Intermediate Period, 21 models from the early MK, and 11 models from the late Middle Kingdom. Sixteen additional models derive from unrecorded (and in all but three cases, undatable) contexts. It is possible that some of these 16 models, in fact, date to the Middle Kingdom. A minimum of nine additional models from six early Middle Kingdom tombs could not be categorized because they either were not well-documented in Reisner's field records and/or because they were too fragmentary for analysis. However, even with this potential increase in the Middle Kingdom model corpus, the numbers still would be low compared to the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period material.

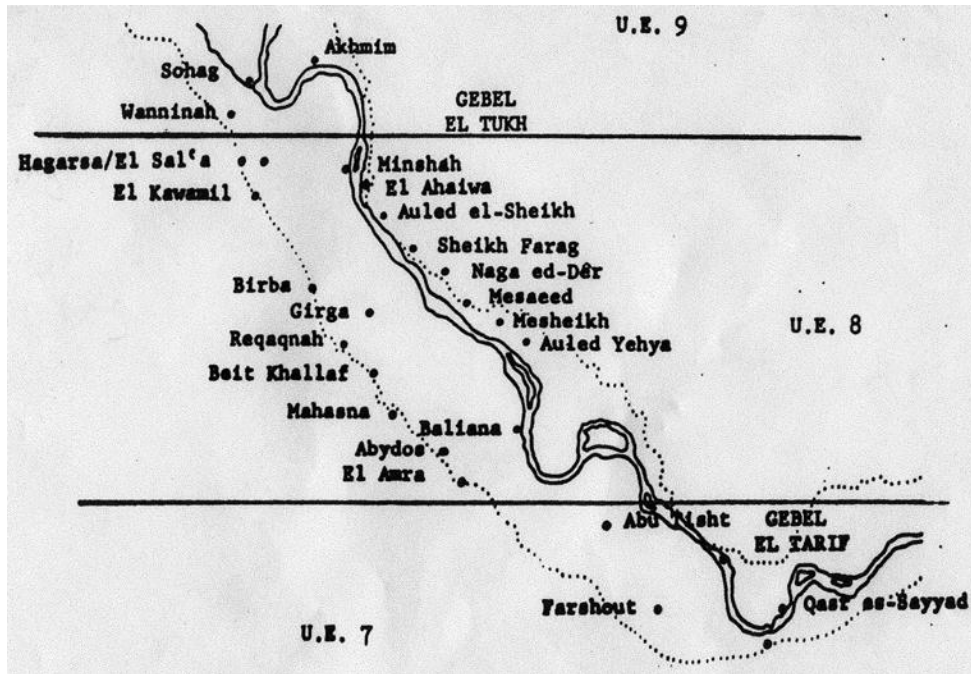
The extremely limited quantity of Middle Kingdom models from Naga ed-Deir is puzzling, given that the cemeteries remained in use throughout the 12th Dynasty (and into the early 18th Dynasty) for the residents of the Thinite nome. One plausible explanation for the lack of Middle Kingdom models is the shift in tomb location at Naga ed-Deir from the upper cliffs to lower (but in most cases, still prominent) elevations in older cemeteries N.100-400 and N.3500, and from the south and central parts of the site into the northern cemeteries of S.F.5000-5400, N.9000, S.F.200 and S.F.500, which are closer to the edge of modern cultivation. The Middle Kingdom tombs, therefore, would have been more susceptible to looting, quarrying, natural erosion and Nile flooding. Additionally, it is no coincidence that the four completely intact burials with models were shaft-and-chamber tombs, a pit tomb, and a *serdab*, all small size graves overlooked by both thieves in search of high quality funerary goods and prospective tomb owners hoping to economize by reusing existing tombs. In contrast, the majority of model-owners at Naga ed-Deir were interred in larger rock-cut graves, all of which were looted to some extent or reused, or both.

In conclusion, the extensive and well-documented corpus of tomb models from Naga ed-Deir, while sharing many similarities with models from other Middle and Upper Egyptian sites, also exhibits unusual and, in some cases, unique features in model types, forms, materials, artistic styles and quantities. In particular, it is the prevalence of a variety of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period model types that makes the tomb model repertoire from this provincial site so significant. Thus, my examination of the extensive and well-documented Naga ed-Deir tomb model corpus is significant because it fills a void in our knowledge of tomb model corpora in the northern region of Upper Egypt.

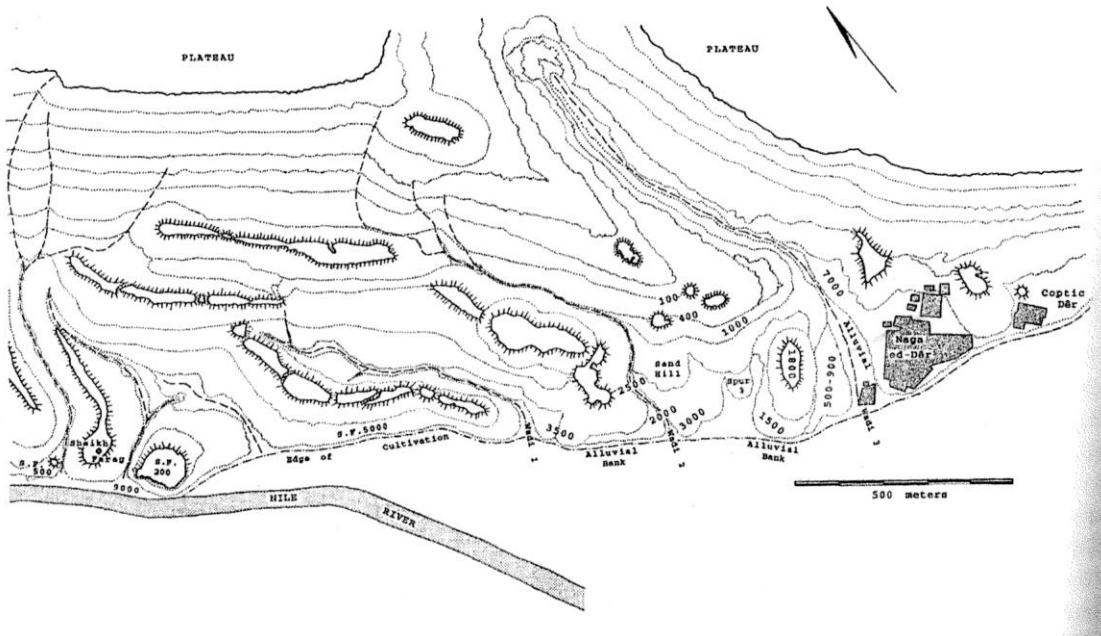
Illustrations



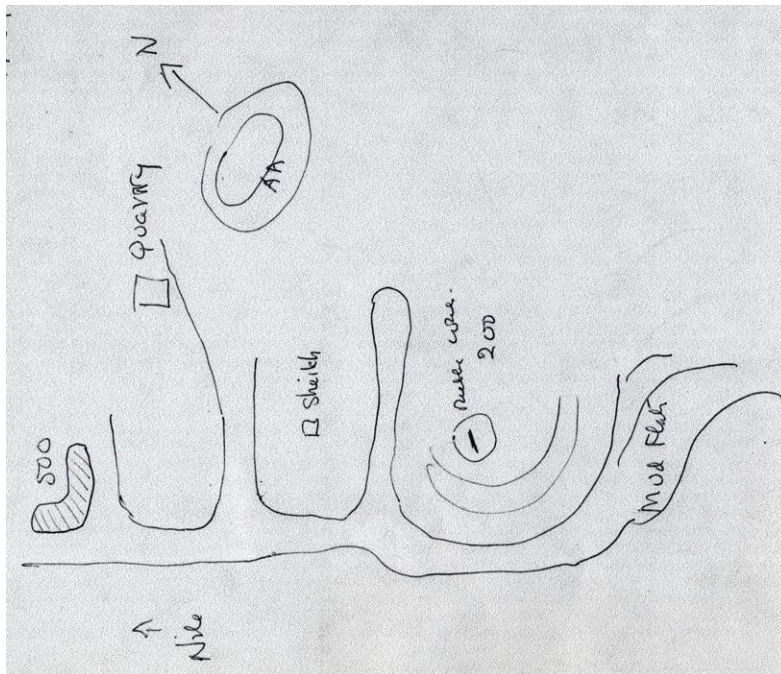
Map 1. Map of Egypt showing key sites mentioned in the text (after Tooley 1995: 66, Fig. 67)



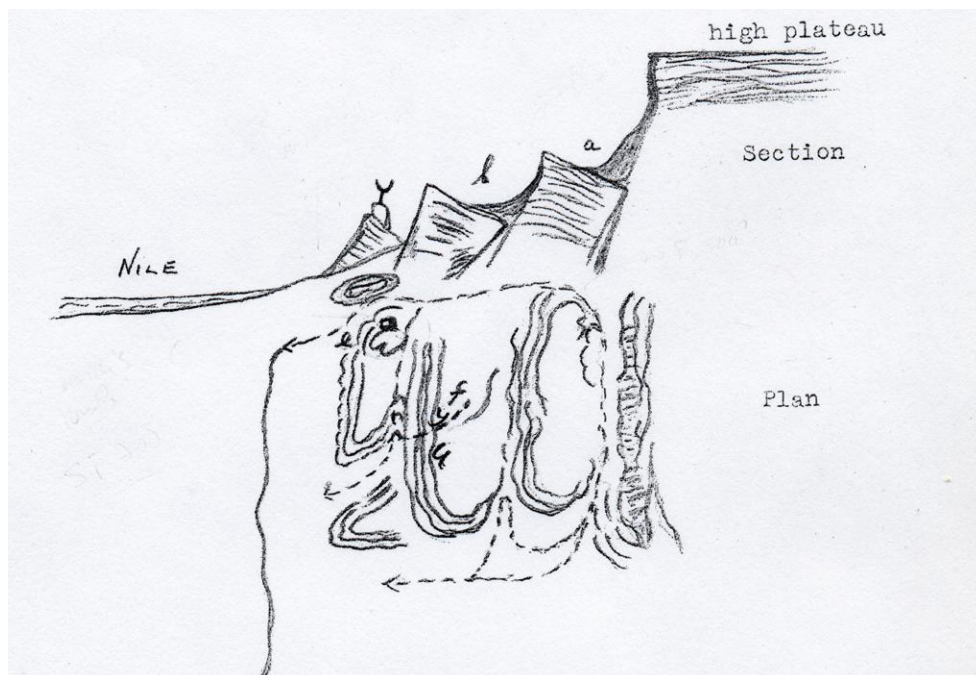
Map 2. The Thinite nome (Brovarski 1989: 1250)



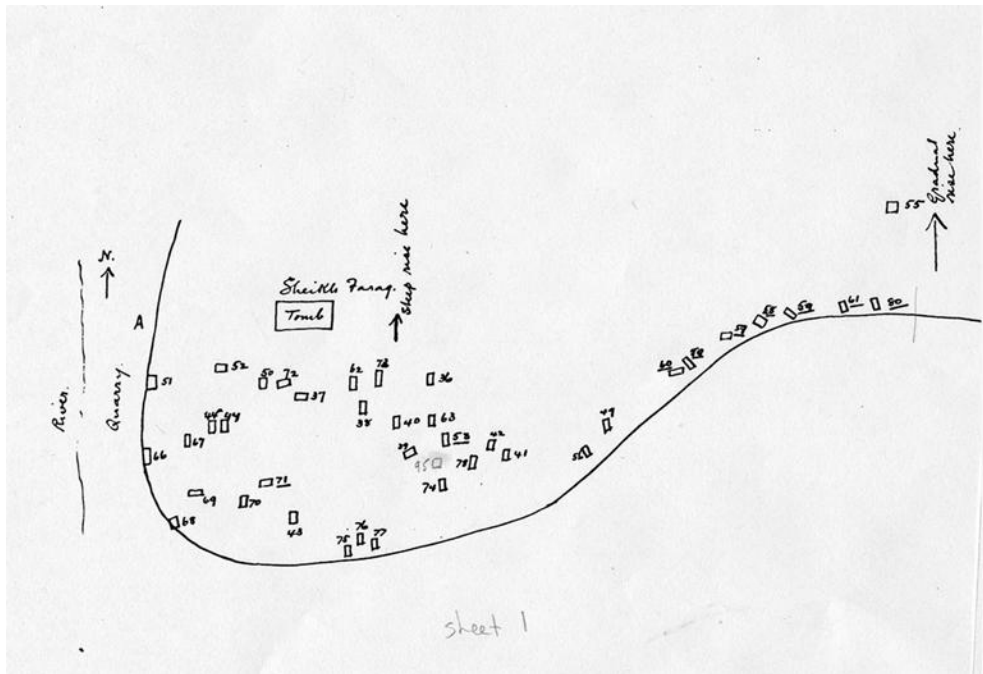
Map 3. Cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir (Podzorski 1999: 52, Fig. 82)



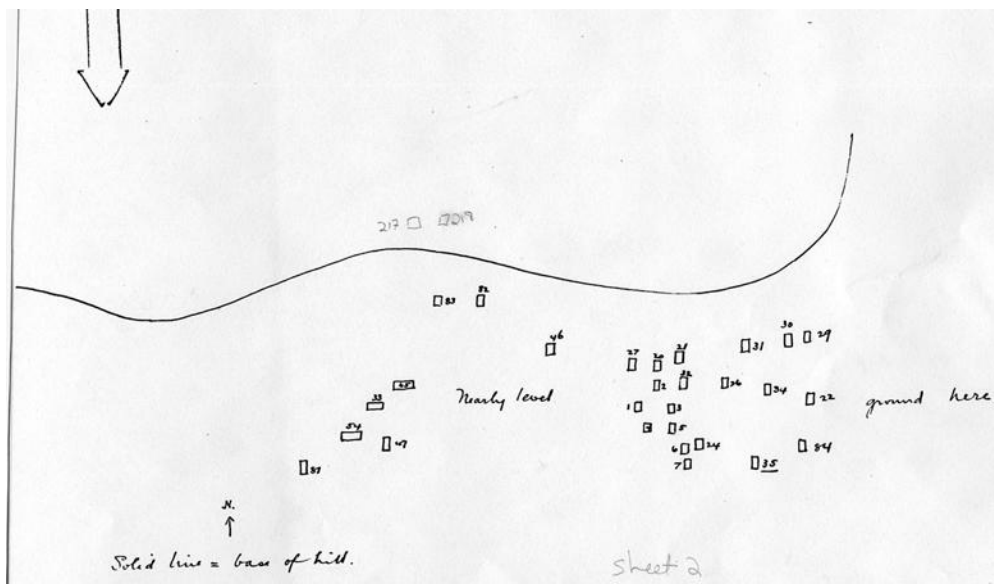
Map 4. Sheikh Farag cemeteries 200 and 500 (Dunham 1923-24a: 23)



Map 5. Sheikh Farag cemeteries (Green 1900-01: 7)



Map 6. Preliminary Map of Sheikh Farag cemetery 200 (West 1913a: 50, sheet 1)



Map 7. Preliminary Map of Sheikh Farag cemetery 200 (West 1913a: 50, sheet 2)



Fig. 1. Cemetery S.F.500, south slope looking north (Ex. Ph. B4597, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 2. General view from south of Sheikh Farag hill (Ex. Ph. A889, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 3. View of valley by Sheikh Farag (Ex. Ph. B883, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

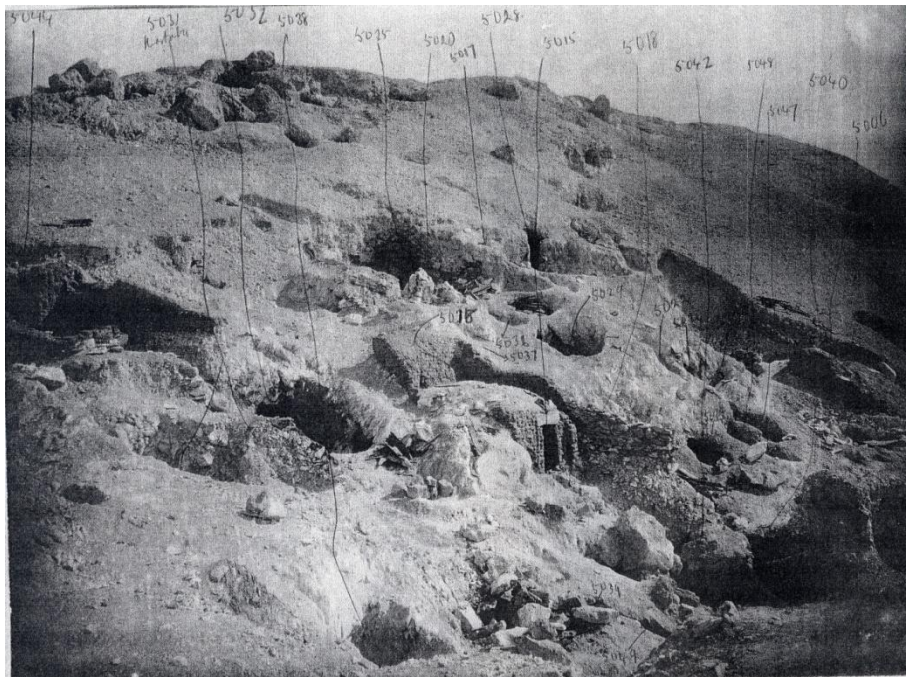


Fig. 4. View of cemetery S.F.5000, looking southeast, with entrances to S.F.5025 and S.F.5029 (Ex. Ph. A3261, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 5. Cemetery S.F.5200, looking south, with entrances to S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202 and S.F.5204 (Ex. Ph. B5071, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 6. View of site from Nile bank, cemeteries N.1000, N.3000 and N.3500 (Ex. Ph. C1955, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 7. Naga ed-Deir Hearst Expedition camp, with cemetery N.100-400 above (Ex. Ph. C1962, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 8. View of the slope in front of N.71, N.11 and N.111, looking west (Ex. Ph. C4314, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 9. Tombs N.101-103, with N.105 in the upper right (Ex. Ph. C4287, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology).



Fig. 10. Upper cliff face of cemetery N.3500, with exterior corner of N.3737 (Ex. Ph. A719, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 11. Southeast slope of cemetery N.100-400, showing entrance to N.202 (Ex. Ph. C4303, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 12. Beer brewer statuette and headrest at north end of coffin pit in N.89 (Ex. Ph. C11374, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 13. Wooden figures inside chapel entrance of N.3737, beside south wall (Ex. Ph. C122, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 14. Boat fragments and wooden figures in N.3737, southeast corner of chapel (Ex. Ph. C55, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 15. Wooden figures and copper model offering tables from granary along north wall of coffin pit in N.3737 (Ex. Ph. C778, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

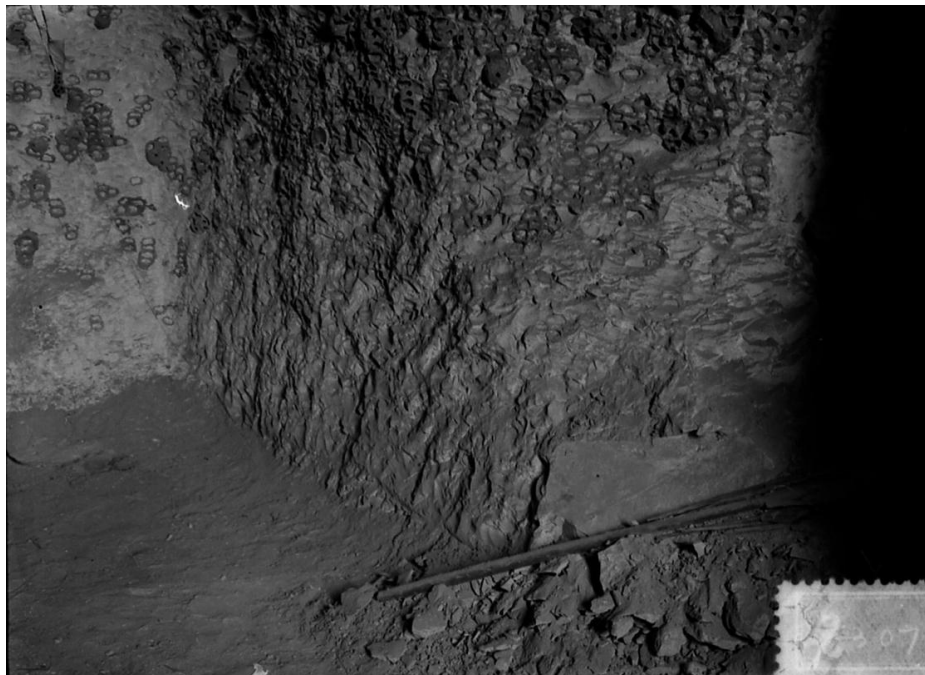


Fig. 16. Boat fragments against northeast wall of burial chamber in N.111 (Ex. Ph. C9307, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 17. Granary, porter statuette and boat fragments near north wall of chapel in N.3795 (Ex. Ph. C302, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

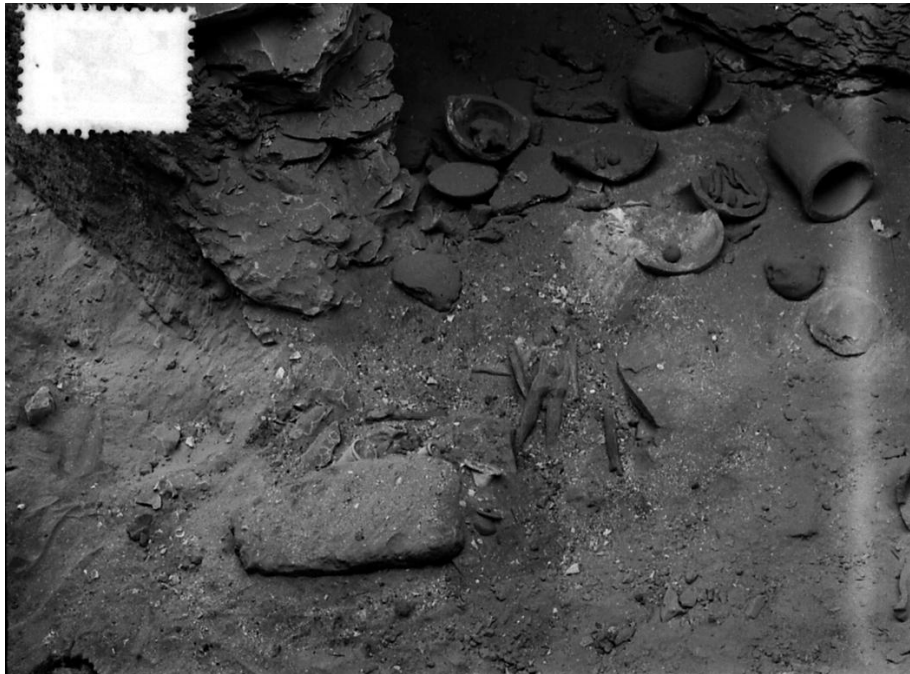


Fig. 18. Wooden figures and pottery in southwest corner of chapel in N.3579 (Ex. Ph. C200, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 19. Model boat in chamber A of N.4401 (Ex. Ph. C57, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 20. Wooden statuettes grouped around east end of coffin in N.43 (Ex. Ph. A4493, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 21. Burial chamber in N.89, showing decorated walls and coffin pit (Ex. Ph. B4473, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 22. View of burial chamber in N.3737, with coffin *in situ* (Ex. Ph. A718, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 23. Coffin and burial equipment as found in burial chamber of N.4172 (Ex. Ph. C763, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

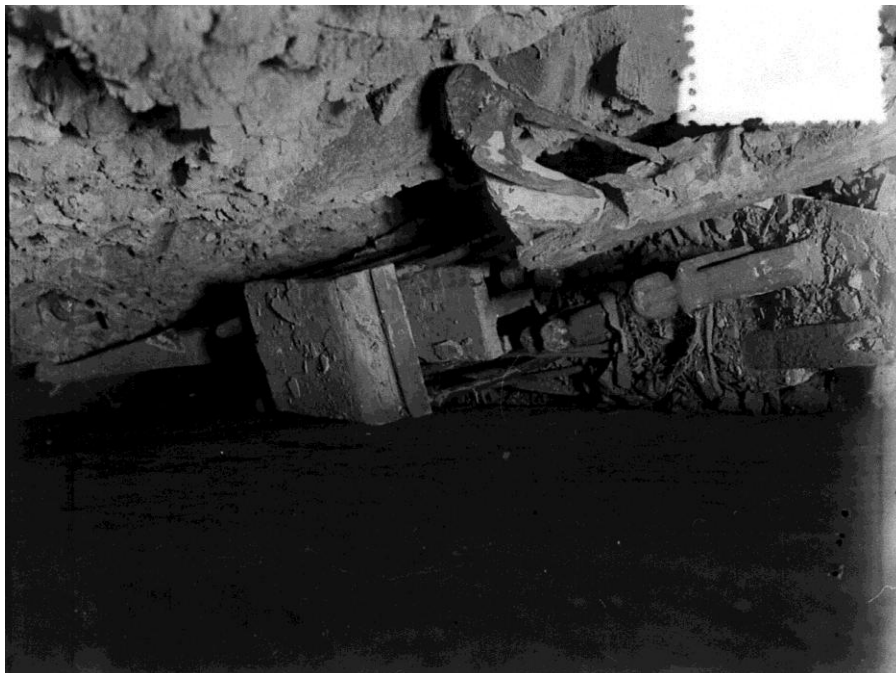


Fig. 24. Models situated between front of coffin and east wall of burial chamber in N.4172 (Ex. Ph. C764, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 25. Burial in N.3575 with model boat in position beside southeast wall (Ex. Ph. C313, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

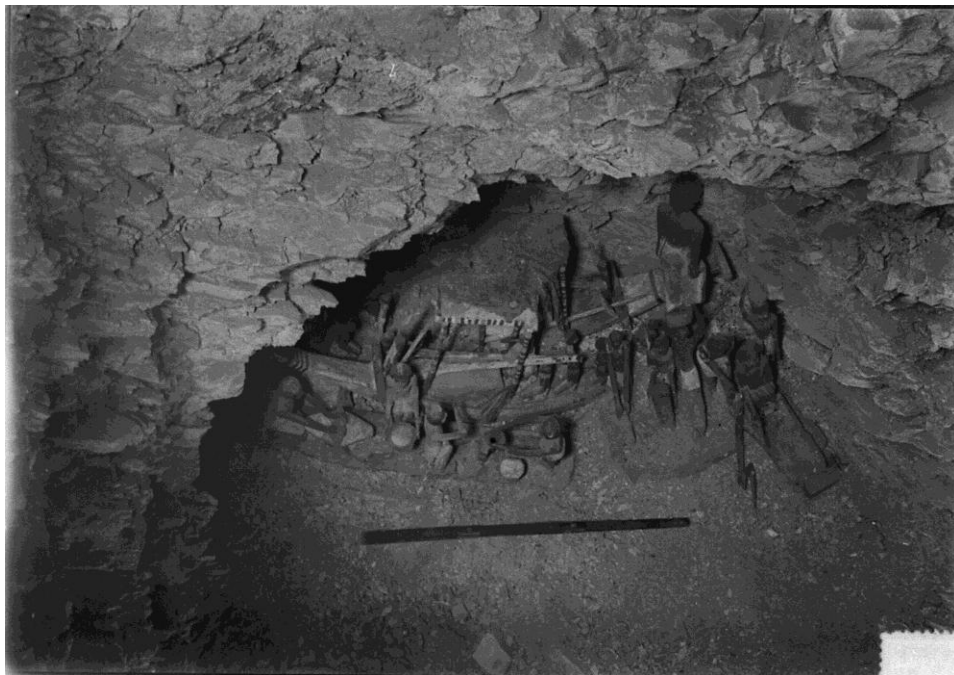


Fig. 26. Models as found inside niche N.202 (Ex. Ph. B4475, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

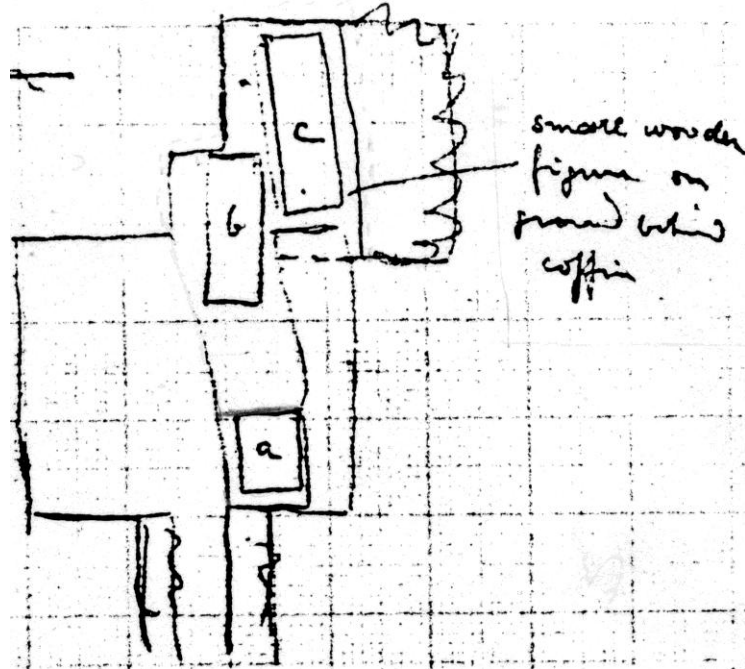
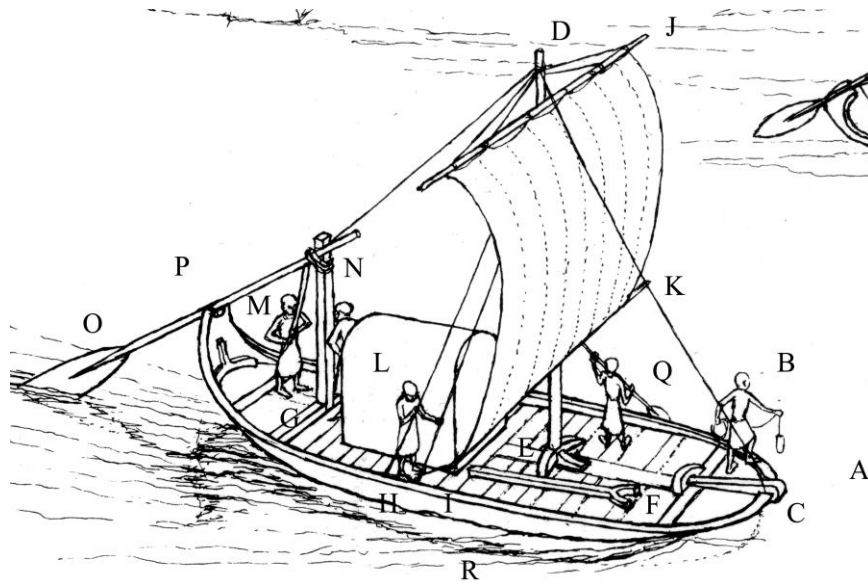


Fig. 27. Tomb plan of N.408 showing locations of model fragments around coffin "c"
(Reisner 1901-03b: 1)



a= bow; b= pilot, holding buffer; c= bowsprit; d= mast-head; e= mast-shoe; f= mast-fork;
g= thwart; h=bulwark; i=gunwales; j= yard; k= boom or lower yard; l= cabin; m= helmsman,
manning the tiller; n= rudder stanchion; o= rudder or steering oar; p= stern; q= port; r= starboard

Fig. 28. Egyptian Middle Kingdom boat, with key parts labeled (after Jones 1995: 47, Fig. 43)



Fig. 29. Wooden sandals, model figures and other objects from N.51 and N.71 (Ex. Ph. C8908, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 30. Small wooden objects from granaries, etc. from N.69, N.70 and unknown tombs (Ex. Ph. B10697, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 31. Rudder stanchions from N.69 (Cat. 1c-d) (Photograph by author)

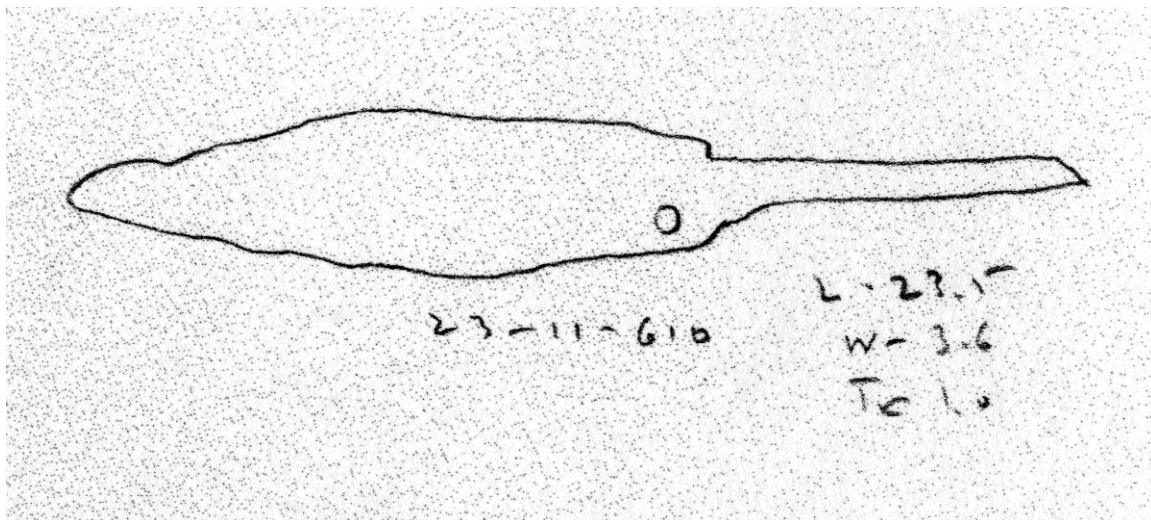


Fig. 32. Steering oar from S.F.5203 (Cat. 2a) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-610)

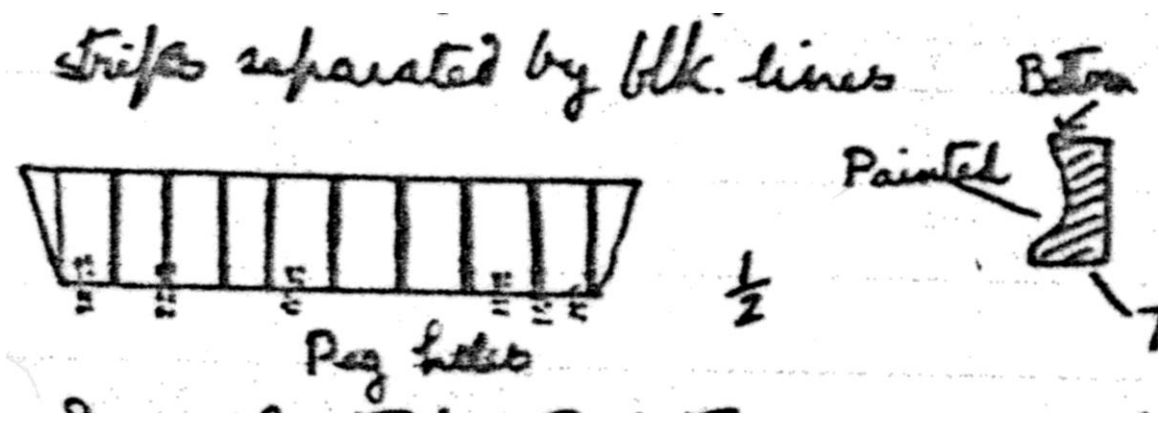


Fig. 33. Boat canopy roof trim from S.F.5202 (Cat. 3a) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-550a)

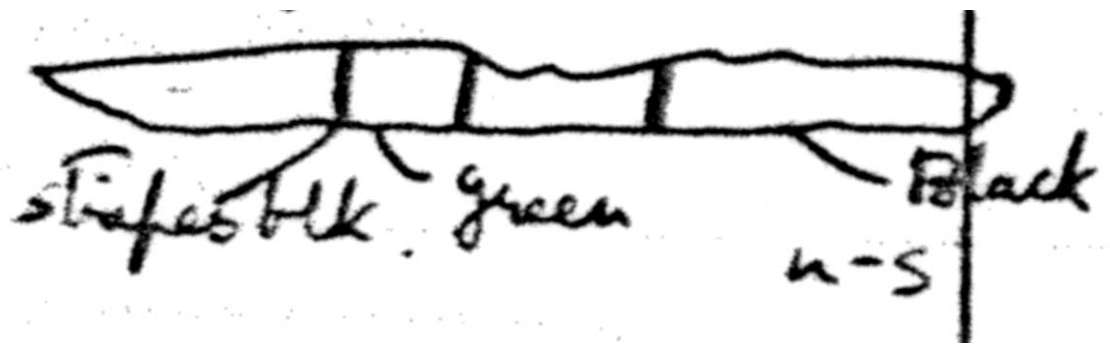


Fig. 34. Boat canopy support post from S.F.5202 (Cat. 3c) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-550c)



Fig. 35. Small wooden objects from granaries, etc. from N.283, N.241 and N.263 (Ex. Ph. B10698, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 36. Boat canopy support posts from N.241 (Cat. 5h-1) (Photograph by author)

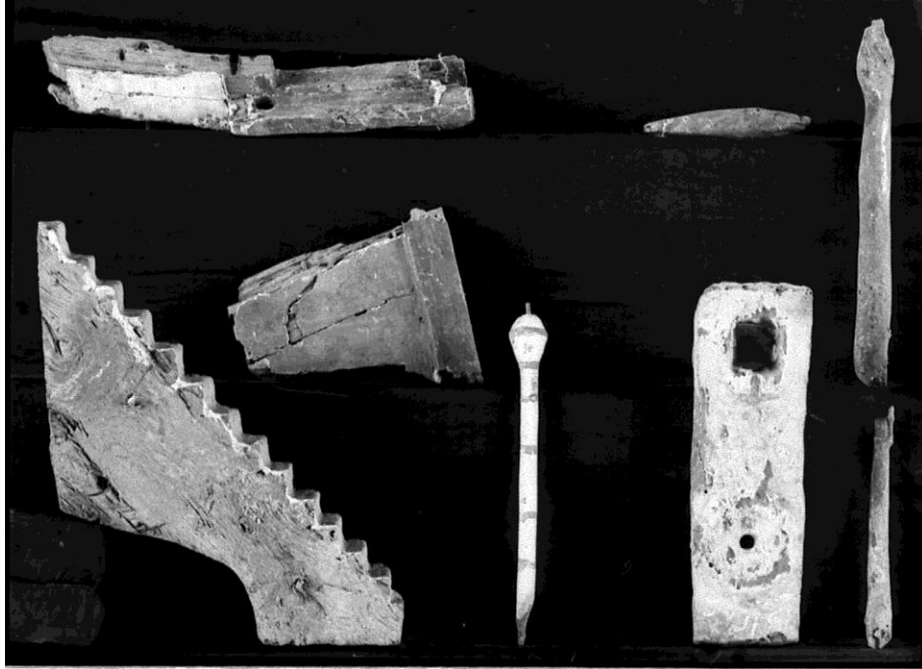


Fig. 37. Wooden models from N.105 and an unknown tomb (Ex. Ph. C8882, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 38. Wooden models and other objects from N.69 (Ex. Ph. B10699, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

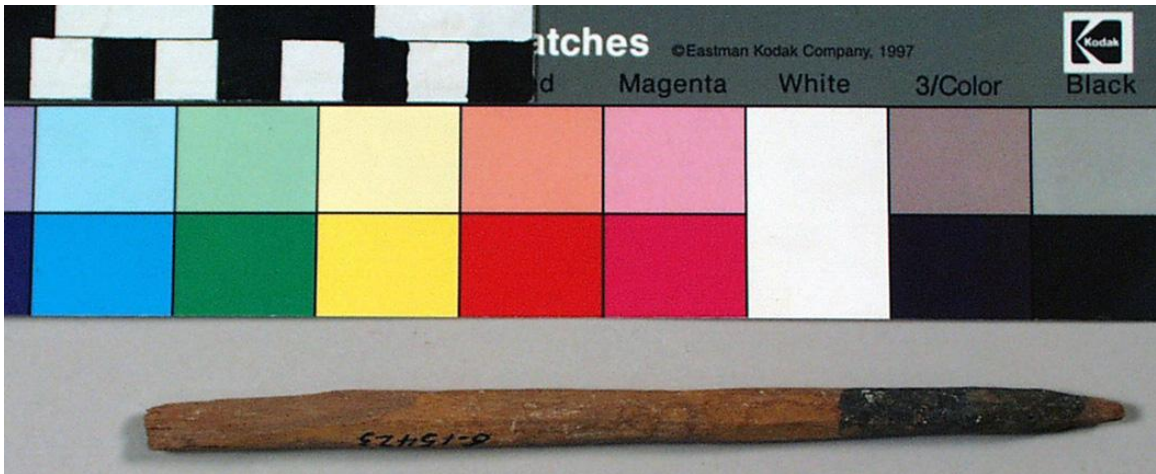


Fig. 39. Boat canopy support post from N.69 (Cat. 1b) (Photograph by author)

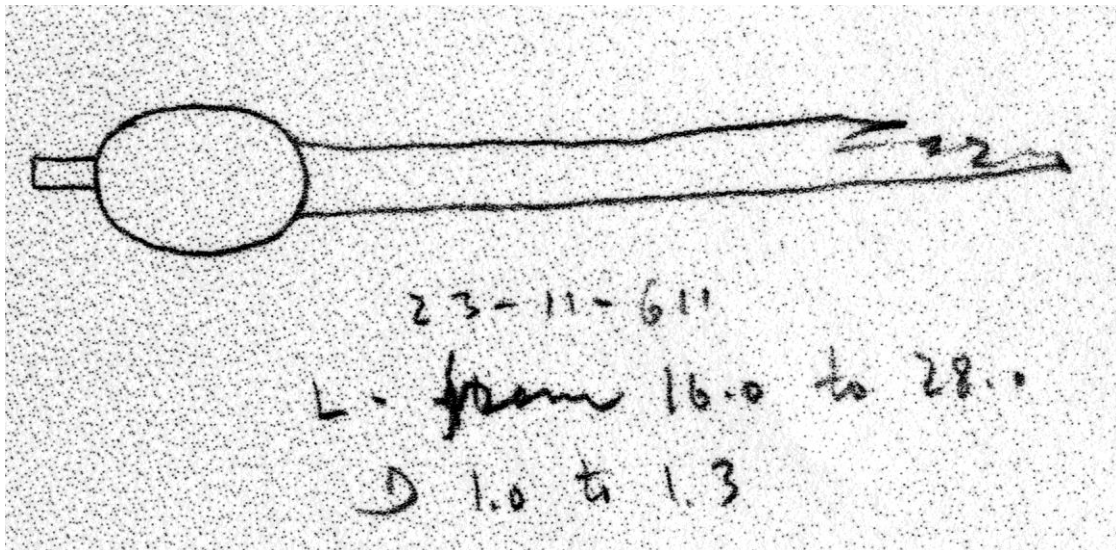


Fig. 40. Boat canopy support post from S.F.5203 (Cat. 2b) (Dunham 1923-24b:
Ob. Reg. 23-11-611)



Fig. 41. Limestone statuette and wooden figures from S.F.5201/5203, S.F.5202 and S.F.5214 (Ex. Ph. B5040, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 42. Wooden boat paddlers from N.241 (Cat. 5a-c) (Photograph by author)

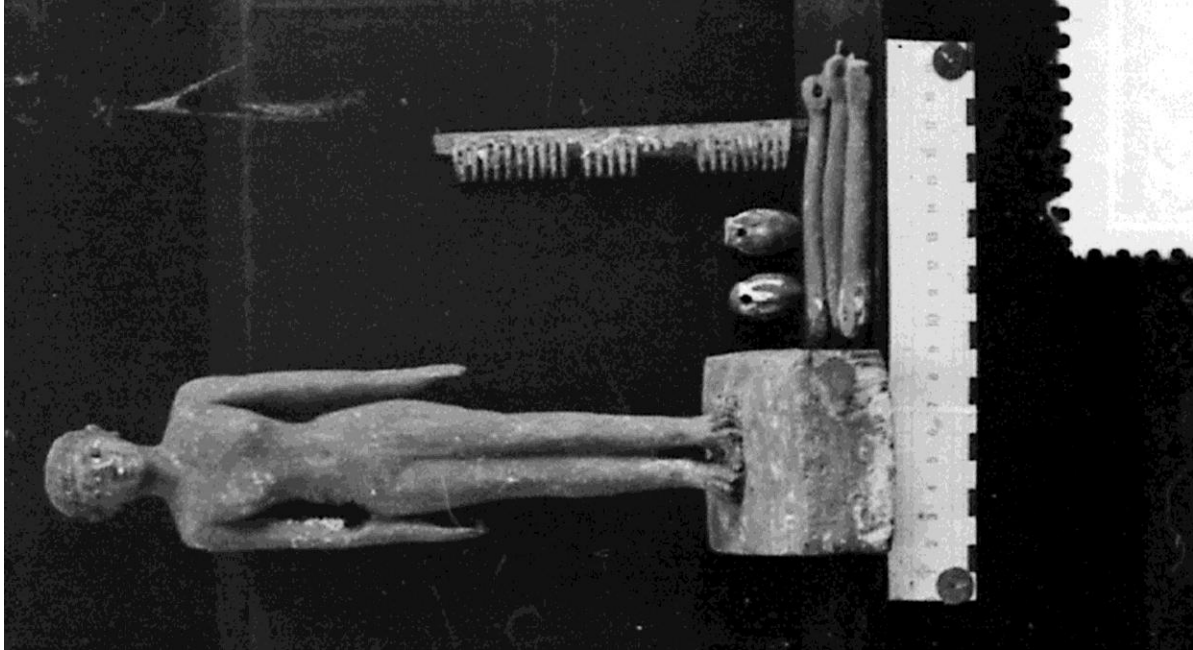


Fig. 43. Female statuette, wooden comb and model fragments from N.241 (Ex. Ph. C9590, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 44. Wooden boat figure from N.51 (Cat. 4a) (Photograph by author)

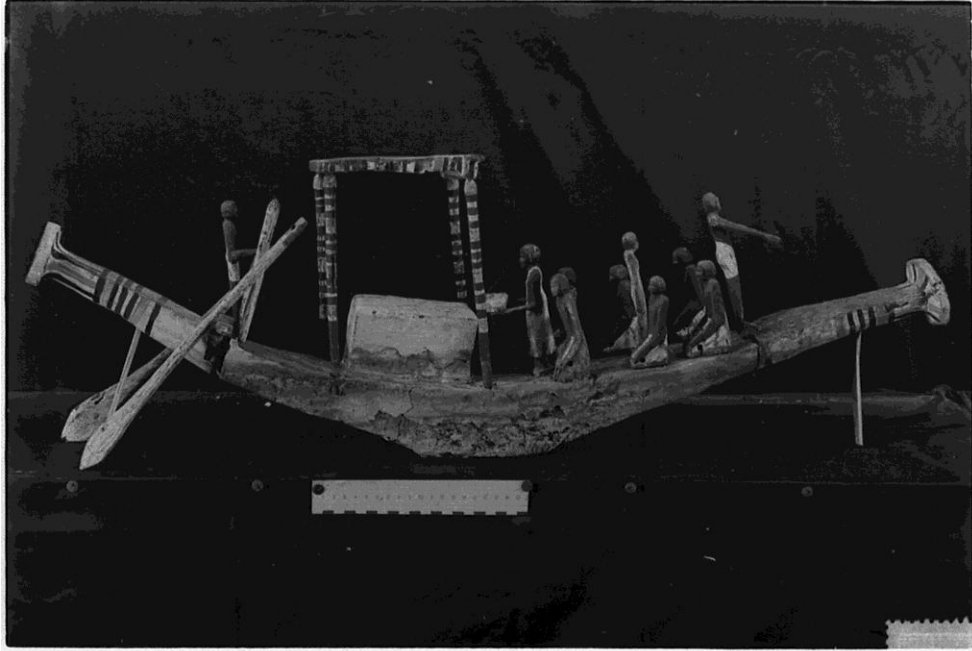


Fig. 45. Type IV rowed boat from N.202 (Ex. Ph. B4887, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

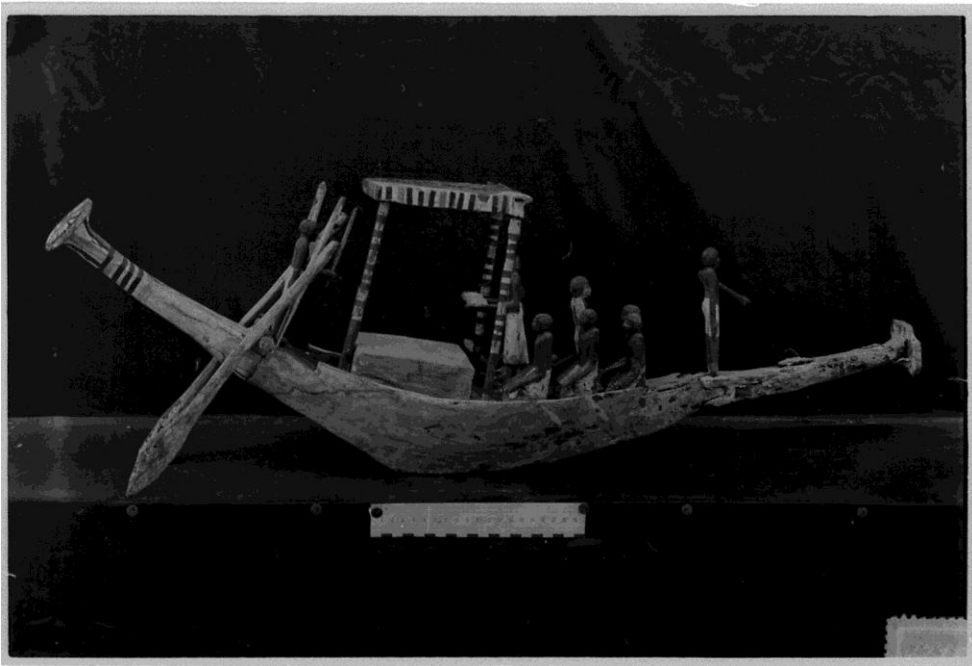


Fig. 46. Type IV rowed boat from N.202 (Ex. Ph. B4889, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 47. Type IV rowed boat from N.202, pilot missing (Cat. 28) (Photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 48. Rower from Type IV boat, N.202 (Cat. 27b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 49. Pilot from Type IV boat, N.202 (Cat. 28c) (Photograph by author)

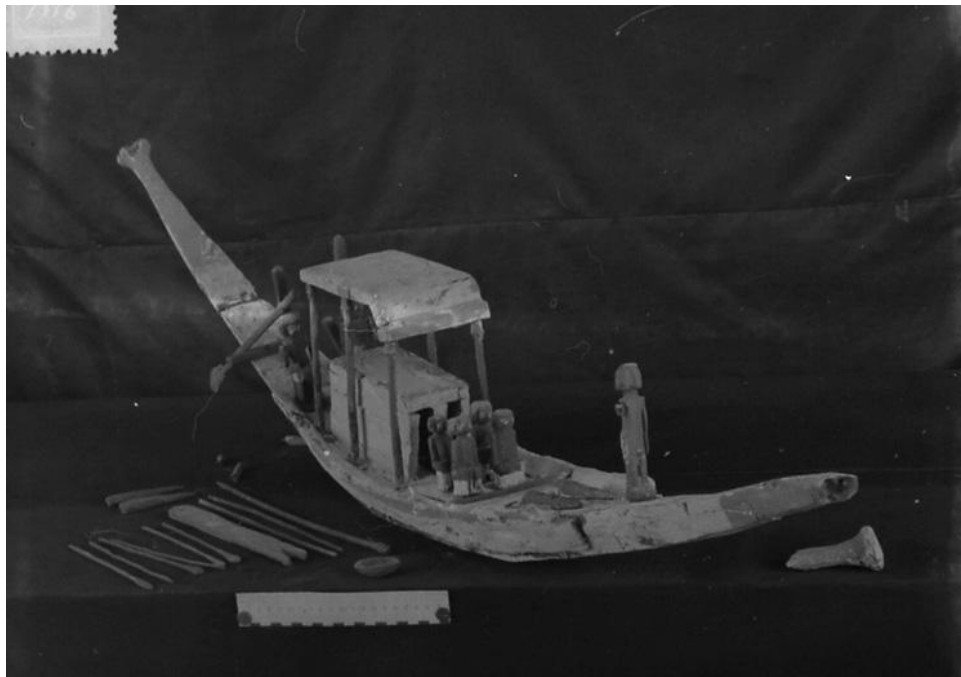


Fig. 50. Type IV sailed boat from N.4172 (Ex. Ph. B7116, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 51. Wooden boat model fragments and other objects from N.3737 (Ex. Ph. C8191, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 52. Papyrus umbels from Type IV boat, N.3737 (Cat. 8a-b) (Photograph by author)

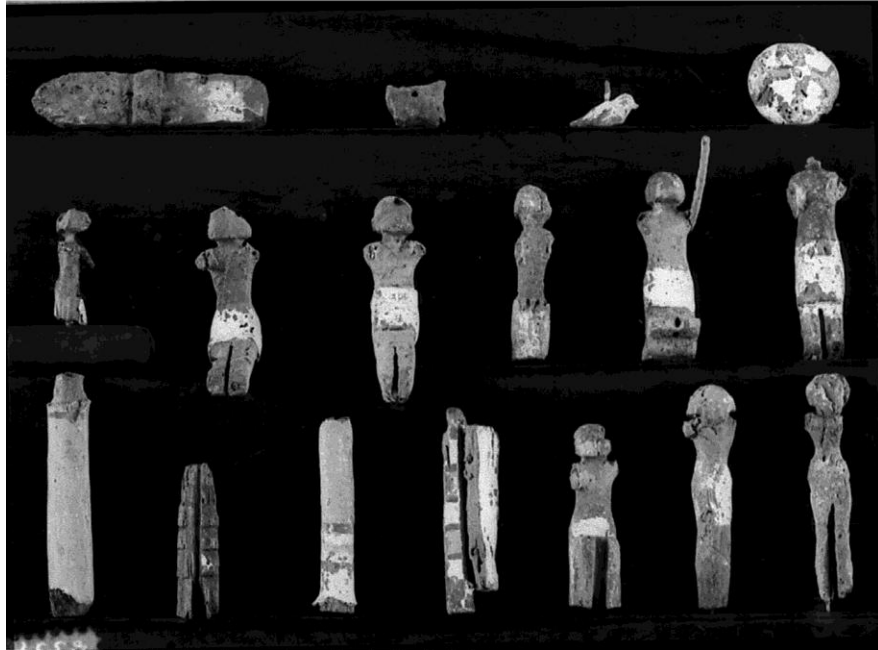


Fig. 53. Model boat fragments and other wooden figures from N.3916 (Ex. Ph. C8557, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

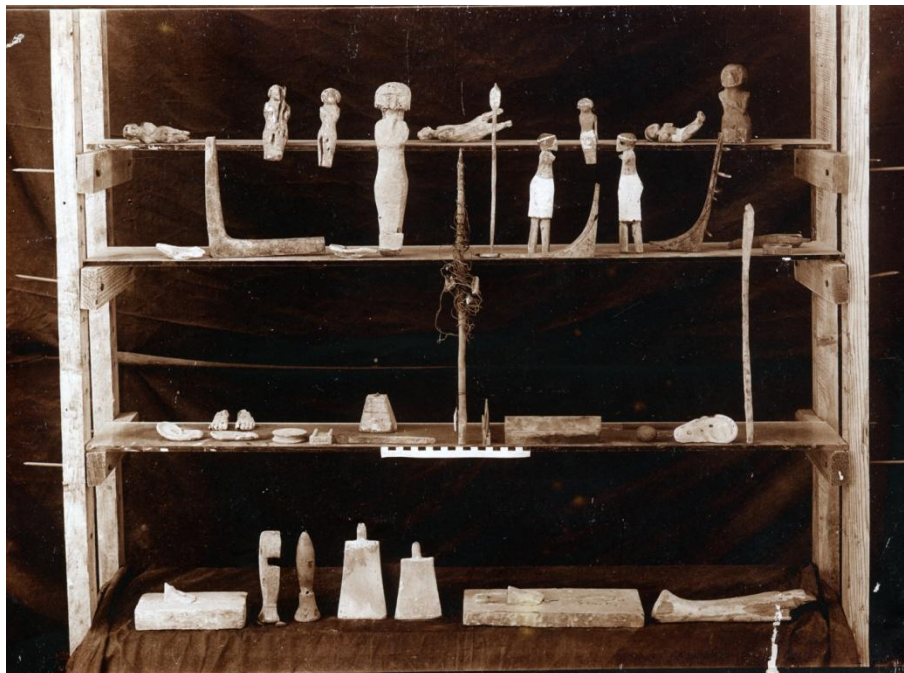


Fig. 54. Wooden model fragments from S.F.18, S.F.25 and S.F.209 (Ex. Ph. B1812, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 55. Broken prow from Type IV boat, N.3737 (Cat. 11a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 56. Fragments of Type IV rowed boat from N.3756 (Cat. 26a-b, d-i) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 57. Wooden boat model fragments, broken headrest and pottery from N.111
(Ex. Ph. C9308, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

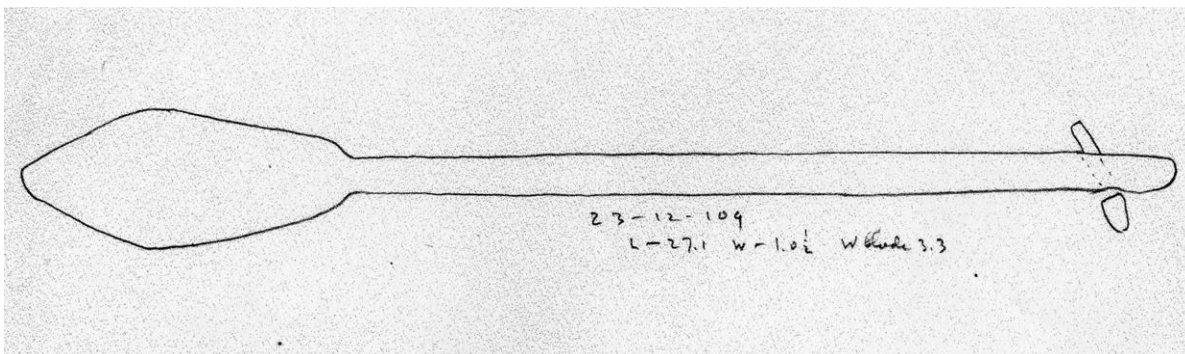


Fig. 58. Wooden steering oar from S.F.5214 (Cat. 18) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-12-109)



Fig. 59. Wooden models from N.3795 (Ex. Ph. C8177, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 60. Canopy, rowers and steering oar from Type IV boat, N.3795 (24a-b, d-j) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 61. Wooden rowers from N.3795, front view (Cat. 24a-c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 62. Boat canopy roof from N.3737 (Cat. 8c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 63. Boat canopy roof from N.3737 (Cat. 11b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 64. Boat canopy support posts from N.3737 (Cat. 9, 10e-f, 11c-d) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 65. Wooden models and cosmetic containers from N.3756 and N.3579 (Ex. Ph. C8176, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 66. Steering oars from N.3737 (Cat. 14a-d) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 67. Rudder stanchions from N.3737 (Cat. 14e-h) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 68. Cross-bar to support double rudders from N.3737 (Cat. 14i) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 69. Mooring stakes from N.3737 (Cat. 13a-d) (Photograph by author)

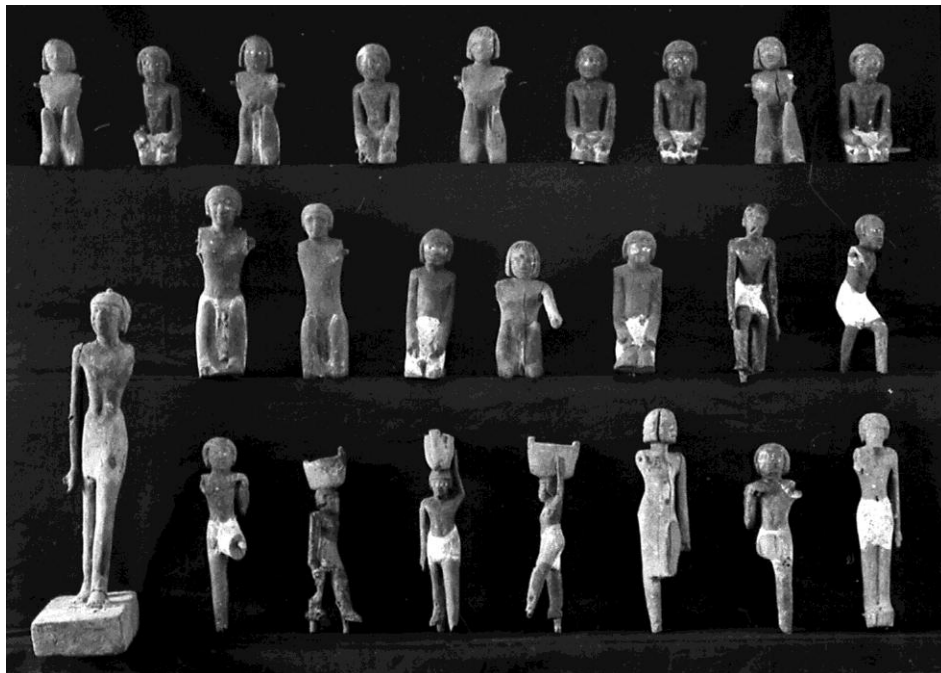


Fig. 70. Wooden model figures from N.3737 (Ex. Ph. B8120, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 71. Wooden rowers from N.3737 (Cat. 15a-g) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 72. Wooden oars from N.3737 (Cat. 15h-o) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 73. Wooden rowers from N.3737 (Cat. 16a-e) (Photograph by author)

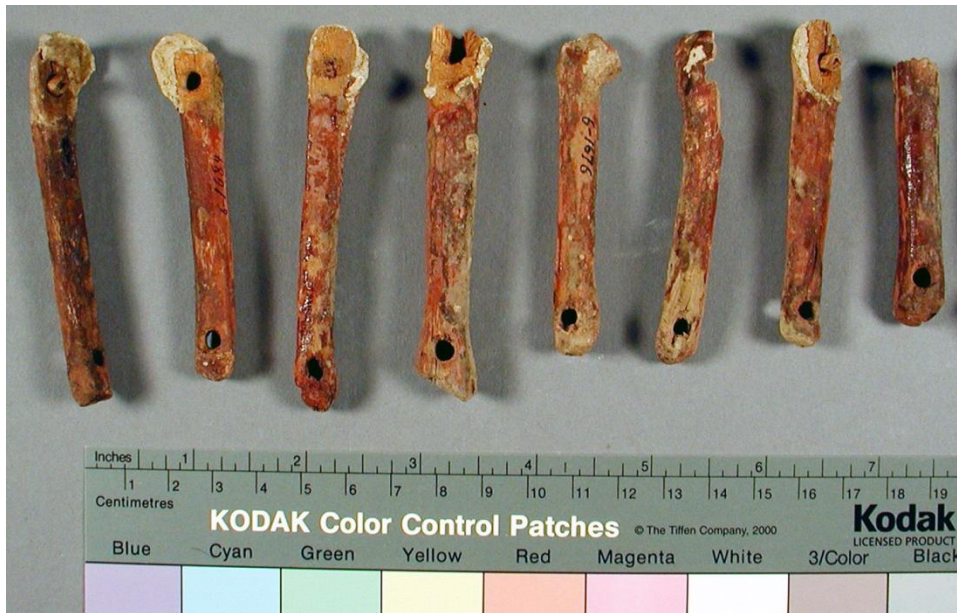


Fig. 74. Rowers' arms from N.3737 (Cat. 16f-m) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 75. Wooden boat pilots from N.3737 (Cat. 16n, 17c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 76. Wooden boat punters from N.3737 (Cat. 17a,b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 77. Mast-shoes for bipod mast from N.3737 (Cat. 12c-f) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 78. Boat mast and yard from N.3737 (Cat. 12a-c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 79. Rower from N.3567 (Cat. 21) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 80. Rower from N.3769 (Cat. 22) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 81. Type IV/V model boat from N.4003 (Cat. 31a-e) (Photograph by author)

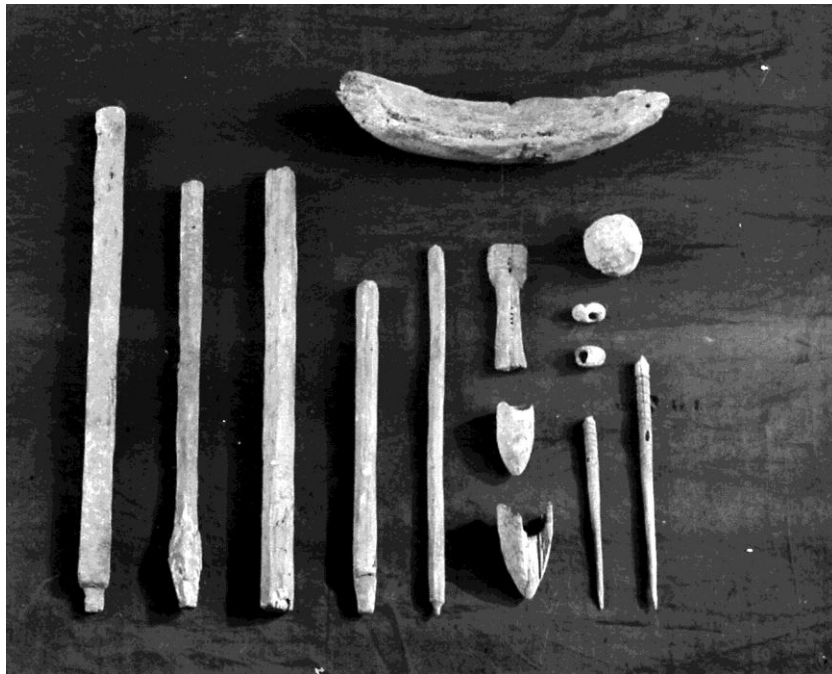


Fig. 82. Wooden furniture fragments, boat model and other objects from N.4401 (Ex. Ph. B8121, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 83. Type II/viii boat from N.4401 (Cat. 34) (Photograph by author)

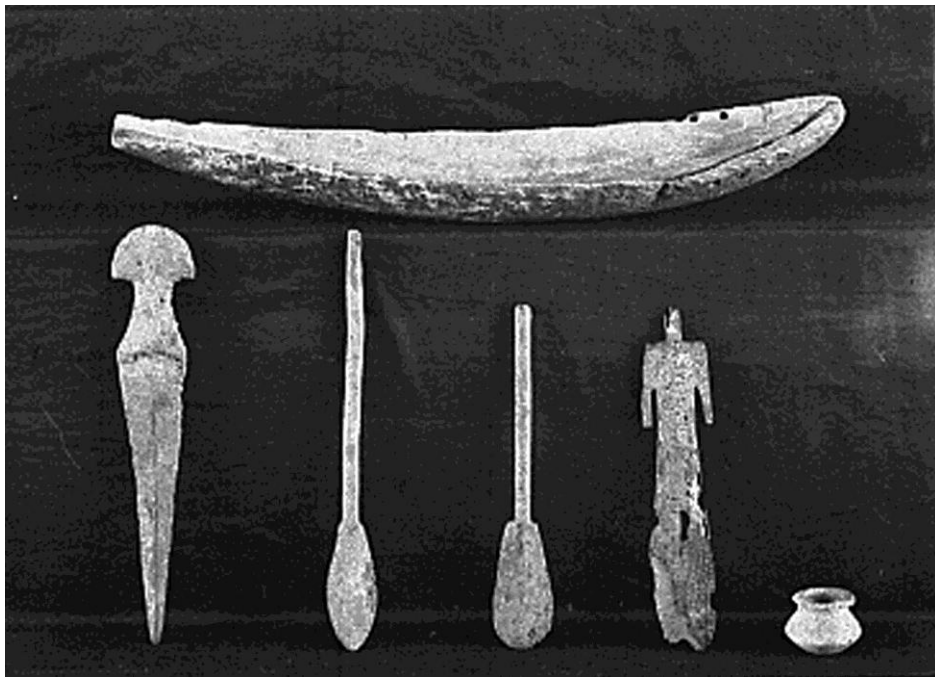


Fig. 84. Wooden model boat, dagger, paddle doll and cosmetic jar from N.449 (Ex. Ph. C8897, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 85. Type VIII boat and two steering oars from N.449 (Cat. 45a-c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 86. Seated rowers and boat owner from a Type II boat from N.263 (Cat. 38a-i, 41b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 87. Wooden mallet from S.F.5010 (Cat. 32) (Photograph by author)

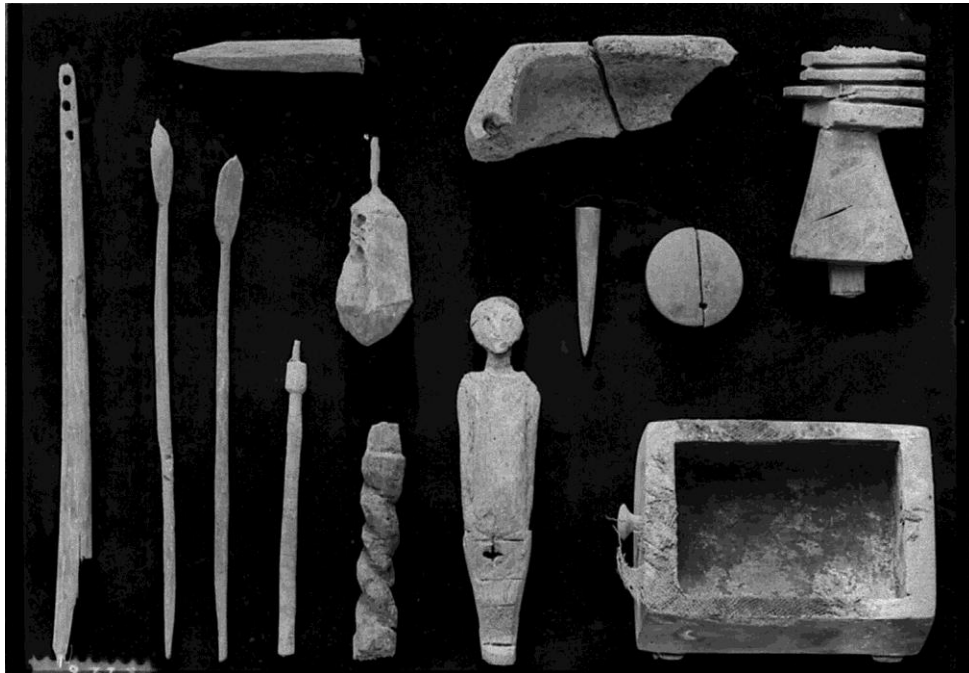


Fig. 88. Wooden box, furniture and boat model fragments from N.9090 (Ex. Ph. C8226, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

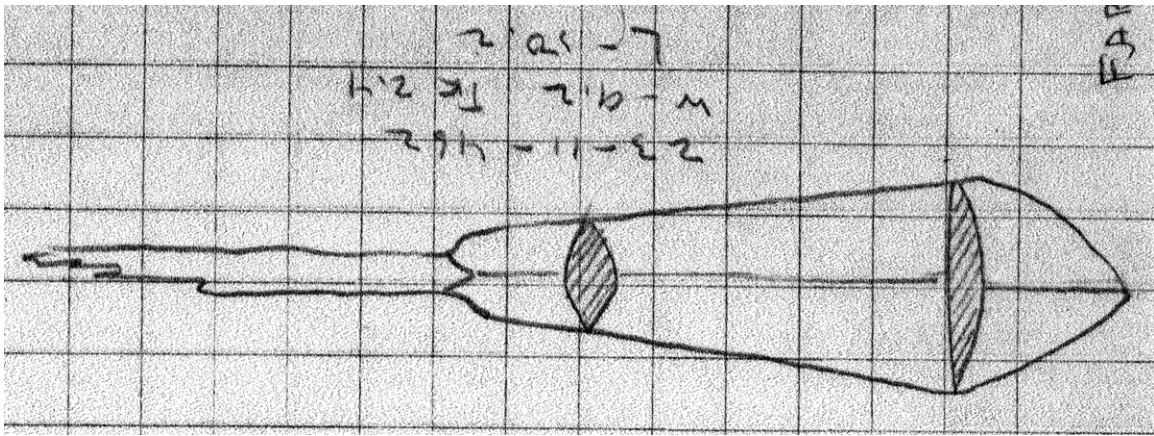


Fig. 89. Steering oar from S.F.5021 (Cat. 29) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-462)



Fig. 90. Steering oar from N.263 (Cat. 37a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 91. Squatting male figures from N.263 (Cat. 39a-j) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 92. Standing male figures from sailed boat and bakery-brewery scene from N.263 (Cat. 40a-e, 41a, and 129a-d) (Photograph by author)

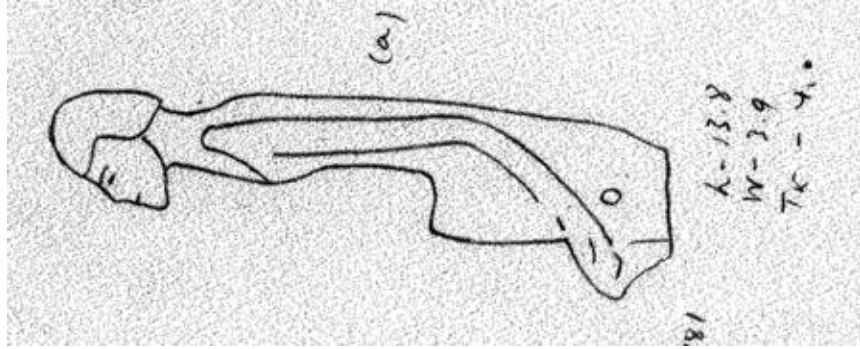


Fig. 93. Wooden rower from S.F.5025 (Cat. 30a) (Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-181a)

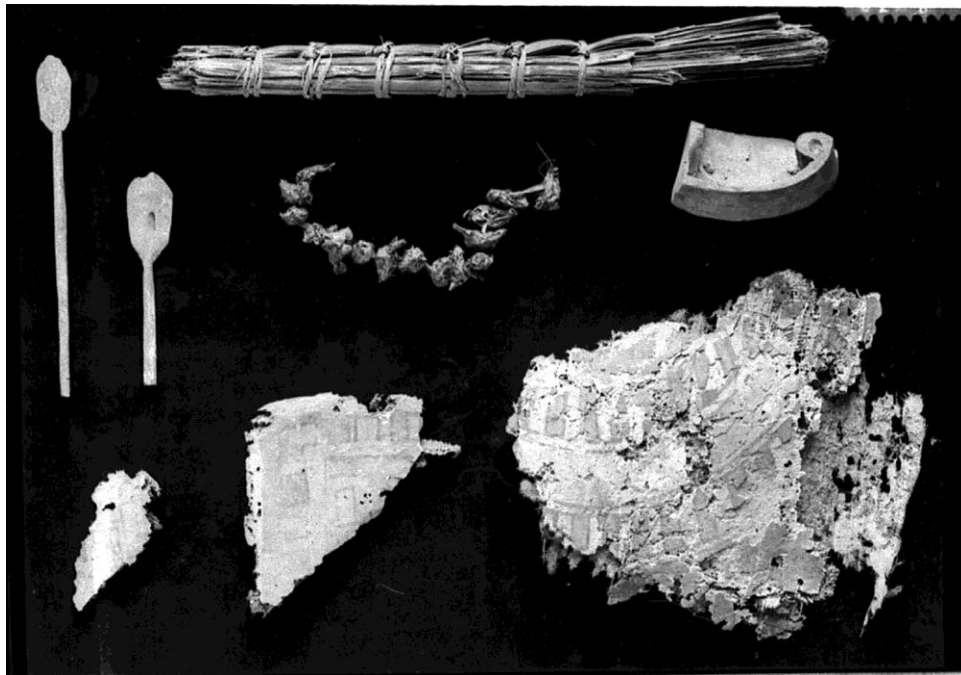


Fig. 94. Cartonnage, boat fragments and other objects from N.9292 (Ex. Ph. C8228, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 95 Wooden oar (near N.110), coffin and cartonnage fragments (N.431) and parts of serving statues (N.269) (Ex. Ph. C8993, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

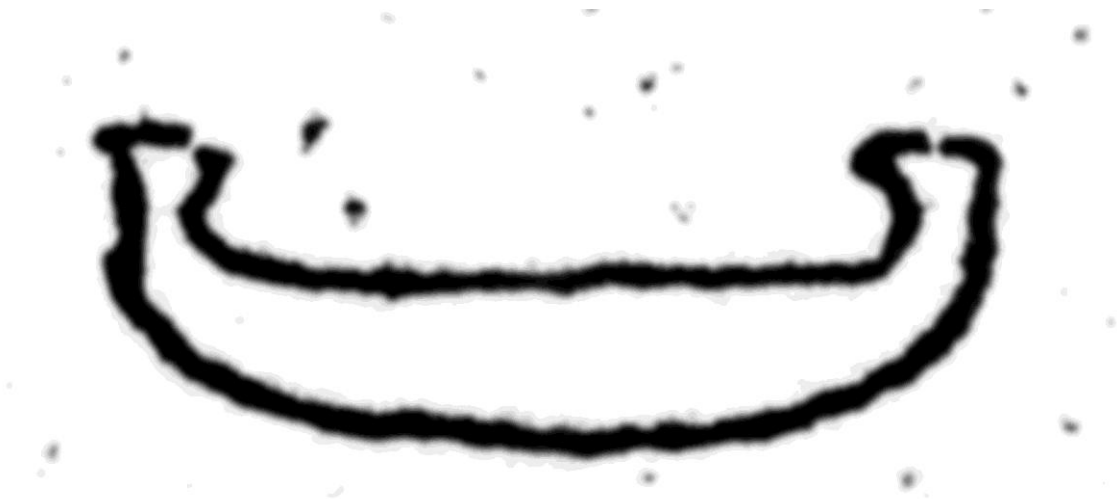


Fig. 96. Clay hollow Type V boat from N.3575 (Cat. 46) (Mace 1901-03b: 20)



Fig. 97. Type VII divine bark from S.F.218 (Cat. 53) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 98. Fragmentary Type II and V wooden boats from S.F.170 (Ex. Ph. B1896, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 99. Wooden boat figures, offering bearers, etc. from S.F.64, S.F.209, S.F.25, S.F.167, S.F.170 and S.F.187 (Ex. Ph. A938, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 100. Seated boat owner from S.F.170 (Cat. 50e) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 101. Model boat figure with crossed arms from S.F.64 (Cat. 47) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 102. Model fish from a sporting boat(?) (Cat. 54) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 103. Canopy support fragment from unknown tomb (Cat. 56) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 104. Female offering bearer from N.69 (Cat. 57a-e) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 105. Duck from female offering bearer statuette, N.69 (Cat. 58a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 106. Basket from female offering bearer statuette, N.69 (Cat. 58b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 107. Left forearm of female offering bearer statuette, N.69 (Cat. 58c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 108. Round-topped chest from female offering bearer statuette, N.69 (Cat. 59)
(Photograph by author)

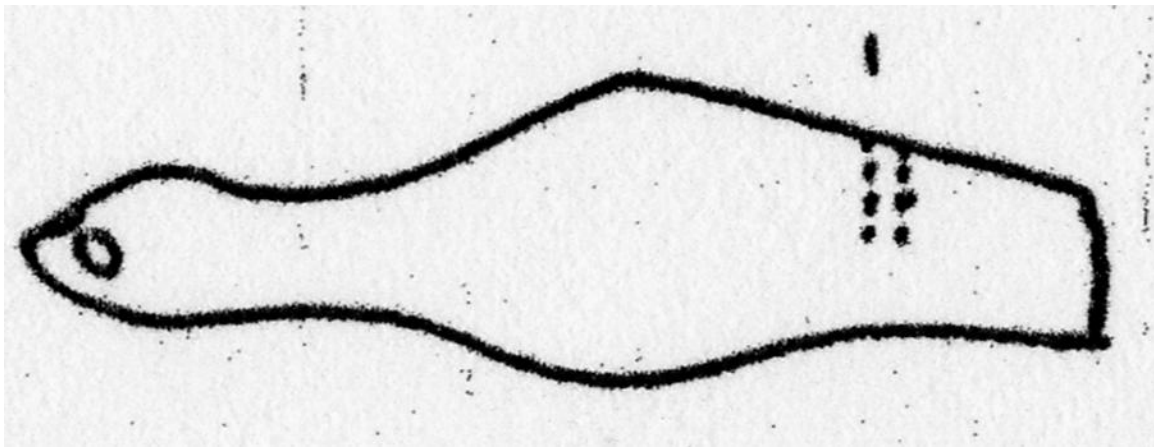


Fig. 109. Torso of wooden female offering bearer statuette from S.F.5203 (Cat. 66)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-597)



Fig. 110. Fragments of large female offering bearer statuette from N.241 (Cat. 69a-d)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 111. Small female offering bearer statuette from N.241, front view (Cat. 70a,b)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 112. Small female offering bearer from N.241, back view showing pigtail (Cat. 70a,b)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 113. Fragments of male porter carrying an ox haunch from N.69 (Cat. 61a-c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 114. Arms from a male porter statuette from N.69 (Cat. 62a,b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 115. Male porter statuette from N.69 (Cat. 63) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 116. Two globular water jars originally carried on yoke by male porter from N.69 (Cat. 64a,b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 117. Miller, porter and duck roaster statuettes from N.43 (Ex. Ph. B4883, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

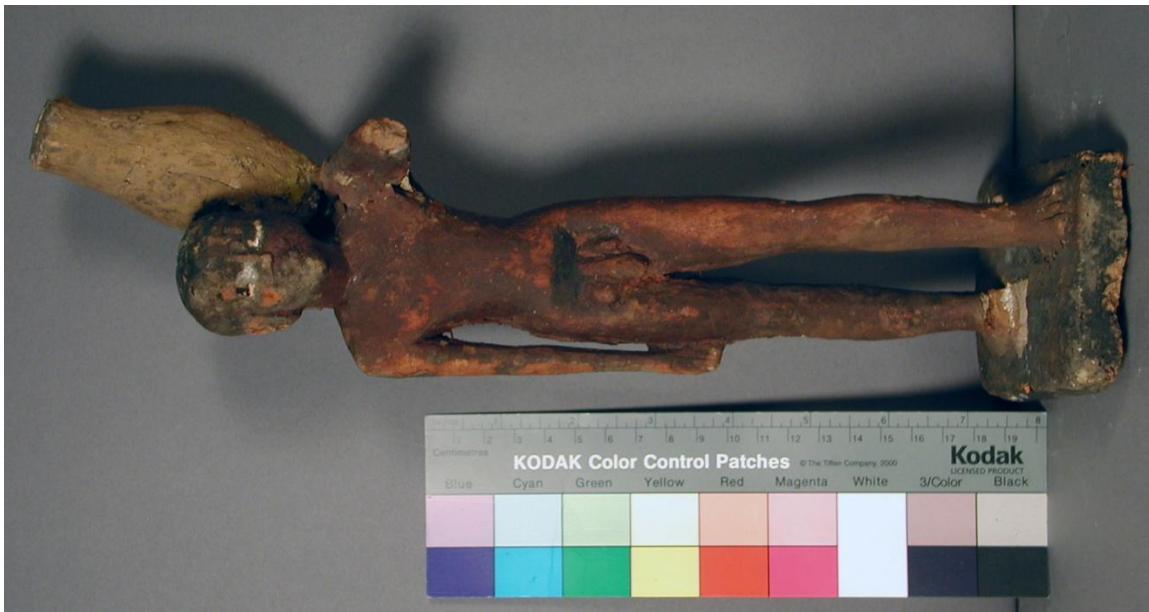


Fig. 118. Male porter statuette from N.43 (Cat. 68) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 119. Base of male porter procession scene from N.69 (Cat. 60) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 120. Five model faience jars carried on yokes by porters from N.69 (Cat. 65a-e) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 121. Fragments of male porter carrying an ox haunch from N.241 (Cat. 71a-e)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 122. Small limestone ox haunch carried by porter(?) from S.F.5210 (Cat. 72)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-12-15)



Fig. 123. Offering bearer's basket and arm from N.3737 (Cat. 73a,b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 124. Offering bearer's basket from N.429, and other objects from 415, 217, 484, 471 + ?, (Ex. Ph. C11313, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 125. Offering bearer's basket from N.429 (Cat. 75) (Photograph by author)

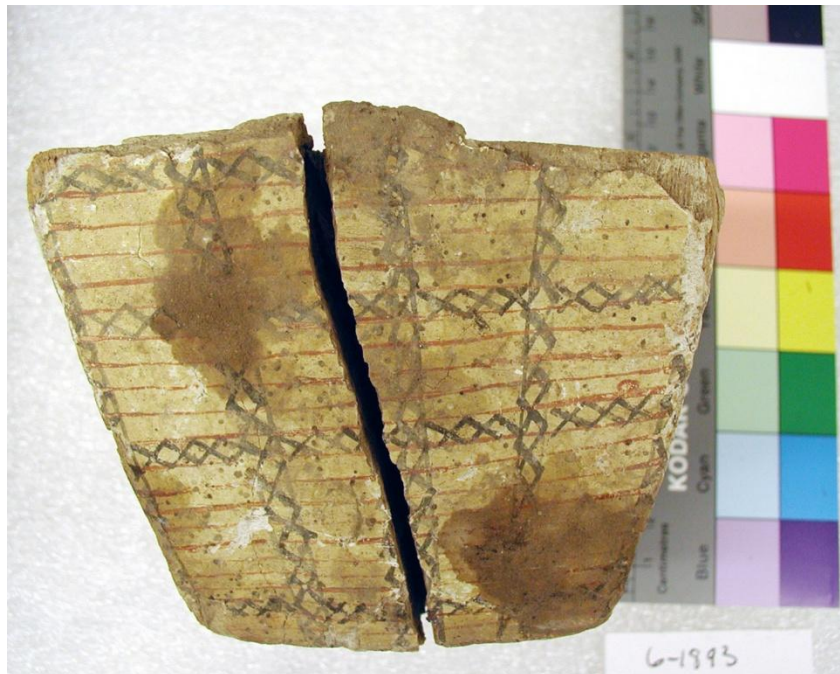


Fig. 126. Offering bearer's basket from N.3795 (Cat. 77) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 127. Male porter statuette from N.3737 (Cat. 74a,b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 128. Wooden models and other objects from N.3907 and N.3900 (Ex. Ph. C8239, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 129. Striding male porter statuette from N.3907 (Cat. 76) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 130. Female offering bearer statuette from S.F.25 (Cat. 79a) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 131. Female offering bearer statuette from N.9091 (Cat. 80) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 132. Female offering bearer statuette from S.F.167 (Cat. 81a-c) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 133. Head of female offering bearer statuette from cemetery N.100-400, side view showing pigtail (Cat. 84) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 134. Duck carried by female offering bearer statuette(?) from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 85) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 135. Ox haunch carried by male porter(?) from Naga ed-Deir, tomb unknown (Cat. 86) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 136. Hollow domed granary silo from (pit) N.69, front view (Cat. 87b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 137. Domed granary silo from N.241 (Cat. 89a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 138. Measuring basket belonging to granary from N.241 (Cat. 89b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 139. Fragments of granary storehouse from (pit) N.69 (Cat. 88a-o) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 140. Set of granary stairs from N.105 (Cat. 90a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 141. Set of six domed granary silos from N.3795, front view (Cat. 92a)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 142. Granary worker or scribe from N.3795 (Cat. 92b) (Photograph by author)

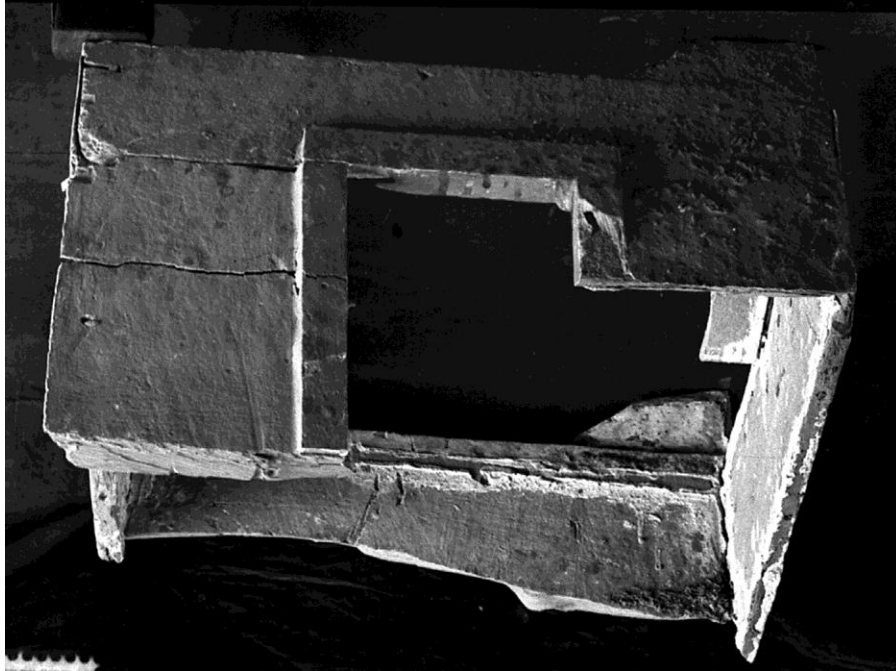


Fig. 143. Granary storehouse from N.3737, front view (Ex. Ph. C8152, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 144. Granary storehouse from N.3737, interior view showing underside of reconstructed roof (Cat. 91a) (Photograph by author)

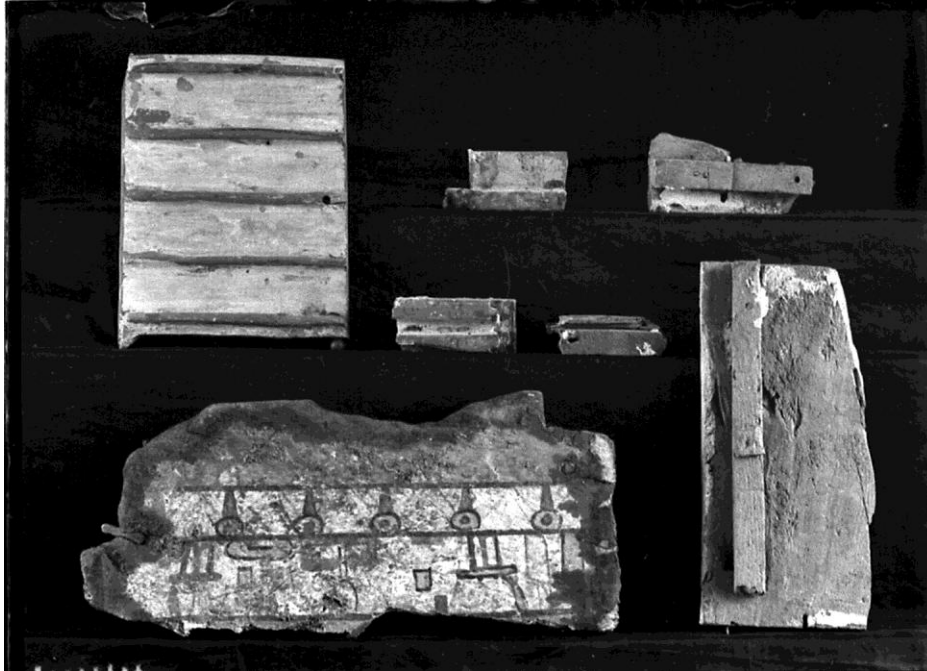


Fig. 145. Granary door and wall fragments, and painted coffin fragment from N.3737
(Ex. Ph. C8154, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)

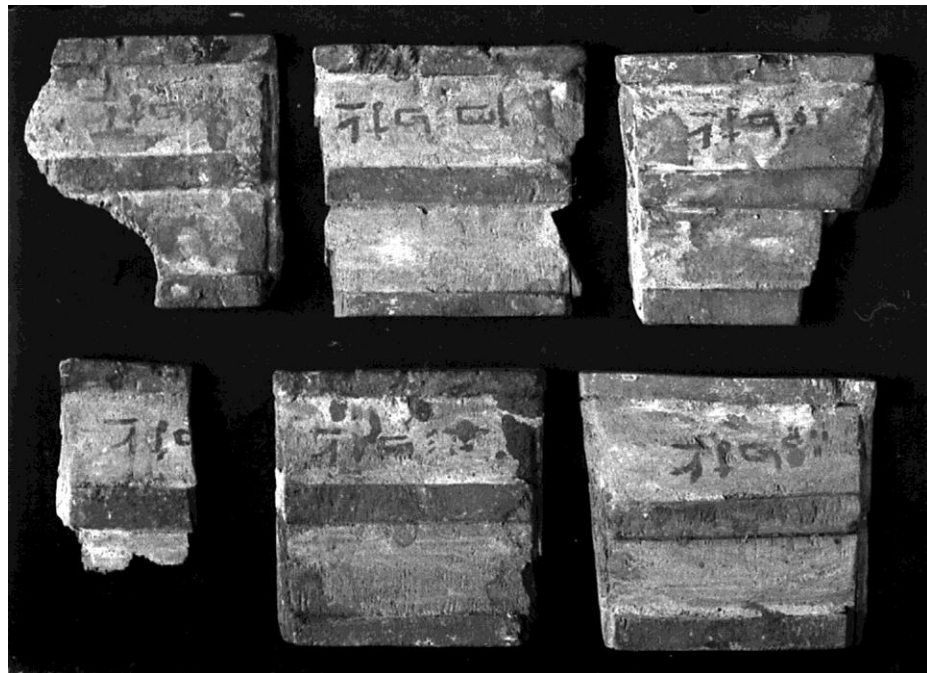


Fig. 146. Movable shutters for granary magazines from N.3737, contents labeled in hieratic
(Ex. Ph. C8155, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 147. Three granary workers carrying baskets of grain, from N.3737 (Cat. 911-n) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 148. Granary worker's measuring basket from N.3737 (Cat. 91o) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 149. Female miller statuette from N.43, side view (Cat. 109) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 150. Female miller statuette from N.43, front view (Cat. 109) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 151. Composite duck roaster, brewer and baker models from N.269 (Cat. 111, 112-113)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 152. Wooden statuette fragments and other objects from N.248
(Ex. Ph. C8879, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 153. Male miller from N.69 (Cat. 101a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 154. Saddle quern from N.69 (Cat. 101b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 155. Model slab oven from N.69 (Cat. 98a-c) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 156. Model stack of bread molds from N.69 (Cat. 99) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 157. Male baker's left arm from N.69 (Cat. 100) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 158. Tall mortar from N.69 (Cat. 102) (Photograph by author)

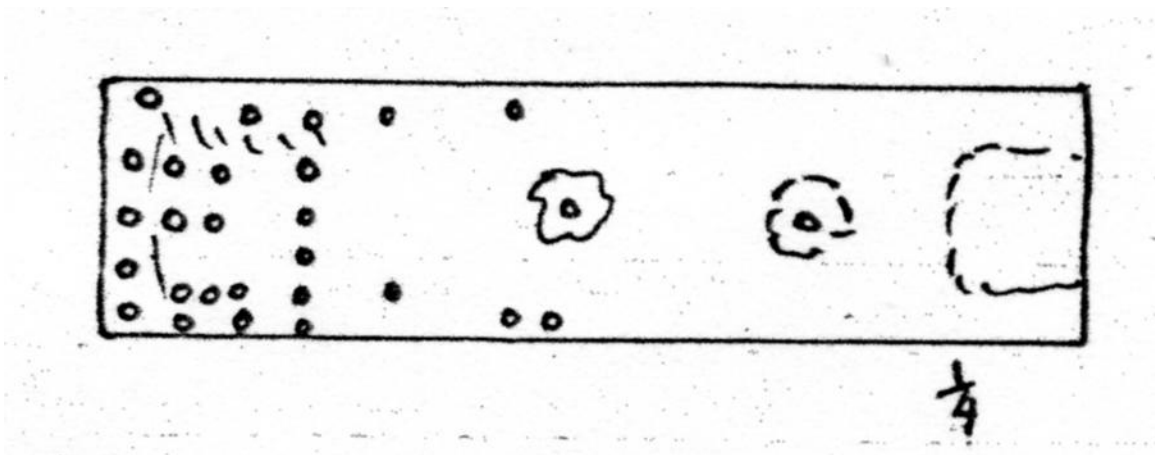


Fig. 159. Base for group kitchen model from S.F.5202 (Cat. 107a)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-619).

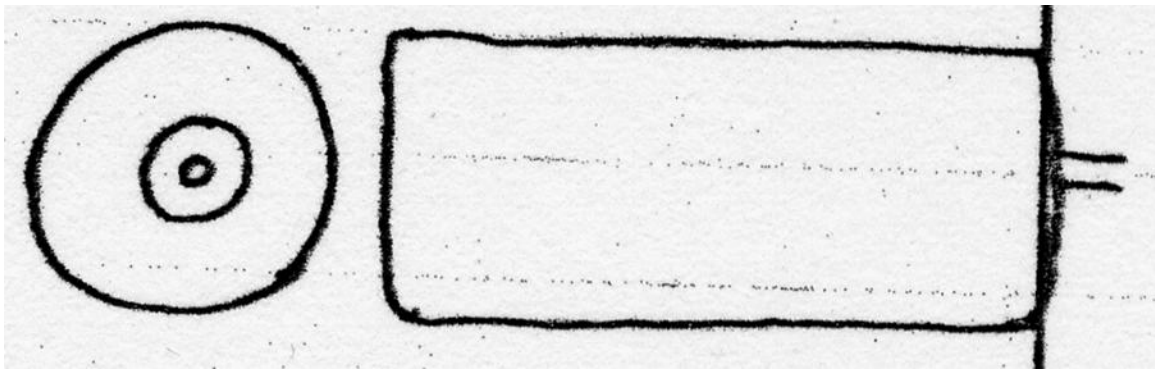


Fig. 160. Tall mortar from S.F.5203 (Cat. 105a)
(Dunham 1923-24b:Ob. Reg. 23-11-604)

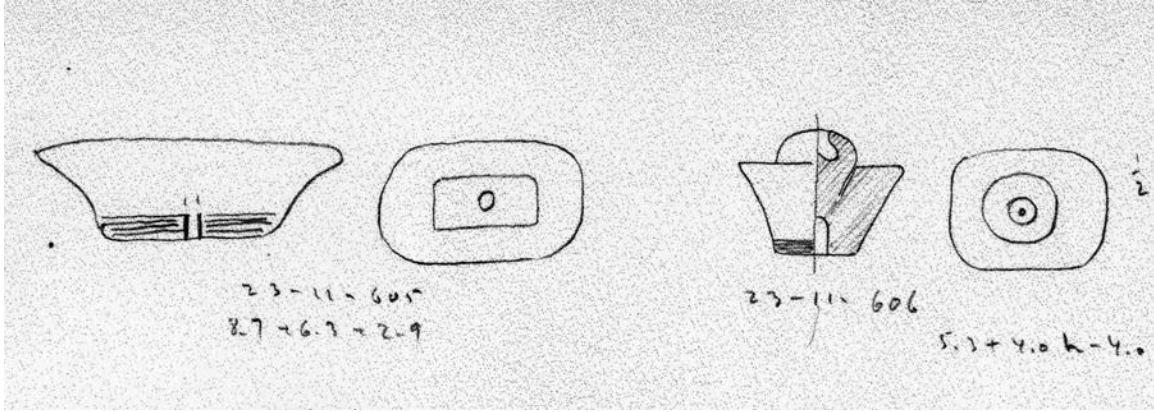


Fig. 161. Model tray and basket of dough from S.F.5203 (Cat. 105b,c)
 (Dunham 1923-24b:Ob. Reg. 23-11-605, 23-11-606)

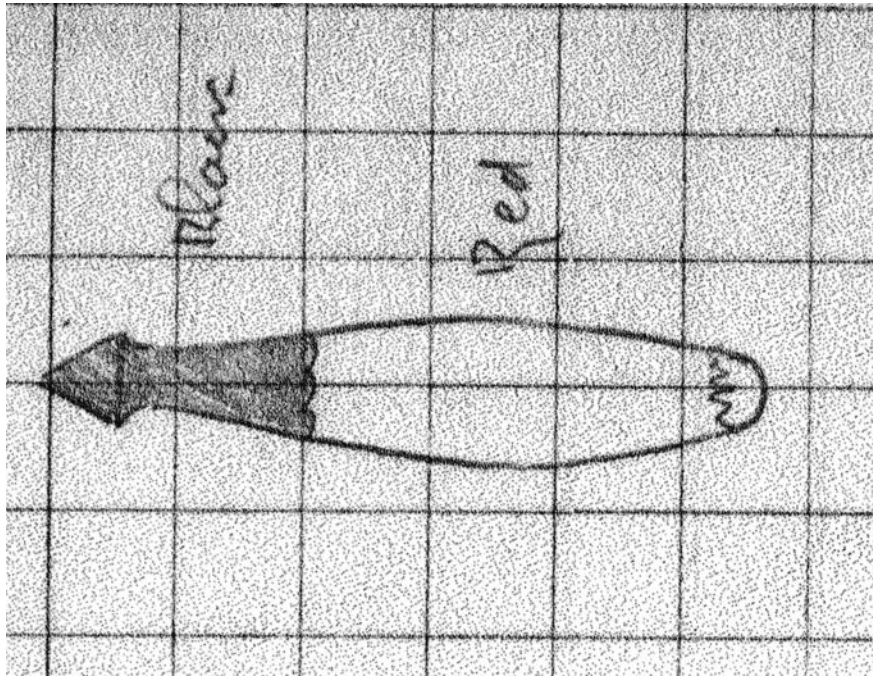


Fig. 162. Model beer jar from S.F.5201 (Cat. 104d)
 (Dunham 1923-24b:Ob. Reg. 23-11-446e)



Fig. 163. Male water carrier's(?) left arm from S.F.5202 (Cat. 107b)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-539a)

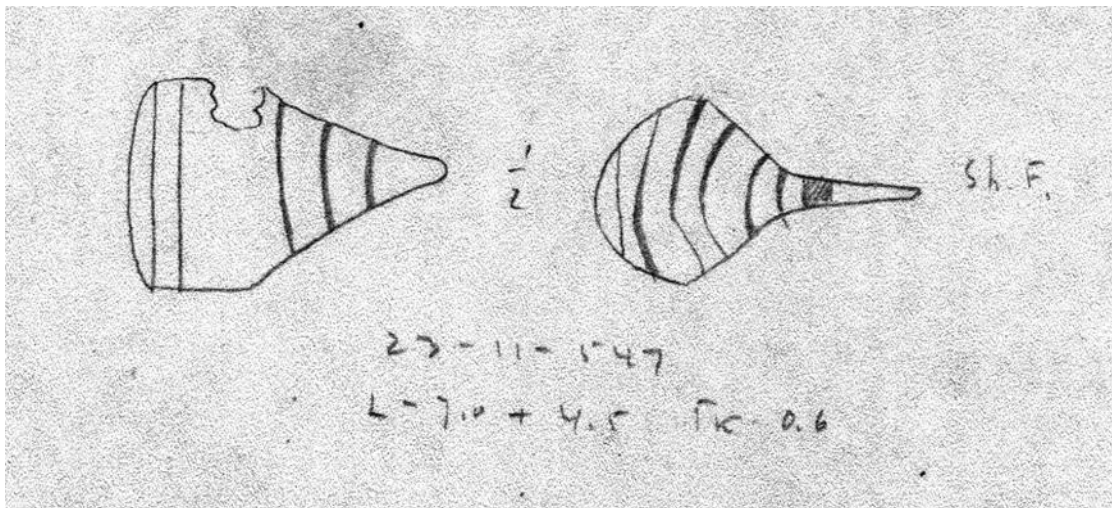


Fig. 164. Model cooks' fans from S.F.5202 (Cat. 107c)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-11-547)

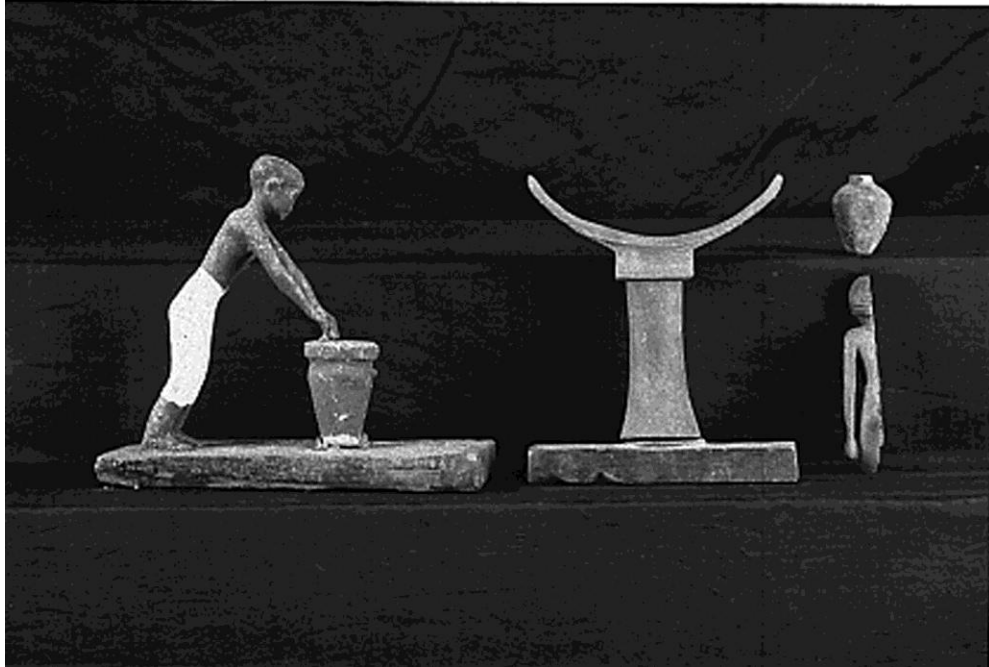


Fig. 165. Female brewer statuette, headrest and male *k3* statuette from N.89
(Ex. Ph. C11355, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 166. Female beer brewer statuette from N.89 (Cat. 108a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 167. Female beer brewer statuette from N.71 (Cat. 94) (Photograph by author)

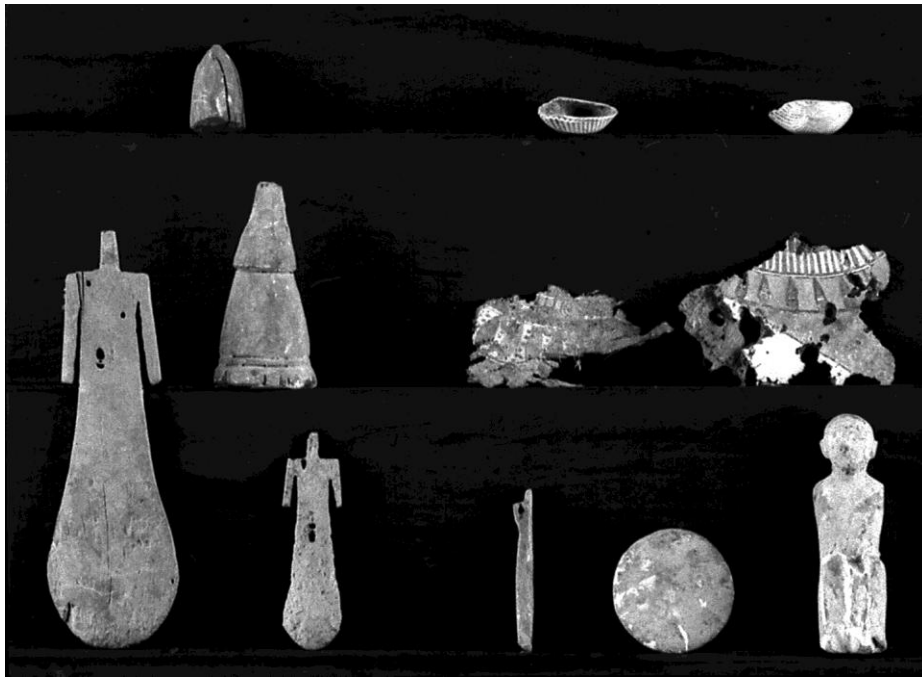


Fig. 168. Funerary material from N.64, N.105, N.232, N.452 and N.269 (Ex. Ph. C9000a, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 169. Model beer vat from N.105 (Cat. 114a) (Photograph by author)

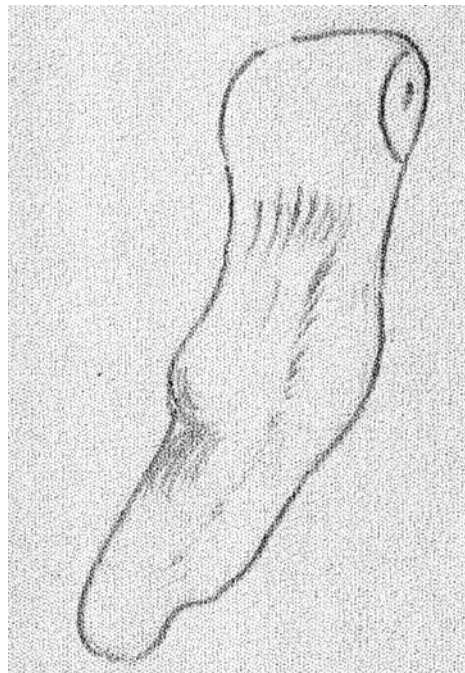


Fig. 170. Wooden brewer statuette from N.105 (Cat. 114b) (Reisner 1901-03a: 22)



Fig. 171. Pottery and wooden model fragments from N.11
(Ex. Ph. C9304, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 172. Pottery and wooden model beer jar from N.11 (Ex. Ph. C9305, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 173. Model beer vats and female brewer's right arm from N.69 (Cat. 103a-c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 174. Model beer (*dwiw*) jar from N.69 (Cat. 103d) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 175. Male duck roaster statuette from N.43, side view (Cat. 110) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 176. Male duck roaster statuette from N.43, front view (Cat. 110) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 177. Male duck roaster statuette from N.70 (Cat. 95a) (Photograph by author)

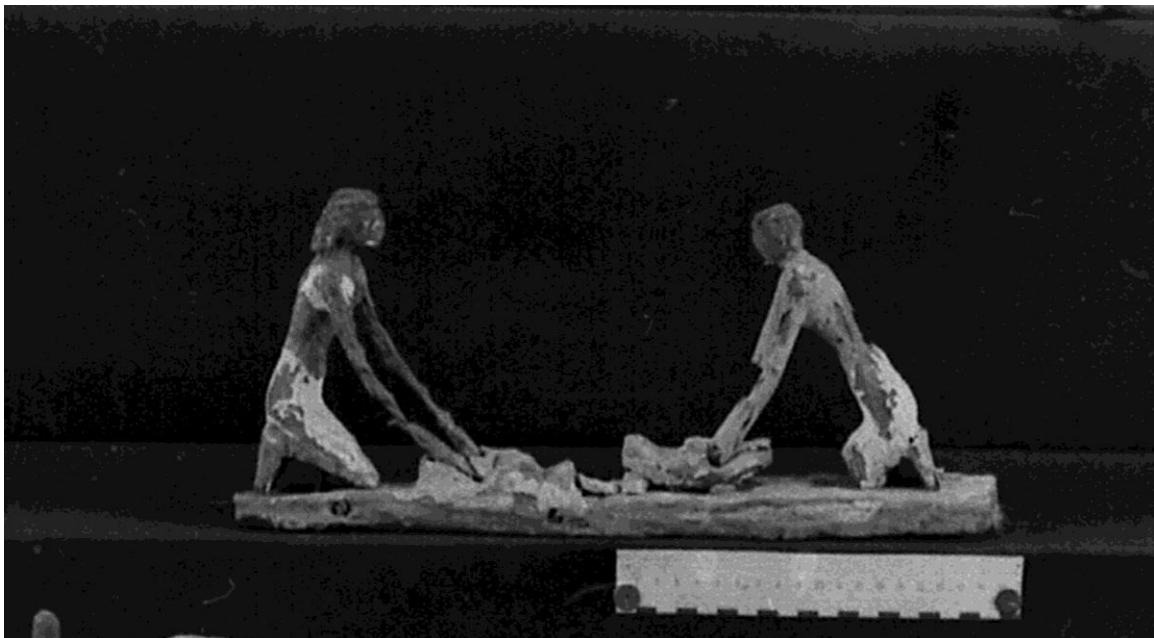


Fig. 178. Paired female and male millers from N.4172 (Ex. Ph. B7119, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 179. Paired female and male millers from N.4172 (Cat. 123) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 180. Bakery scene from N.202, two views (Ex. Ph. B4886, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 181. Bakery scene from N.202 (Cat. 126) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 182. Female miller from N.3737 (Cat. 116) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 183. Male flour sifter from N.3737 (Cat. 117) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 184. Male baker(?) from N.3737 (Cat. 118) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 185. Model table with bread loaves from N.3774 (Cat. 121a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 186. Male figure from bakery scene(?) from N.3774 (Cat. 121b) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 187. Female brewer statuette from N.3765 (Cat. 115) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 188. Model beer (*dwiw*) jars from N.3737 (Cat. 119a-c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 189. Paired male brewer's arms from N.3737 (Cat. 120a-b)
(Photograph by author)

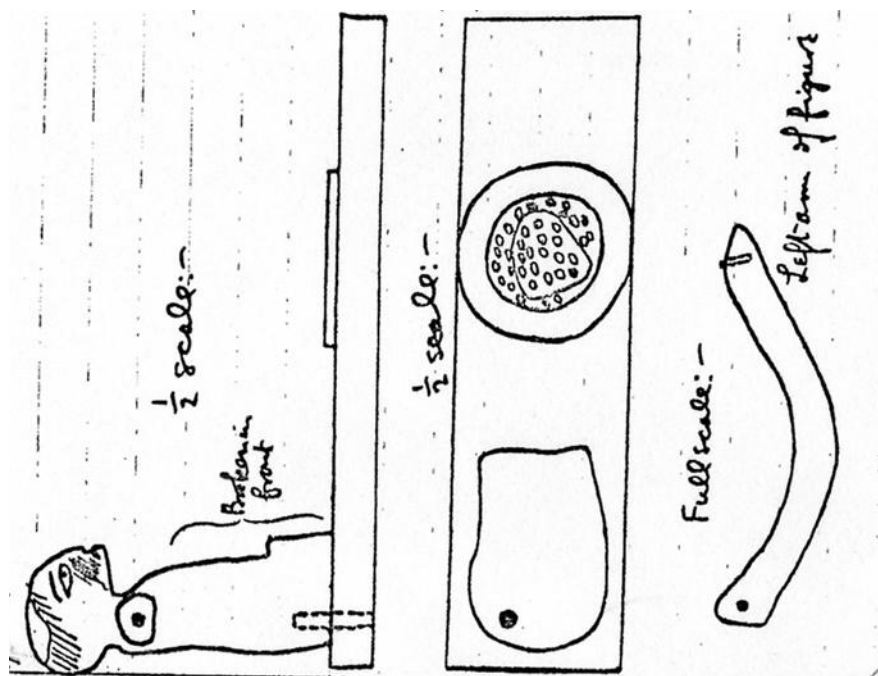


Fig. 190. Male duck roaster statuette from S.F.5214, side view (Cat. 122)
(Dunham 1923-24b: Ob. Reg. 23-12-108)



Fig. 191. *K3* and duck roaster statuettes from N.202 (Ex. Ph. C4838, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 192. Male duck roaster statuette from N.202, side view (Cat. 127) (Photograph by author)

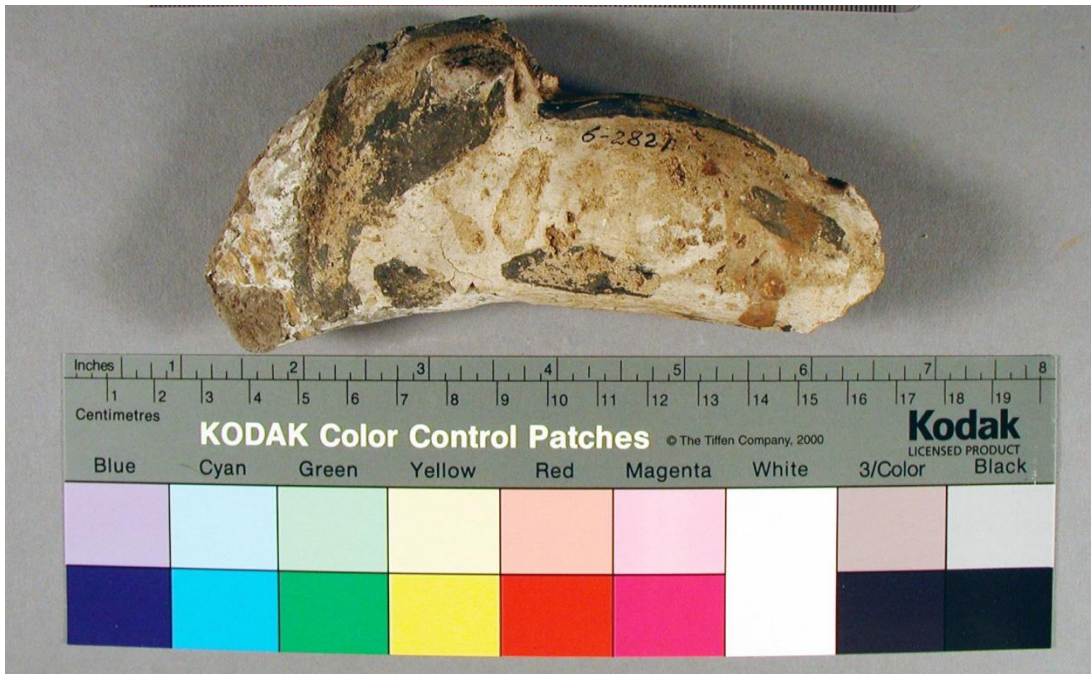


Fig. 193. Clay model bound ox from N.3916 (Cat. 124a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 194. Model beer (*dwiw*) jar from N.263 (Cat. 128a) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 195. Model *hs* jar from N.263 (Cat. 128b)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 196. Model table from N.263 (Cat. 128c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 197. Female figures from bakery-brewery scene from N.263 (Cat. 130a-c)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 198. Model beer (*dwiw*) jars from brewery scene from N.361 (Cat. 131a-d)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 199. Limestone female baker statuette from S.F.95 (Cat. 132) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 200. Male miller statuette from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 133) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 201. Male miller's arms and pestle from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 134a,b)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 202. Model stack of bread molds from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 137)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 203. Model table from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 135) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 204. Model vat from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 136)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 205. Model beer (*dwiw*) jars from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 138a-k)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 206. Male duck roaster statuette from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 140a,b)
(Photograph by author)



Fig. 207. Spitted duck fragment from cemetery N.100-400 (Cat. 141) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 208. Female dancer statuette from N.297, front view (Ex. Ph. C8553, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 209. Female dancer statuette from N.297, back view showing weighted braid (Ex. Ph. C8557, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 210. Limestone male harpist statuette from S.F.132, front view (Ex. Ph. C4246, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 211. Limestone male harpist statuette from S.F.132, side view (Ex. Ph. C4248, photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 212. Model brick-making scene from N.202 (Ex. Ph. C4843, photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology)



Fig. 213. Model brick-making scene from N.202 (Cat. 144) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 214. Model pikeman from N.69 (Cat. 145) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 215. Priest statuette from S.F.5201 (Cat. 146) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 216. Priest statuette from S.F.5214 (Cat. 147) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 217. Model overseer from N.3567 (Cat. 148) (Photograph by author)



Fig. 218. Model overseer from S.F.187 (Cat. 149) (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

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Appendix A: Index of Naga ed-Deir Tomb Cards

The object typologies incorporated into Appendix A come from a variety of sources. The stela groups are based on Brovarski's¹ work on the inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from the site and Freed's² analysis of early Middle Kingdom stela groups in Upper Egypt. The coffin typologies are those of Willems,³ based on his analysis of exterior design layouts of Middle Kingdom coffins. For the pottery, the ware designations were taken from Reisner,⁴ and the terms used to describe the forms were adapted from a variety of scholars, including Bourriau,⁵ Do. Arnold,⁶ and Kemp and Merrillees⁷ and Seidlmayer,⁸ based on their analyses of ceramics from a number of sites throughout Egypt.⁹ The descriptions of the stone vessels are those used by Aston.¹⁰ For the jewelry, the terminology used in the descriptions of beads and amulets was taken from Beck,¹¹ and the classification of the design amulets and scarabs follows Ward.¹² I adapted Reisner's and Mace's classifications of rock-cut and shaft-and-chamber tombs at the site for my own tomb typology.¹³ Finally, the title translations are taken from Jones.¹⁴

The methods I used to determine the tomb measurements provided in Appendix A are rather complex. For the missing tomb cards from N.100-400, I relied on the expedition map of the cemetery to determine some of the tomb dimensions. The scale of the map is 1:200; therefore, I measured the walls of the courtyards, chambers and shafts and multiplied the results by 200. I could not, obviously, measure the depths of the chambers or pits without section drawings. In addition, even for those tombs for which the tomb cards survived Reisner did not consistently record the measurements, even though he generally included both a plan and section for each tomb. On the other hand, Mace's field notes for cemeteries N.3500 and N.9000 are extremely detailed in that he measured every archaeological feature from a single datum point within each tomb. His dimensions include widths, lengths and heights of chambers as well as depths of the pits and subterranean rooms. In contrast again, the tomb cards for the Sheikh Farag cemeteries do not include all the measurements. Because the plans were drawn on graph paper at a scale of 1:50, the

¹ Brovarski (1989).

² Freed (1996: 297-336).

³ Willems (1988).

⁴ RW= Red Ware, WSR= White Slipped Red Ware, and RP=Red Polished Ware (Reisner 1923a: 325-326).

⁵ Bourriau (1981).

⁶ Do. Arnold (1968: 38-67; 1982: 125-165; and 1988: 106-146).

⁷ Kemp and Merrillees (1980).

⁸ Seidlmayer (1990).

⁹ Excluding Naga ed-Deir, as the pottery from this site has received little attention to date and has not yet been adequately studied.

¹⁰ Aston (1994).

¹¹ Beck (1928: 1-76).

¹² Ward (1978).

¹³ Mace (1909: 49); and Reisner (1913f: 6-7).

¹⁴ Jones (2000).

excavators did not feel they needed to record the lengths and widths of chamber walls or burial pits. To determine the relevant figures, I measured these features and multiplied the results by 50. The excavators did generally record the heights of the chamber ceilings and depths of the floors and pits; their system for the Sheikh Farag tombs was not consistent, however. Sometimes they wrote down a single measurement for the height of a chamber. For example, the maximum height of chamber B in S.F.95 was recorded as +100 on the tomb card. For other tombs, a fixed datum point was used to record the depth of the chamber floor as a negative number and the ceiling height as a positive number. In order to determine the maximum heights of these chambers I added the numbers together. For example, in the chapel of S.F.5214 the maximum height of the chamber is in the southeast corner. From the fixed datum point, the floor depth is -52 cm and the ceiling height is +190 cm; therefore, the maximum height of this room is 2.42 meters. In other cases, when the ceilings were partially caved in, the excavators recorded the depths from the top of the *gebel* to the chamber floor and to the top of the highest remaining wall as negative numbers. In order to determine the extant wall height, I subtracted these two numbers. For example, in burial chamber S.F.5203, the depth is -380 cm from the *gebel* down to the chamber floor and -228 cm down to the top of the wall. To determine the (extant) maximum height of the room, I subtracted the two numbers to get a height of 1.52 meters. Also note that only the maximum dimensions of each feature are provided. And that the walls of the chambers and pits were never squared, so with the pits I used the measurements for the opening at the top of the shaft.

The method of recording object placement in the expedition photographs is adapted from the system first used at Naga ed-Deir in 1913, when artifacts were consistently set up on risers and arranged in rows. After each negative number, the photographer added a lower case letter and number, the former written above the latter, to indicate the exact position of each item in the photograph. The letters refer to the rows, from the top down, and the numbers indicate the exact position, counted over from the left. I also retained this identification system for the earlier Hearst Expedition photographs.

Key to Appendix A:

EG Photos= Egyptian Expedition Photographs
BB Photos= Bernard Bothmer Photographs
M Photos= Mace (?) Photographs
Expedition Photograph Negative Numbers Beginning with A, B or C= Reisner Photographs

H= Height
L= Length
W= Width
D= Depth

N= North
S= South
W= West
E= East

OK= Old Kingdom
FIP= First Intermediate Period
MK= Middle Kingdom
SIP= Second Intermediate Period
NK= New Kingdom

RP= Red Polished
RW= Red Ware
WSR= White Slipped Red Ware

Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

N.248

Tomb Description							
Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	EF 13	Type IIIB/C	One (main) entrance on W and one on S, N-S axis	Unknown	South entrance corridor= 1.20 L x 1.0 W Chapel= 4.0 W x 6.0 L x ?H	Three shafts and one stairway, dimensions unknown Four subterranean burial chambers: Largest is 2.60W x 4.00L x ?H	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Int-kmt</i> , principle female tomb owner, possibly <i>Imrry</i> 's second wife; <i>Imrry</i> gave her this tomb, as recorded on north end of east wall, perhaps buried in main (east) chamber	Female	Unknown	<i>Try ht nswt/nht nswt Hm(t)-ntr Hthr Hkrt nswt</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance Priestess of Hathor Ornament of the king, she (one) who is ornamented by the king, Lady-in-waiting
<i>Imrry</i> , named and represented on north end of west wall (in painted relief), central scene (painted) on east wall over main burial chamber, and north wall; tomb likely begun for him, but he was buried ultimately in N.70/71	Male	NA	<i>Imy-r3 ms^c Imy-r3 hm(w)ntr Imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt irrt m T3-wr Imy-r3 k3t nbt wdt irrt m T3-wr Hry-tp 3 n T3-wr Hry-tp 3 n sp3t T3-wr Hry-tp nswt S3b 3d-mr, 3d-mr (n)S3b Smr-w^cty</i>	Expedition leader Overseer of priests Overseer of all royal works which are executed in the Thinite nome Overseer of all work which is commanded to be done in the Thinite nome Overlord/supervisor of the Thinite nome King's liegeman/royal chamberlain Juridicial 3d-mr official Sole companion
<i>Int-kmt</i> 's son <i>S3b</i> , who decorated the north end of the east wall for her (painted only), and possibly was buried here	Male	Unknown	<i>Hk3 hwt Smr-w^cty</i>	Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district Sole Companion
<i>Int-[T3-wr]</i> , perhaps first wife of <i>Imrry</i> , named on north end of west wall, possibly buried here	Female	Unknown	<i>Try ht nswt/nht nswt Hm(t)-ntr Hthr</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance Priestess of Hathor

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Miller	One arm attached to grinding stone	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8879	Unknown, tomb cards lost	93	Fig.152

Associated Material, Inscribed and Decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel walls, 2 different styles: west (<i>Tmrry</i> Group) and east (<i>Int-kmt</i> Group)	<i>Tmrry</i> Group <i>Int-kmt</i> Group	NA	NA	NA	EG photos 446, 448, 452-454, 456, 457, 459, 462, 473 BB photos 162.6; 162.7 (west wall); 162.8 (east wall)	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Wooden statue base of <i>Int-kmt</i>	<i>Int-kmt</i> Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12888	NA	C8879, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Seals & scarabs	Seal with handle, metal, probably Late Period	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12883	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated Material, Uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12892 (not located)	NA	Unknown	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Tall shouldered jar with conical base, necked, wide mouth, RW	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8716, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Tall slender jar with conical base, necked, RW	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8716, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Tall shouldered jar with conical base, necked, RW	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8716, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Large piriform storage jar, RW	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, c/1; B10667, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Ewer, Meydum ware	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, d/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Globular jar, top fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pot stand, base fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, d/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Pot stand, fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, e/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sherd, rim of jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Body sherd?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Body sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, b/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Body sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, e/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Body sherd, conical base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10661, e/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Stone Vessels	Travertine jar fragment with uraeus, remains of <i>nb.ty</i> title (name lost)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12841	NA	C8851, C8852	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Jewelry	Beads?, broken, rosin	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12882	NA	C8953, a/2?	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 tubular green faience bead, strung	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12884	NA	C8953, e/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 lapis tubular bead, banded by 2 gold disc beads, strung, MK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12885	NA	C8953, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Amethyst bicorne bead, strung, MK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12886	NA	C8953, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	2 faience ring beads (1 strung)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12887	NA	C8953, c/3, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 spherical carnelian bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12887	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 tubular carnelian bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12887	NA	C8953, e/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 tubular faience bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12887	NA	C8953, d/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 shell disc bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12887	NA	C8953, d/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Statues	Male statue, head, (acacia wood)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12840	NA	C8861 C8879, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Male statue, foot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12890	NA	C8879, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Female striding statue, broken, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12891	NA	C8862; C8863; C8864; C8865; C8866	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Female striding statue, base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12891	NA	C8879, c/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Furniture	Comb, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8879, a/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Specialized Implements	Tool handle, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12889	NA	C8879, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Mallets, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8889, a/3, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Organic Material	Plaits of hair	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C11324	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Pieces of pleated cloth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C11326	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Miscellaneous	Wood fragment (box?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12881	NA	C8879, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.70/71, with shafts N.66, N.68, N.70 and N.71

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	EF 7/8	Type III C	One entrance on S, N-S axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= 0.80 L x 1.20 W Chapel= 4.00 W x 7.50 L x ?H	Shaft N.70= 1.60W x 2.80L x ?D Shaft N.71= dimensions unknown Shaft N.66= dimensions unknown Shaft N.68= dimensions unknown	Chamber N.70= dimensions unknown Chamber N.71= 2.40W x 2.40L (circular) x ?H Chamber N.66= dimensions unknown Chamber N.68= 2.00W x 4.80L x ?H	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Imry</i> , probably buried in pit 68 (he appears at table of offerings above pit), style of decoration resembles east wall in N.248	Male	Unknown	<i>'Imy-r3 hm (w) ntr(w) n 'Inhr.t</i> <i>'Imy-r3 k3t nbt wdt irrt m T3-wr</i>	Overseer of priests of Onouris Overseer of every (royal) work which is commanded to be done in the Thimite nome
<i>Int</i> [...], wife of <i>Imry</i> on east wall, perhaps to be read <i>Int</i> -[<i>knit</i>], buried in pit 71 (she appears at table of offerings above pit)	Female	Unknown	<i>'Iry ht nswt/ht nswt Hm(t)-ntr Hthr</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance Priestess of Hathor

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Servant Statue	Male duck roaster or baker? (N.70) Base (N.70)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15378	NA	B10697, c/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	95a	Figs.30, 177
		1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, d/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	95b	Fig.30
?	Lower part of seated serving statue? (N.70)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, b/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	192	Fig.30

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Miller?	Tall cylindrical fragment (N.70)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, c/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	191	Fig.30
Beer Brewer	Female statue (N.71)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16119	NA	C8908, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	94	Figs.29, 167

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel walls	<i>Int-kmt</i> Group	NA	NA	NA	B8849 BB photos 161.14, 161.15 Mace 2627/ G436 Mace 2627// G7899	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Sherd (N.70?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15396 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Statues	Statue base for striding figure (N.70)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, d/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model <i>shn</i> or <i>'b3</i> scepter, wood, from <i>k3</i> statue (N.70)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-4622	NA	B10697, b/7, b/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Cosmetic Items	Toilet or jewelry box fragment, wood (N.70)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, d/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Small rectangular toilet or jewelry box with legs, lid missing, frame & panel construction, wood (N.71)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8908, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Specialized Implements	Mason's level, 3 wooden blocks tied with cord (N.71)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16138	NA	C8908, a/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	Sandal, wood (N.70)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15472	NA	B10697, c/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, wood (N.71)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8908, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.11

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	G 6	Type IIIc	2 entrances on S, E-W axis	Unknown	Entrance corridors= 0.80 L x 1.12 W Chapel= 3.60 W x 1.60 L x ?H	Two shafts, dimensions unknown	Two chambers, dimensions unknown	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Hni</i>	Male	Unknown	<i>ḥmy-r3 [ššr]</i> <i>Hry-šš3 [n ḥtmt-ntr]</i> <i>[Hry-tp d3t] n mnht</i>	Overseer of [clothes] Privy to the secret [of the god's treasure] [Supervisor of the wardrobe] of linen
?	Female (wife, shown with <i>Hni</i>)	Unknown	Not preserved	NA

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Duck Roaster	Duck on spit	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost	97a	Fig. 171, bottom, left
	1 left arm, slightly bent, clenched fist	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost	97b	Fig. 171, top, left
?	1 small, straight left arm	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost	150	Fig. 171, center, left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Beer-making scene	Beer vat, with spout	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost	96a	Fig.172, center, left
	Beer jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost	96b	Fig.171, center, right

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel, offering scene on west wall, couple before table of offerings, painted sunk relief	<i>Šm?</i> Group	NA	NA	NA	C4311, C9301, C9302, C9303 BB photos 162.5, 162.9	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall jars with incised necks, three sherds, SIP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304, C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Coarse elongated jars, two sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304, C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Two necked, round shouldered <i>hs</i> jars, seated man incised below shoulders, broken, RP, OK	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304, B8716, c/1, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Small, necked & shouldered jar with flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Small shouldered jar with round shoulders, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Large jars with painted necks and shoulders in horizontal bands, four sherds, NK	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304, C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Eight rim sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304, C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Shouldered jar, sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sherd, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9305	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Two base sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Three body sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9304	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.67/69, with shafts N.67 and N.69

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	F 7/8	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 1.0 L x ?W Chapel= 3.60 W x 6.0 L x ?H	Shaft N.67= dimensions unknown Shaft N.69= dimensions unknown	Chamber N.67= 1.60W x 2.4L x ?H; Chamber N.69= 3.20W x 2.80L x ?H	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Špss</i> , good name <i>Impy</i>	Male	Unknown	<i>ʾwv Kmmwt</i> <i>Mdw rhyt</i> <i>Hk3 hwt</i> <i>Hry-tp nswt</i> <i>Smr-wʿty</i>	Pillar of the <i>Kmmwt</i> -people Staff of the Rekhetyt people Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district Royal chamberlain Sole companion
<i>Int-kmt</i> , wife of <i>Špss</i> , named in wall inscriptions	Female	Unknown	<i>ʾry ht nswt / rht nswt</i> <i>Hm (t) -ntr Hthr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance Priestess of Hathor Ornament of the king, she (one) who is ornamented by the king, lady-in-waiting

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Head & basket (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15376a	NA	B10699, d/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	57a	Figs.38, 104
	Statue base (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15376b	NA	B10699, d/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	57b	Figs.38, 104
	Left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15376c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	57c	Fig.104
	Right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15376d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	57d	Fig.104
	Female torso (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15376e	NA	B10699, d/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	57e	Figs.38, 104

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Duck (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15413	NA	B10699, a/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	58a	Figs. 38, 105
	Basket from female statue (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15399	NA	B10699, c/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	58b	Figs. 38, 106
	Female left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15452	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	58c	Fig. 107
Offering Bearer	Chest from female statuette (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15393	NA	B10699, a/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	59	Figs. 38, 108
Offering Bearers	Base w/male feet procession (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15395	NA	B10699, d/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	60	Figs. 38, 119
Porter	Male figurine, left leg bent upwards (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15412	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	63	Fig. 115
Porter	Beef haunch (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15468	NA	B10699, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	61a	Figs. 38, 113, bottom
	Male right arm, bent (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15461a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	61b	Fig. 113, center
	Male left arm, bent (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15461b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	61c	Fig. 113, top
Porter	Male left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15450a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	62a	Fig. 114, top
	Male right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15450b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	62b	Fig. 114, bottom

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Porter	Vessel, faience jar, suspended or carried n yoke (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15406	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	65a	Fig. 120, far left
	Vessel, faience jar, suspended or carried n yoke (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15407	NA	B10699, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	65b	Figs. 38, 120, 2 nd from left
	Vessel, faience jar, suspended or carried n yoke (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15822	NA	Not photographed	Unknown	65c	Fig. 120, 3 rd from left
	Vessel, faience jar, suspended or carried n yoke (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15823	NA	B10697, b/4	Unknown	65d	Figs. 30, 120, 4 th from left
	Vessel, faience jar, suspended or carried n yoke (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15824	NA	Not photographed	Unknown	65e	Fig. 120, far right
	Vessel, jar, suspended or carried (N.69)	1901 -1903	PAHMA 6-15416	NA	B10699, b/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	64a	Figs. 38, 116, left
	Vessel, jar, suspended or carried (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15418	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	64b	Fig. 116, right
Model Granary	Silo (N.69), (sycamore fig)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15383	NA	B10699, c/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87a	Fig. 38
	Silo (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15385	NA	B10699, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87b	Figs. 38, 136

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Granary	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15384a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87c	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15384b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87d	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15387	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87e	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15436a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87f	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15436b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87g	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15436c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87h	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15437a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87i	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15437b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87j	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15437c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87k	
	Silo fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15437d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	87l	
Model Granary Storehouse	Beam (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88a	Figs. 38, 139, lower right
	Beam (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88b	Figs. 38, 139, lower right
	Beam (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15390	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88c	Fig. 139, lower right
	Wall fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88d	Figs. 38, 139, upper left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Granary Storehouse	Wall fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88e	Figs. 38, 139, upper left
	Wall fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366g	NA	B10699, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88f	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Wall fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366k	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88g	Figs. 38, 139, upper left
	Wall fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366l	NA	B10699, b/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88h	Figs. 38, 139, center
	Wall fragment (maybe N.69)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10697, b/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88i	Fig. 30
	Shutter/bin door (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366e	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88j	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Shutter/bin door (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366f	NA	B10699, a/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88k	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Shutter/bin door (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366h	NA	B10699, a/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88l	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Shutter/bin door (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366i	NA	B10699, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88m	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Shutter/bin door (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366j	NA	B10699, a/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88n	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
	Bag of wood splinters (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15366m	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	88o	Fig. 139, lower left
Brewery	Beer vat (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15388	NA	B10699, c/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	103a	Figs. 38, 173, right
	Beer vat (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15389a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	103b	Fig. 173, left
	Female right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15389b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	103c	Fig. 173, top
	Beer jar (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15414	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	103d	Figs. 38, 174
Bakery	Oven fragment, side (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15410a-c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	98a	Fig. 155, left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Bakery, continued	Oven fragment, side piece (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15410d	NA	B10699, b/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	98b	Figs. 38, 155, right
	Oven fragment, top piece (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15410e	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	98c	Fig. 155, top
Bakery	Stacked bread molds (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15367	NA	B10699, c/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	99	Fig. 156
Bakery	Male baker's left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15462	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	100	Fig. 157
Bakery	Tall cylindrical mortar, hole in top for pestle	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15365	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	102	Fig. 158
Bakery, miller	Male figurine; kneeling (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15417	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	101a	Fig. 153
	Quern (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15428	NA	B10699, a/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	101b	Fig. 154
Model Furniture?	Leg, animal shape (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15469	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	193	
Model Boat	Canopy support (N.69)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10699, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	1a	Fig. 38
	Canopy support (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15423	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	1b	Fig. 39
	Rudder post (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15466	NA	B10699, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	1c	Figs. 30, 31
	Rudder post (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15467	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	1d	Fig. 31

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Military Scene	Soldier carrying spear over shoulder (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15415	NA	B10699, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	145	Figs. 38, 214
Misc. Human Figures	Figurine, squatting? (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15439	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	151a	
	Male head (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15409	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	151b	
Misc. Model Limbs, paired	Female left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15444a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	152a	
	Female right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15444b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	152b	
Misc. Model Limbs, paired	Male right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15454a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	153a	
	Male left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15454b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	153b	
Misc. Model Limbs	Female right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15382	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154i	
	Female left leg (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15419	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154a	
	Female leg (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15426	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154c	
	Female arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15441	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154d	
	Male right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15442	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	155a	
	Female left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15443	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154e	
	Right arm? (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15445	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	155c	
	Female right arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15447	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154h	
	Female left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15448	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154f	

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Misc. Model Limbs	Female left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15455	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154g	
	Male left arm (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15457	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	155b	
	Female leg (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15464	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	154b	
Unidentifiable	Unknown fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15391	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	194a	
	Unknown fragment (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15392	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	194b	Fig. 30

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel, wall with offering scene (couple before table), painted sunk relief	<i>Šm3</i> Group	NA	NA	NA	BB photo (number unknown), Nestor l'Hôte MSS, 20396, 162, line drawing	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Disengaged block, depicts the <i>hryp sh</i> or controller of the dining hall, <i>Sfhi</i>	<i>Šm3</i> Group	NA	NA	NA	W.S. Smith notes	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Coffin fragment, interior, decorated with granary? (N.69)	NA	1901	PAHMA 6-15400	NA	B10699	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Coptic coin, metal (N.69?)	NA	1901	PAHMA 6-15433	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stone Vessels	Model piriform jar, necked, quartz crystal (N.69)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C11311, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Travertine plate with incurved rim (N.67.2)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C10639, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Statues	Statue, male, left foot, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15368	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	
Statues	Statue, male, right foot, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15369	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male, right foot, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15370	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male, left foot, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15371	NA	B10699, b/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male, right arm, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15375	NA	B10699, d/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male arms, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15377a,b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, female legs, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15380	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male, right arm, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15381	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, male, base, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15397	NA	B10699, d/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue base for female, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15398	NA	B10699, d/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Statue, base, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15435	NA	B10699, d/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Jewelry	Beads, 3 tubular, faience (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15434	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Specialized Implements	Model tool, bent, perforated, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15356	NA	C11311, b/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, adze, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15357	NA	C11311, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, chisel?, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15358	NA	C11311, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, adze, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15359	NA	C11311, a/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, nail, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15360	NA	C11311, a/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool?, 4 strips, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15361a-d	NA	C11311, a/6, a/7, a/8, a/10	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, pin, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15362	NA	C11311, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	
	Model tool, flat pin, pointed end, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15363	NA	C11311, a/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements, continued	Model tool, bent pin, metal (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15364	NA	C11311, a/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Hoe, blade, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15374	NA	B10699, d/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Cosmetic Items	Spatula, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15421	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Kohl container, cylindrical with 2 chambers, wood, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15405	NA	B10699, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Furniture	Headrest, fragment, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15372	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Headrest, fragment, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15373	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Organic Matter	Nut (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15404	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Rosin, fragment (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15431	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Textile, bundle, cloth bag? (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15470	NA	C11315, a/1?	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Textile, bundle, fringed (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15471	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Fragment, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15411	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, fragment, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15403	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Fragment, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15427	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Fragment, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15430	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Peg, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15458	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Peg, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15459	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Offering basin, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15401	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal fragments, metal and wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15355	NA	C11311, b/1, b/2, b/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandals, pair, wood (N.69)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15402a,b	NA	B10699, a/7 (left sandal)	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, fragment (goes with 6-15402a)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15403	NA	B10699, a/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	Sandal, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15438	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, strip, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15440	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, strip, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15429	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sandal, strip, wood (N.69?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15432	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

S.F.5201/5203

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	South end of high ridge between expedition house & cultivation	Type IIIIC	One entrance on SE, NW-SE axis, 5201 shaft oriented NW-SE, 5203 shaft oriented NE-SW with side chamber oriented NW-SE	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 0.50 L x 0.95 W Chapel= 3.90W x 5.75L x ?H (walls not fully preserved, roof destroyed)	S.F.5201 shaft= 0.90W x 3.05L x 3.80D; S.F.5203 shaft= 1.0W x 2.80L x 6.07D	Two chambers; S.F.5201 chamber=1.50W x 3.15L x 1.52H S.F.5203 chamber= 1.30W x 3.0L x 1.19H	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Dd-Inhrt-ꜥnh</i> , good name <i>Mry</i>	Male	None	<i>Hkꜣ hwt</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity mꜣc</i> <i>Smr-wꜣty</i>	Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt True sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole companion

Models, pit S.F.5201

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Bakery-brewery?	Base for a group of figures	1923-1924	Not located	Unknown	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 56	104a	
	1 female straight right arm, fingers clenched over block (miller?)	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-456b	Not photographed	Not recorded	104b	
	1 male arm, bent back	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-457d	Not photographed	Not recorded	104c	
	2 beer jars	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-446e	Not photographed	Not recorded	104d	Fig. 162
	2 jars	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-456f	Not photographed	Not recorded	104e	
	2 beer jars, 1 decayed	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-457c	Not photographed	Not recorded	104f	

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Priest	Striding male figure, long kilt with band across chest	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-446a	B5041, right	Dunham 1923-23a: 56, 58	146	Fig. 215
Misc. Human Figures	1 squatting male figure, arms missing	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-457a	B5040, a/2	Dunham 1923-23a: 56, 58		Fig. 41
	1 squatting male figure	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-446b	B5040, a/3	Dunham 1923-23a: 56, 58	156b	Fig. 41
	Buttocks of female figure, yellow flesh & white skirt, peg hole in leg	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-457b	Not photographed	Not recorded	157	
	1 arm from model figure	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-445a	Not photographed	Not recorded	158a	
	1 straight arm, decayed	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-446c	Not photographed	Not recorded	158b	
	1 male head	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-446d	Not photographed	Not recorded	156c	
	1 male straight right arm, peg through hand (carried object)	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-456c	Not photographed	Not recorded	156d	
	1 male left arm, slightly bent	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-456d	Not photographed	Not recorded	156e	
	1 male leg & knee, peg holes of joint above knee, no foot	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-456e	Not photographed	Not recorded	156f	

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Scepter?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-457e	C10303, c/3	Not recorded	195b	?
?	1 small wooden block, painted black on sides and top	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-446f	Not photographed	Not recorded	195a	
?	1 model fragment with peg holes	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-445b	Not photographed	Not recorded	195c	
?	1 wood fragment with 2 pegs in holes	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-457g	Not photographed	Not recorded	195d	

Models, pit S.F.5203

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Misc. Human Figures	8 figures: 4 straight, 3 sitting, 1 stooping (sailors?)	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-600	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	159	
	16 arms	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-601a	B5149 (1 arm)	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	160	
Model Boat	1 steering oar	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-610	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	2a	Fig. 32
	4 canopy supports	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-611	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	2b	Fig. 40
	7 canopy supports	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-612	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	2c	
Brewer	1 statue base, with 2 feet together & central depression for attachment of round element	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-595b	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	106	
Offering Bearer	Female torso, wearing necklace, left knee advanced (broken), peg hole runs front to back near bottom	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-597	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	66	Fig. 109

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Bakery-brewery	1 cylindrical mortar, 1 end with hole for pestle	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-604	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	105a	Fig. 160
	2 objects: 1 decayed & 1 tray	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-605	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	105b	Fig. 161
	1 basket containing hollowed out, round object (dough?)	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-606	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	105c	Fig. 161
	7 beer jars	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-609	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	105d	
?	1 wooden object, carved block with round upright inserted	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-607	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	196a	
?	Model fitting (broken, into 3 parts), slightly curved with small pegs on bottom edge	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-613	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 67, 69	196b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Outer coffin lid fragment of <i>Mry</i> or <i>H3gi</i> , from debris in pit 5202	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-665a	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
Outer coffin lid and end board fragments of <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit S.F.5202	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-665c, d	Unknown	Not recorded
Inner coffin fragments of <i>Dd-Inhrt-ꜥnh</i> , good name <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-666,a-d	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment of <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5203, interior decoration, 7 sacred unguents, from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-667	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
Coffin end board of <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5203, interior decoration, boxes, <i>wšf</i> collars, & kilt, from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-668	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
Coffin fragment, side board of <i>Inhrt(?)</i> , from debris in pit 5203	Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-669	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
Coffin board, fragment, legs and feet of a woman preserved, from debris in pit 5203, MK	Exterior Type VI	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-670	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
Plaster face from female mummy mask, pit 5203, late MK	NA	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-587	B5048	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
Wooden female face from anthropoid coffin, pit 5203, MK	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-588		Dunham 1923-23a: 69
Wooden statue base inscribed for <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-596	B5039, right	Not recorded
Inscribed copper double bell censer, from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-622	C10301	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
2 quartz crystal model vases of <i>Mry</i> , necked, piriform jar and beaker, from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	BMFA 24.722, BMFA 24.725	23-11-624 & 23-11-582 + 23-11-626	C10299	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
2 stone (probably basalt) model beakers from Opening of the Mouth set, the latter inscribed for <i>Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5202	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	BMFA 24.730, BMFA 24.734	23-11-552	C10299	Not recorded
2 fragments of travertine vessel with Horus name of Pepy II, <i>Mry-hšw</i> , from debris in pit 5203	NA	1923-1924	BMFA 24.723, BMFA 24.724	23-11-581a,b	C10299; B5060, a/3, a/5	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
Fragment of wooden scribal palette, inscribed for the <i>hnm(ty)-bity, Mry</i> , from debris in pit 5203	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	23-11-616 in BMFA, not accessioned; 23-11-589 deaccessioned to Richmond, VA in 1961	23-11-589 + 23-11-616	C10303, c/5	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
2 cloth bags with hieratic inscription, <i>bsš</i> (bartley) and <i>nkšwt</i> (sycamore figs) from debris in pit 5203	NA	1923-1924	BMFA 24.756, BMFA 24.757	23-11-623	B5048	Dunham 1923-23a: 70

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Mud jar sealing with incised marks on upper surface, pit 5203	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-599	C10302	Not recorded
Jar sealing with faint impression, from debris in pit 5201	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-447	Not photographed	Not recorded
Pottery fragment with partial Coptic inscription, from debris in pit 5201	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-448	Not photographed	Not recorded
Wooden statue base for striding male figure, illegible inscription remaining on top, pit 5201	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-455	Not photographed	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tiny female head from jar, NK, pit 5203	1923-1924	BMFA 24.978	23-11-629	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 70
	Bottom of RW tall shouldered jar, flat base, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-441	Unknown	Not recorded
	Hemispherical pottery fragment with traces of black and red paint, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-449	Unknown	Not recorded
	2 squat pottery model jars, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-450a,c	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 squat pottery model jar, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-450b	B5059	Not recorded
	1 model pottery jar, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-574	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 model pottery RW jar, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-575	Unknown	Not recorded
	2 model pottery RW jars, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-576a,b	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 model pottery RW jar, red wash on rim, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-577	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 model pottery jar, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-578	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 model mud jar, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-579	Unknown	Not recorded
	6 model pottery jars, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-580a-f	Unknown	Not recorded
	Terracotta fragments, fan-shaped with traces of black paint and rim, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-621a,b	Unknown	Not recorded
	Mud model vase?, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-628	Unknown	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	3 painted RW sherds (2 rim, 1 body) of piriform storage jar, exterior red wash with black pattern, horizontal bands and dots, NK, pit 5203	1923-1924	Rim in BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-662	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW pitcher with one handle, pink wash with red and black painted lines exterior, NK, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-663	Unknown	Not recorded
	Painted RW jar sherd, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-664	Unknown	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Travertine lid of kohl vessel, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-583	B5060, c/3	Not recorded
	Travertine jar lid fragment, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-627	Unknown	Not recorded
Jewelry	Faience falcon amulet, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-586	Unknown	Not recorded
Statues	Broken seated female limestone statue, pit 5203, OK?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-590	B5040, a/1	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
	Striding wooden male statue on base, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-454	B5040, b/2	Not recorded
	Part of male face from wooden statue, pit 5201	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-458 (belongs with 23-11-443)	B5048	Dunham 1923-23a: 58
	Fragment of wooden statue, wig with ear exposed, pit 5201	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-443 (belongs with 23-11-458)	B5047	Dunham 1923-23a: 58
	Small, wooden standing female statue, head lost, pit 5201	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-444	B5041, left	Not recorded
	Statue base, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-457f	Unknown	Not recorded
	Fragment of wooden male statue, face (left eye, cheek) & wig, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-459	Unknown	Not recorded
	Fragment of wooden male statue, head & shoulders, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-460	Unknown	Not recorded
	Large right arm from wooden male statue, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-456a	Unknown	Not recorded
	Wooden male statue, wig fragment, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-602	B5047	Not recorded
	Wooden statue base, left leg advanced, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-595a	Unknown	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Statues	Wooden statue base, feet together, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-595c	Unknown	Not recorded
	Wooden foot from statue, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-601b	Unknown	Not recorded
Furniture	Wooden stool with rush seat and lion's feet, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-592	C10306	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
	Wooden stool, squared legs, MK, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-593	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
	Part of wooden folding stool, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-594	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
	Chair leg, wood, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-620	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
Specialized Implements	4 model adzes, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-608	Unknown	Not recorded
	Wooden nail, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-614	C10303, a/1	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	Wooden kohl stick, pit 5201	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-452	C10303, c/4	Not recorded
	Broken wooden kohl stick, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-591	C10303, c/1	Not recorded
	Wooden toilet box fragments, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-617a,b	Unknown	Not recorded
	Ivory disc, lid to kohl jar?, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-625	Unknown	Not recorded
	Ivory or bone inlays from box, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-584	Unknown	Not recorded
Organic Material	Basket, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located		Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 69
	Flat woven basket or lid with red & black paint, pit 5201	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-451	Unknown	Not recorded
	2 pieces of plaited hair, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-585	Unknown	Not recorded
	3 small turnips?, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-603	Unknown	Not recorded
	Dried fruit (?), kidney shaped, pit 5203	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-615	C10303, a/4	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	30+ indeterminate wooden fragments & chips, pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-618	Not Photographed	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	3 wooden model sandals (2 from 1 pair), pit 5203	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-598a-c	Unknown	Not recorded

S.F.5202

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	South end of high ridge between house & cultivation, adjoins S.F.5201/5203 on east side	Type IIIc	One entrance on SE, NW-SE axis, main pit oriented NW-SE	Unknown	Chapel= 2.65W x 4.75L x 1.08H	Inner shaft= 1.0W x 2.50L x 4.94D Outer shaft= 0.75W x 1.75L x 0.55D	Inner chamber= 2.90W x 2.25L x 1.33H; No chamber associated with outer shaft?	1

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>H3gi</i>	Male	4 human skulls & odd bones from north burial chamber	<i>Ḥm-r3 wḥꜥ(w) nw(w) n spḥt</i> <i>Ḥm-r3 msꜥ</i> <i>Ḥm-r3 sn-b nb n spḥt</i> <i>Ḥm-r3 sn(w)</i> <i>Ḥm-r3 kmwt</i> <i>Ḥm-r3 dsrt m3ꜥ</i> <i>Hk3 hwt</i> <i>Ḥm (ty) - bity</i> <i>Smr-wꜥty</i> <i>Ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥthr</i>	Overseer of Fishers, Fowlers, and Hunters of the Nome Expedition leader Overseer of all the Vegetation of the Nome Overseer of Disputes True overseer of black cattle and of red cattle Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole Companion Priestess of Hathor
<i>Mry</i> , wife of <i>H3gi</i> , named on stela	Female			

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 canopy fringe fragment, may go with 23-11-612	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-550a	Not photographed	Not recorded	3a	Fig. 33
	1 canopy fringe fragment, may go with 23-11-612	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-550b	Not photographed	Not recorded	3b	
	2 canopy supports, may go with 23-11-612	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-550c	Not photographed	Not recorded	3c	Fig. 34

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Porter	Male figure, once clenched object in raised right arm, left leg forward	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-536	B5040, b/3	Dunham 1923-23a: 64	67	Fig. 41
Bakery-brewery-cooking	Base of model scene with 26 round peg holes	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-619	Not photographed	Not recorded	107a	Fig. 159
	1 arm doubled-back	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-539a	Not photographed	Not recorded	107b	Fig. 163
	2 fans from bakers or cooks	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-547	B5047	Not recorded	107c	Fig. 164
Misc. Human Figures	Male worker, stooped	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-537	B5040, b/4	Dunham 1923-23a: 64		
	6 squatting figures	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-538	B5040, a/4, a/5, a/6, a/7	Dunham 1923-23a: 64		
	2 bent right arms	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-539b	Not photographed	Not recorded	162e	
	2 bent left arms	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-539c	Not photographed	Not recorded	162f	
	1 straight left arm	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-539d	Not photographed	Not recorded	162g	
	1 leg, foot gone, peg at knee	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-540a	Not photographed	Not recorded	162b	
	1 leg from knee down, foot gone, ends in dowel, peg at knee	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-540b	Not photographed	Not recorded	162c	
	1 leg, fragmentary	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-540c	Not photographed	Not recorded	162d	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>H3gi</i>	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	BMFA 25.676	23-11-472	C6507	Dunham 1923-23a: 64
Coffin of <i>H3gi</i> , acacia wood, boards fitted with metal ties	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-188a-e	A3271, B5037, B5038	Dunham 1923-23a: 66, 85
Coffin lid fragment of <i>Mry</i> or <i>H3gi</i>	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-665a	Unknown	Not recorded
End board of 2 nd coffin of <i>H3gi</i> , from debris in pit 5202	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-665b	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
Coffin fragments in debris of S.F.5202 belonging to <i>Mry</i>	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-665 c, d	Not Photographed	Not recorded
Five painted coffin fragments, from debris of pit 5202	<i>Inhrt-ikr</i> Group	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-554	Not Photographed	Not recorded
2 canopic box fragments, green hieroglyphic inscription, <i>htp di nswt</i> [...]. from debris of pit 5202		1923-1924	Not located	23-11-555	Not Photographed	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
Painted female cartonnage mummy mask, from pit 5201 & debris of north burial pit in 5202		1923-1924	BMFA 23.1475a-c	23-11-453+ 23-11-484	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 64, 66
Mummy wrappings, cloth, painted with red, black & white, with hieroglyphic inscription, debris of 5202		1923-1924	Not located	23-12-40	Not Photographed	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	RW jar (broken), 2 handles, pink wash with red and black painted lines	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-660	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW shoulder sherd, painted red and black, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-661	Unknown	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Footed RW dish, red centered, red wash	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-39	Unknown	Not recorded
Statues	Wooden male statue, uninscribed	1923-1924	BMFA 24.609	23-11-541	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
	Wig fragment, wooden male <i>k3</i> statue	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-533	B5047	
	1 large, bent left arm from male <i>k3</i> wooden statue	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-534	B5149	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
	1 large, straight right arm from male wooden statue	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-535	Unknown	Dunham 1923-23a: 66
Furniture	2 wooden chair legs, turned with incised horizontal decoration, NK	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-549	Unknown	Not recorded
	2 wooden chair legs, MK?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-551	B5047	Not recorded
	Wooden headrest, top section	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-553	Unknown	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Wooden nail	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-545	C10303, b/1	Not recorded
	<i>Imyt-r</i> walking staff or wooden pole used to carry coffin	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-189	Unknown	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	Part of rectangular 4-legged wooden toilet box with ivory veneer, MK	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-546	Unknown	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Wooden spoon or ladle	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-544	B5047	Not recorded

N.89

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	E7/8	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Unknown Entrance corridor= 2.2L x 1.20 W Chapel= 4.0 W x 8.0 L x .?H	One shaft, dimensions unknown	One chamber= 3.20W x 2.80L x ?H	2	

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>H3gi</i>	Male	Mummy wrappings found in debris of burial pit	<i>Hm-y-r3 nmt</i> <i>Hm-y-r3 hm(w) ntr</i> <i>Hm-y-r3 sn-t3</i> <i>Hm-y-r3 sn(w)</i> <i>H3ty-5</i> <i>Hry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> <i>Hry-tp dbt [šsp.t?] m hwt-ntr</i> <i>Hk3 hwt</i> <i>Htm(y)-bity</i> <i>Smr-wty</i>	Overseer of the slaughterhouse Overseer of priests Overseer of vegetation Overseer of disputes Count Overlord/supervisor of the Thinite nome Overlord/supervisor of the wardrobe of [Šsp.t-cloth?] in the temple Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Beer Brewer	Female statue	1901-1903	BMFA 25.1521	NA	C8878, C11355, C11374, C11375	Unknown, tomb cards lost	108a	Figs. 165, 166
	Jar	1901-1903	BMFA, not accessioned(should be BMFA 25.1521b)	NA	C11355	Unknown, tomb cards lost	108b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel, south & west walls, and burial chamber walls	Red Group	NA	NA	NA	B4470, B4471, B4472, B4473	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Coffin, fragments	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4473	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Nine Coptic coins	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C11328, C11329	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Carinated bowl with spout, Meydum ware <i>/is</i> jar	1901-1903 1901-1903	Not located Not located	NA NA	B8716, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost Mace 1909: 46, Fig. 105 (or mistake for N.11)
Statues	Male statue, wood, broken	1901-1903	BMFA, not accessioned	NA	C11355	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Miscellaneous	Headrest, wood	1901-1903	BMFA, not accessioned	NA	C11355	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.43

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	DE 8/9	Type II2	E-W	NA	NA	0.80W x 2.0L	0.84W x 2.0 L x 0.90H	2

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Titi</i>	Female	Female mummy found inside coffin	Unwrapping= series B9073- B9104, B9107-B9118 Skeleton= B9105, B9106	<i>Try ht nswt / rht nswt</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Duck Roaster	Male statuette	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15200	NA	A4491, A4493- A4498, B4883, a/3	Reisner 1901-03a: 27-29; 1901-03b: 2 (Reisner's 43.2)	110	Figs. 117, right, 175, 176
Miller	Female statuette	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15202	NA	A4491, A4493- A4498, B4883, a/1	Reisner 1901-03a: 27-29 ; 1901-03b: 2 (Reisner's 43.4)	109	Figs. 117, left, 149, 150
Porter	Male statuette	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15203	NA	A4491, A4493- A4498, B4883, a/2	Reisner 1901-03a: 27-29; 1901-03b: 2 (Reisner's 43.6)	68	Figs. 117, center, 118

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Linen wrappings of <i>Titi</i>	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9309	Not recorded in field notes

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Large ovoid/piriform jar with conical base, small hole repaired with wooden plug in antiquity. RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15351	NA	B10667, b/1	Reisner 1901-03a: 27-29; 1901-03b: 2 (Reisner's 43.1)
Statuettes	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15201	NA	B4864-B4865	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15205	NA	B4859-B4861	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15206	NA	B4858	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15207	NA	B4872-B4873	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15210	NA	B4874-B4875	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15211	NA	B4866-B4867	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15212	NA	B4876-B4877	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood (N.43.5)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4870-B4871	Reisner 1901-03a
	Male statuette, wood (N.43.7)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4868-B4869	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15209	NA	B4862-B4863	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15213	NA	B4876-B4877	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15214	NA	B4878-B4882?	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15215	NA	B4874-B4875	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15216	NA	B4878-B4882	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15217	NA	B4878-B4882?	Reisner 1901-03a
	Female statuette, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15218	NA	B4878-B4882	Reisner 1901-03a
Miscellaneous	Coffin (plain)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4467, B4468, A4491, A4493, A4494, A4495, A4496, A4497, A4498	Reisner 1901-03a
	Sandals, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-03a

N.297

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	E12	Type IIIc	One entrance on W, E-W axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.0 L x 0.80 W Chapel= 1.60 W x 2.40 L x ?H	One shaft, dimensions unknown	One chamber= 1.20W x 2.40L x ?H	2

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Dancer	Female statuette	1901-1903	Cairo J.E. 37756	NA	C8853, C8854, C8855, C8856, C8857	Unknown, tomb cards lost	142	Figs. 208, 209

Associated material

None

N.51

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	EFG 6/7	Type IIIc	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Court mostly destroyed, 14.0W (extant)	Entrance corridor= 2.0 L x 1.40 W Chapel= 7.20 W x 10.40 L x ?H	Single shaft, dimensions unknown	Single chamber?, dimensions unknown	2

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Rower	1901-03	PAHMA 6-13045	NA	C8908, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	4a	Figs. 29, 44
	Canopy support	1901-03	Not located	NA	C8908, b/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	4b	Fig. 29
	End post with papyrus umbel	1901-03	Not located	NA	C8908, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	4c	Fig. 29

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Papyrus fragment, NK or TIP hieratic	1901-03	Eg. Inv. 1751 (now in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library)	NA	None	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Papyrus fragment, Coptic	1901-03	Eg. Inv. 1756 (now in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library)	NA	None	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Storage jar	1901-03	Not located	NA	C4225	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Furniture	Furniture base or leg?, wood	1901-03	PAHMA 6-16132	NA	C8908, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Furniture seat fragment, wood with drilled holes for weaving rush string	1901-03	Not located	NA	C8908, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Organic Material	Textile, bundle	1901-03	Not located	NA	C8850, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Miscellaneous	Sandal, wood	1901-03	Not located	NA	C8908, c/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.241

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	F 12	Type IIIc	One entrance, on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.80 L x 1.00 W Chapel= 2.80 W x 2.40 L x ?H	One shaft, 0.80 W x 2.00 L x ?D	Unknown	3

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Špst</i>	Female	Unknown	<i>Hkrt nswt wꜥtt</i>	Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Mirror	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12860a	NA	B10698, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	69a	Figs. 35, 110, center
	Female left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12860b	NA	B10698, b/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	69b	Figs. 35, 110, right
	Female right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12860c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	69c	Fig. 110, left
	Female right foot	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12860d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	69d	Fig. 110, bottom center
Offering Bearer	Female figurine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12864a	NA	B10698, c/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	70a	Figs. 35, 111, 112
	Right arm, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12864b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	70b	Figs. 111, 112
Porter	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23555a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	71a	Fig. 121, left
	Male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23555b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	71b	Fig. 121, right
	Ox haunch	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23555c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	71c	Fig. 121, bottom

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Porter	Male head fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23555d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	71d	Fig. 121, top
	Male head fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23555e	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	71e	Fig. 121, top
Model Boat	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868d	NA	B10698, d/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5a	Figs. 35, 42, left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868i	NA	B10698, d/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5b	Figs. 35, 42, right
	Right arm, goes with PAHMA 6-12868i	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868j	NA	C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5c	Fig. 42
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868m	NA	C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5d	Fig. 43
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868n	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5e	
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868o	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5f	Figs. 43
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868p	NA	C9590?	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5g	Figs. 43
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868a	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5h	Figs. 35, 36, bottom
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5i	Fig. 36, bottom
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5j	Fig. 36, center
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868e	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5k	Fig. 36, center
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868f	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	5l	Fig. 36, top
Granary	Silo	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12866	NA	C9590, b/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost	89a	Figs. 43, 137
	Measuring basket with grain	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12865	NA	C9590, b/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost	89b	Figs. 43, 138

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Boat fender?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16154a	NA	C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost	198a	Fig. 43
?	Boat fender?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16154b	NA	C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost	198b	Fig. 43

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stature of <i>Špvt</i> , wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16120a,b	NA	C8858, C8859, C8860, C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Small hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Shallow bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, a/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Small globular jar, necked, small mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, b/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Large globular jar, necked, small mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8771, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Jewelry	11 fatence beads; 9 small spherical, 1 large spherical, 1 barrel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12870	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Metal fragments, gold	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12869	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Statues	Stature, female right arm, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12858	NA	B10698, d/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Stature, male right arm, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12859a	NA	B10698, d/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
	Statue, male left arm, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12859b	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Statue, female, upper torso, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12861	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Base fragments?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868q	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Base fragments?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868r	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Cosmetic Items	Mirror, copper	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10698, c/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Box? fragment, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9590	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Kohl grinder, wood	1901-1903	6-23548	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Miscellaneous	Sandal fragments, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868d	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Fragment, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868q	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Fragment, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868r	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Wood fragment, concave post, 1 bulbous end with hole drilled through it	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12868h	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.269

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	H 10/11	Type II5	NE-SW	NA	NA	1.10 W x 2.40 L x 4.50 D	3.00? W x 3.20 L x ?H	3

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Brewer	Beer vat	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13044a	NA	C8993, c/2	Reisner 1901-1903b	112a	Figs. 95, 151, top center
	Male figurine	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Reisner 1901-1903b	112b	
Duck Roaster	Hearth	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13044b	NA	C9000, c/4	Reisner 1901-1903b	113a	Fig. 151, top left, 168
	Male figurine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13046	NA	C9000, c/5	Reisner 1901-1903b	113b	Fig. 151, bottom left, 168
	Left arm	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9000, c/3	Not recorded	113c	Fig. 168
Baker	Bread Molds	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13044c	NA	C8993, a/2	Reisner 1901-1903b	111a	Figs. 95, 151, top right
	Male figurine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13043	NA	C8993, d/3	Reisner 1901-1903b	111b	Figs. 95, 151, bottom right

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shouldered jar, necked, conical base, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b
Organic Material	2 shells	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9000, a/2, a/3	Reisner 1901-1903b

S.F.5210

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	South end of high ridge on west slope, north of tombs S.F.5201- S.F.5204	Type IIIB	1 entrance on SW, NE-SW axis?	unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.35 L x 1.90 W Room A= ?W x 3.05 Lx ?H Corridor B= 0.65W x 1.95L x 0.80H Corridor C= 1.00W x 4.70L x 1.10H x 0.17D (slope)	NA	NA	3

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Male Porter	Ox haunch	1923-1924	Not located	23-12-15	Not photographed	Not in tomb cards, or field journal	72	Fig. 122

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar, RW	1923-1924	Not located	23-12-31	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, RW	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-32a	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Shouldered jar, rim, RW	1923-1924	Not located	23-12-33	Not photographed	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Travertine jar, neck & rim fragment	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-14	B5061	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	Shallow wooden dish, repaired, modern(?)	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-34	C10782	Not recorded

N.105

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	AB 12	Type IIIc, traces of painted figure on rear wall of inner room of chapel	One entrance on E, E-W axis	Unknown	Room A= 1.20W x 2.00L x ?H Room B= 1.80W x 1.20L x ?H	Shaft I= dimensions unknown Shaft II= dimensions unknown	Two chambers, dimensions unknown	3

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Kfy	Male	None	Smr-w'ly	Sole Companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Brewer	Beer vat	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12603	NA	C9000, b/1	Reisner 1901-1903a: 21	114a	Figs. 168, 169
	Broken wooden figure	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903a: 22	114b	Fig. 170
Model Granary	Stairs	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16101		C8882, c/1	Not recorded	90a	Figs. 37, 140
	Wall fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8882, a/1	Not recorded	90b	Fig. 37
	Wall fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8882, b/1	Not recorded	90b	Fig. 37
Model Boat	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16130	NA	C8882, c/2	Not recorded	6	Fig. 37

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Inscribed pottery offering plate, rim sherd, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, b/3; C8990, b; C8991, b	Reisner 1901-1903a: 20

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Inscribed pottery offering plate, base sherd, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, a/1; C8990, a; C8991, a	Reisner 1901-1903a: 20
	Tall shouldered (offering) jar, inscribed shoulder sherd and neck sherd, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, b/4 (shoulder); C8989, a/3 (neck); C8990, c; C8991, c	Reisner 1901-1903a: 20
Coffin	Broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903a: 20

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pot stand with 4 triangular perforations, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, c/2	Reisner 1901-1903a: 21
	Bowl, flared sides, flat base, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, a/2	Reisner 1901-1903a: 21
	Spouted jar, ornamented with small knobs, sherd, NK?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, b/2	Reisner 1901-1903a: 21
	Jar, lower half with flat base, two sherds, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8989, c/3	Reisner 1901-1903a: 21
Specialized Implements	Mallet, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8889, a/1	Reisner 1901-1903a: 20
Furniture	Headrest with splayed legs, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-12601	NA	B10691, b/1	Not recorded

Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

S.F.533

Tomb Description								
Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.500	On south slope of hill "500", next to S.F.536, perhaps family complex as the tombs share one courtyard	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on W, N-S axis	Unknown, mud plastered façade	Entrance corridor= 1.05 L x 0.90 W Room A= 3.95W x 2.80L x ?H	Shaft C= 0.90W x 2.20L x 4.54D Shaft B= 1.0W x 2.65L x 4.59D Corridor D= 0.85W x 3.40L x 2.65D (slope)	Chamber C= 1.0W x 2.65L x 0.95H Chamber D= 1.90W x 2.65L x 0.91H Chamber B= 0.90W x 2.60L x 0.96H	4

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	None	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Ḳy</i>	Female	None	<i>Hm(Ḳ)-ntr-Ḳḥtr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt w'tt</i>	Priestess of Hathor Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Male figure, striding	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-8	Not Photographed	Not recorded	163	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Ḳy</i> , found between S.F.533 and S.F.536	Blue Group	1923-1924	BMFA 25.627	23-10-98	C6350, C10198	Dunham 1923-24a: 13, 14
Stela fragment with remains of male figure from S.F.533D	NA	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-189	Not Photographed	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Scaraboid with incised fish or scorpion decoration, NK	Design class ID	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1631	23-10-131a	Unknown	Not recorded
Plaque seal with <i>Imn-R^c nb</i> on one side and striding lion on reverse, NK	NA	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1619	23-10-191	Unknown	Not recorded

Associated material, unincised

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Piriform jar, RW, red wash	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-169	B5050, c/4	Not recorded
	Piriform jar, RW, red wash	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-394	Unknown	Not recorded
	Large piriform jar with incised decoration, RW, red washed rim	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-170	B5050, c/1	Not recorded
	Squat jar with purplish painted horizontal bands, marl	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-171	B5050, B1	Not recorded
	2 model carinated jars	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-172a,b	B5050, a/8, a/9	Not recorded
	Tall necked jar, piriform base, RW	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-173	Unknown	Not recorded
	Jar, piriform base, RW	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-176	B5050, b/7	Not recorded
	Jar, piriform base, marl, incised lines	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-177	B5050, b/6	Not recorded
	Model jar, RW, with red wash, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-183	B5050, a/7	Not recorded
	Model jar with 2 handles, RW, red wash, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-184	B5050, a/6	Not recorded
	Model jar with 2 handles, RW, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-186	B5050, a/3	Not recorded
	3 crude squat model jars, RW, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-187	B5050, a/10; B5059?	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery, continued	3 crude model jars, mud	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-188	B5050, a/1, a/2; B5059?	Not recorded
	Elongated jar, RW, flat base, NK?	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-395	Unknown	Not recorded
	Drinking cup (beer cup), RW, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-174	B5050, c/5	Not recorded
	6 drinking cups (beer cups), RW, NK	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-178	Unknown	Not recorded
	Drinking cup, RW, red washed rim, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-179	B5050, b/5	Not recorded
	Model pitcher with single handle, RW with yellow wash, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-185	B5050, a/4	Not recorded
	Jar, RW with painted lotus motif in black on shoulder, 3 handles, NK	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-192	B5050, c/2	Not recorded
	Bichrome sherd, RW, NK	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-193a	Unknown	Not recorded
	Sherd, neck, RW, incised lines	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-193b	Unknown	Not recorded
	Sherd, base, RW	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-193c	Unknown	Not recorded
	Sherd, shoulder, RP, black painted design, NK	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-193d	Unknown	Not recorded
	Large jar, sherds, RW, red wash with horizontal blue bands between black lines, NK	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-193e	Unknown	Not recorded
	Carinated bowl with incised, uneven rim, RW	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-175	B5050, b/2	Not recorded
	Large dish, RW, red wash on interior	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-180	B5050, a/5	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shallow dish with interior white painted crossed lines and dots decoration	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-181	B5050, b/3	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl sherd, red washed rim and interior white painted design	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-396	Unknown	Not recorded
	Shallow dish, half, RW	1923-1924	Not located	23-10-182	B5050, b/4	Not recorded
Jewelry	2 faience ball beads	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-131b-c	Unknown	Not recorded
	Tiny bronze nodule, not pierced	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-131d	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 faience ball bead	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-191b	Unknown	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Bronze chisel, broken	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-10-190	Unknown	Not recorded

N.3765

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	O 1/2	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	court destroyed	Entrance corridor= 1.90 L x 0.75 W Room A= 1.94 W x 2.60L x 1.80H Room D= 3.05 W x 3.10L x 1.20H Corridor C= 0.80W x 2.85L x 0.80H x ?D (slope) Corridor F= 0.95W x 2.78L x 0.72H x ?D (slope) Corridor H= 0.50W x 1.28L x 0.66H x ?D (slope) G= <i>Balat</i> , 5 cm thick	Shaft B= 0.75W x 2.20L x 3.76D Shaft E= 0.90 W x 2.00 L x 3.45D (side walls of pit built up with stones to even them out)	N chamber off shaft B= 0.93W x 2.45 L x 0.80H; S chamber off shaft B= 0.89W x 1.54 L x 0.77H (116 cm above the floor level of the pit); N Chamber off shaft E= 0.80 W x 2.82L x 0.90H	4

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Tby</i>	Male	Male mummy found inside coffin, north chamber of pit B	Mummy in coffin= B175	<i>Try-p't</i> <i>H3ty-5</i>	Hereditary prince Count
<i>Hr-nfr</i> , wife of <i>Tby</i> , not depicted on stela	Female	None (inscribed coffin from south chamber of pit B)	Not photographed	<i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Smr-w'ty</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector priest Sole companion
Unnamed son, shown on stela?	Male	Skull & ilium of young man in burial E	Not photographed	Unknown	Unknown
?	?	4 skulls from room C	C47	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Servant Statuette	Female brewer	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1894	NA	C8192, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 73	115	Fig. 187

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Two small pieces of a boat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73		7

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Tby</i> DD69	Polychrome Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2829	NA	B603, C48, C49	Mace 1901-03d: 73
Coffin of <i>Tby</i> , with wood veneer (wood types unknown)	Polychrome Group Exterior Type I	1901-1903	Cairo JE 45967	NA	E125 (no negative), EG2024	Mace 1901-03d: 73; Mace 1902-05: 10
Fragment of <i>Tby</i> 's 2 nd coffin	Polychrome Group	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73
2 coffin fragments of <i>Hr-nfr</i>	Exterior Type I Polychrome Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1823	NA	C8170	Mace 1901-03d: 73
Male cartonnage mummy mask, <i>Tby</i>	Exterior Type I NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B175	Mace 1901-03d: 73; Mace 1902-05: 9

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop jar, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1825	NA	C7153, c/1	Not recorded
	Drop jar, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C7153, b/1	Not recorded
	Drop jar, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C7154, c/2	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jar with flat base and flared rim, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1827	NA	C7153, b/2	Mace 1901-03d: 73
	Jar, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1829 (not located)	NA		Not recorded
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jar with flat base and flared rim, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C7154, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 73
	Tall round shouldered <i>hs</i> jar, flat base, rim broken, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2867	NA	C7154, c/1	Mace 1901-03d: 73
	Globular flask with tall neck, Dynasty 18	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	Faience, large flat disc bead, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11620	NA	A573, d/5	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Faience, lotus amulet	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11620	NA	A573, d/6	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Faience, tubular bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11620	NA	A573, c/6	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Fish pendant, lapis	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11620	NA	A573, c/5	Mace 1901-03d: 74
Furniture	Stool, wood, woven seat squared legs,	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1824	NA	C8157, C8158	Mace 1901-03d: 73
	Stool, wood, woven seat, ox feet	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1824	NA	C8159, C8160	Mace 1901-03d: 73
Cosmetic items	Wooden kohl sticks	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Wooden box fragments	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Wooden comb	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
Specialized Implements	Long bow, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2778	NA	C8192	
	Reed arrows w/points, cane and flint	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1828	NA	B8124, B8125	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	<i>Imyt-r</i> walking staff	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Mace 1901-03d: 73
Organic Material	Basket, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2905	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Basket, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2906	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	Dom nuts	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1830	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73, 74
	Charcoal	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73
Miscellaneous	Sandal, model, broken, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2818	NA	C8192	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	Remains of 3 coffins in C?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 74
	2 or 3 pieces of later coffin, in pit B, south chamber	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 73

N.3900

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	MN 2	Type IIIB/C	1 entrance on S, N-S axis	Court A, mostly destroyed	Entrance corridor= 1.65 L x ?W Room B= 4.86 W x 3.65L x 1.45H Room C= 3.50 W x 5.70L x 1.45H Corridor 1= 0.95W x 3.10L x 0.88H Corridor 2= ?W x 5.46L x 0.80H x 0.35D (slope) Corridor 3= 0.82W x 3.55L x 0.90H x 0.24D (slope) Corridor 4= 0.88W x 3.98L x 0.80H x 0.34D (slope) Corridor 5= 0.75W x 3.0L x 0.79H Corridor 6= 0.70W x 4.30L x 1.00H x 0.27D (slope)	Shaft "a" = 1.10W x 2.40L x 4.84D Shaft "b" = 1.0W x 2.28L x 4.20D Shaft "c" = 0.94W x 2.25L x 4.04D	Chamber "a" = 0.90W x 2.56L x 0.92H Chamber "b" = 1.15W x 2.10L x 0.86H Chamber "c" = 1.12W x 2.60L x 1.06H	4

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Iiti-ʕ</i>	Male	An unrecorded number of skulls and bones found in room B	Not photographed	<i>Iry-pʕt</i> <i>Hby-ʕ</i> <i>Htm(y)-hity</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Smr-wʕty</i>	Hereditary Prince Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector Priest Sole Companion
<i>Htp.ti</i> , wife of <i>Iiti ʕ</i>	Female	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>hkrt nswt wʕt</i> <i>hmt-ntr Hthr</i>	Sole Royal Ornament Priestess of Hathor
<i>Hti</i> , good name <i>Iiti</i>	Male	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>Imy-rʔ msʕ n Smʕw Mthw</i> <i>Iry-pʕt</i> <i>Hby-ʕ</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Smr-wʕty</i>	Expedition leader of Upper and of Lower Egypt Hereditary prince/ nobleman/ keeper of the patricians Count Lector Priest Sole Companion

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Hmty</i> , wife of <i>Hti</i> , good name <i>Iti</i>	Female	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>Hkrt nswt w'tt</i>	Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king
<i>In-it.f</i> ꜣ, son of <i>Hti</i> and <i>Hmty</i>	Male	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>'Imy-r3 ms'</i> <i>H3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Snr-w'fy</i>	Expedition leader Count Sole Companion
<i>In-it.f s'ri</i> , son of <i>Hti</i> , and <i>Hmty</i>	Male	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>H3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count
<i>Mri.t</i> (wife of <i>In-it.f</i> ꜣ)	Female	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>Hm(t)-ntr Hthr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt w'tt</i>	Priestess of Hathor Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king
Expedition leader (name lost)	Male	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>'Imy-r3 ms'</i> <i>'Iry-p't</i> <i>H3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Hm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Snr-w'fy</i>	Expedition leader Hereditary Prince Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector Priest Sole Companion
Wife (name lost) of Expedition leader	Female	Unknown	Not photographed	<i>Hm(t)-ntr Hthr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt w'tt</i>	Priestess of Hathor Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king
?	Female? Child	Intrusive pit burials in courtyard: contracted burials of a woman(?) on right of entrance and child on left of entrance	Woman's (?) burial= C787; Child's burial= C785, C786	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Serving statuette	Male statuette, squatting	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8239, b/3	Mace 1901-03e: 63	164	Fig. 128

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Hti-ꜥ3</i> (names wife <i>Htp.ti</i> , shown with her on stela), DD 73	Polychrome Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1253	NA	1 st stela= E28 (no negative), A589, A838, B172?, C64?	
Stela of <i>Hti</i> , good name <i>Iti</i> (names wife <i>Hnyt</i> , shown with her on stela), DD 39	Green Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2820	NA	4 th stela= C131, D592	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Stela of <i>In-iti-ꜥ3</i> (names brother <i>In-iti-ꜥ3</i> , who made the stela for him), DD 40	Green Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1252	NA	3 rd stela= C60, B591	
Stela of <i>Mri.t</i> (wife of <i>In-iti-ꜥ3</i>) DD 58	Green Group	1901-1903	Cairo JE 45971	NA	5 th stela= C593	
Stela, Chancellor and Expedition leader, (name lost, name of wife lost, shown with her on stela) DD 56	Green Group	1901-1903	Cairo JE 45969	NA	2 nd stela= E27 (no negative), C45, C46, B590	
2 coffin end boards, belonging to <i>Hnyt</i>	Green Group	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	C8529	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Furniture or coffin fragment, traces of paint, hieroglyphs	Exterior Type I NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1928	NA	C8239, a/5	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Lower part of early coffin	NA		Not Located	NA		Mace 1901-03e: 63

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar, globular, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1925	NA	B7113, b/2	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Coarse wide mouth jar with conical base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1933	NA	B7113, c/1	Mace 1901-03e: 63

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar with quatrefoil mouth, incised horizontal bands, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1934	NA	B7144, d/1, B7113, d/1	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Wide mouth drop jar, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1935	NA	B7113, b/3	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar with rolled rim, small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1936	NA	B7113, d/2	Not recorded
	Drop jar with wide mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1937	NA	B7113, c/2	Not recorded
	Globular jar with quatrefoil mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1938	NA	B7144, c/2, B7113, b/1	Not recorded
	Drop jar with small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1939	NA	B7113, c/3	Not recorded
	Drop jar with small mouth, RW	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	A7562, a/7	Not recorded
	Clay seals from jars	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Round bowls with red wash at top	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Tall pot stands	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	2 broken, tall shouldered jars, RP	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Jar with undulating profile	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Stone Vessels	Squat kohl jar with projecting rim, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1932	NA	C8239, a/3	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Jewelry	Graduated strand of faience spherical beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11652a	NA	E575 (no negative)	Mace 1901-03e: 63

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	13 spherical carnelian, 1 spherical amethyst	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11652b	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	27 faience beads: 1 bicone, 20 rings, 2 quatrefoil, 4 fancy (1 could be stylized <i>wdf</i>)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11652c	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	1 green stone bull's head(?) amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Statues	1 broken female statuette	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Furniture	Stool or chair leg, ox leg shape	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1927	NA	C8239, a/6	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Cosmetic Items	Box, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1929	NA	C8239, a/4	
Specialized Implements	Fragments of staves	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Organic Material	Coiled basket, oval	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1945	NA	C8239, b/4	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Twisted cord from cartonnage mask	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
	Charcoal	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 63
Miscellaneous	Coffin, plain	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C102	Mace: 1902-05: 12
	Coffin, plain	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C103	Mace: 1902-05: 12

N.3737

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	O 1	Type IIIc	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Court, mostly destroyed = 3.40W	Entrance corridor= 2.05 L x 1.12 W Chapel= 4.80 W x 4.70 L x 1.70H	Shaft, 1.60 W x 2.10L x 2.10D; Pit B on west side of court= 1.58 W x 2.10 L x 1.40 D	Inner burial chamber= 1.75 W x 4.45 L x ?H	4

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Mrw</i> , good name <i>ʿy-ʒw</i>	Male	Remains of mummy, with bones (vertebrae, sternum, ribs, legs and arms) scattered inside coffin in burial chamber, two toe bones found in chapel near thieves' tunnel	Bones inside coffin = A718	<i>ʿImy-rʒ ḥm(w) ntr</i> <i>ʿry-pʿt</i> <i>ʿry nfr-ḥt m dbʒ nb.f ntr.f n nwtj</i> <i>Hʿty-ʿ</i> <i>Ḥm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Smr-wʿty</i>	Overseer of Priests Hereditary prince/nobleman/keeper of the patricians Keeper of the Headdress in Attiring his Lord, (namely), his City God Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole Companion
[<i>Mr</i>] _{1,s} [<i>ʿnh</i>], wife of <i>Mrw</i> , good name <i>ʿy-ʒw</i> (not buried in tomb)	Female	Not located	Not photographed	<i>Ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥthr</i>	Priestess of Hathor
1 st son <i>Hni</i> (not buried in tomb)	Male	Not located	Not photographed	<i>ʿImy-rʒ ḥmty(w)-š (n) pr-ʿʒ</i> <i>Hm ntr</i> <i>Smr-wʿty</i>	Overseer of the Tenant Land-Holders of the Great House Priest Sole Companion
2 nd son (NN- name lost) (not buried in tomb)	Male	Not located	Not photographed	<i>Šiḏ ss(w) pr-mdʒt</i>	Inspector of Scribes of Archives/Department of Documents
3 rd son <i>Rwd</i> [...] (not buried in tomb)	Male	Not located	Not photographed	<i>Smr-wʿty</i>	Sole Companion
Daughter <i>ʿiti</i> (not buried in tomb)	Female	Not located	Not photographed	None	None
?	Male, ?	2 coffins in exterior pit B: contracted body of adult male in small coffin; extended body of unrecorded sex in larger coffin	Contracted skeleton inside broken coffin = C188, C189; Mummy in larger coffin = C191	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Granary	Storehouse	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676a	NA	C8152, C8153	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91a	Figs. 143, 144
	Door	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676k	NA	C8154, b/1	Not recorded	91b	Fig. 145
	Wall	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676h	NA	C8154, b/2	Not recorded	91c	Fig. 145
	Wall	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676i	NA	C8154, a/1	Not recorded	91d	Fig. 145
	Wall	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676j	NA	C8154, b/3	Not recorded	91e	Fig. 145
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of <i>bdt</i> (emmer)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676b	NA	C8155, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91f	Fig. 146
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of <i>bnr</i> (dates)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676c	NA	C8155, a/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91g	Fig. 146
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of an unknown grain (name lost)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676d	NA	C8155, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91h	Fig. 146
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of <i>bꜣꜥ</i> (barley)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676e	NA	C8155, a/2	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91i	Fig. 146
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of <i>swt</i> (wheat)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676f	NA	C8155, b/2	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91j	Fig. 146
	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>ḥkꜣt</i> of <i>it-šmꜥ</i> (Upper Egyptian barley)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676g	NA	C8155, a/3	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91k	Fig. 146
	Worker	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676l	NA	C778; B8120, c/4	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91m	Figs. 70, 147, center
Granary	Worker	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676m	NA	C778; B8120, c/5	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91m	Figs. 70, 147, left
	Worker	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676n	NA	C778; B8120, c/3	Mace 1901-03d: 58	91n	Figs. 70, 147, right

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
	Measuring basket w/grain	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1683d	NA	C8191, top, right	Not recorded	91o	Figs. 51, 148
Kitchen?	Worker, male	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676o	NA	C778; B8120, b/6	Mace 1901-03d: 58	165a	Fig. 70
	Worker, male	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1676p	NA	C778; B8120, b/7	Mace 1901-03d: 58	165b	Fig. 70
Miller	Torso	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1683a	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	116a	Fig. 182
	Knees	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1683b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	116b	
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1683c	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	116c	
Flour sifter	Body	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23519a	NA	B8120, b/1; C55	Mace 1901-03d: 57	117a	Figs. 70, 183
	Sieve w/left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23519b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	117b	Fig. 183
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23519c	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	117c	Fig. 183
Baker?	Male figure, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23526	NA	B8120, b/2; C122	Mace 1901-03d: 57	118	Figs. 70, 184
Boats	Prow	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684bb	NA	C8191, top right corner	Not recorded	11a	Figs. 51, 55
	Papyrus umbel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684cc	NA	C8191, top, center	Mace 1901-03d: 57	8a	Figs. 51, 52, left
	Papyrus umbel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684dd	NA	C8191, below prow	Mace 1901-03d: 57	8b	Figs. 51, 52, right
	Canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ii	NA	C8191, top left corner, C55	Mace 1901-03d: 57	8c	Figs. 51, 62
	Canopy part	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684mm	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Not recorded	10a	Fig. 51
	Canopy part	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684nn	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Not recorded	10b	Fig. 51
	Canopy part	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684y	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Not recorded	10c	Fig. 51

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boats	Canopy part	1901-1903	Not located, goes with previous 3 pieces	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Not recorded	10d	
	Canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-168400	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	11b	Fig. 63
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684a	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	11c	Figs. 14, 64, top
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684b	NA	C8191, bottom right corner	Mace 1901-03d: 57	11d	Figs. 51, 64, 2 nd from top
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684c	NA	C8191, center, left	Mace 1901-03d: 57	10e	Figs. 51, 64, 3 rd from top
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684d	NA	C8191, center, left, below 6-1684c	Mace 1901-03d: 57	10f	Figs. 51, 64, 4 th from top
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684e	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	9	Figs. 51, 64, bottom
	Spar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684g	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	12a	Fig. 78, bottom
	Mast	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684f	NA	C8191, bottom right	Not recorded	12b	Figs. 81, 78, top
	Mast support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684pp	NA	C8191, center	Not recorded	12c	Figs. 51, 77
	Mast support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ss	NA	C8191, center, on right of 6-1684pp	Not recorded	12d	Figs. 51, 77
	Mast support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684tt	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	12e	Fig. 77
	Mast support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684uu	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	12f	Fig. 77
	Cross-bar, rudder rest	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684hh	NA	C8191, top, center	Not recorded	14i	Figs. 51, 68
	Mooring stake	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684u	NA	C8191, upper right	Not recorded	13a	Figs. 51, 69, 3 rd from top
	Mooring stake	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684v	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	13b	Fig. 69, bottom
	Mooring stake	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684w	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	13c	Fig. 69, top
	Mooring stake	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684x	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	13d	Fig. 69, 2 nd from top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684o	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15h	Fig. 72, 4 th from top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684vv	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15i	Fig. 72, 8 th from top
	Oar	1901	PAHMA 6-1684l	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15j	Fig. 72, 7 th from top

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boats	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684r	NA	C8191, lower left, 4 th oar down	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15k	Figs. 51, 72, top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684q	NA	C8191, lower left, 3 rd oar down	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15l	Figs. 51, 72, 2 nd from top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684p	NA	C8191, lower left, 2 nd oar down	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15m	Figs. 51, 72, 3 rd from top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684n	NA	C8191, lower left, 1 st oar down	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15n	Figs. 51, 72, 5 th from top
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684r	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	15o	Fig. 72, 6 th from top
	Rudder	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684h	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	14a	Figs. 51, 66, bottom
	Rudder	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684i	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	14b	Fig. 66, 3 rd from top
	Rudder	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684j	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	14c	Figs. 51, 66, 2 nd from top
	Rudder	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684k	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57	14d	Figs. 51, 66, top
	Rudder post	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ww	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	14e	Fig. 67, 3 rd from top
	Rudder post	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684xx	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	14f	Fig. 67, bottom
	Rudder post	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ee	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	14g	Fig. 67, top
	Rudder post	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ff	NA	C8191, center, left	Not recorded	14h	Figs. 51, 67, 2 nd from top
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684yy	NA	B8120, b/3	Not recorded	15a	Figs. 70, 71, 6 th from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684aaa	NA	B8120, b/5	Not recorded	15b	Figs. 70, 71, 7 th from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684bbb	NA	B8120, a/6	Not recorded	15c	Figs. 70, 71, far left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ccc	NA	B8120, a/9	Not recorded	15d	Figs. 70, 71, 2 nd from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ddd	NA	B8120, a/4	Not recorded	15e	Figs. 70, 71, 3 rd from left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boats	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684eee	NA	B8120, a/7	Not recorded	15f	Figs. 70, 71, 4 th from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684fff	NA	B8120, a/2	Not recorded	15g	Figs. 70, 71, 5 th from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ggg	NA	B8120, a/8	Mace 1901-03d: 57	16a	Figs. 70, 73, far left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684hhh	NA	B8120, a/1	Mace 1901-03d: 57	16b	Figs. 70, 73, 2 nd from left
	Pilot, striding, right arm once upraised	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23522	NA	B8120, c/6	Not recorded	16n	Figs. 70, 75, right
	Pilot, right arm upraised	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684iii	NA	B8120, c/8	Not recorded	17c	Figs. 70, 75, left
	Punter, male	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23521a	NA	B8120, c/7	Not recorded	17a	Figs. 70, 76, left
	Punter, male	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23521b	NA	B8120, c/3	Not recorded	17b	Figs. 70, 76, right
	Sailor, left arm upraised	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C55 (in situ)	Mace 1901-03d: 57	17d	Fig. 14
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684kkk	NA	B8120, b/4	Mace 1901-03d: 57	16c	Figs. 70, 73, 3 rd from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684lll	NA	B8120, a/3	Mace 1901-03d: 57	16d	Figs. 70, 73, 4 th from left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684mmm	NA	B8120, a/5; C122	Mace 1901-03d: 57	16e	Figs. 70, 73, far right
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684nnn	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16f	Fig. 74, 7 th from left
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ooo	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170a	
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ppp	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16g	Fig. 74, 5 th from left
	Right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684kkk	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16h	Fig. 74, 2 nd from left
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684qqq	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16i	Fig. 74, 6 th from left
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684jjj	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16j	Fig. 74, far left
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684qqq	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16k	Fig. 74, 4 th from left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boats	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684rr	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16l	Fig. 74, 3 rd from left
	Arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684rrr	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	16m	Fig. 74, 8 th from left
Beer-making Scene	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23520a	NA	C8191, right	Not recorded	119a	Figs. 51, 188, top
	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23520c	NA	C8191, top, center	Not recorded	119b	Figs. 51, 188, bottom
	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23520b	NA	C8191, bottom, center	Not recorded	119c	Figs. 51, 188, center
Brewer	Male right arm, brewer	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23528a	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	120a	Fig. 189, bottom
	Male left arm, brewer	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23528b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	120b	Fig. 189, top
Porter	Male figure, striding, on base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23523a	NA	B8120, c/1	Not recorded	74a	Figs. 70, 127
	Left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23523b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	74b	Fig. 127
Offering Bearer	Basket	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23524	NA	C55	Mace 1901-03d: 57	73a	Figs. 14, 51 (top right), 123, left
	Female left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23539	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	73b	Fig. 123, right
Paired Arms	Male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23529a	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	168a	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23925b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	168b	
	Male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23530a	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	168a	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23530b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	168b	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23531a	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	167a	
	Male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23531b	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	167b	

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Misc. Arms	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23532	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170b	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23533	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170c	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23534	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170d	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23535	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170e	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23536	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170f	
	Male right arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23537	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170g	
	Male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23538	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	170h	
?	Male figure, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684jii	NA	C122	Mace 1901-03d: 57	166	Fig. 13
?	Curved piece of wood resembling boat canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684ll	NA	C8191, center, right	Not recorded	100b	Fig. 51

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Inscribed & Decorated Material	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel walls	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	NA	NA	A841-A845, A849, C23, C69, C190	Mace 1902-05: 104-106
Coffin of <i>Mrw</i> , side and end fragments & decorated interior fragment	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group Exterior Type I decoration	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A718; B572, b/1, b/2; C8154, c/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Letter to the Dead, written by <i>Mrw</i> 's son	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	BMFA 38.2121 (now in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library)	NA	A847, B9705, B9706, B9707, B9708	Mace 1901-03d: 57
Ivory statue of <i>Mrw</i> , wooden base	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	Formerly in the Hearst Museum (stolen in 1968?)	NA	C55, C864, C865, C866, C867, C868, C869	Mace 1901-03d: 57
3 limestone ostraca with rough inscriptions in black ink	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model saw handle, wood, hieratic notation	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA	NA	C8151, a/5	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model chisel handle, wood, hieratic notation	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23542a	NA	C8151, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model chisel handle, wood, hieratic notation	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23542b	NA	C8151, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model chisel handle, wood, with hieratic notation	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23542c	NA	C8151, b/4	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model chisel handle, wood, with hieratic notation	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23542d	NA	C8151, b/2	Mace 1901-03d: 58

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Coarse, elongated jar	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Bowl, RP, sherd	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Tall, shouldered jar, sherd	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	3 mud jar sealings	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
Jewelry	6 faience beads: 1 spherical, 1 large disc (NK), 4 rings	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1674	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Statues	Statue, base, wood, striding feet	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23545	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Statue, male left arm	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23546	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
Model funerary set	Model offering table, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1638	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model offering table, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1639	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1640	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1641	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1642	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1643	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1644	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1645	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1646	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model bowl, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1647	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model funerary set, continued	Model pot, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1648	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model pot stand, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1649	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model ewer, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1650	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model <i>hs</i> jar, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1651	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model <i>hs</i> jar w/spout, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1652	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model ewer, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1653	NA	C8147, C8148	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model rod, copper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1654	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Model Opening of the Mouth set	Model piriform vase, quartz crystal	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1669c	NA	C8151, b/5	Not recorded
	Model piriform vase, limestone	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8191, top left corner	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model beaker limestone, painted black	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1669a	NA	C8151, a/6	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model beaker, limestone, painted white	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1669b	NA	C8191, top left corner	Mace 1901-03d: 58

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Organic Material	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1657	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1658	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1659	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1660	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1661	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1662	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1663	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Nut	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1665	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Bone, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1666	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Egg shell, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1668	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Cord, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1670	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Ox horn, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1671	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Charcoal, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1672	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Dried leaf, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1673	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Rope, fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1682	NA	Not Photographed	Not recorded
	Fish bones	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Calf skull, bones	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Organic Material	Mussel shell	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
Specialized Implements	Model axe for leatherworking, wood (broken)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23540a	NA	C8151, a/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model axe for leatherworking, wood (tip)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23540b	NA	C8151, a/1	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Model adze, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23543a	NA	C8151, a/3	Not recorded
	Model adze, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23543b	NA	C8151, a/4	Not recorded
	Unknown tool, long handle with curved end, hole drilled through handle at joint with curved blade	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684s	NA	C8191, bottom, left	Not recorded
	Unknown tool long handle with curved end, hole drilled through handle at joint with curved blade	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684t	NA	C8191, bottom, right	Not recorded
	Fire drill	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684gg	NA	C8191, bottom left	Mace 1901-03d: 57

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
	Reed arrow with blunt wooden point	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8191, center	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Walking staff, pieces	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Furniture	Stool or chair leg, foot in form of lion's paw	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23544	NA	C8151, a/2	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	"Flint"- siltstone palette with traces of green pigment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Possibly C8565, a/2	Mace 1901-03d: 58
	Granite paint grinder, found above secondary burial pit in courtyard	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Kohl applicator?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1684aa	NA	C8191, center, left	Not recorded
	White painted rectangular box, wood, now in 12 pieces	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1677c-n	NA	C8149, C8150	Mace 1901-03d: 58
Miscellaneous	Sandals, model, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1664	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1675	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1678	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1679	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1680	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1681	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Sandals, model, wood, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2816	NA	C8156	Mace 1901-03d: 57, 58
	Large coffin, courtyard	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C107, C188	Mace 1901-03d: 57
	Small coffin B, courtyard	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C107, C188	Mace 1901-03d: 57

N.3774

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	NO 1	Type IIIc	One entrance on SW, NE-SW bent axis	Court, mostly destroyed= 3.35W	Entrance corridor= 1.18 L x 0.90 W Chapel= 5.95 W x 3.56 L x 1.62H	Shaft A=1.03W x 2.30L x 3.60D Shaft B=1.0W x 1.90L x 3.20D Pit C= 0.74W x 1.68L x 1.42D	Chamber "a"=1.03W x 2.30L x 0.93H Chamber "b"= 1.0W x 2.58 L x 1.93H	5

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Hni</i>	Male	Leg bones in mummy wrappings found in chapel, along with several skulls and a quantity of bones	<i>Hmy-r3 hnt(w) ntr</i> <i>Hmy-r3 k3t m hwt-ntr</i> <i>Hmy-r3 tpwt nb nt šmsw mštw</i> <i>Hry-pꜣ</i> <i>H3ty-c</i> <i>Hry-šš3 <n hnt-ntr> m ꜣ-št</i> <i>Hry-šš3 n hnt-ntr</i> <i>Hnt(y)-bity</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Smr-wꜣty</i>	Overseer of priests Overseer of the work in the temple Overseer of all the <i>tpwt</i> of the retinue of the <i>mštw</i> Hereditary prince/nobleman/keeper of the patricians Count Privy to the secret (of the god's treasure) in the great chamber Privy to the secret of the god's treasure Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector priest Sole companion
<i>Kyt</i> , wife of <i>Hni</i> , named on stela & represented with her husband	Female	A few bones found in burial pit A	<i>Hnt(t)-ntr Hhtr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt wꜣtt</i>	Priestess of Hathor Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king
<i>Tmrry-snb</i> , eldest son named on stela, who made it for his father	Male	None	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Kitchen Scene	Table w/bread loaves	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23550	NA	C8169	Macc 1901-03d: 31	121a	Fig. 185

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Kitchen Scene	Squatting male figure	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1856	NA	Not photographed	Tomb cards, described as wooden statuette from boat	121b	Fig. 186

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Inscribed & Decorated Material	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Hni</i> DD 70	Green Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1847	NA	C298	Mace 1901-03d: 31, 32
Coffin of <i>Hni</i> , burial chamber "b"	Green Group Exterior Type I	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2922	NA	B562-B565, B878, C141, C142	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Coffin fragments of <i>Kyt</i> , burial chamber "a"	Green Group Exterior Type I	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B572, a; B8432, B8433	Mace 1901-03d: 32
2 coffin fragments, remains of hieroglyphs	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23549a,b	NA	C8169, a/1	Not recorded
Coffin fragment, with "feet of a figure"	Exterior Type VI?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Female cartonnage mummy mask	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8169, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Inscribed faience scarab, <i>Mn-hpr-R^c nfr-mst</i>	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11631	NA	B584, bottom, left	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Faience scarab, <i>Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11629	NA	B584, bottom, right	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Plaque seal depicting a striding lion, NK, from pit A	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11630	NA	B584, bottom, center	Mace 1901-03d: 31

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall shouldered jar with flat base, flared rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1850	NA	B7113, c/6	Mace 1901-03d: 31

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall shouldered jar with flat base, flared rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1859	NA	B7113, c/7	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Drop jar with wide mouth, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1851	NA	B7113, d/5	Not photographed
	Drop jar with wide mouth, WSR	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7113, d/6	Not photographed
	Shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7113, b/7	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Jar, painted, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1854 (not located)	NA	Unknown	Unknown
	Small bowl, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7113, b/6	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Polished & black painted Dynasty 18 ware	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7113, a/2	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Jewelry	Beads, strung, 49 blue faience discs & 2 small spherical faience, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624	NA	B584, bottom left corner (some), and bottom right	Mace 1901-03d: 31 (discs)
	1 medium spherical bead, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624	NA	B584, bottom right	Not specifically mentioned
	1 large spherical bead, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624	NA	B584, bottom center	Not recorded
	1 bicone bead, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624	NA	B584, bottom left	Not recorded
	22+ small ring beads, faience, shell, carnelian	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624 (some)	NA	B584, bottom	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Beads, strung, 50 large faience discs, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11625	NA	B584, lower left corner (some)	Mace 1901-03d: 31 (discs)
	1 tubular bead, black faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11625	NA	B584, bottom right	Mace 1901-03d: 31

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	2 small spherical blue faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11626 (1 bead)	NA	B584, bottom left	Not recorded
	1 corrugated faience bead attached to fiber	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11626	NA	B584, bottom right	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	1 glazed lion amulet	1901-1903	Not located		B584?	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Statues	Wooden statuette	1901-1903	Not located		Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Statues	Broken wooden statuette, 25 <cm> long	1901-1903	Not located		Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Furniture	Furniture, 3 chair fragments	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1853	NA	C8180, C8181, b/2, b/3, b/4	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Furniture, chair or stool leg, form of lion's paw (acacia wood)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1857	NA		Mace 1901-03d: 31
Cosmetic Items	Kohl stick, broken, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11626	NA	B584, bottom left	Not recorded
	Grinding stone for palette, flint	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Box fragments, painted	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Specialized Implements	Arrow point, flint	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1860	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Mallet, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1852	NA	C8180, C8181, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Mallet, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1858	NA	C8180, C8181, b/5	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Wooden scraper	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	'Imyt-r walking staff, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1849	NA	A8272, 13 th from left	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	'Imyt-r walking staff or carrying pole for coffin, wood	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 32
	Wooden pegs & sticks, 1 bound w/fiber cord	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Organic Material	Basket, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2907	NA	B8095 & B8096, a/7	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Basket, small circular	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8095 & B8096, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Basket, large oval	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8095 & B8096, b/4	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Leather garment, apron	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16399	NA	B8245, B8246, C8222	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Dom nuts	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Leather garment, netted	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16401	NA	C8169, c	
	Seed	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11624	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Linen cloth	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
Miscellaneous	Sandal, model, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1855	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31
	Ox skull	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not Photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 31

S.F.5214

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	South end of high ridge, north of complex S.F.5201/5203	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SE, NW-SE axis	Unknown, façade patched with rubble & mud plaster	Entrance corridor= 0.80L x 0.75W Chapel= 3.50W x 2.20L x 2.42H Corridor B= 0.75W x 3.50L x 1.12H x ?D (slope)	Shaft A= 0.50W x 2.25L x 1.98D	Serdab? A (NW)= 1.00W x 1.00L x ?H; Chamber A (SE)= 1.80W x 2.25L x 1.03H Serdab A (SE)= 1.00W x 1.40L x 0.51H Serdab B (E)= 0.50W x 0.80L x 0.43H Serdab B (W)= 0.50W x 0.75L x 0.67H	5

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Wsr</i>	Male	None	<i>Imy-r3 tbww</i> <i>Wr dhc</i>	Overseer of sandal makers Great/chief of leather crafts

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 steering oar	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-109	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-24a: 82	18	Fig. 58
?	1 male arm, straight	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-111	Not photographed	Dunham 1923-24a: 82	171	
Priest	Male figure, striding with left arm crossed over breast	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-35	C10281	Dunham 1923-24a: 82	147	Fig. 216
Duck Roaster	Male figure cooking at hearth	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-108	B5040, b/1	Dunham 1923-24a: 82	122	Figs. 41, 190

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel, walls	"Other" Inscriptions of Dynasty 9	1923-24	NA	NA	A3260, C5026	Dunham 1923-24a: 82

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Statues	Arm of male <i>k3</i> statue, hand broken	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-37	B5149	Not recorded
	Right arm of male statue, clenched hand	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-110	B5149	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Fragments of a wooden walking staff	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-36	Unknown	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Wooden sandal(?) fragment	1923-24	Not Located	23-12-38	Unknown	Not recorded

N.3930

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	J 4	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= destroyed Chapel= 2.56 W x 2.40 L x ?H Side corridor "a" = 1.00W x 4.75L x 0.90H x ?D (slope)	Shaft "b"= 0.90W x 2.20L x 3.15D	Chamber "b"= 1.30W x 2.60L x 0.82H	5

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>M3^c-lrrw</i>	Male	1 skull and bones found in burial pit "b"	<i>lry-pft</i> <i>Hby-c</i> <i>Htm(y)-bity</i>	Hereditary prince Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt
<i>lidi</i> , wife of <i>M3^c-lrrw</i> named on stela & shown with husband on stela	Female	Quantity of bones found in chapel	<i>Hm(t)-ntr-Hthr</i> <i>Hkrt nswt w'tt</i>	Priestess of Hathor Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king
<i>lkr-lhw</i> (male)	Male family member?	Coffin fragment found in corridor "a", no bones	<i>Htm(y)-bity</i> <i>Smr-w'ty</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	2 small arms from male? figure	1901-1903	Not located	NA	None	Mace 1901-03e: 137	172	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>M3^c-lrrw</i> , DD 76	<i>Mrry</i> Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2830	NA	B610 B712 C170	Mace 1901-03e: 137

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment of <i>M3C-itw</i>	<i>Mryt</i> Group	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8937, b/2?	Mace 1901-03e: 137
Coffin fragment of <i>Itk-itw</i>	<i>Mryt</i> Group	1901-1903	Not located	24-1-9	C8937, b/1	Mace 1901-03e: 137
Broken piece of cartonnage mummy mask and wig	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Mace 1901-03e: 137

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jars, 2 sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	2 or 3 tall, shouldered jars, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 137
Jewelry	18 spherical faience beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11662	NA	E575?	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	7 carnelian ring beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11662	NA	E575?	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	50+ faience disc beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11662	NA	E575?	Not recorded
	1 large, corrugated (melon) faience bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11662	NA	E575?	Not recorded
	1 flat, square bead with cross pattern, lapis	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11662	NA	E575?	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	1 pierced shell	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Mace 1901-03e: 137
Organic Material	Tortoise shell fragment	1901-1903	1901-1903	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	Quantity of cloth	1901-1903	1901-1903	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 137
	Pieces of matt work	1901-1903	1901-1903	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 137

S.F.18

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F. 200	On low hill east of Sheikh's tomb & adjoins S.F.25	Type IIIA/B	Entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	unknown	Corridor A= 0.86H Corridor B= 0.95H (slight slope down) Corridors are 1.10 above the floor of entrance to corridor Q =Area 5 of S.F.25: Room P= 2.20 W x 2.15 L x 1.0H Corridor Q (slopes below P)= 0.90W x 2.0L Chamber Q= 1.35 W x 1.60L x 0.72H	NA	NA	5

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Hmwy</i>	Male	2 leg bones	<i>Hmwy-rꜥ msꜥ</i> <i>Hꜥty-ꜥ</i> <i>Hꜥry-tp ꜥꜥ m spꜥt</i> <i>Smr-wꜥty</i>	Expedition leader Count Overlord/supervisor in the Nome Sole Companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	4 seated rowers	1913	Not Located	13-2-242	B1812, a/1-3	West 1913d:	19a	Fig. 54
	1 figure, bending forward	1913	Not Located	13-2-242	B1812, a/6	West 1913d:	19b	Fig. 54
	2 standing sailors	1913	Not Located	13-2-242	B1812, b/6, b/8	West 1913d:	19c	Fig. 54
	1 standing sailor	1913	Not Located	13-2-251	B1812, a/4	West 1913d:	19d	Fig. 54

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boats	Steering oar	1913	Not Located	13-2-243	B1812, c/13	Not recorded	19e	Fig. 54
	Prow	1913	Not Located	13-2-244	B1812, d/7	Not recorded	19f	Fig. 54
	Oar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1812, b/5	Not recorded	19g	Fig. 54

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Headrest of <i>Hmwy</i>	"Other"? Late Old Kingdom Inscriptions	1913	BMFA 13.3531	13-2-200	B1897, d/1	West 1913a: 46-47
Male mummy cartonnage mask, head with part of eye	NA	1913	Not Located	13-2-209	Not photographed	West 1913d

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pottery squat kohlr jar	1913	Not Located	13-2-210	B1751, c/2	West 1913d
	Model black pottery squat jar	1913	Not Located	13-3-3	B1751, c/7	West 1913d
	Bowl, pinched rim	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, a/6	Not recorded
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jars	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/4, b/9	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, d/5	Not recorded
	Cylindrical pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, d/4	Not recorded
	Drop jars	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/1, d/1	Not recorded
	Piriform jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/2	Not recorded
	Carinated bowl with ring base	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, a/1	Not recorded
	Bowl with flat base, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, a/2	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Deep bowls, slightly carinated	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, a/3, a/4, a/5	Not recorded
	Deep hemispherical bowl	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, a/7	Not recorded
	Large globular water jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849	Not recorded
	Beakers	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849	Not recorded
	2 sharply carinated jars, large & small, RP?	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/1, b/2	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar or crude /s jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/5	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/4	Not recorded
	Small, crude shouldered jar, tall neck	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/3	Not recorded
	Coarse, elongated jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/6	Not recorded
	Small globular jars, necked, small mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/5, b/8	Not recorded
	Large globular jar, necked, small mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, c/3	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar w/wavy mouth	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/6	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, large	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, b/7	Not recorded
	Large bag/globular jars, wide mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1849, d/2, d/3	Not recorded
	Large water jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1183, d/3	Not recorded
	6 jar sealings	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913d
Stone Vessels	Travertine lid to cosmetic vessel	1913	Not Located	13-2-204	Not photographed	West 1913d
	Fragment of travertine vessel	1913	Not Located	13-2-215	Not photographed	West 1913d
Jewelry	Various faience carnelian & shell beads	1913	BMFA 13.3550 & BMFA 13.3537?	13-2-214	Not photographed	West 1913d
	Faience ball and tubular beads	1913	BMFA 13.3545	13-2-221	Not photographed	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	1 white shell disc bead, 8 black faience ball and disc beads, 7 carnelian barrel & disc beads, 1 blue faience amulet bead, 1 blue faience tubular bead, blue faience disc beads	1913	BMFA 13.3565	13-2-272	A972	West 1913d
Furniture	Headrest	1913	Not Located	13-2-203	B1897, d/3	West 1913d
Specialized Implements	Long bow	1913	BMFA 13.3540	13-2-217	Not photographed	West 1913d
Cosmetic Items	Square wooden kohl container	1913	BMFA 13.3539	13-2-216	Not photographed	West 1913d
Organic Materials	Small shell, not pierced	1913	Not Located	13-2-212	Not photographed	West 1913d
	Nut	1913	BMFA 13.5162	13-2-213	Not photographed	West 1913d
	3 scalloped bivalve shells	1913	Not Located	13-3-7	B1907, a/4, c/1, c/4	West 1913d
	4 plain bivalve shells	1913	Not Located	3-3-8	Not photographed	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Fragment of blue faience tile	1913	Not Located	13-2-211	B1908, b/6	West 1913d

N.4172

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	O 2	Type II5	NE-SW	NA	<i>Mastaba</i> superstructure= 4.85W (SW end) 3.10W (NE end) 4.15L 1.40H (SW end)	0.85W x 2.00L x 3.80D	0.99W x 2.13L x 0.90H	5

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Ibi</i>	Male	Male mummy found inside coffin (had dark, curly beard)	Unwrapping= series B8683-B8690; skeleton= B8691; Skull with hair & skin= C11318	<i>H3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Smr-wꜥty</i>	Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole Companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Papyriform Boat	Boat complete with 6 rowers, coffin, pilot, helmsman	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115, B7116, B7117, B7118, B7119, C761, C764, C765	Mace 1901-03f: 114	20	Fig. 50
Bread-making Scene	2 millers on base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16164	NA	B7119, C761, C764, C765	Mace 1901-03f: 114	123	Figs. 178, 179

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin of <i>Ibi</i>	Early Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	Not located	23-12-194	B8735, B8736	Mace 1901-03f: tomb card
Male cartonnage mummy mask of <i>Ibi</i>	Exterior Type I NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8689, B8691	Mace 1901-03f: tomb card

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Long bow	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2148	NA	A8275, 1 st bow down	Mace 1901-03f: 114
	<i>Imyt-r</i> walking staff, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2146	NA	A8272, 15 th object from left	Mace 1901-03f: 114
	<i>Imyt-r</i> walking staff, wood, attributed to wrong tomb(?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2147	NA	Not found	Mace 1901-03f: 114?
Miscellaneous	Sandals, model, wooden	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C762, C763	Mace 1901-03f: 114

N.429

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	NO 8/9	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= dimensions unknown Room B= 2.80 W x 2.40 L Room C= 3.00 W x 3.60L Four corridors off B, Corridor (SW) = 0.80W x 3.20L x ?H x ?D (slope) Corridor D (West)= 2.00W x 4.80L x ?H x ?D (slope) Corridor (NW)= 1.40W x 4.40L x ?H x ?D (slope) Corridor (East)= 0.80W x 2.40L x ?H x ?D (slope) Two corridors off C, Corridor (NE)= 0.80W x 1.40L x ?H x ?D (slope) Corridor (West)= 1.00W x 2.40L x ?H x ?D (slope)	Shaft A, outside tomb= 0.80W x 2.00L; Two shafts in B: East shaft= 0.80W x 2.00L x ?D West shaft= 1.20W x 1.90L x ?D	Chamber A, outside tomb= dimensions unknown; Two burial chambers in B: South chamber, off East shaft = 1.00W x 2.40L x ?H North chamber, off West shaft= 1.00W x 2.20L x ?H	6

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>W/h?</i>	Male	Male mummy with short, curly black hair, found inside coffin in pit A	Unwrapping= B8681 Skeleton= B8682	<i>Imy-r3 Snt(w)</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Hry-hbt</i> <i>Smr-w'ty</i>	Overseer of disputes (?) Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector priest Sole companion
?, shown on stela	Wife?	Not located	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
?, shown on stela	Son?	Not located	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Basket, from female statue	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13590	NA	C11313	Reisner 1901-1903b: n.p.	75	Figs. 124, 125

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin of <i>H3</i> from A, inscription in blue paint	Early Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	Not located	24-1-5	A3437, B4959, B8739, B8740	Tomb cards, Reisner 1901-1903b
Broken stela depicting 3 figures, no names preserved, from B	Exterior Type I					
Pieces of painted mummy case in B	Early Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8920, upper left corner	Tomb cards, Reisner 1901-1903b
	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Tomb cards, Reisner 1901-1903b

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar with quatrefoil mouth, incised line decoration, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13591	NA	B10657, b/5	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar with flat base, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13593	NA	B10657, d/4	Not recorded
	Tall ovoid jar, rolled rim, white painted decoration	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13596	NA	B10657, c/6	Not recorded
	Large globular jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10657, c/7	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10657, a/4	Not recorded
	Pot stand, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13594	NA	B10657, d/5	Not recorded
Jewelry	50+ faience ring beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13592	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: n.p.

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	3 faience beads spherical beads, 1 faience tubular bead, 1 pottery bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13592	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Winnowing paddle, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13595	NA	C8894, C8895	Not recorded

N.3907

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	MN 2	Type III B/C	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Court, mostly destroyed = 3.70W	Entrance corridor= 1.00L x 0.80W Room A= 3.75W x 4.12L x 1.80H Chamber B= 1.55W x 2.30L x 0.80H Corridor C= 1.07W x 1.10L x 0.60D (slope) Corridor D= 1.10 circumference Corridor from A to B= 0.98W x 3.00L x 1.03D (slope)	Shaft "a"=1.00W x 2.0L x 4.55D Shaft "b"= 1.00W x 2.40L x 4.23D	Chamber "a"= 0.99W x 2.44 L x 0.98H Chamber "b"= 0.92W x 2.20L x 0.77H	6

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>In-iti</i>	Male	Original burial (of <i>In-iti</i> ?) in burial chamber "b" found turned on side; Several skulls & quantity of bones in fill of pit "b"; A few bones (no skull) found in fill of pit "a"; Wrapped skull inside reed basket found in room A; Number of bones in room A; 1 skull and a few bones in room B	Mummy in "b" = C789	<i>Hbty-^c</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Hry-^{hbt}</i> <i>Smr-w^{ty}</i>	Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector priest Sole companion
[<i>W</i>][<i>h</i>][<i>i</i>] (?)	Male	Unknown	Unknown	<i>Hry-p^t</i> <i>Hbty-^c</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Hry-^{hbt}</i> (restored by Brovarski) [<i>S</i>][<i>mr-w^{ty}</i>]]	Hereditary prince Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector priest Sole companion
<i>P<i>3</i>i</i>	Male	Unknown	Unknown	<i>Smr-w^{ty}</i>	Sole companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Porter	Male statuette	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1926	NA	C8239, b/2	Mace 1901-03e: 127	76	Figs. 128, 129

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	Expedition Records
False door stela of <i>In-it.f</i> , found above pit "b", DD 74	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1254	NA	B594, B595, B710, C596, C158	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Stela of <i>P3i</i> , DD 46	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1073 + 6-19867	NA	C596	Not recorded	Not recorded
Stela of <i>[W]h[?]i (?)</i> DD 38	<i>Mrw/ly 3w</i> Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1942 + 6-1080	NA	B595	Not recorded	Not recorded
Coffin fragments, from fill of pit "a"	?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Coffin fragment of <i>Inhrt-[-...]</i> , yellow with inscription in blue paint, from fill of pit "b"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8535, C8536	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Coffin fragment, angled corners, painted red, <i>mr</i> sign in red paint inside 1 piece	Exterior Type I? NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Coffin fragment of <i>In-it.f</i> , yellow with inscription in blue paint, from chamber B	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8535, C8536	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
3 or 4 coffin fragments, painted polychrome "chess board" decoration, from pit "b"	Exterior Type I? Exterior Type VI?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Fragment of "figure shaped lid" of anthropoid coffin, from pit "b"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Painted stick incised with name <i>P3i</i> , from entrance to chamber "b"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Scarab inscribed with <i>Min-hpr-R</i> , from room A	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11654	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Green faience scarab, inscribed with <i>Imn</i> & <i>nfr</i> signs	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11656	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall, slender, necked flask, RW, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1947	NA	B7132, d/3	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Globular necked jar, 2 body sherds, marl	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1948	NA	B7132, a/5	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Coarse, elongated jar, RW?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2780	NA	B7132, d/4	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Pitcher, red and black painted lines, 2 pieces, RW, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1946	NA	B7132, b/5, and c/2	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Pot stand	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1940 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Beer cup, RW, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1943	NA	B7132, c/3	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Beer cup, RW, NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1944	NA	B7132, b/6	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	2-handled amphora, Dynasty 18	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Bowl or dish, flat base, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Jewelry	6 beads: 1 fancy (twisted cylinder) faience bead, 1 faience ring bead, 4 small spherical beads, brown stone?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11653	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	32 beads: 2 spherical carnelian, 28 carnelian rings, 1 fancy faience, 1 spherical serpentine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11655	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Cosmetic Items	Reed kohl tube	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Furniture	Headrest, fill of pit "a,"	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Wooden headrest, fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Inlaid wooden box with knob, fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Square box made of woven rushes with 2 hooks and carrying sticks, with wrapped skull	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C160, 167	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Specialized Implements	Walking staff, pit "b,"	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
Organic Material	Twisted black cord painted black, from cartonnage mask	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Reed basket, round lid or tray	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2909	NA	C9055/C8056, C167, B8095/B8096, c/2	
	Straw mat, basketry fragments	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1941	NA	C155	
	Mat fragment	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2877	NA	C8225	
	Mussel shell	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1930	NA	C8239	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	3 pieces of reeds tied with fiber cord	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1931	NA		
	Cane fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C157	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Dogs' bones (later reuse)	1901-1903		NA		Mace 1901-03e: 127
Miscellaneous	Wooden sandal fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127
	Several rough sticks, 1 w/notched end, possibly from matt burial			NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 127

N.3567

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	L. 3/4	Type IIIA	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Court A, mostly destroyed, , mud bricked entrance wall	Entrance corridor= 0.73W x 2.60L Room B= 2.50W x 3.10L x ?H Inner corridor= 0.77W x 0.80L Room C= 5.45W x 2.50L x ?H Corridor D= 0.90W x 3.00L x 0.87H	NA	NA	6

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Sjfi</i>	Male	2 skulls found in corridor D	<i>Imy-r3 hnty(w)-s (n) pr-ḥ</i> <i>Imy-r3 kmr ḥnh (? read ḥ)</i> <i>Htm(ty)-bity</i> <i>Smr-wḥty</i>	Overseer of land-tenants/tenant farmers, attendants of the Great House Overseer of the thousand black cattle Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Sole companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Overseer	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1431	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 76	148	Fig. 217
Model Boat	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2846	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 76	21	Fig. 79

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Sjfi</i> , DD 29	"Other" Late Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1435	NA	C627 (no negative)	Mace 1901-03b: 76

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1436 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1438 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1440 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Globular/squat jar, rolled rim, small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1441	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1442 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Drop jar, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1443	NA	B7131, d/4	Not recorded
	Drop jar		Not located		B7131, d/3	Not recorded
	Drop jar		Not located		B7131, d/5	Not recorded
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jar, incised bands, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1446	NA	B7131, b/6	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, b/5	Not recorded
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, b/7	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, flared rim, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1447	NA	B7131, c/5	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, flared rim	1901-1903	Not located		B7131, c/6	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located		B7131, c/7	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jar, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1448	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Squat jar, quatrefoil mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA -1449	NA	B7131, a/8	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Drop jar, slightly flared mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1450	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, rolled rim, flat base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2770	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar, chipped	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2847 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Bowl, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1434 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, slightly carinated, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1437	NA	B7131, a/5	Not recorded
	Deep bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, a/6	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Bowl, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1439 (not located)	NA		Not recorded
	Shallow bowl, flared sides, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1451	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, c/4	
	Squat, carinated jar, Dynasty 18	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, b/4	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Ovoid jar with quatrefoil mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7131, d/6= B7144, d/2	Mace 1901-03b: 76
Stone Vessels	Small squat cosmetic jar, wide rim, limestone	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1444	NA	B7131, a/7	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Small squat cosmetic jar, wide rim, limestone	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1445	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Jewelry	Strung faience beads from original necklace: blue rings, 4 open-work <i>wǎbt</i> eyes, 1 lotus pendant, 1 quatrefoil bead, 2 other tiny amulet forms (1 could be <i>tit</i>)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11571	NA	A573?	Mace 1901-03b: 76
	Restrung beads: carnelian bicone, barrel & ring beads, drop pendant and seeds?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11574	NA	A573?	

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Cosmetic Items	1 ivory or bone spatula	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11572	NA		Mace 1901-03b: 76
	1 ivory or bone spatula	1901-1903	Not located	NA		
Furniture	Wooden headrest	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Mace 1901-03b: 76

N.3769

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	L 3	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Court mostly destroyed, 3.03W	Entrance corridor= 1.12 L x 0.89W Chapel= 3.90 W x 3.28 L x 1.70H	Shaft "a"= 1.0 W x 2.0L x 3.12D Shaft "b"= 0.80 W x 1.80L x 3.10D	Chamber "a"= irregularly cut, circumference= 2.00 x 0.80H Chamber "b"= 1.00W x 2.92L x 1.04H	6

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Nfr-ihmw</i> , good name <i>Hwy</i>	Male	None	<i>Smr-[w'ty]</i>	[Sole] Companion

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1844	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141	22	Fig. 80

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela of <i>Nfr-ihmw</i> , good name <i>Hwy</i> , DD 47	"Other" Late Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1589	NA	C171, D604 (no negative)	Mace 1901-03d: 141
Fragments of 2 (decorated?) coffins	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
Remains of an "elaborately decorated" coffin, Dynasty 18?	Exterior Type VI?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop jar, rolled rim, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1836	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall, slender jar with conical base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1837	NA	B7137, c/3	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Tall, slender jar with conical base, RW	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7137, c/4	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Drop jar, rolled rim, small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1840	NA	B7137, b/3	Not recorded
	Drop jar, rolled rim, small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1846	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1845	NA	B7137, d/3	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	2 tall shouldered <i>hsjars</i>	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Bowl, Dynasty 18?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Elongated jar, coarse ware	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Pieces of round-bottomed, reddish white pot	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
Jewelry	1 large faience ball bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1838	NA	C8209, a/4	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	7 small faience ball beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1838	NA	C8209, b/2, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	1 carnelian <i>dd</i> amulet	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1838	NA	C8209, a/3	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	1 tubular faience bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1838	NA	C8209, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	1 glass? bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1838	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	4 faience ring beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
Statues	1 broken wooden statuette	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Rough wooden spear head or dagger	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Broken hoe?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1843	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	2 tree-trunk coffins	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8187	Not recorded
	Fragments of a pottery coffin	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Coffin fragment, uninscribed & unpainted		PAHMA 6-1842	NA	C8184?	Not recorded
	Small wooden coffin or box		Not located	NA	C8184, C8185, C8186	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Ox skull		Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141
	Pieces of reed baskets		PAHMA 1839, PAHMA 6-1841	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	2 tree-trunk coffins		Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 141

S.F.5204

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	South end of high ridge, southwest of S.F.5201/5203	Type II5	Shaft, NW-SE	NA	NA	1.05 W x 2.65 L x 4.34 D	1.25W x 3.50L x 1.12H	6

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Head of model figure	1923-24	Not located	23-11-698	Not photographed	Not recorded	173b	
?	1 small arm of man, doubled back	1923-24	Not located	23-11-679b	Not photographed	Not recorded	173a	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Painted plaster fragments from coffin	NA	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-684	Not Photographed	Not recorded
Two coffin fragments with interior decoration, one of seven sacred unguents	NA	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-685	Not Photographed	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat RW jar, red wash, black painted decoration	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-680	Unknown	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Base of pot stand, red wash, black painted rim	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-682	Unknown	Not recorded
	Sherd of pottery pitcher, one handle of Cypriote base-ring juglet	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-697	Unknown	Not recorded
Furniture	Stool leg, wood, tapered with square foot, MK	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-696	Not Photographed	Not recorded
Statues	Arm(s) of large wooden male statue, fragments	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-678	Unknown	Not recorded
	Arm of wooden statue	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-679a	Unknown	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	2 pairs of wooden model sandals	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-683a,b	Unknown	Dunham 1923-24a: 73
	2 wooden sticks with bark on exterior	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-681a,b	Unknown	Not recorded

N.111

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	H 4/5	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 0.80 L x 1.20 W Room A= 3.20 W x 3.20 L x ?H Room B= 1.60 W x 2.0L x ?H	One shaft in A= dimensions unknown One shaft in B= dimensions unknown	Burial chambers in chambers A & B= dimensions unknown	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	A few bones found in burial pit in chamber A	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Five oars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8994, b/1-5; C9307; C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1	23a	Fig. 57
	Rudder	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8994, c/1; C9307; C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1	23b	Fig. 57
	Rower	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8994, C9307, C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2	23c	Fig. 57

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Elongated jar, coarse ware,	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Globular jar, sherd, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Ten rim sherds	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	One listed in Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Body sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2.
	Base sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Bowl, flared sides, flat base, RW with white dots and crossed line painted decoration on interior, MK	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Pot stand, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Globular jar, Coptic	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C4357	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
Miscellaneous	Headrest fragment, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C9308	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2

N.3558

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	OP 1	Type IIIIC	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown, mud brick retaining wall with stone foundation course, 2.82 W preserved on west side; Stela niche = 0.60H	Entrance corridor= 2.64 L x 1.00 W Chapel= 3.80 W x 3.56 L x 1.70H	Shaft "a" = 0.85W x 2.22 L x 4.40D Pit "b" = 0.75W x 2.00 L x 4.80D	Chamber a= 0.65W x 2.25L x 1.00H; No chamber off "b"	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Inhrt-sntjfr</i>	Male	3 skulls in fill of pit "a"	Not Photographed	<i>ḥbw nswt</i>	Royal sandal maker
<i>Hmw.ti</i>	Female	One skull in pit "b"	Not Photographed	Unknown	Unknown
?	?	Reed "stick" burial in pit "a", 2.25 meters above bottom (=PAHMA 6-1412)	C26, C41, C42, C66, C67	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Small wooden figures	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45	174	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment, end board of <i>Hmw.ti</i> , from fill of pit "b"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8534	Mace 1901-03a: 45
Remains of 2 or 3 early coffins, one with inscription, from fill of pit "a"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stick (broken) inscribed for <i>Inhrt-sn-nfr</i> from fill of pit "a"	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2808	NA	C8129	Mace 1901-03a: 45
Papyrus fragments, Book of the Dead(?) from fill of pit "a"	NA	1901-1903	Whereabouts unknown, perhaps in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tiny pot, Dynasty 18, possibly from next tomb	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45
Jewelry	5 faience beads: 2 tubular, 3 spherical Glass beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1420	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Reed arrows	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45
Organic Material	Pieces of rope	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1415, PAHMA 6-1416, PAHMA 6-1417	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Reed basket	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1414	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Basket, folded	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1419	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Cord basket	1901-1903	NA	NA	C8174, C8175	Mace 1901-03a: 45
	Reed stick burial	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1412	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03a: 45
	Fiber bundle	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1418	NA	C8175, a/3	Not recorded

N.3795

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	QR/-1 (above cemetery N.2000)	Type IIIIC	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Court, mostly preserved = 5.50 W x 3.65 L	Entrance corridor= 1.78L x 0.82 W Chapel= 2.95 W x 3.75 L x 1.50H	Shaft= 0.69W x 2.26 L x 3.0D	Chamber= 0.93W X 2.00L x 1.05H	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	Remains of 1 skeleton found in burial pit, sex not recorded, but buried with walking staff	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Granary	Granary silos	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1892	NA	C302, C305, C330, C8057, C8058	Mace 1901-03d: 41	92a	Fig. 141
	Seated male figure	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1887	NA	C8177, a/4	Mace 1901-03d: 41	92b	Figs. 59, 142
Model Boat	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888a	NA	C8177, a/2	Mace 1901-03d: 41	24a	Figs. 59, 60, bottom left, 61, center
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888b	NA	C8177, a/3	Mace 1901-03d: 41	24b	Figs. 59, 60, top left, 61, right
	Rower (fig, <i>Ficus</i> sp.)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888j	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	24c	Fig. 61, left
	Canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888c	NA	C8177, a/5; C302; C305; C330	Mace 1901-03d: 41	24d	Figs. 59, 60, top
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888d	NA	C8177, b/2	Not recorded	24e	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888e	NA	C8177, b/4	Not recorded	24f	Figs. 59, 60, bottom

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boat	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888f	NA	C8177, b/1	Not recorded	24g	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888g	NA	C8177, b/5	Not recorded	24h	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888h	NA	C8177, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 41	24j	Figs. 59, 60, center
	Fragment, canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1888i	NA	C8177, b/5 (broken off from 6-1888g)	Not recorded	24i	Fig. 60, bottom
Porter	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2758	NA	C8177, a/1; C302; C305; C330	Mace 1901-03d: 41	78c	Figs. 17, 59
	Male statuette	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C302, C305, C330	Mace 1901-03d: 41	78a	Fig. 17
	Statuette base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C302, C305, C330	Mace 1901-03d: 41	78b	Fig. 17
Offering Bearer	Basket	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1893	NA	C8177, b/6	Mace 1901-03d: 41	77	Figs. 59, 126

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop/squat jar, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1884	NA	Not photographed	
	Tall shouldered jar, flared rim, conical base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1885	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 41
	Drop jar, rolled rim, small mouth, painted RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1886	NA	Not photographed	
	Drop jar, wide mouth, conical base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1889	NA	Not photographed	

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1890 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	
	Drop jar, rolled rim, small mouth, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1891	NA	Not photographed	
	Tall shouldered jar, flared rim, tapered base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1895	NA	Not photographed	
	Tall shouldered jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 41
Jewelry	Spherical faience bead	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
Specialized Implements	Walking staff, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 41
Organic Material	Cord	1901-1903	Not located		Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 41
	2 or 3 calf bones	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 41

N.3916

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	P 0	Type IIIC	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Court, mostly destroyed, west side 2.50 preserved	Entrance corridor= 2.00 L x 1.60 W Room A= 3.25 W x 3.75 L x 1.80H	Shaft= 0.90W x 2.22L x 4.55D Hole cut into floor of chapel beside burial shaft = 0.60D	Chamber= 1.26W x 2.40L x 1.10H	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Remains of 1 skeleton (sex not recorded), along with 1 broken skull & child's femur in burial pit	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Papyrus umbel	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, a/4	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25a	Fig. 53
	3 canopy fragments	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, c/1, 3-4	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25b	Fig. 53
	2 squatting figures, rowers?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, b/1, b/4	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25c	Fig. 53
	1 standing figure, pilot?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, c/6	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25d	Fig. 53
	1 striding figure, pilot or sailor?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, c/7	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25e	Fig. 53
	Falcon, wooden	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, a/3	Mace 1901-03e: 69	25f	Fig. 53
Bakery	1 squatting figure, baker	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, c/5	Mace 1901-03e: 69	125a	Fig. 53
	1 kneeling figure, left arm upraised, miller	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, b/5	Mace 1901-03e: 69	125b	Fig. 53
	Bread molds, fragment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, c/2	Not recorded	125c	Fig. 53

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Butcher shop	Ox haunch	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2821	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69	124a	Fig. 53
	2 stooping figures	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, b/2, b/3	Mace 1901-03e: 69	124b	Fig. 53
?	1 standing figure	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, b/6	Mace 1901-03e: 69	175	Fig. 53
?	2 unidentifiable fragments	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8557, a/1, a/2		200a, b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragments, hieroglyphs in blue paint, from burial pit	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall beaker, flared sides, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7145, b/6 & B7147, b/6	Not recorded
	1 elongated drop jar, coarsely made	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1960	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
	1 elongated drop jar, coarsely made	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
	1 cylinder jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Broken jar, later?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
Jewelry	1 carnelian barrel bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1959	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
	21 small faience ring beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1959	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
	1 large faience disc bead, NIK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1959	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
	1 faience fancy bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1959	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Statues	Wooden statue base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 69
Organic Material	Fragments of cloth	1901-1903				Mace 1901-03e: 69

N.3756

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	LM 2	Type IIIc	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor=?L x 1.03W Chapel= 5.20 W x 4.05 L x 1.80H (extant)	Shaft "a"= 1.05 W x 1.90 L x 5.10D Shaft "b"= 0.65W x 1.78L x 3.20D Niche "c" = 0.50D	Chamber "a" = 2.25W x 1.90L x 0.90H Chamber "b" = 0.75W x 2.02L x 0.86H	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Female?	Mummy from chamber "a"	Unwrapping= series B7966- 7967	None	None
	Male?	Mummy from pit "b"	Unwrapping= series C8034- 8039	None	None
	Unknown	Heap of bones at entrance to chamber "b"; 1 leg bone = PAHMA 12-3915	Not photographed	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547a	NA	C8176, a/1	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26a	Figs. 56, 65, left
	Rower	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547b	NA	C8176, a/2	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26b	Figs. 56, 65, far left
	Small male figure from boat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26c	
	Canopy	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547c	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26d	Fig. 56, center
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547d	NA	C8176, b/3	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26e	Figs. 56, 65, right
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547e	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26f	Fig. 56, right

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boat	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547f	NA	C8176, b/2	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26g	Figs. 56, 65, right
	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547g	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26h	Fig. 56, bottom
	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547h	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26i	Fig. 56, bottom
	Oar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	26j	
Boat pilot, sailor or porter?	Standing male figure	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23547i	NA	C8176, b/1	Mace 1901-03d: 179	176	Fig. 65
?	Small wooden vase	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179	201	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
14 coffin fragments, interior, part of false door and hieroglyphic texts, veneer	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1752	NA	C8168	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Mummy mask from "b", face gone, twisted cord wig	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Cartonnage fragment, face painted on linen	NA	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1749	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Beer jar with black painted rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1746	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Globular jar with small mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1758	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Quatrefoil mouth globular jar, incised line near mouth	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2777 (Not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	3 broken tall shouldered jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Stone Vessels	Squat limestone jar with incised decoration	1901-1903	6-1753	C8176, b/4	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Pinkish stone squat jar, flaring at rim and base, broken	1901-1903	6-2904	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Jewelry	3 faience beads: 1 ring, 2 fancy shape	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11619	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	1 spherical bead, carnelian	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Cosmetic Items	Square kohl box & kohl applicator stick, wood	1901-1903	6-1755a,b,k	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Furniture	Pieces of a wooden headrest	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Specialized Implements	Two fragments of wooden walking staff	1901-1903	6-1757	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Wooden block (mason's tool?)	1901-1903	6-1811	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	2 copper or bronze pins	1901-1903	6-1754 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	1 reed arrow shaft?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
Organic Material	Pieces of rope	1901-1903	6-1750	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Organic Material	Fragments of basket work	1901-1903	6-1759	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Shell	1901-1903	6-1751	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Ox bones	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	2 small wooden boxes, 98 & 123 cm long	1901-1903	6-1808, 6-1809 + 6-1810	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Sandal fragment, wood	1901-1903	6-1755e	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Sandal fragment, wood	1901-1903	6-1756	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	3 other sandals, painted white	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Linen bundles	1901-1903	6-1747-6-1748, 6-1760-6-1807	NA	C8141, C8145, C8142, C8143, C8144	Mace 1901-03d: 179
	Broken angled corners of coffin	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03d: 179

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	B 13	Type III	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Unknown	2.40W x 2.0 L x ?H	1.0 D	0.55 W (serdab)	7

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male (based on <i>k3</i> statue)	Bone from human finger	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Papyriform Boat	Papyriform boat	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, B4887	Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19	27	Fig. 45, 48
Model Papyriform Boat	Papyriform boat	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-17156	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, B4888-B4889	Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19	28	Figs. 46, 47, 49
Brick-making Scene	Brick-making	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-16163	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, C4842, C4843	Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19	144	Figs. 212, 213
Bread-making Scene	Bread-making	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-17161	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4886, C4840	Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19	126	Figs. 180, 181
Serving Statuette	Male duck roaster	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-17159	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, C4838	Field notes, Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19	127	Fig. 191, right, 192

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Statues	Wooden male <i>k3</i> statue, with beard & moustache	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15989	NA	C4838, C4839	Reisner 1901-1903a: 11-12; 1901-03b: 19

Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

N.3945

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	N 2	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Court, mostly destroyed, 1.40 L x 0.35 W on east side; 1.20 L x 1.57 W on west side	Entrance corridor= 1.42 L x ?W Chapel= 3.36 W x 3.95 L x 1.70 H Niche= 0.60 D x 0.40 W x 0.76 H	1.20W x 2.13L x 4.10D	1.02W x 2.98L x 1.08H	8

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	A few bones, including a pelvis, found in chapel	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	1 wooden figure	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85	177	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Fine painted coffin with angled corners & false door painted yellow, red, and blue	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8536, C8537	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Fragments of red painted coffin	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Fragments of yellow coffin w/angled corners	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Fragments of yellow coffin with angled corners & white interior	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
	5 tall shouldered jars, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	1 necked jar, RP neck sherds, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	Tall pot stand, openwork design, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2013	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	Polished dish, Dynasty 18	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Jewelry	1 spherical bead, faience	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	1 bicone bead	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	1 blue faience bead or amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	Faience disc beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Specialized Implements	Arrows, reed shafts & flint points	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2012	NA	C8188	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	Pieces of walking staffs	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Cosmetic Items	Granite paint grinder with traces of black pigment	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Organic Material	Basket fragments	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
Miscellaneous	Wooden sandals	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85
	Scraps of a wooden coffin	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 85

S.F.5021

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	North end of cemetery, on slope near S.F.5011 and S.F.5010	Type IIIA/B/C	One entrance on W, N-S axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= destroyed Room A= 6.65W x 7.30L (extant) x 2.91H, W wall destroyed Corridor B= 0.85W x 4.0L x 1.62H Corridor C= 0.80W x 2.60L x 1.65H Corridor D= 0.75W x 3.0L x 1.24H Corridor E= 0.75W x 2.0L x 1.80H Corridor F= 0.75W x 2.50L x 2.00H, upward floor slope Corridor G= 0.70W x 0.70L x 1.01H, downward floor slope	Shaft H= 0.90W x 2.05L x 2.86D	Chamber H= 0.90W x 2.65L x 0.97H	8

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 steering oar	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-462	Not photographed	Not recorded	29	Fig. 89

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Four coffin fragments: head, foot, & 2 side panels	Exterior Type IIa/IIIa	1923-1924	Not Located	23-12-139	A3229, A3230	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
2 stela fragments, standing man and border inscription, [Wsr] nb Ddw	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-269	Not photographed	Not recorded
Steatite scarab, two human figures flanking a beetle	Design class IC	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1621	23-11-267	Unknown	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	RW tall shouldered jar, flat base, red wash	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-463	Unknown	Not recorded
	Small RW quatrefoil mouth jar with incised decoration	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-464	Unknown	Not recorded
	Shallow RW dish	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-465	Unknown	Not recorded
		1923-1924				
Jewelry	50+ ring beads, 1 teardrop, 1 barrel, 2 cylinder, and 2 ball beads of faience	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-268a-e, g	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 amethyst ball bead	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-268f	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 broken faience amulet	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-268g	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 univalve shell, pierced	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-268h	Unknown	Not recorded

S.F.5025

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	North end of cemetery, on high ridge near S.F.5029 and S.F.5015, north of S.F.5020	Type IIIB/C	1 entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Court A, mostly destroyed	Entrance corridor= 0.88 L x 0.88 W Room B= 3.85 W x 4.25 L x 1.25H (extant) Chamber C= 2.10W x 1.25W x 1.05H x 0.35D (slope) Stela niche= 0.15D x 0.80W x 0.70H	Shaft D= 1.0W x 2.25L x 5.57D Shaft E= 0.75W x 2.25L x 4.27D	Chamber D= 1.00W x 2.75L x 0.95H Chamber E= 1.00W x 2.25L x 0.98H	8

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Iti</i>	Male	Bones found in chapel debris	<i>Hty-ꜥ</i> <i>Htm(y)-bity</i>	Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 seated rower, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-181a	Not photographed	Not recorded	30a	Fig. 93
	1 seated male figure, legs outstretched, shaft E	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-181b	Not photographed	Not recorded	178	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin of <i>Iti</i> , shaft E	Exterior Type I	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-184 + 23-12-201	Unknown	Dunham 1923-24a: 48
2 limestone stela fragments, painted sunk relief, room B	NA	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-178	Not photographed	Not recorded
Faience scarab, lotus between 2 <i>nb</i> signs, shaft E	Design class 3	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1615	23-11-185	Unknown	Not recorded

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Carnelian scaraboid with scratched lines, room B	Design class 1B	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1611	23-11-172a	Unknown	Not recorded
Scarab inscribed with <i>Mn-hpr-R</i> ^c room B	NA	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1606	23-11-171	Unknown	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat model RW jar, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-179	B5059	Not recorded
Furniture	Wooden stool or chair legs with animal feet and cross bar, MK, room B	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-175	Unknown	Not recorded
	Top of wooden headrest, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-176	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Leg from stool or chair, MK, shaft E	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-180	Not photographed	Not recorded
	2 NK chair legs, turned with horizontal incised bands of decoration, shaft E	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-182	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Wooden furniture, 3 painted fragments, shaft E	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-183a-c	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	4 faience ring beads, room B	1923-1924	In BMIFA, not accessioned	23-11-172b	Unknown	Not recorded
	2 agate ball beads & yellow glass(?) ball beads, shaft E	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-186a, b	Unknown	Not recorded
	5 faience ball beads, shaft E	1923-1924	In BMIFA, not accessioned	23-11-186c	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 carnelian ball bead, shaft E	1923-1924	In BMIFA, not accessioned	23-11-186d	Unknown	Not recorded
Statues	Left arm from wooden male <i>k3</i> statue, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-177	Not photographed	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Leather sandal, modern, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-173	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Wooden model sandal fragment, room B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-174	Not photographed	Not recorded

N.4003

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	P 0	Type IIIc	One entrance on S, N-S axis	brick facing 0.75H, retaining wall 0.42H, and court (mostly destroyed)	Entrance corridor=1.65 L x 1.02W Chapel= 3.70 W x 4.70 L x ?H	Shaft "a"=1.15W x 2.00L x 4.65D Shaft "b"=0.85W x 2.20L x 1.20D	Chamber "a" (East)= 0.85W x 2.60L x 0.85H Chamber "a" (West)= 1.15W x 1.70L x 1.00H (30 cm above pit floor) Chamber "b"= ?W x 5.32L x 1.10H	8

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Ppy-im3</i>	Male	Male skeleton found inside coffin placed in east chamber off burial shaft "a"	Skeleton in coffin= A840	<i>iry-pꜣt</i> <i>H3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Htm(y)-bity</i> <i>Hry-ḥbt</i> <i>Smr-wꜣty</i>	Hereditary Prince Count Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Lector Priest Sole Companion
NN + <i>Hꜥ-ḥjr</i>	Female	A skull and few bones found in west chamber off burial shaft "a"	None	<i>Hkrt nswt</i>	Ornament of the king, she (one) who is ornamented by the king, , Lady-in-waiting
Second woman on stela (name lost)	Female	Daughter?	None	<i>Hkrt nswt</i>	Ornament of the king, she (one) who is ornamented by the king, , Lady-in-waiting
?	?	A few bones found in the chapel	None	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Papyriform Boat	Prow	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2064a	NA	C8178	Mace 1901-03e: 53	31a	Fig. 81
	Stern finial	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2064b	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901	31b	Fig. 81
	Hull	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2064c	NA	C8178	Mace 1901	31c	Fig. 81
	Papyrus umbel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2064d	NA	C8178	Mace 1901	31d	Fig. 81

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Boat, continued	Papyrus umbel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2064e	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53	31e	Fig. 81

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin of <i>Ppy-im</i> ³ , acacia wood with cedar veneer	Polychrome Group Exterior Type IIIa	1901-1903	BMFA 25.1519.1-4 (Sides and end panels)	24-1-24	A840, A3430, A8277, C145, C146, C8130	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Coffin of <i>Ppy-im</i> ³ , acacia wood, lid with cedar veneer	Polychrome Group Exterior Type IIIa	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-23702a,b (Lid and bottom)	NA	A8276, A8278, C8131	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Green painted wooden false beard from <i>Ppy-im</i> ³ 's mummy mask	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Natron box of <i>Ppy-im</i> ³	Polychrome Group	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2068, 6-2069	NA	C639, C8171	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Stela of NN + <i>H^c-nfr</i>	"Other" Late Dynasties 10/11 Group	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C628	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Coffin fragments in west chamber, off pit "a"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Fragments of 2 coffins, piece of inscribed & painted coffin in chapel	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat jar with quatrefoil mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2070	NA	C7154, a/1	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar with quatrefoil mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8539, b/3	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar with flat base, flared rim, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2878	NA	C7154, c/3	Mace 1901-03e: 53
	Lower section of ovoid jar, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C7154, c/4	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, necked, small mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8539, b/2	Not recorded
	Deep hemispherical bowl, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2067	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Dish or bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C7154, b/2	Not recorded
	2 small globular jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
	Coarse elongated jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
	Small jar, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Cosmetic items	Kohl pot, clay	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8539, a/2	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Specialized Implements	Spear blade, copper with wood handle	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2071	NA	A8275, 3 rd spear point down and B8122 and B8123, 2 nd spear point down on right side	Mace 1901-03e: 53
	'myt-r walking staff, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53
Miscellaneous	Wooden carrying pole for coffin	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03e: 53

S.F.5011

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	North end of cemetery, on slope near S.F.5010 and S.F.5021	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on W, N-S axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 4.95 L x 1.95 W Room A= 7.75 W x 3.35 L x 5.06H (extant) Corridor D (N)= 0.75 W x 3.15L x 2.59H x ?D(slope) Corridor E (Center)= 0.75W x 3.15L x 2.94H x ?D (slope) Corridor F (S)= 0.90W x 3.50L x 2.58H x ?D(slope)	Shaft= 0.80W x 2.35L x 2.27D	Chamber=3.25L x 1.80W x 0.95H	9

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>S3-In-hrt</i>	Male	None	None listed	None listed
Wife <i>Hpw</i> shown on stela with her husband	Female	None	None listed	None listed
Son <i>Hny</i> mentioned on stela, who made it for his father	Male	None	None listed	None listed
Mother <i>Hpw</i> mentioned on stela (" <i>S3-In-hrt</i> , born of <i>Hpw</i> ")	Female	None	None listed	None listed

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Seated or bent male figure	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-354	Not photographed	Not recorded	180a	
?	1 figure, pose unknown	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-354	Not photographed	Not recorded	180b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Tomb chapel walls	NA	NA	NA	NA	Unknown	Dunham 1923-24a: 40
Stela of <i>S3-In-hrt</i>	"Few Standing Figures" Group	1923-1924	BMFA 25.659	23-11-103	C2923, EG4348 (drawing)	Dunham 1923-24a: 39-40

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela fragments, 5 pieces of limestone with red grid lines, 1 with red swr sign, from debris in chambers A & D	Unknown	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-169a,b	Not photographed	Not recorded
Limestone fragment, painted surface with 3 black lines	Unknown	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-351	Not photographed	Not recorded
Steatite scarab with interlocking scroll pattern	Design class 2B	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1625	23-11-313	Unknown	Not recorded
2 inlaid bronze, ivory and stone eyes from anthropoid coffin	NA	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-166	Unknown	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat pottery kohl pot	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-168	B5059	Not recorded
	Squat pottery kohl pot	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-311	B5059?	Not recorded
	2 shallow pottery dishes?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	Unknown	B5059?	Not recorded
	Small pottery jar with rounded base?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	Unknown	B5059?	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Travertine flared cylinder beaker, concave to straight-sided with wide foot and rim	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-312	Unknown	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	3 pairs of faience necklace terminals	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-163	Unknown	Not recorded
	Disc, ball & cylinder beads, 2 oblong brown beads	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-167 (probably goes with necklace terminals 23-11-163)	Unknown	Not recorded
	5 faience ball beads	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-314a	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 gold ball bead	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-314b	Unknown	Not recorded
	1 carnelian ball bead	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-314c	Unknown	Not recorded
	3 faience ring beads	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-314d	Unknown	Not recorded
	4 carnelian ring beads	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-350a	Unknown	Not recorded
	20 ring beads, 2 ball beads and 1 cylinder bead of faience	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-350b-d	Unknown	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Bronze knife or spear point?	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-164	Unknown	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	Rectangular sandstone palette	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-310	Unknown	Not recorded
	Broken travertine palette	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-352a,b	Unknown	Not recorded
	Cylindrical granite pestle for cosmetic palette	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-353	Unknown	Not recorded

S.F.5029

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	North end of cemetery, on high ridge near S.F.5025 and S.F.5015	Type IIIB	1 entrance on SW, NE-SW axis round chamber	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 0.90 L x 0.80 W Room A= 2.90W x 3.45 L x 1.75H Corridor B=0.75W x 2.0L x 1.01H x ?D (slope) Corridor C= unknown (sketched in field journal but not on tomb card) Corridor D= 0.95W x 2.30L x 0.77H x ?D (slope)	NA	NA	9

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	1 squatting figure, corridor B	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-693	None	Not recorded	179a	
?	1 figure, pose unknown, corridor B	1923-1924	Not located	23-11-693	None	Not recorded	179b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Scarab, floral design, chamber A	Design class 1E	1923-1924	BMFA 24.1620	23-11-191a	Unknown	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Deep carinated RW bowl with flat bottom, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-225	Unknown	Not recorded
	Small RW quatrefoil mouth globular jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-226	Unknown	Not recorded
	Large RW jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-227	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-228	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-229	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-230	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW jar, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-231	Unknown	Not recorded
	RW jar, red washed rim, chamber A debris	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-232	Unknown	Not recorded
Jewelry	1 faience ball bead, chamber A debris	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-191b	Unknown	Not recorded
Furniture	Wooden leg of stool, corridor B	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-692	Unknown	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	Wooden kohl stick, broken, corridor B	1923-1924	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-695	C10303, c/2	Not recorded
Miscellaneous	Blue faience vessel sherds with black pattern, corridor B	1923-1924	Not Located	23-11-694	Unknown	Not recorded

S.F.5010

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.5000-5400	North end of cemetery, on slope, near S.F.5011 and S.F.5021	Type III C	One entrance on W, N-S axis	Unknown, mud brick façade & mud brick door	Entrance corridor= 1.15L x 0.85W Chapel= 4.80W x 3.95L x ?H	Shaft= 0.95W x 2.25L x 5.09D	Chamber= 0.95W x 2.60L x 1.03H	9

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 mallet	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-11	B5047	Not recorded	32	Fig. 87

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Stela fragment, portion of illegible inscription, from chamber A	NA	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-53	Not photographed	Not recorded
Stela fragment, faint depiction of standing male figure, from debris	NA	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-254	Not photographed	Not recorded

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall pot stand with incised lines, RW	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-49	C10328, b/5	Not recorded
	Shouldered jar, base missing, RW	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-50	C10328, b/2	Not recorded
	Small globular jar, red wash, RW	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-51	C10328b/1	Not recorded
	2 pot stands, RW	1923-24	Not Located	23-11-52	C10328, b/3, b/4	Not recorded
Jewelry	10 ball beads, 1 cylinder beads, 3 barrel beads and 2 ring beads in faience	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-158a-d	Unknown	Not recorded
	10 carnelian ring beads	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-158e	Unknown	Not recorded
	Faience seated god amulet	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-158f	Unknown	Not recorded
	Faience plaque with cross pattern on front and back loop	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-158g	Unknown	Not recorded
	Circular metal (silver?) disc, pierced	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-158i	Unknown	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Bronze spear point, chapel	1923-24	BMFA 47.1656	23-11-9	Unknown	Not recorded
	Bronze arrow point & fragment of folded sheet metal, chapel	1923-24	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-10a,b	Unknown	Not recorded

N.3579

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	QR 0/-1 (above cemetery N.2000)	Type IIIA	One entrance on S, N-S axis	bricked entrance court A= 2.60 W x 2.05 L	Entrance corridor= 1.40 L x 0.62 W Room B= 2.70 W x 2.50L x 1.84H Corridor C= 4.05L Inner chamber= 1.60 W x 210L x 0.76H	NA	NA	9

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Two skulls & a few bones found scattered in A & B	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Other small figures, probably from boat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90		
?	Male figure	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1474	NA		Mace 1901-03b: 90	181b	Fig. 65
?	Male figure	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1475	NA		Mace 1901-03b: 90	181a	Fig. 65

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Carinated pottery kohl pot with projecting rim	1901-1903	Not located	NA		Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7139, d/1	Mace 1901-03b: 90

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7139, c/1	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7139, b/1	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Tall shouldered jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7139, c/2	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Elongated, coarse jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Dishes w/food offerings	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C200	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Tapering, straight-sided cylinder beaker with rolled rim, travertine	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8176, a/6	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Concave to straight-sided cylinder beaker with side foot, travertine	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8176, a/7	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Shouldered jar necked, flat base, travertine	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8176, a/8	Mace 1901-03b: 90
Jewelry	Strung beads: 3 faience tubular & 1 drop forms, 4 faience fancy amulet beads (1 may be <i>tit</i> knot), 2 carnelian ring beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11582	NA	B581, right side	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	2 large ball beads of unidentified metal	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B581, right side	Mace 1901-03b: 90
Specialized Implements	4 broken reed arrows, 2 w/notched ends	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Wooden tool? (pointed stick)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2753		C8176, b/5	Not recorded
Organic Material	3 nuts, 2 pierced at side	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-11581	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Fragments of basket work,	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-1473	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Pieces of cloth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90
	Piece of rope	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03b: 90

N.4401

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	P 0/1	Type IIIA	One entrance on S, N-S axis	Court destroyed	Entrance corridor= 1.50 L x ?W Room A= 3.13 W x 1.92L x ?H Inner corridor= 0.65W x 0.88L x 0.80H Chamber B= 2.45W x 1.35 L x 0.90H (level with A)	NA	NA	10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>In-ḥrt-nyt</i>	Male	bones from 1 skeleton found in room A	Unknown	Unknown
Š3 [ny], wife (?) of <i>In-ḥrt-nyt</i>	Female	bones from 2 nd skeleton found in chamber B	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Hull	1901-03	PAHMA 6-2250	NA	B8121, C57	Mace 1901-03f: 81	34	Figs. 82, 83

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment, pink with green & black hieroglyphs, chamber A	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8534?	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Coffin fragment, yellow with green hieroglyphs between white & black lines, chamber A & part in B, names Š3 [ny] in hieroglyphs	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8534?	Mace 1901-03f: 81

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment, yellow with blue-gray hieroglyphs between white lines, <i>In-prt-nht</i> , chamber A	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8534	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Coffin fragment with decorative pattern, chamber A	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Black & white painted cartonnage fragments from A & B?			Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Quatrefoil mouth jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Tall, shouldered jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Jar, sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Furniture	Chair pieces, painted: 1 long piece with bud top, 4 long pieces painted red, 1 <i>dd</i> pillar inlay	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2246	NA	B8121, b/2, etc.	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Specialized Implements	1 clay model mace head bound in straw	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8166, C8167	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Piece of wood carved into ball shape	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2247	NA	B8121	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Mallet	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2251	NA	C8180 & C8181 (same photo), b/6	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Mallet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	3 small blackened wooden cups (possibly used with fire drills)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements, continued	2 blackened pegs with spiral threads at one end and bound with straw (fire drills?)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-2248, PAHMA 6-2249	NA	B8121, top, lower	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Walking staff, wood, broken and repaired in antiquity	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	2 nd walking staff	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
Organic Material	Broken tortoise shell	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Pieces of baskets	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Pierced nuts	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81
	Strand of twisted cord	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1901-03f: 81

S.F.25

Tomb Description		Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	On low hill east of Sheikh's tomb & adjoins S.F.18	Type IIIB/C family complex, joins with S.F.18	3 entrances: 1 on S, 1 on W and 1 on N, main N-S axis	Unknown	<p>Area 1: Corridor into L= 1.15W x 0.55L (extant) Room L (=25a)= 2.35W x 4.35L x 1.94H</p> <p>Corridor into N= 0.75W x 0.95L x 0.65D (slope) Chamber N= 1.90W x 2.00L</p> <p>Area 2: Corridor into K=1.05W x 1.10L Room K (=25b)= 2.35 W x 3.90 L x 1.26H</p> <p>Area 3: Room G= 2.95 W x 4.0L x 1.94H (connects with K on S)</p> <p>Corridor into H= 0.95W x 0.55L x 0.30D (slope) Chamber H (=25c) = 2.20 x 2.0 (circular) x 1.10H</p>	Shaft A in chamber F= 0.75D (includes 3 steps preceding shaft)	Chamber B (=25c)= 2.85L x 1.15W x 1.21H	10	

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	On low hill east of Sheikh's tomb & adjoins S.F.18	Type IIIB/C family complex, joins with S.F.18	3 entrances: 1 on S, 1 on W and 1 on N; main N-S axis	unknown	Area 4: Room F= 3.10W x 4.10L x 1.94H Corridor into E= 0.90W x 0.90L x 0.60D (slope) Chamber E= 1.80W x 1.60L x 0.85H Corridor into D= 0.80W x 1.00L Chamber D= 2.70W x 2.85L (circular) x 1.05 Area 5 (S.F.18): Room P= 2.20 W x 2.15 L x 1.0H Corridor Q (slopes below P)= 0.90W x 2.00L Chamber Q= 1.35 W x 1.60L x 0.72H			10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	Primary burial is male mummy found in coffin in B= 25c. 47 skulls also found in tomb: 11 in K, 2 in L, 4 in P, 19 in F, 1 in E, 3 in D and 7 in G). Excavators photographed the mummy being unwrapped, neg. numbers unknown	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 seated tower	1913	Not located	13-3-21	B1812 a/5	West 1913d	35	Fig. 54

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Female statue	1913	BMFA 13.3555	13-2-254	A938 a/2	West 1913a: 47; West 1913d:	79a	Figs. 99, 130
	Wooden pedestal of standing figure	1913	BMFA 13.3555	13-4-318	B1812 d/1	West 1913d:	79b	Fig. 56

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
2 fragments of painted mummy case	Unknown	1913	Not Located	13-2-257	Not photographed	West 1913d
Scarab, blue faience, crossed line pattern	Design class 1B	1913	BMFA 13.3557	Not located	Unknown	West 1913d

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	3 pottery model cups or kohl pots	1913	Not Located	13-2-276	B1751, a/2, a/6, b/7	West 1913d
	Pottery kohl pot	1913	BMFA 13.3801	13-3-1	B1751, a/9	West 1913d
	Pottery kohl pot	1913	Not Located	13-3-2	B1751, b/6	West 1913d
	Kohl pot	1913	Peabody 14-63-50/B611	Unknown	Unknown	West 1913d
	Carinated bowls with round bases	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, a/2, a/5, a/6	West 1913d
	Bowl w/flat base, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, a/1, a/3	West 1913d
	Large bowl, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, a/4	West 1913d
	Crude globular jars, tall necks	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, b/1, b/2, b/3, b/4, b/5, b/6	West 1913d
	Globular jars	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, b/7, c/3, c/4	West 1913d
	Globular jars, tall necks	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, c/6, d/2	West 1913d
	Large ovoid jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, d/4	West 1913d
	Small ovoid jars	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, c/1, c/2	West 1913d
	Drop jars, tall	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, c/5, d/1	West 1913d
	Large, drop/bag jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1857, d/3	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall shouldered jars, angled & round shoulders	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, a/5, b/1, b/2, b/3, b/4, b/5, b/6, b/7	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars, angled & round shoulders	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, c/1, c/2, c/3, c/4, c/5, c/6, c/7, c/8	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars, angled & round shoulders	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, d/1, d/2, d/3, d/4, d/5, d/6, d/7, d/8	West 1913d
	Crude shouldered jars with perforated holes	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, a/1, a/2	West 1913d
	Small globular jars, necked	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, a/3, a/4, a/6	West 1913d
	Small cylindrical jar, "flower pot"	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, a/7	West 1913d
	Small cylindrical jar, wide rim	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1844, a/8	West 1913d
	Globular jars w/quatrefoil mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, a/1, a/2, a/3, a/4, a/6, a/7	West 1913d
	Globular jars w/quatrefoil mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, b/1, b/2, b/4, b/5, b/6, b/7	West 1913d
	Globular jars w/quatrefoil mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, c/1, c/2, c/3, c/4, c/5, c/6, c/7	West 1913d
	Globular jars w/quatrefoil mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, d/1, d/2, d/5, d/6, d/7	West 1913d
	Small globular jar, tall necks	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, d/3, d/4	West 1913d
	Small globular jar, wide mouth	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, b/3	West 1913d
	Small ovoid jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1843, a/5	West 1913d
	Carinated bowls with pedestal feet	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, a/1, a/2	West 1913d
	Flat bottomed bowls, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, a/3, a/4, a/5, a/6, a/7	West 1913d
	Large, carinated bowls	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, b/1, b/2	West 1913d
	Small, carinated bowl, flat base, "flower pot"	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, b/4	West 1913d
	Offering vessel, cone-shaped, with flat base	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, b/5	West 1913d
	Large bowl w/incurred rim	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, b/3	West 1913d
	Tall pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, c/1, c/2, c/3, c/4, d/2, d/3, d/4, d/5, d/6	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pot stand with perforated triangular holes, chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, d/1	West 1913d
	Medium height pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, c/5	West 1913d
	Medium height pot stand, perforated	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1841, c/6	West 1913d
Statues	Arm of male limestone statue	1913	B1813, b/1	13-2-256	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Jewelry	Faience spherical, tubular and barrel beads	1913	Not Located	13-2-262	A986	West 1913d
	Faience spherical, tubular and barrel beads	1913	Not Located	13-2-263	A986	West 1913d
	Carnelian disc bead and black faience barrel bead	1913	Not Located	13-2-264	A986	West 1913d
	Green glazed scarab, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3822	13-2-264	A900, a/4 & A901, a/4	West 1913d
	Small pierced bivalve shell, chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	13-2-271	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Agate, carnelian & blue faience barrel, tubular and disc beads, 2 shell-shaped beads (species unknown) carved from carnelian, & thin silver wire ring, chamber "a"	1913	Not Located	13-3-23	A986	West 1913d
	String of blue faience beads from mummy, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3590	13-3-38	Not Photographed	West 1913a: 49; Reisner 1913f: 9-10
Cosmetic Items	Slate palette, chamber c	1913	Peabody 14-63-50/B615	13-2-275	B1762, b/1	West 1913d
	Ivory inlay pieces from a wooden toilet box, chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	13-2-271	B1908, b/4, b/5	West 1913d
	Mirror, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3571	13-3-12	A943, b/1	West 1913a: 49; Reisner 1913f: 9-10
	Ivory kohl stick for mixing cosmetics, chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	13-3-108	B1764, b/3	West 1913a: 49; West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Copper battle-axe, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3572	13-3-13	A946, a/1; A951	West 1913a: 48; West 1913d
	17 reed arrows, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3574 & BMFA 13.3575-8	13-3-15	A950, a/4-9	West 1913a: 48; West 1913d
	Arrow tip, flint and wood, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3558	13-2-255	Not Photographed	West 1913a: 48; West 1913d
Furniture	Wooden headrest, chamber "c"	1913	BMFA 13.3573	13-3-14	B1897, c/2	West 1913a: 48; West 1913d
Organic Material	Plain bivalve shell	1913	Not Located	13-3-10	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Spiral shell	1913	Not Located	13-3-48	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Vegetable matter from pot B1	1913	Not Located	13-4-276	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Coffin (painted red, uninscribed), chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913a: 48; West 1913d
	Paddle doll, chamber "c"	1913	Not Located	13-3-16	B1899, a/4 & B1900, a/4	West 1913d

N.110

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	C 12	Type II2	E-W	NA	NA	0.75W x 2.10L	Exact dimensions not given	10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Oar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8993, a/1	Not recorded	36	Fig. 95

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Miscellaneous	Coffin fragments, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-03a: 17; 1901-03b: 16
	Calf bones	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-03a: 17; 1901-03b: 16

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	CD 15/16	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Mud brick retaining wall	Entrance corridor= 1.20 L x 1.20 W Chapel= 3.60 W x 3.75 L x ?H Corridor to inner chamber= 0.80 W x ?L x 0.30D (slope) Inner chamber= 1.60W x 2.00L x 1.10H	Shaft= 1.20W x 2.80L x 2.50D	SW chamber= 2.80W x 2.40L x ?H NE chamber= 1.80W x 1.60L x ?H	10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Bakery-brewery scene	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024c	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	128a	Fig. 194
	Jar, flat base with tall neck	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024a	NA	B10698, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	128b	Figs. 35, 195
	Table, with central depression	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024d	NA	B10698, a/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	128c	Figs. 35, 196
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15749	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	129a	Fig. 92, far left
	Male, standing, hunched	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15757	NA	B10698, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	129b	Figs. 35, 92, 2 nd from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15762	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	129c	Fig. 92, 3 rd from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15766	NA	B10698, c/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	129d	Figs. 35, 92, 6 th from left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Bakery-brewery scene	Female, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15760	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	130a	Fig. 197, center
	Female, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15761	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	130b	Fig. 197, left
	Female, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15763	NA	B10698, c/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	130c	Figs. 35, 197, right
Model Boats	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15808	NA	B10698, d/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	37a	Figs. 35, 90
	Yard	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10698, d/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	37b	Fig. 35
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15748	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38a	Fig. 86, left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15750	NA	B10698, b/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39b	Figs. 35, 91, far left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15751	NA	B10698, b/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39c	Figs. 35, 91, 2 nd from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15752	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38b	Fig. 86, 2 nd from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15753	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39d	Fig. 91, 3 rd from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15754	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38c	Fig. 86, 3 rd from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15755	NA	B10698, b/10	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38d	Figs. 35, 86, 4 th from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15756	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39e	Fig. 91, 4 th from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15758	NA	B10698, b/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39f	Figs. 35, 91, 5 th from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15759	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38e	Fig. 86, 5 th from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15764	NA	B10698, c/10	Unknown, tomb cards lost	40a	Figs. 35, 92, 4 th from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15765	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	40b	Fig. 92, 5 th from left

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boats	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15767	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38f	Fig. 86, 6 th from left
	Male boat owner, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15768	NA	B10698, c/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost	41b	Figs. 35, 86, 7 th from left
	Male, striding	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15769	NA	B10698, c/8	Unknown, tomb cards lost	41a	Figs. 35, 92, 7 th from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15770	NA	B10698, c/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	40c	Figs. 35, 92, 8 th from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15771	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	40d	Fig. 92, 9 th from left
	Male, standing	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15772	NA	B10698, c/11	Unknown, tomb cards lost	40e	Figs. 35, 92, far right
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15774	NA	B10698, b/7	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39g	Figs. 35, 91, 6 th from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15775	NA	B10698, b/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39h	Figs. 35, 91, 7 th from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15776	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39i	Fig. 91, 8 th from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15777	NA	B10698, b/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38g	Figs. 35, 86, 8 th from left
	Male, squatting	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15778	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39j	Fig. 91, 9 th from left
	Male, seated	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15779	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	38h	Fig. 86, 9 th from left
	Male, squatting or seated, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15780	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	39a	Fig. 91, far right
?	Male, striding, broken (torso)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15773	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost	184	Fig. 30
?	Papyriform boat finial?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15817	NA	B10698, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost	202	Fig. 35

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pot stand, short	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8713, a/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Carinated bowl, low pedestal foot	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8713, b/6	Unknown, tomb cards lost

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Ovoid jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8713, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Stone vessels	Travertine concave-sided, tapered beaker	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8846, a/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Jewelry	Two tubular faience beads on original string	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13026	NA	C8947, f/1, f/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 amethyst bicone bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13027	NA	C8947, c/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	2 camelian ring beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13027	NA	C8947, c/4, c/5	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	2 tubular faience beads	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13027	NA	C8947, d/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 faience barrel bead	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13027	NA	C8947, d/3	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	3 spherical faience beads: 2 small, 1 large	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13027	NA	C8947, c/1, c/2, d/4	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	1 fancy faience bead, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8947, d/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Cosmetic Items	Cosmetic box, wood, tray with 8 drilled holes for compartments to hold vessels	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13025	NA	B10698, d/9	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Organic Material	Sample, dom nuts	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13028	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Sample, turtle shell	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13029	NA	C8947, e/1, e/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Reed mat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10698, b/11	Unknown, tomb cards lost
Miscellaneous	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024e	NA	B10698, a/2	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024f	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024g	NA	B10698, a/1	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024h	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024i	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost
	Model, knot, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13024j	NA	Not photographed	Unknown, tomb cards lost

N.408

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	M 6	Type IIIc	One entrance on W, E-W axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.0 L x 0.75 W Chapel= 2.40 W x 2.80 L	Single shaft, dimensions unknown	Inner chamber= 1.40W x 2.40L x ?H	10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	Male mummy found inside coffin "c"	Unwrapping= series B8645-B8649	Unknown	Unknown
Unknown	Female	Female mummy found inside coffin "b"	Unwrapping= series B8698-B8699; skeleton= B8700	Unknown	Unknown
Unknown	Child	Mummy found inside coffin "a"	C11382	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Steering oar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1	42b	Fig. 27
	Small wooden figure	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1	42a	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Male cartonnage mummy mask from coffin "c"	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B8647, B 8648, B8650	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop jar, wide mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13412	NA	B10665, d/6	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Drop jar, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, b/2	Not recorded
	Globular jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, b/3	Not recorded
	Large jar, broken (top)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, c/4	Not recorded
	Jar, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, c/5	Not recorded
	Large storage jar, body	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, c/6	Not recorded
	Large globular jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, b/2	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, d/4	Not recorded
	Large jar, squat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, d/5	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, e/4	Not recorded
	Large drop jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, e/5	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, flat base, flared sides	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, a/4	Not recorded
	Deep carinated bowl with pedestal foot	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, a/6	Not recorded
	Deep bowl with ring base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, a/1	Not recorded
	Deep bowl with flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, b/1	Not recorded
	Deep bowl/beaker with flat base, flared sides	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, c/2	Not recorded
	Hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, a/5	Not recorded
	Hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, a/7	Not recorded
	Hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, a/2	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10665, e/6	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8767, c/1	Not recorded
	Kohl dish	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8814	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5
Jewelry	Necklace, cord with center white stone, 3 carnelian ring beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B13016, a B13017, a	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
	Double strand bracelet of carnelian and faience beads with a small amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B13016, d, e B13017, d, e	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	Double strand bracelet, shell discs and two fatence cowrie-shaped beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B13016, b, c B13017, b, c	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5
Cosmetic Items	Simple rectangular wooden toilet box, large	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8815, C8816, C8817, C8818	Reisner 1901-1903b: 6
	Simple rectangular wooden toilet box, small	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8813, C8814	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5
	Kohl container with sliding lid, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8814	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5
	Cylinder beaker with straight sides and wide mouth, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8818	Reisner 1901-1903b: 6
	Squat kohl jar with rim, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8818	Reisner 1901-1903b: 6
Specialized Implements	<i>Imyt-r</i> walking staff	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
Organic Material	Pieces of wood from toilet boxes	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8814, C8818	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5, 6
	Scraps of leather from toilet box	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8814	Reisner 1901-1903b: 5
Miscellaneous	Child's coffin, painted red	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
	Male adult's coffin, painted white	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-3
	Female adult's coffin, painted white	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2, 4

N.9090

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.9000	Unknown	Type IIIc	Unknown	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.05L x 0.65 ⁹ W Chapel= 2.44W x 3.00L x 1.40H	Single shaft, 0.74W x 1.70L x ?D	Irregularly shaped chamber, 2 walls are 1.45 x 2.56 x 1.00H	10

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	7 skulls found in chapel; hand bones in the Hearst Museum (PAHMA 12-3908)	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Sailor	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14951	NA	C8226, c/6	Mace 1902-1903: 1-2	43a	Fig. 88
	Mast	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14954a	NA	C8226, c/1	Mace 1902-1903: 1	43b	Fig. 88
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14954b	NA	C8226, c/3	Mace 1902-1903: 1	43c	Fig. 88
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14954c	NA	C8226, c/2	Mace 1902-1903: 1	43d	Fig. 88
	Oar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1	43e	
	Canopy support	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14954d	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1	43f	Fig. 88
Boat?	Unidentifiable piece, ovoid with broken handle	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14952	NA	C8226, b/1	Not recorded	203	Fig. 88

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular/squat jar, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14910	NA	B7144, a/9	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall, wide mouth jar, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14911	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14912 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall, wide mouth jar, flat base, pink wash, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14913	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, globular water jar, small mouth	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14915	NA	B7105, d/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, drop	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14916	NA	B7105, d/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, small mouth	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14917	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, flared rim, flat base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14918	NA	B7105, c/3 and B7124, c/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, sherds	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14921 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, wide rim, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14922	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, wide rim, flat base,	1901	Not located	NA	B7105, c/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, wide rim, flat base,	1901	Not located	NA	B7105, c/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, wide mouth, necked, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14925	NA	B7105, b/6 and B7124, b/6	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14927 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, tall, shouldered, flat base, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14928	NA	B7105, c/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Wide mouth jar, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14930	NA	B7124, c/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, quatrefoil mouth, incised horizontal lines, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14931	NA	B7105, a/1 and B7124, b/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, small mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14932	NA	B7105, c/6	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall wide mouth jar, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14933	NA	B7105, b/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar, small mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14934	NA	B7124, b/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, wide mouth, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14935	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, long neck, small mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14936	NA	B7105, c/7	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, small	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A7556, a/3, B7105, b/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shouldered jar, wide mouth, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14937	NA	B7124, c/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shouldered jar, wide mouth, rounded base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14938	NA	B7124, b/4, B7105, b/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shouldered jar, wide mouth, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14939	NA	B7105, b/1, A7556, c/7	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, flared rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14940	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Squat jar, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14947	NA	A7556, c/1, B7105, b/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14955	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Beer cup, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14953	NA	B7124, c/3, B7105, c/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shallow bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14909 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shallow bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14923 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl, carinated, rim sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14924	NA	Not photographed?	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl, shallow, round base, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14926	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Hemispherical bowl, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14929	NA	B7105, a/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shallow bowl or dish		Not located	NA	B7105, a/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl with incurved rim	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A7556, d/5, A7673, a/2, B7105, a/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Deep bowl with pinched rim, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A7673, a/1, B7105, b/7	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Pot stand, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14914	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Pot stand, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7145, b/1 & B7147, b/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Pot stand	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14920 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7105, d/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Non-carinated pot stand, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7105, d/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Jar stopper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14942	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar stopper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14943	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar stopper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14944	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar stopper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14945	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Jar stopper	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14946	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Jewelry	Restring strand of faience ring beads, 1 small spherical bead and 1 large spherical bead, chapel and pit debris	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14950	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Wooden <i>tit</i> amulet, chapel	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
Cosmetic Items	Rectangular wooden toilet or jewelry box with legs, no lid	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14948	NA	C8226, bottom right	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	Lid from wooden kohl container	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
Furniture	Chair leg, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14949	NA	C8226, top right corner	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Pieces of a walking staff, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
Organic Material	Pieces of cloth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	Piece of rush mat	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14956	NA	C8231	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Miscellaneous	Funeral cone, broken, from burial shaft	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7105, a/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Two fragments of a blue faience dish, outside burial chamber door	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8226, top	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Remains of 2 or 3 coffins, 1 w/sloped corner (lid?)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	2 wooden pegs	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8226, a/1, b/2	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	Carved rope, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8226, c/5	Not recorded

N.9091

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.9000	Unknown	Type IIIA/B/C	Unknown	Unknown, mud brick retaining walls of entrance corridor	Entrance corridor= 6.30L x 0.95W, slopes 0.50 to 1.80 Room E = 3.95W x 2.60L x 1.40H Inner corridor to D (drops 1.70 and then slopes up to chamber level)= 0.87W x 3.30L Room D= 2.91 W x 3.00L x 1.25H Inner corridor to B (slight slope down)= 0.58W x 0.40L Chamber B= 1.70 W x 0.96L x 0.92H Inner corridor to A (A level with D)= 0.56W x 0.44L Chamber A= 1.78W x 2.00 L x 1.00H	Shaft C=0.98W x 2.30L x ?D Shaft F= 0.90W x 2.20L x 3.15D	Chamber F= 1.70W x 1.69L x 1.46H Chamber C= 0.68W x 2.25L x 0.80H	11

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Several skulls in chamber D, bones from 1 burial in chamber C, 4 skulls in burial chamber F, remains of 1 burial in chamber A		

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer, from chamber F	Female statuette	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-22887	NA	C8238	Mace 1902-1903: 2	80	Fig. 131

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Painted coffin fragments from burial chamber F	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Cartonnage fragment, partial offering formula in hieratic, outside passage to chamber F	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8291	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Piece of an "early" coffin in F	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar, small mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14957	NA	B7140, d/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14958 (not located)	NA	Not photographed?	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Wide mouth jar, slight shoulder, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14960	NA	B7140, a/10, and A7556, b/10	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bottle, rim sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14962 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14976	NA	B7140, c/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, rim sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14978 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14980	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Squat jar, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14981	NA	B7140, a/9, and A7556, a/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Piriform jar, wide mouth, incised lines around neck, SIP/NK	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14983	NA	B7140, d/6; A7556, f/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Carinated jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7140, c/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shallow bowl, flared sides, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14961	NA	A7556, b/12	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery, continued	Bowl, RW with white dots and crossed line painted decoration	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14975	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14979 (fits w/6-14982)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Deep carinated bowl with pedestal foot	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14982	NA	B7140, b/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Carinated bowl or dish with flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A7673, b/14, B7140, a/8	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Carinated bowl or dish with flat base, sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7140, b/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7140, c/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Jewelry	1 carnelian bead, 2 faience spherical beads, chamber C	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14966	NA	C8236	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	27 beads: faience 11 small spherical, 1 tubular, 10 barrel, 3 large ball beads, 4 shell ring beads, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14969	NA	C8236	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Strung shell discs & faience spherical beads, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14970	NA	C8236	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	1 carnelian "Taweret" amulet (=monkey amulet shown in photo?), chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14971	NA	C8236	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	1 faience fancy amulet, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14971	NA	C8236	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Cosmetic Items	Ivory Kohl jar with incised decoration, fastened on side with peg and stained red lid, chamber F	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Cosmetic Items	Ivory or bone spatula, chamber F	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Lid of another wooden kohl pot, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14968	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Lid of small box with 1 peg attached, outside chamber F	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Kohl jar lid, black stone (serpentine?), chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14959	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Furniture	Headrest, wood, solid form, outside passage to chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14972	NA	B7148, b/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Headrest, wood, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14973	NA	B7148, c/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Headrest, wood, chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14974	NA	B7148, c/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Specialized Implements	Ivory crescent inlay from a bronze dagger handle, SIP, room A	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14967	NA	C8291, b/4	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	Scribal palette, wood, crude, from chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14965	NA	C8291, c/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Organic Material	Palm sticks bound with fibers (matt burial?), chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14964	NA	8 total, one shown in C8291, top	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Quantity of cloth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
Miscellaneous	Pottery funeral cone, from chamber F	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14977	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Several coffin fragments from chambers A, B, D (2 with angled corners in D)	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1

N.9292

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.9000	Unknown	Type IIIC	Unknown	Unknown Entrance corridor= 2.20 L x 0.70 W Chapel= 2.64 W x 2.80 L x 1.00H	Shaft = 0.98W x 2.20L x 1.10D	1.08W x 1.55L x 0.90H	11	

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	1 mummified hand found in tomb, location uncertain		

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15734a	NA	C8228	Mace 1902-1903: 1	44a	Fig. 94
	Oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15734b	NA	C8228	Mace 1902-1903: 1	44b	Fig. 94
	3 rd oar?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1	44c	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Fragment of a painted coffin	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Cartonnage fragments, shoulder pieces with painted design & 2 fragments with inscriptions	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8228	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Large globular jar, small mouth, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15134	NA	B7104, d/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Globular jar, small mouth, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, d/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall shouldered jar, flared neck, flat base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15137	NA	B7104, c/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, narrow neck, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, c/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall shouldered jar, flat base, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, c/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Short shouldered jar, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, c/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Tall pot stand, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, c/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar, ovoid, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15139	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15141 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Small ovoid jar, necked	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, b/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Small ovoid jar, necked, flat base	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	A7556, c/3, B7104, b/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Small ovoid jar, necked, flat base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15142	NA	B7104, b/4	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Drop jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, d/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl, somewhat flattened base, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15135	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Bowl, footed	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15136	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Shallow bowl, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15144 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Deep bowl, round base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, a/1	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Deep bowl, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, a/2	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Deep carinated bowl with pedestal foot	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	B7104, a/3	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Piece of red dish, polished interior	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	C8228?	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Small shallow dish, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B7104, b/5	Mace 1902-1903: 2
	Clay jar stopper	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 2
Stone Vessels	Rim of a basalt kohl pot	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
Cosmetic Items	Half of a 3 legged wooden box	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903: 1
	Squat cosmetic jar, pottery, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15140 (not located)	NA	B7104, b/1?	Mace 1902-1903: 2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Curved staff, wood	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903; 2
Organic Materials	Palm fiber bundle, bound at intervals with fiber (from matt burial)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15145, PAHMA 6-15146	NA	C8228	Mace 1902-1903; 2
	Rush matt	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	C8224	Mace 1902-1903; 1
	3 ox horns, broken	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903; 1-2
	String of dom palm nuts	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	C8228	Mace 1902-1903; 1
	2 or 3 dom palm nuts	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903; 1
	Knotted cord from a wig?	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-15143	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903; 2
	Quantity of cloth	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	Not photographed	Mace 1902-1903; 2
	Linen veil		Not Located	NA	C8234	Mace 1902-1903; 1
	Human hair, plaited wig?	1901-1903	Not Located	NA	C8227	Mace 1902-1903; 1
Miscellaneous	Rough cup, hollowed from one piece of wood	1901-1903	Not Located	NA		Mace 1902-1903; 1
	Pieces of coffins, angled corners	1901-1903	Not Located	NA		Mace 1902-1903; 1

S.F.167

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	Unknown	Type IIIC	One entrance on SE, NW-SE axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= 4.50L x 0.85 W Room D= 2.60 W x 2.45 L x 1.50H Room C= 2.30 W x 2.85 L x 1.30H	Shaft in chamber D = 0.75W x 2.45L x 1.50D	Chamber A= 1.00W x 1.90L x 0.90H Chamber B= 0.85W x 1.40L x 1.19H	11

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	13 skulls and other bones recovered from tomb, exact locations unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Female statuette, with right arm	1913	BMFA 13.3850	13-3-300	A938, a/3, b/2	West 1913d	81a	Figs. 99, 132

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	Faience ball, teardrop & biconical beads, 1 pierced white shell, & 15 shell ring beads	1913	BMFA 13.3703	13-3-293	A904, a/3	West 1913d
	Pierced shell	1913	BMFA 13.3702	13-2-293	B1907, d/4	West 1913d
	Ring of silver wire	1913	BMFA 13.3701	13-3-293	A971	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Organic Material	2 shells	1913	Not Located	13-4-282 & 13-4-289	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Round cover of wicker basket	1913	BMFA 13.3783	13-4-283	A937, a/2	West 1913d
	Woven basket tray or lid	1913	BMFA 13.3786	13-4-284	A937, b/1	West 1913d
	Conical cover of wicker basket	1913	BMFA 13.3784	13-4-285	A937, a/1	West 1913d
	Basket lid or dish, painted black design	1913	BMFA 13.3790	13-4-286	A937, b/2	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Wooden stick shabti in coffin	1913	BMFA 13.3798a,b	13-3-281	A938, c/1	West 1913d
	Wooden stick shabti	1913	BMFA 13.3843	13-3-282	B1909, c/5	West 1913d
	Wooden coffin for stick shabti	1913	Not located	13-3-283	B1909, c/3	West 1913d

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	East end of cemetery on slope of hill, just above S.F.170	Type IIIC	1 entrance on SW, SW-NE axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 4.05 L x 0.70 L Room A= 2.45W x 3.10 L x 1.27H	Shaft "j"= 0.80W x 2.10L x 1.25D Shaft "c"= 0.85 x 2.40L x ?D Shaft K= 0.95W x 1.05L x ?D Shaft "l"= 0.80W x 1.90L x ?D (45 cm below floor of C) Door "f"= 0.70W Door "g"= 0.83W Door "h"= 0.85W Door "k"= 0.70W	Chamber C= 2.10W x 2.10L x 0.81H Chamber F= 1.88W x 2.05L x ?H Chamber G= 2.45W x 1.95L x 1.34H Chamber H= 1.95W x 2.20L x 1.15H Chamber B= 0.90W x 2.10L x 0.90H Chamber D= 2.55W x 2.55L x 1.43H Chamber E= 3.25W x 2.60L x 1.20D C and F on same floor level D and E on same floor level	11

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	13 skulls, mummy wrappings, some mummified body parts found in tomb, exact locations unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Overseer	Striding male figure	1913	BMFA 13.3849	13-3-361	A938 a/6	West 1913d	149	Fig. 218

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
2 fragments of mummy cartonnage, painted blue, black, red & brown	NA	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat, carinated kohl jar	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, a/1	West 1913d
	Deep bowls, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, a/2, a/3	West 1913d
	Deep carinated bowls, ring base	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, a/4, b/2, b/3	West 1913d
	Deep hemispherical bowl	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, a/5, b/5	West 1913d
	Large bowl w/wavy rim?	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, b/1	West 1913d
	Small globular jar, necked	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, b/4	West 1913d
	Medium height pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, c/1, c/2	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars, angled shoulders	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, c/3, c/4, c/5, c/6	West 1913d
	Tall cylindrical pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1854, d/1, d/2	West 1913d
	Short pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, a/1	West 1913d
	Large bowl w/pinched rim	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, a/2	West 1913d
	Medium height pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, a/3, b/1	West 1913d
	Tall pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, b/6, b/7, c/2	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars, angled shoulders	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, a/4, a/5, a/6, a/7, b/5, c/3	West 1913d
	Small globular jars, necked, quatrefoil mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, b/2, b/3	West 1913d
	Large water jars, necked, small mouths	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, c/1, c/4	West 1913d
	Beaker	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1879, b/4	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shallow bowl	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, a/1, c/6	West 1913d
	Shallow bowl, flat base	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, a/2	West 1913d
	Small bowls, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, a/3, a/4	West 1913d
	Carinated bowls	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, a/5	West 1913d
	Deep hemispherical bowls	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, a/6, a/7, b/2, b/5, c/4	West 1913d
	Carinated bowls, ring base	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, b/3, b/4	West 1913d
	Large bowl, incurved rim sections	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, b/1	West 1913d
	Short pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, c/1, c/2, c/3	West 1913d
	Small globular jar, necked, wavy mouth?	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, c/5	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, d/1, d/2, d/4	West 1913d
	Tall pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, d/3	West 1913d
	Drop jar, wide mouth	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, d/5	West 1913d
	Piriform jar, wide mouth	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	B1877, d/6	West 1913d
Jewelry	4 faience ball and 6 faience cylinder beads, 1 amethyst ball bead, 1 carnelian ball bead, and 1 glass ring bead	1913	BMFA 13.3718	13-3-338	A989	West 1913d
	1 openwork faience amulet bead	1913	BMFA 13.3718	13-3-338	A904, e/5	West 1913d
	Pierced shell on original fiber string	1913	BMFA 13.3730	13-3-358	A989	West 1913d
	Blue faience ring beads	1913	BMFA 13.3731	13-3-368	A989	West 1913d
	Silver wire spiral uraeus pendant, broken	1913	BMFA 13.3859	13-4-262	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Amethyst and faience ball beads	1913	BMFA 13.5569	13-4-263	A989	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	Fiber cord with 1 blue faience barrel bead on either side of 1 white stone amulet bead	1913	BMFA 13.3902	13-4-264	A989	West 1913d
	Jasper scarab, uninscribed	1913	Not Located	13-4-270	A900, d/8 & A901, d/8	West 1913d
	1 amethyst ball bead, faience ball, barrel and disc beads & 2 carnelian ball beads	1913	BMFA 13.5569	13-4-270	A989	West 1913d
	Necklace with 3 shells, 20+ ball & barrel beads, 1 quatrefoil bead, 1 notched rectangular bead & 9 disc beads on original string	1913	BMFA 13.5567	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Furniture	Rectangular wooden object painted blue, furniture fragment?	1913	Not Located	13-4-246	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Specialized Implements	Bird snare, made of sticks and cords	1913	BMFA 13.5267	13-3-362, 13-3-365	C4463 & B1812, e/8	West 1913d
	Part of bird snare, made sticks and cords	1913	BMFA 13.3767	13-3-366	B1897, b/2	West 1913d
Cosmetic Items	Miniature slate palette, broken	1913	Peabody 14-63-50/B615	13-3-359	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Pottery ox horns	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Black granite chunk	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d

N.361

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	C 13/14	Type IIIC	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	courtyard with mud brick retaining wall	Entrance corridor= 0.60 L x 0.80 W Chapel= 3.20 W x 2.40 L x ?H	Two shafts, dimensions unknown	E chamber= 1.20W x 2.40L x ?H N chamber= 2.0W x 3.20L x ?H	12

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
<i>Nht</i> [...]	Male	None	Unknown	Unknown
?	?	Child's skull found in chapel		

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Brewery	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13300	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	131a	Fig. 198, far left
	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13301	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	131b	Fig. 198, 2 nd from left
	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13302	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	131c	Fig. 198, 3 rd from left
	Beer jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13303	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded	131d	Fig. 198, far right

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin foot board, fragment of <i>Nht</i> [...]. 12 lines of CT in hieratic on interior, from shaft fill	Exterior Type III or V	1901-1903	BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-193	A3267, C8942 (labeled N.361), A9753, A9754, A9759 and C8532 (all labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragments, painted polychrome decoration, from shaft fill, 1 fragment veneered (wood types unknown)	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8937, a/1 or a/2?	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
Blue painted wooden beard from mummy mask, from shaft fill	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Tomb cards, Reisner 1901-1903b: 4

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shouldered jar, flat base, wide mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13294	NA	A9755, b/8; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.31?)
	Drop jar, flared neck, RW, red painted	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13295	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Globular jar, funnel neck with quatrefoil mouth, broken, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13310	NA	A9755, b/6; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.10)
	Tall shouldered jar, necked, flat base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13311	NA	A9755, c/1; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.11)
	Globular jar, funnel neck with quatrefoil mouth, broken, RP	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A9755, c/8; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.36)
	Globular jar, funnel neck with quatrefoil mouth, RW, red painted	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13312	NA	A9755, c/10; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.12)
	Tall, undulating jar, necked	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13331	NA	A9755, c/5; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Tall shouldered jar, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13320	NA	A9755, c/3; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.22)
	Tall shouldered jar, tapered base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13321	NA	A9755, c/4; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.23)
	Tall shouldered jar with flat base, flared rim, top half painted red, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13330	NA	A9755, c/2; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.37)
	Tall shouldered jar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13325	NA	A9755, b/2; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	Bowl, rim sherd, carinated, incised decoration	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13324	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Tomb cards, Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Jar, globular, necked	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13328	NA	A9755, a/2; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.32)

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shouldered jar, undulating mouth, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A9755, a/3; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Shallow bowl, flared sides, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13292	NA	A9755, b/3; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.17)
	Shallow bowl, flared sides, flat base, repaired, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13316	NA	A9755, b/5; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.26)
	Bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13313	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13319 (not located)	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13322 (not located)	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13329	NA	A9755, a/8; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3 (Reisner's 361.39)
	Deep carinated bowl with incurved rim, RW, painted red	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13323	NA	A9755, a/4; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.28?)
	Deep carinated bowl with ring base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A9755, a/7; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Short pot stand	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13289	NA	A9755, a/13; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.1?)
	Tall pot stand, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13290	NA	A9755, c/6; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.8)
	Pot stand, medium height	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13291	NA	A9755, b/9; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.15)
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13293	NA	A9755, c/11; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.12)
	Tall pot stand, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13308	NA	A9755, c/12; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.6)
	Tall pot stand, shaft	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13309	NA	A9755, c/7; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.9)
	Pot stand, medium height, rolled rim, RW, painted red	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13314	NA	A9755, b/12; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.14)
	Short pot stand, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13317	NA	A9755, b/10; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.18)
	Pot stand, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13318 (not located)	NA	A9755?, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2
	Pot stand, medium height, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13327	NA	A9755, a/10; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.34)
	Pot stand, medium height, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A9755, a/11; C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Pot stand, medium height, RW, painted red Mud jar seal	1901-1903 1901-1903	PAHMA 6-14074 Not located	NA NA	A9755, b/11, C9530, C9531 (labeled N.403) A9755, b/1	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1-2 (Reisner's 361.3) Reisner 1901-1903b: 2 (Reisner's 361.20)
Jewelry	11 spherical & barrel beads: 6 garnet, 1 carnelian, 4 amethyst, 1 diorite 1 crumb bead	1901-1903 1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13296 Not located	NA NA	C8955, right side (some mixed with N.403) Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4 Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	10 seeds (beads)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13296 (1 located)	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	8 faience beads, 6 spherical & 2 tubular	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13297	NA	C8955, right side (some mixed with N.403)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	30 round blue faience beads on string	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13298	NA	B10708, bottom	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Carnelian monkey amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Amethyst monkey amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Beryl Taweret(?) amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Blank carnelian scarab	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Glaze amulets, 2	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Necklace fragments, shell ring beads, carnelian and black faience ring beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
	Faience beads, 1 ring, 1 spherical, 1 tubular, 3 barrel, 3 drop	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3-4
Statues	Statue, male, left arm, bent	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13304	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Statue, male, right arm, straight	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13305	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
Cosmetic Items	Cosmetic spoon, duck handle, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13299	NA	C8904, C8905 (attributed to N.402)	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Furniture	Headrest, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13307	NA	B10691, a/2	Not recorded
Specialized Implements	Mallet, broken, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13306	NA	C8889, a/4	Not recorded
Organic Material	Bivalve shell	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13315b	NA	A9755, b/7	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2 (Reisner's 361.16)
	Seeds	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13315a	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
Miscellaneous	Wooden bowl	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13326	NA	A9755, a/8	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2 (Reisner's 361.33)
	Funerary cone?	1901-1903	Not recorded	NA	A9755, a/1	Not recorded

N.449

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	K 12	Type IIIC	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Platform, dimensions unknown	Room B= 2.00W x 3.60L Room C= 2.40W x 2.00L	Shaft A= 1.00W x 2.20L x 2.50D Inner shaft = 1.20W x 2.00L x ?D	Chamber A= 0.65W x 2.20L x 0.80H Inner chamber= 1.40W x 2.00L x ?H	12

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Female	Female skeleton found with wooden coffin fragments in A (skull= PAHMA 12-4860)	Skeleton= B4980	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat, Type VIII	Hull	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13752a	NA	C8897	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4	45a	Figs. 84, 85
	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13752b	NA	C8897	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4	45b	Figs. 84, 85
	Steering oar	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13752c	NA	C8897	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4	45c	Figs. 84, 85

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Conical jar sherd, pointed base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13711	NA	A10807, b/1	Not recorded
	Globular jar, funnel neck, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13722	NA	B4968, c/2	Not recorded
	Jar, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13723 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Globular jar with horizontal incised lines, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13729	NA	B4968, a/4	Not recorded
	Globular jar, wide mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/1	Not recorded
	Drop jar, wide mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/2	Not recorded
	Globular jar, small mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/3	Not recorded
	Globular jar, wide mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/5	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, flat base, WSR	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13730	NA	B4968, c/1	Not recorded
	Drop jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, b/5	Not recorded
	Drop jar	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, b/6	Not recorded
	Globular water jar, incised lines on neck, short neck, small mouth	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13732	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Globular jar, small mouth, RW, painted red	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13736	NA	A10807, d/4	Not recorded
	Globular jar, small mouth	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, b/3	Not recorded
	Drop jars	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, b/4, b/7, c/4	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, necked	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, b/6	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, wide mouth, 4 incised lines below neck, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13741	NA	A10807, c/1	Not recorded
	Pot stand, medium height, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13713	NA	B4969, b/1	Not recorded
	Pot stand, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13721	NA	B4969, b/2	Not recorded
	Pot stand, medium height	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, b/3	Not recorded
	Pot stand, tall, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13725	NA	B4969, b/5	Not recorded
	Pot stand, tall, , cylindrical, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13733	NA	B4969, b/6	Not recorded
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13739	NA	B4969, b/4?	Not recorded
	Tall pot stands	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, b/1, b/2, e/1, e/2, e/3, e/4, e/5	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, flat base, slightly carinated, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13708	NA	B4969, a/5	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Bowl, sherd	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13709 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13710	NA	B4969, c/3	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, c/1	Not recorded
	Bowl, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, a/2	Not recorded
	Shallow bowls	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, a/5, a/6, a/7, c/2	Not recorded
	Hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, a/4	Not recorded
	Bowl, broken, pinched rim	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13712	NA	B4969, a/7	Not recorded
	Bowl, pinched rim	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, a/8	Not recorded
	Beaker, flat base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13714	NA	B4968, b/2	Not recorded
	Beaker, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, b/4	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13715 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Hemispherical bowl	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/4	Not recorded
	Sherds?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/5, a/6	Not recorded
	Deep carinated bowl with pedestal base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13716	NA	B4969, a/6	Not recorded
	Deep carinated bowl with pedestal base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, b/2	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, round base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13717	NA	B4969, c/4	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, round base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, c/5	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, round base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, c/6	Not recorded
	Deep bowl, flat base, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13718	NA	B4969, c/7	Not recorded
	Shallow bowl, flat base, RP	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13719	NA	A10807, a/3	Not recorded
	Carinated bowl, ring base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, a/1, b/5, c/5	Not recorded
	Bowl	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13720 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Bowl, broken	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13724 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Beaker, flared sides, flat base, broken, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13726	NA	A10807, d/3	Not recorded
	Beaker, flared sides, flat base, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, c/3	Not recorded

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Shallow bowl, flat base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13734	NA	B4969, c/2	Not recorded
	Bowl	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13735 (not located)	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Beaker, flared sides, flat base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13737	NA	B4968, b/3	Not recorded
	Beaker?, sherd	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, C/3	Not recorded
	Bowl, deep, round base	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13738	NA		Not recorded
	Beaker, sherds	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13740	NA	B4968, b/4?	Not recorded
	Offering vessel, cone-shaped, with flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4968, a/8	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jars, flat bases	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4969, a1, a/2, a/3, a/4, b/7	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jars, flat bases	1901-1903	Not located	NA	A10807, c/6, d/5, d/6, c/6, e/7	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Beaker with tapered base, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13727	NA	C8838, C8839, a/1	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Cylinder concave beaker, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13742	NA	C8838, C8839, c/1	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2, 4
	Shouldered jar with neck, projecting rim, flat base, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13743	NA	C8838, C8839, c/2	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Cosmetic jar, squat, limestone	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13728	NA	C8897, b/5	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
Jewelry	5 bicone beads, carnelian (from burial chamber)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13744	NA	B10701, b, g	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	4 green faience beads: 2 bicone, 2 tubular (from burial chamber)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13745	NA	B10701, b	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	4 beads, 3 spherical blue faience, 1 gold bicone (from burial chamber)	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13749	NA	B10701, a	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry, continued	67 strung beads, black & blue faience, 1 spiral design, carnelian, amethyst, tubular, barrel, disc, spherical	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13746	NA	B10701, c-f	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	4 beads, fancy, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13747	NA	B10701, c-f	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	17 flat beads, fancy, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13747	NA	B10701, c-f	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	6 tubular beads, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13747	NA	B10701, b, g	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	12 flat beads, fancy, faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13747	NA	B10701, c-f	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	1 black faience barrel bead, 2 carnelian bicones	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13748	NA	B10701?	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	Amethyst monkey amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10701, d/4	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	Beryl eyelet bead	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10701, d/2	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	Ram's head amulet, faience	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10701, e/8	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
	Falcon amulet, faience	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10701, d/9	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3
Cosmetic Items	Mirror, copper, chamber A	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B4980	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
Specialized Implements	Model dagger, wood	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13731	NA	C8897, b/1	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
Miscellaneous	Paddle doll, wood, room	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8897, b/4	Reisner 1901-1903b: 4
	Coffin fragments, wood	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Funerary cones?			NA	B4968, c/7, c/8	Not recorded

N.450

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.100-400	J 11	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SW, NE-SW axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 3.60L x 0.80 W Room A= 2.40 W x 2.00L Chamber B=1.2W x 1.60L Chamber C= 1.6W x 2.80L Chamber D= 1.6W x 2.40L Chamber E= 1.6W x 2.00L Corridor 1 off E = dimensions unknown Corridor 2 off E = dimensions unknown Corridor off D= dimensions unknown	One shaft in C= dimensions unknown	One chamber= dimensions unknown	12

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Male	Cranium (PAHMA 12-4861)		

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
?	Parts of wooden figures	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 3	182	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment, painted yellow with inscribed line of hieroglyphs, illegible	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	NA	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
7 coffin fragments, interior head board, decorated with sacred unguents and bags of eye paint	NA	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C8944	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Piniform jar, rolled rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13753	NA	B10679, d/2	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jar, flat base, flared rim, RW, painted red	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13754	NA	B10679, e/2	Not recorded
	Bowl, incised lines at top, double rim, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13755	NA	B10679, b/1	Not recorded
	Ovoid jar, necked, wide mouth, RW	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13756	NA	Not photographed	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, rounded shoulder, flared rim, flat base, RW, painted red	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13757	NA	B10679, e/3	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, rounded shoulder, flat base,	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, d/3	Not recorded
	Tall shouldered jar, angled shoulder, flared rim, flat base	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, c/2	Not recorded
	Shallow bowls, painted rims	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, a/1, a/2	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2
	Tall pot stand	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, c/1, c/3	Not recorded
	Large water jars, broken	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, d/1, e/1	Not recorded
	Sherds?	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10679, a/3, a/4, b/2	Not recorded
Stone Vessels	Cosmetic jar, squat with flat base, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13758?	NA	C8843, a/3	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
	Cosmetic jar, broken, small shouldered with wide rim and flat base, travertine	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13759?	NA	C8843, a/4	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
Jewelry	Beads, strung carnelian, spherical and bicone	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13760	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Beads, strung, amethyst, black & green faience, spherical & barrel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13761	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry, continued	Beads, strung: 54 spherical & 1 quatrefoil blue faience	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13762	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	18 beads: black & blue faience, 1 spiral design, spherical, tubular, barrel	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13766	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	27 beads: 8 large spherical, 14 ring & 3 quatrefoil faience and 1 spherical carnelian	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13767	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	2 carnelian drop beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Shell ring beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	3 carnelian, 3 amethyst & 1 garnet bicone bead	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	33 carnelian, 4 amethyst, 3 garnet spherical beads	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Scarab, Amethyst	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13763	NA	B10702, c/2; C8971, b/3; and C8972, b/3	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Monkey amulet, Carnelian	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13764	NA	B10702, b/3	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	3 faience amulets, 2 falcons and 1 fancy form	1901-1903	PAHMA 6-13765	NA	B10702, b/5, c/1, c/3	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Shell-shaped amulet, carnelian	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Dark green stone falcon	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Beryl falcon	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10702	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	Beryl ape	1901-1903	Not located	NA	B10702	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	1 amethyst hippo head amulet	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3
	2 beryl hippo heads amulets	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2-3

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Cosmetic Items	Wooden red-painted toilet box fragments, found with travertine jars in chamber A	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 1
Miscellaneous	Fish skeleton	1901-1903	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Reisner 1901-1903b: 2

Phase IV = late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

N.3575

Tomb Description								
Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
N.3500	H 4	Type I	NW-SE	NA	NA	0.80 W x 1.78 L x 0.80 D	NA	12

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Expedition Photographs	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Female	Female skeleton found with wooden coffin fragments	C312, C313, C314	None	None

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Clay papyriform boat	1901-1903	Not located	NA	C313	Mace 1901-03b: 20	46	Fig. 96

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

None

S.F.64

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	East end of cemetery on slope of low hill, near S.F.170 and S.F.209, but further south	Type IIIA/B	Entrance on SE, NW-SE axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 6.0 L x 1.80 W Room E= 4.15W x 3.15L x 4.30D (below ground, roof gone) Level corridor C= 2.0 L x 1.10 W x 1.45 H Chamber D= 2.05L x 1.35 W x 1.30 H Sloping passage A= 2.25L x 1.10W x 1.60D Chamber A= 2.60 L x 1.80W x 1.25H Sloping passage B= 1.50L x 1.00W x 1.20D Chamber B= 1.85L x 1.0W x 1.15H	NA	NA	12

Tomb Owners

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	Male figure, standing w/arms crossed over chest, wears black beard & moustache, blue wig	1913	BMFA 13.3629	13-3-97	A938 a/1	West 1913d	47	Figs. 99, 101

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Kohl pot	1913	Not Located	13-3-158	B1751, a/3	West 1913d
Stone Vessels	Kohl pot, lid, travertine	1913	Not Located	13-3-99	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Kohl pot, squat, body, travertine	1913	Not Located	13-3-161	B1757, c/1	West 1913d
	Tall cosmetic vase, flat base, travertine	1913	Not Located	13-3-129	C4244, a/3	West 1913d
Jewelry	Faience beads: round, tubular, fancy shape	1913	Not Located	13-3-98	A966, A905, a/14,	West 1913d
	Faience scarab, uninscribed	1913	13.3631	13-3-98	A900, c/10; A 901, c/10	West 1913d
	Duckling amulet, beryl	1913	13.3631	13-3-98	A904, b/7	West 1913d
	Scarab, amethyst	1913	Not Located	13-3-122	A900, c/12; A 901, c/12	West 1913d
	Faience beads: round, barrel, disc and tubular	1913	Not Located	13-3-122	A966	West 1913d
	Faience beads: round, tubular, fancy shape	1913	Not Located	13-3-141	A904, d/12	West 1913d
	Monkey amulet, green stone	1913	Not Located	13-3-141	A904, d/13	West 1913d
	Pierced shell	1913	Not Located	13-3-141		
	Blue faience amulets	1913	Not Located	13-3-141	A904, d/14	West 1913d
	Blue faience ball beads	1913	Not Located	13-4-277	A966	West 1913d

S.F.170

Tomb Description								
Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	East end of cemetery on slope of low hill, just above S.F.165	Type IIIc	1 entrance on SW, SW-NE axis	Unknown, mud brick threshold & retaining wall	Entrance corridor= 2.90L x 1.00W Room E= 3.40W x 4.25L x 1.40H Room B= 2.60W x 3.35L x ?H Room A= 2.75W x 3.10L x 1.38H	Shaft "d"= 0.85W x 1.80L x ?D Shaft D= 0.70W x 2.45L x 0.90D	Chamber C= 1.85W x 2.60L x 1.36H; No chamber associated with shaft D	13

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	Four skulls found in tomb, exact locations unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat	1 boat, hull	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/4	West 1913a: 59	48a	Fig. 98
	1 tall stanchion, striped	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/4	West 1913a: 59	48b	Fig. 98
	1 large rudder, blade	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/2	West 1913a: 59	48c	Fig. 98
Model Boat	6 kneeling rowers with left arms crossed over chest	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/1, b/2, b/4, b/6, b/11 and b/12	West 1913a: 59	49a	Fig. 98
	1 kneeling rower with right arm crossed over chest? (damaged)	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/14	West 1913a: 59	49b	Fig. 98
	4 kneeling rowers with right arms crossed over chest	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/3, b/5, b/9 and c/5	West 1913a: 59	49c	Fig. 98

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat, continued	1 oar, broken	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/7	West 1913a: 59	49d	Fig. 98
	1 oar, handle?	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/6	West 1913a: 59	49e	Fig. 98
								Fig. 98
Model Boat	1 rudder, with falcon-headed terminal	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/6	West 1913a: 59	50a	Fig. 98
	1 rudder stanchion, 4-sided, with falcon-headed terminal	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/3	West 1913a: 59	50b	Fig. 98
	Final end-post?	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/2	West 1913a: 59	50c	Fig. 98
	1 standing sailor with both arms crossed over chest	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/7	West 1913a: 59	50d	Fig. 98
	1 standing sailor with left arm crossed over chest	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/15	West 1913a: 59	50e	Fig. 98
	1 standing sailor with right arm crossed over chest	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/16	West 1913a: 59	50f	Fig. 98
	4 other figures from a boat	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	Not photographed	West 1913a: 59	50g	Fig. 98
	1 striding figure, pilot?, decayed	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/8	West 1913a: 59	51a	Fig. 98
	1 figure standing with legs apart, decayed	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/13	West 1913a: 59	51b	Fig. 98
	Deceased, seated on throne, wears kilt, beard and moustache	1913	BMFA 13.3795	13-3-279	A938, a/4	West 1913a: 59; West 1913d	51c	Fig. 98
	3 globular jars	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/1, a/3, a/10	West 1913a: 59	51d	Fig. 98
	1 jar, flat base	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, b/10	West 1913a: 59	51e	Fig. 98
	2 jars (1 globular and 1 <i>hs</i>)	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, c/1, c/11	West 1913a: 59	51f	Fig. 98
	3 unidentifiable fragments	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/5, a/8, a/9	West 1913a: 59	51g	Fig. 98
	4 unidentifiable fragments	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	B1896, a/7, c/8, c/9, c/10	West 1913a: 59	51h	Fig. 98
Offering Bearer	Female statuette, nude	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913a: 59	82a	
	1 large, female right arm with bracelet and armlet	1913	Not located	13-3-323	A938, c/3	West 1913d	82c	Fig. 99
	Statue base, feet together	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913a: 59	82b	

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Inscribed wooden box fragment	NA	1913	BMFA 13.3836	13-3-331	A938, a/5	West 1913d
Cartonnage mummy fragments with hieroglyphic inscription	NA	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not photographed	West 1913d
Wooden blue painted ear from mummy mask	NA	1913	Not Located	13-3-326	B1812, e/12	West 1913d
Wooden blue painted shabti, arms crossed over chest, possible false beard	NA	1913	BMFA 13.3847	13-3-324	B1909, c/4	West 1913d

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Large rectangular bowl, smaller jars fastened to rim	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913a: 59
	Fragment of pottery kohl pot	1913	Not Located	13-3-357	B1905, a/6	West 1913d
	Large bowls with incurved rims	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, a/1, a/2, b/4	West 1913d
	Large carinated bowls w/ring bases	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, a/3, b/2, b/3, b/5	West 1913d
	Large hemispherical bowl	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, b/1	West 1913d
	Pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/1	West 1913d
	Globular jar, tall neck, small mouth	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/2	West 1913d
	Small globular jars, tall necks, wavy mouths	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/3, c/4	West 1913d
	Crude ovoid jar	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/5	West 1913d
	Squat carinated jar, painted?	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/6	West 1913d
	Small globular jar, flat base, tall neck	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, c/7	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered jars	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, d/1, d/2, d/3	West 1913d
	Tall pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, d/4, d/5	West 1913d
	Medium height pot stand	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1853, d/6	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Deep bowl, flat base, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, a/1, a/5	West 1913d
	Deep hemispherical bowl	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, a/2	West 1913d
	Large bowl, flared sides	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, a/3, a/4, a/5	West 1913d
	Large shouldered <i>hsjar</i> , top broken	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, b/1	West 1913d
	Tall pot stands	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, b/4, b/5, c/3	West 1913d
	Large globular water jars, small mouths	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	B1852, c/1, c/2	West 1913d
Stone Vessels	Anhydrite kohl jar, on own stand	1913	BMFA 13.3710	13-3-316	C4243, a/4	West 1913d
	Travertine bowl	1913	Not Located	13-3-341	B1750, a/1	West 1913d
Jewelry	Faience quatrefoil and disc beads	1913	BMFA 13.5257 & BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A975	West 1913d
	Carnelian falcon & drop pendant	1913	BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A904, c/5, c/2, c/1	West 1913d
	Green beryl falcon & ape	1913	BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A904, c/6, c/7	West 1913d
	2 small ornaments of amethyst	1913	BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A904, c/3, c/4	West 1913d
	Carnelian hippo head amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A904, c/8	West 1913d
	Garnet bottle shaped ornament	1913	BMFA 13.3711	13-3-320	A904, c/1	West 1913d
	65 carnelian & 5 amethyst ball beads, amethyst monkey, biconical garnet bead	1913	BMFA 13.3721	13-3-345	A975	West 1913d
	Silver wire <i>hh</i> amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3772	13-3-345	A905, d/7	West 1913d
	Faience quatrefoil, ball and barrel beads	1913	BMFA 13.3722	13-3-346	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Statues	2 bases for male statues, left legs advanced	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913a: 59

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Specialized Implements	Wooden paint tray with two depressions	1913	BMFA 13.3792	13-3-325	B1812, b/11	West 1913d
	Wooden scribal palette with 4 reeds & red ochre	1913	Not Located	13-3-370	B1764, a/1	West 1913d
	Broken end of painted wooden <i>shm</i> or <i>ʿbʿ</i> model scepter	1913	BMFA 13.3809	13-3-369	B1764, a/3	West 1913d
Organic Material	Ox horns	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913d
	Fiber basket, fragments	1913	Not Located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Copper ring or staple	1913	BMFA 13.3774	13-3-345	C4258, a/5	West 1913d
	Bone object pierced with wooden pin	1913	Not Located	13-3-345	B1908, a/6	West 1913d

S.F.209

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	East end of cemetery on slope of low hill, next to S.F.170	Type IIIA/C	1 entrance on SW, SW-NE axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= 1.30L (extant) x 1.20W; corridor continues to slope down through rooms D, B and A Room D= 3.75W x 3.90L x ?H Room B= 2.80W x 2.65 L x 0.98H Corridor from B to A= 1.10W x 0.55L Room A= 3.05W x 2.20L x 1.40H Chamber C= 1.30W x 2.50L x 1.40H a, a= walls repaired with mud-bricks, plastered b, b= remains of mud-brick seal C on same floor level as B	Shaft G= 0.80W x 1.25L x 0.35D Shaft H= 0.80W x 1.30L x 0.80D	Chamber E= 2.50W x 2.15L x 1.34H Chamber F= 1.73W x 2.25L x 1.42H	13

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	10 skulls found in tomb, exact locations unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Boat,	1 seated male, rower, 1 arm crossed on breast	1913	Not Located	13-4-244	B1812 a/7	West 1913d	52a	Fig. 54
	1 seated rower	1913	Not Located	13-4-311	B1812 a/6	West 1913d	52b	
	1 rudder stanchion, falcon headed terminal	1913	Not Located	13-4-315	B1812 c/6	West 1913d	52c	Fig. 54

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Offering Bearer	Basket, from female statue	1913	Not Located	13-3-315	B1812 c/7	West 1913d	83a	Fig. 54
	2 feet from statue, small	1913	Not Located	13-11-313	B1812 c/3	West 1913d	83c	Fig. 54
	Pedestal from striding statue	1913	Not Located	13-11-314	B1812, d/6	West 1913d	83b	Fig. 54

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

Object	Typology	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Coffin fragment with a partial horizontal band of hieroglyphs	NA	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Cartonnage fragments, remains of hieroglyphic inscriptions	NA	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
2 wooden ears from mummy mask	NA	1913	Not Located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Squat kohl pot with 2 lines painted at neck	1913	Not located	13-4-223	B1861, a/4?	West 1913d
	Globular jar, necked, wavy mouth	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, b/4	West 1913d
	Carinated bowl		Not located	Not recorded	B1861, b/5	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered /s jar	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, b/6	West 1913d
	Large globular water jar, necked, small mouth	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, c/4, d/3	West 1913d
	Bowl, flared sides, flat base	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, a/5	West 1913d
	Tall pot stands	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, c/5, c/6, d/4	West 1913d
Cosmetic Items	Travertine shouldered kohl jar with neck and projecting rim, flat base	1913	Not Located	13-4-211	B1757, b/7	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Cosmetic Items	Quartz crystal kohl pot	1913	Peabody 14-63-50/B598 = BMFA 44.31	13-4-217	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Travertine kohl pot fragment	1913	BMFA 13.5562	13-4-248	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	2 pieces of ivory inlay from a wooden toilet box	1913	BMFA 13.5563	13-4-249	B1908, a/7	West 1913d
Jewelry	Faience ball beads	1913	BMFA 13.5554?	13-4-224	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Faience ball beads	1913	BMFA 13.3874	13-4-230	A971	West 1913d
	Faience ball, tubular and ring beads, flat ring of limestone, and hematite ball bead	1913	BMFA 13.3869?	13-4-239	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Amethyst ball beads, 3 faience tubular beads, 1 faience ring bead, 4 faience ball beads, 4 barrel faience beads, 84 faience discs, and 8 garnet ball beads	1913	BMFA 3869?	13-4-274	A971	West 1913d
	1 monkey amulet, 4 beads, painted plaster chips, and stone flake tool	1913	BMFA 13.5558	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Furniture	Wooden rectangular furniture? fragment, plastered & painted blue on 1 side	1913	Not Located	13-4-246	B1812, d/5	West 1913d
	2 painted wooden bed legs, ox feet	1913	Not Located	13-4-290	B1909, c/1, c/6	West 1913d
	Solid form wooden headrest	1913	Peabody 14-63-50/B618	13-4-291	B1897, c/1	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Organic Material	2 ox horns	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Basket fragments	1913	Not located	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Miscellaneous	Pottery spool?	1913	BMFA 13.3871	13-4-226	B1905, c/3	West 1913d
	Wooden disc or spool	1913	BMFA 13.3831	13-4-247	B1812, c/4	West 1913d
	Bone disc, for game?	1913	BMFA 13.3868	Not Recorded	Not Photographed	West 1913d

S.F.132

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	Low-lying tomb located on slope of hill "25", between S.F.129 and S.F.133	Type IIIc	One entrance on W, N-S axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= 3.25L x 0.75W Room B= 2.75W x 2.50L x 1.57H	0.93W x 1.30L (extant)	Unknown	13

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Musician	Male harpist	1913	J.E. 44419	13-3-205	C4245, C4246, C4247, C4248	West 1913a: 54; 1913d; Reisner 1913f: 10	143	Figs. 210, 211

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Tall pot stands	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jars	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
Jewelry	Carnelian ball, barrel, and disc beads, faience tubular and ball beads	1913	Not Located	13-3-209	A986	West 1913d
	Faience amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3760	13-3-209	A905, a/3	West 1913d
	Carnelian & faience ball beads	1913	Not Located	13-3-218	A986	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	Faience crouching dog or lion amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3753	13-3-218	A904, a/9, c/2	West 1913d
Cosmetic Items	Travertine kohl pot	1913	Not Located	13-3-206	B1750, b/2	West 1913d
Specialized Implements	Flint flake	1913	Not Located	13-3-217	B1905, a/4	West 1913d
Organic Materials	Crocodile bone	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d

S.F.95

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	Southeast slope below sheikh's tomb	Type IIIIB	One entrance on E, E-W axis	Unknown	Entrance corridor= 3.90L x 1.40W Room B= 3.00W x 4.70L x 1.86H Inner corridor= 0.80W x 0.90L x ?H x ?D (slope) Inner (burial) chamber A= 2.05W x 3.20L x 2.00H	NA	NA	13

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	3 skulls found in room B	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Kitchen/bakery	Female figure standing before oven	1913	BMFA 13.3657	13-3-151	C4489, C4490	West 1913d	132	Fig. 199

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Slightly carinated deep bowl	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, a/1	West 1913d
	Deep hemispherical bowl	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, a/2	West 1913d
	Squat jar	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, a/3	West 1913d
	Globular jars, necked, small mouths, black interiors	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, b/1, b/2, c/3	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Small globular jar, flared mouth	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, b/3	West 1913d
	Tall pot stand	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, c/1	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jar	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, c/2	West 1913d
	Large globular water jar, necked, small mouth	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, d/1	West 1913d
	Beaker	1913	Not located	Not recorded	B1861, d/2	West 1913d
Jewelry	Large blue faience & 2 carnelian ball beads	1913	BMFA 13.3655	13-3-149	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Uninscribed jasper scarab	1913	Not Located	13-3-152	A900, d/11 & A901, d/11	West 1913d
	Faience and carnelian ball, barrel and tubular beads, shell disc beads & 1 lapis disc bead	1913	Not Located	13-3-152	A970	West 1913d
	Beryl <i>Mwt</i> bird amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3658	13-3-152	A970	West 1913d
Cosmetic Items	Ivory inlays from wooden toilet box	1913	BMFA 13.3660	13-3-154	B1908, c/1-4	West 1913d
	Broken travertine kohl jar with incised lines, legs	1913	Not Located	13-3-167	Not Photographed	West 1913d
Specialized Implements	2 flint flakes	1913	Not Located	13-3-168	B1905, b/4, c/1	West 1913d
Organic Material	1 ox horn	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Not photographed	West 1913d

S.F.218

Tomb Description

Cemetery	Map Quadrant	Tomb Type	Tomb Orientation	Maximum Dimensions: Courtyard	Maximum Dimensions: offering chapel, inner chambers and/or corridors	Maximum Dimensions: shaft (s)	Maximum Dimensions: burial chamber(s) opening off bottom of shaft(s)	Plate
S.F.200	Hill slope to east of sheikh's tomb	Type IIIB/C	One entrance on SE, NE-SW axis	unknown	Entrance corridor= 2.35L x 0.75W x 1.10D (slope) Chapel= 3.50W x 2.25L x 1.30H Inner corridor= 1.00W x 1.70L x 0.75H x ?D (slope)	Shaft "a"= 1.00W x 1.60L x 1.40D	Chamber= 1.15W x 1.15L x 1.02H	13

Tomb Owner(s)

Names	Gender	Human Remains	Titles: Transliteration	Titles: Translation
Unknown	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown

Models

Model Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records	New Catalogue Number	Figures
Model Papyriform Boat	Boat	1913	BMFA 13.3796	13-4-225	A939, c/4	West 1913d	53	Fig. 97

Associated material, inscribed and decorated

None

Associated material, uninscribed

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Pottery	Piriform jars or cups	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Deep bowls with round bases, RW	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Carinated bowls with ring bases	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Flared bowls/cups with flat bases, RW	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Tall shouldered <i>hs</i> jars		Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	
	Drab bellied jars	1913	Not located	Not recorded	Unknown	West 1913d
	Mud jar sealing	1913	BMFA 13.5575?	13-4-279	A986	West 1913d

Object Type	Object	Date Collected	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Expedition Records
Jewelry	1 ball & 1 cylinder bead, black faience	1913	BMFA 13.5575	13-4-250	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Oyster-shell pendant with 2 holes for suspension	1913	BMFA 13.3806	13-4-250	B1813, a/4	West 1913d
	Copper ring	1913	BMFA 13.5574	13-4-278	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Faience barrel, disc and ball beads, pierced shell	1913	BMFA 13.5575?	13-4-279	A986	West 1913d
	Copper wire fragment and copper oyster-shell ornament	1913	BMFA 13.5576	13-4-280	Not Photographed	West 1913d
	Blue & black faience spiral design barrel beads, carnelian ball and disc beads, black and blue faience ball beads, and 2 small quartz crystal ornaments	1913	BMFA 13.3904	13-4-281	A986	West 1913d
	Faience falcon amulet	1913	BMFA 13.3812	13-4-281	A904, b/9	West 1913d

**Appendix B: Material from Sheikh Farag Cemetery S.F.200
in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University**

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B136
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, coarse	14-63-50/B137
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B138
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery, unpolished red brown ware	14-63-50/B139
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery, unpolished red brown ware	14-63-50/B139.1
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B140
Sheikh Farag	Pottery vases, unpolished red ware	14-63-50/B141
Sheikh Farag	Pottery vases, unpolished brown ware	14-63-50/B142
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B143
Sheikh Farag	Pottery vases, unpolished red brown ware	14-63-50/B144
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B145
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B145.1
Sheikh Farag	Vase, red brown ware, with 3 small pieces included	14-63-50/B146
Sheikh Farag	Vase, red brown ware, with 3 small pieces included	14-63-50/B146.1
Sheikh Farag	Vase, red brown ware, with 3 small pieces included	14-63-50/B146.2
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B147
Sheikh Farag	Pottery vases, unpolished brown ware	14-63-50/B148
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B149
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B149.1
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished	14-63-50/B150
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B151
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B152
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B153
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery, with pouring lip	14-63-50/B154
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B155

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B156
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B157
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B158
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B159
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B160
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, small, brown, unpolished	14-63-50/B161
Sheikh Farag, tomb 170	Dish, pottery, deep, unpolished	14-63-50/B162
Sheikh Farag, tomb 170	Dish, pottery, deep, unpolished	14-63-50/B162.1
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B163
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B164
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Dish, pottery, shallow	14-63-50/B165
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B166
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Sherd, pottery	14-63-50/B167
Sheikh Farag	Pottery small vases, red, unpolished	14-63-50/B168
Sheikh Farag	Pottery small vases, red, unpolished	14-63-50/B168.1
Sheikh Farag	Pottery small vases, red, unpolished	14-63-50/B168.2
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, 1 is a fragment	14-63-50/B169
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Jar, pottery, quatrefoil rim	14-63-50/B170
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Jar, pottery, quatrefoil rim	14-63-50/B170.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 67	Jar, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B171
Sheikh Farag, tomb 67	Jar, pottery, unpolished, red-brown ware	14-63-50/B171.1
Sheikh Farag	Brazier, pottery, with 4 rectangular cutouts on sides	14-63-50/B172
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Pot stand and 5 pots sherds, pottery	14-63-50/B173
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Wheel-turned pot stand, wide at the base, narrowing to a small opening at the top. Surfaces are coated overall with a brick-red slip - the interior is uncoated. The pot stand is otherwise not decorated.	14-63-50/B173.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Wheel-turned pot stand, wide at the base, narrowing to a small opening at the top. Surfaces are coated overall with a brick-red slip - the interior is uncoated. The pot stand is otherwise not decorated.	14-63-50/B173.2

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Cup, pottery, cylindrical	14-63-50/B174
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, large, partly reconstructed	14-63-50/B175
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B176
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B177
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Bowl, pottery, incised decoration on 2 inch band below rim	14-63-50/B178
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, cylindrical	14-63-50/B179
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B180
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B181
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B181.1
Sheikh Farag	Pottery ring stand, unpolished red	14-63-50/B182
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B183
Sheikh Farag, tomb 67	Lamp, pottery	14-63-50/B184
Sheikh Farag	Pot, pottery, with pouring lip	14-63-50/B185
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery, conical section	14-63-50/B186
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B187
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B188
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B188.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Saucer, pottery	14-63-50/B189
Sheikh Farag	Cup, small, red brown unpolished	14-63-50/B190
Sheikh Farag	Saucer, pottery	14-63-50/B191
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Dish, pottery	14-63-50/B192
Sheikh Farag	Dish, pottery	14-63-50/B193
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Dish, pottery	14-63-50/B194
Sheikh Farag	Cup, pottery, brown ware unpolished	14-63-50/B195
Sheikh Farag	Pottery dish, quatrefoil mouth	14-63-50/B196

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Bowl, pottery, quatrefoil rim	14-63-50/B197
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B198
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery	14-63-50/B199
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Ring stand, pottery, stem type	14-63-50/B200
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Ring stand, pottery, stem type	14-63-50/B200.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B201
Sheikh Farag	Bottle, pottery	14-63-50/B202
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B203
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B204
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B204.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, small	14-63-50/B205
Sheikh Farag, tomb 216	Jar, pottery, drab ware, appliqué decoration	14-63-50/B206
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand?, pottery, fragment	14-63-50/B207
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand?, pottery, fragment	14-63-50/B208
Sheikh Farag	Dish, pottery, quatrefoil rim	14-63-50/B209
Sheikh Farag	Situla, pottery	14-63-50/B210
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery, large, in 5 pieces	14-63-50/B211
Sheikh Farag	Sherd, pottery, thick, inscribed with cross-hatching inside	14-63-50/B212
Sheikh Farag	Ring stand, pottery	14-63-50/B213
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, inscribed	14-63-50/B214
Sheikh Farag, tomb 170	Bottle, pottery, globular	14-63-50/B215
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Jar, pottery, incised wavy line decoration around neck	14-63-50/B216
Sheikh Farag	Dish, pottery	14-63-50/B217
Sheikh Farag	Bottle, pottery	14-63-50/B218
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B219

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, in 11 fragments	14-63-50/B220
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, in 11 fragments	14-63-50/B220.1
Sheikh Farag	Bowl, pottery, smooth red finish	14-63-50/B221
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B222
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B223
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B224
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B224.1
Sheikh Farag	Dish, pottery	14-63-50/B225
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B226
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B227
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B227.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B228
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B229
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B230
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B231
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, round bellied	14-63-50/B232
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, round bellied	14-63-50/B232.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B233
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B233.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Jar, pottery, round bellied	14-63-50/B234
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B235
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B236
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, inscribed wavy line decoration	14-63-50/B237
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B238
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B239

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Pottery, wide mouthed, unsmoothed, brown jar	14-63-50/B239.1
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B240
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B241
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B241.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B242
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B243
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B243.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B244
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B245
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B246
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, in 7 pieces	14-63-50/B247
Sheikh Farag	Pottery jar, smoothed brown ware, red painted	14-63-50/B248
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B249
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery, barrel shape	14-63-50/B250
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B251
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B251.1
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B252
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B253
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery, narrow neck	14-63-50/B254
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B255
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B256
Sheikh Farag	Pottery vase, unpolished ware - quatrefoil mouth	14-63-50/B257
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B258
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B259
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B260

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B261
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B262
Sheikh Farag	Potsherd	14-63-50/B263
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B264
Sheikh Farag	Vase, pottery	14-63-50/B265
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B266
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B267
Sheikh Farag	Jar, pottery	14-63-50/B268
Sheikh Farag, tomb 215	Jar, pottery?	14-63-50/B280
Sheikh Farag, tomb 215	Jar, pottery?	14-63-50/B281
Sheikh Farag	Offering tray, large rectangular cups on edges	14-63-50/B420
Sheikh Farag?	Jar, large, in 8 fragments	14-63-50/B441
Sheikh Farag?	Bowl, large, in 4 fragments	14-63-50/B442
Sheikh Farag?	Jar, pottery, coarse	14-63-50/B443
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B585
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B586
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B587
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B588
Sheikh Farag, tomb 120	Kohl pot, soapstone	14-63-50/B589
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B590
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, limestone	14-63-50/B591
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B592
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B593
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, black stone	14-63-50/B594
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, black stone	14-63-50/B595

Provenance	Object Description	Museum Catalogue Number
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B596
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B597
Sheikh Farag, tomb 209	Kohl vessel, marble (quartz crystal)	14-63-50/B598= MFA 44.31 (given to BMFA in 1944 exchange for additional pottery)
Sheikh Farag, tomb 227	Kohl pot, alabaster	14-63-50/B599
Sheikh Farag, tomb 24	Kohl pot, alabaster	14-63-50/B600
Sheikh Farag, tomb 73	Kohl pot, alabaster	14-63-50/B601
Sheikh Farag, tomb 99	Kohl pot, alabaster	14-63-50/B602
Sheikh Farag	Kohl pot, alabaster	14-63-50/B603
Sheikh Farag	Disk or saucer, alabaster	14-63-50/B604
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, alabaster	14-63-50/B605
Sheikh Farag	Alabaster; Broken	14-63-50/B606
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, pottery	14-63-50/B607
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, pottery	14-63-50/B608
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, pottery	14-63-50/B609
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, pottery	14-63-50/B610
Sheikh Farag, tomb 25	Kohl pot, pottery	14-63-50/B611
Sheikh Farag, tomb 168	Kohl pot, pottery	14-63-50/B612
Sheikh Farag	Kohl vessel, pottery	14-63-50/B613
Sheikh Farag, tomb 174	Kohl pot, pottery	14-63-50/B614
Sheikh Farag, tombs 25c, 42, 56, 187	Knife-palettes, miniature	14-63-50/B615
Sheikh Farag	Mummy	14-63-50/B616.0
Sheikh Farag	Wooden pointed implement	14-63-50/B617
Sheikh Farag, tomb 209	Wooden pillow (headrest)	14-63-50/B618

Appendix C: Tomb Chronology

Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)	Phase IV Late Middle Kingdom (Mid Dynasty 12- Dynasties 13/17)
14 Tombs	20 Tombs	21 Tombs	7 Tombs
N.248	S.F.533	N.3945	N.3575
N.70/71	N.3765	S.F.5021	S.F.64
N.11	N.3900	S.F.5025	S.F.170
N.67/69	N.3737	N.4003	S.F.209
S.F.5201/5203	N.3774	S.F.5011	S.F.132
S.F.5202	S.F.5214		S.F.95
N.89	N.3930	S.F.5029	S.F.218
	S.F.18	S.F.5010	
N.43	N.4172	N.3579	
N.297	N.429	N.4401	
N.51	N.3907	S.F.25	
		N.110	
N.241	N.3567	N.263	
N.269	N.3769	N.408	
S.F.5210		N.9090	
N.105	S.F.5204	N.9091	
	N.111	N.9292	
	N.3558	S.F.167	
	N.3795	S.F.187	
	N.3916	N.361	
	N.3756	N.449	
	N.202	N.450	

Appendix D: Gender of Model Owners at Naga ed-Deir

Key

Status: T= Titled, P= Presumed Titled, U= Untitled

Evidence: I= Inscriptions (names and/or titles), B= Human Bones, G= Funerary Goods, R= Representations

Late Old Kingdom (Phase I)

Tomb No.	Status	Gender: Female	Gender: Male	Evidence	Bones Sexed
N.248	T (2)	1	1 (son)	I, G, R	--
N.70/71	T (2)	1	1	I, G, R	--
N.11	T	1	1	I, R	--
N.67/69	T (2)	1	1	I, G, R	--
S.F.5201/5203	T	--	1	I, G	--
S.F.5202	T (2)	1	1	I, B (fragments), G, R	No
N.89	T	--	1	I, B (fragments), G, R	No
N.43	T	1	--	I, B (mummy), G	No
N.297	U	--	--	--	--
N.51	U	--	--	--	--
N.241	T	1	--	I, G	--
N.269	U	--	--	--	--
S.F.5210	U	--	--	--	--
N.105	T	--	1	I	--
Subtotal	14 tombs (14T, 4+ U people)	7	8		0

First Intermediate Period (Phase II)

Tomb No.	Status	Gender: Female	Gender: Male	Evidence	Bones Sexed
S.F.533	T	1	--	I, R	--
N.3765	T, P (2)	1	1, 1 (son)	I, B (mummy), B (fragments), G, R	Yes (fragments)
N.3900	T (9)	4	5 (2 are sons)	I, B (fragments), G, R	No
N.3737	T	--	1	I, B (mummy), G, R	No
N.3774	T (2)	1	1	I, B (fragments), G, R	No
S.F.5214	T	--	1	I, G, R	--
N.3930	T (3)	1	2	I, B (fragments), R	No
S.F.18	T	--	1	I, B (fragments), G	No
N.4172	T	--	1	I, B (mummy), G	No
N.429	T, P (2)	1	1, 1 (son)	I, B (mummy), R	No
N.3907	T (3), P (1)	--	4	I, B (mummy), B (fragments), G, R	No
N.3567	T	--	1	I, B (fragments), R	No
N.3769	T	--	1	I, R	--
S.F.5204	P	--	1	G	--
N.111	U	--	--	B (fragments)	No
N.3558	T, P	1	1	I, B (mummy, intrusive), B (fragments), G	No
N.3795	U	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
N.3916	P	--	--	B (fragments)	No
N.3756	P	--	1	B (2 mummies), G	No
N.202	U	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
Subtotal	20 tombs (27T, 9P, 3+ U people)	10	27		2

Early Middle Kingdom (Phase III)

Tomb No.	Status	Gender: Female	Gender: Male	Evidence	Bones Sexed
N.3945	P	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
S.F.5021	P	--	--	--	--
S.F.5025	T	--	1	I, B (fragments), G	No
N.4003	T (3)	1, 1 (daughter?)	1	I, B (skeleton), B (fragments), G, R	No
S.F.5011	P (4)	1,1 (wife, mother)	1, 1 (son)	I, R	--
S.F.5029	U	--	--	--	--
S.F.5010	P	--	1	G	--
N.3579	U	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
N.4401	P (2)	1	1	I, B (2 partial skeletons), G	No
S.F.25	P	--	1	B (mummy), G	No
N.110	U	--	--	--	--
N.263	U	--	--	--	--
N.408	P (2)	1	1	B (2 adult mummies), G	Yes (2)
N.9090	U	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
N.9091	P	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
N.9292	P	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
S.F.167	U	--	--	B (fragments)	No
S.F.187	P	--	--	B (fragments)	No
N.361	P	--	1	I, B (fragments), G	No
N.449	U	1	--	B (skeleton)	Yes
N.450	P	--	1	B (fragments)	Yes
Subtotal	21 tombs (4T, 17P, 7+ U people)	7	15		4

Late Middle Kingdom (Phase IV)

Tomb No.	Status	Gender: Female	Gender: Male	Evidence	Bones Sexed
N.3575	U	1	--	B (skeleton)	Yes
S.F.64	U	--	--	--	--
S.F.170	P	--	1	B (fragments), G	No
S.F.209	P	--	--	B (fragments)	No
S.F.132	U	--	--	--	--
S.F.95	U	--	--	B (fragments)	No
S.F.218	U	1	--	G	--
Subtotal	7 tombs (2P, 5+U people)	2	1		1
Total	62 tombs (45T, 28P, 19+ U people)	26	51		6

Appendix E: Tomb Model Disposition

Key

- 1= Tomb Number
- 2= Courtyard
- 3= Offering Chapel
- 4= Shaft Fill
- 5= Burial Chamber
- 6= Serdab
- 7= Unknown
- 8= Primary Context
- 9= Secondary (Disturbed) Context
- 10= Documentation in Expedition Records

Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N.248						•			Tomb cards lost. Arm from miller or brewer(?) found in unknown location.
N.70/71 (with pits 66, 68, 70 & 71)						•			Tomb cards lost. Duck roaster statuette and boat fragments attributed to N.70 and brewer or miller statuette attributed to N.71, as attested by tomb numbers written on the models.
N.11						•			Tomb cards lost. Two arms, beer vat, beer jar and duck from roaster found in unknown locations.
N.67/69 (w/pits N.67 & N.69)						•			Tomb cards lost. Model boats, offering bearers, porters, granaries, bakery and brewery scenes and spear-carrier attributed to N.69 because of this number written on the intact models and model fragments, and photographic documentation.
S.F.5201/ 5203		•	•					•	Field journal. Misc. fragments of wooden figures, including base of a group scene, parts of boats and bakery/brewery scene(s) found in shaft debris and southeast corner of chapel of S.F.5201; misc. decayed model fragments, including parts of boats, offering bearer, brewer statuette & bakery-brewery scene(s), found in shaft debris of S.F.5203.
S.F.5202			•					•	Field journal. Crude model figures, base of a group scene and decayed figures from models, including boats, porter and bakery-brewery scene(s), found in shaft debris of inner burial pit

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N.89				•				•	Tomb cards lost. Brewer statuette & limestone jar shown "not in position" at the north end of the coffin pit in the burial chamber in photograph C11374.
N.43				•			•		Tomb cards. Miller, duck roaster and porter statuettes placed at head of coffin, squeezed in 30.5 cm space between head of coffin and east chamber wall. One arm of duck roaster found 15 cm west of coffin in front. Serving statuettes shown <i>in situ</i> in photographs A4491, A4493-A4498.
N.297	•								Tomb cards lost. Wooden dancing girl from <i>radim</i> (fill) near N.297 recorded in photograph register, C8853-8857.
N.51						•			Tomb cards lost. Fragments of boat model found in unknown locations.
N.241						•			Tomb cards lost. Fragments of wooden offering bearers, porters, boat and granary found in unknown locations.
N.269			•					•	Tomb cards. Three male statuettes and limestone beer vat, hearth and stacked bread molds recovered from fill of burial shaft.
S.F.5210						•		•	Object register log. Model limestone beef haunch found in tomb debris, location not recorded.
N.105				•		•		•	Tomb cards. Beer vat and damaged wooden figure found in plundered burial chamber II; locations of granary and boat fragments not recorded.

Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
S.F.533						•		•	Not recorded. Wooden male figure found in unknown location.
N.3765				•				•	Tomb cards. Two boat pieces & wooden brewer or miller statuette found in south chamber of burial pit B.
N.3900		•						•	Tomb cards. Large squatting male statuette "from a boat" found in chamber B of chapel.
N.3737	•	•	•	•				•	Tomb cards, models shown <i>in situ</i> in three photographs. Boat fragment found in courtyard debris near robbers' tunnel; wooden fragments of boat, offering bearer & bakery scene found in southeast corner of chapel beside robbers' tunnel (C24, C55); wooden figures from boat & bakery found near chapel entrance along south wall (C122); boat and granary fragments found in fill of burial pit; wooden granary figures scattered in coffin pit along north wall (C778); fragments of inscribed wood (from granary) along south wall of burial chamber.
N.3774		•						•	Tomb cards. Model table with bread loaves & wooden figure from bakery scene found in offering chapel.
S.F.5214			•					•	Field journal. Wooden standing male figure, oar, statuette arm & duck roaster found in shaft debris from burial pit A.
N.3930		•						•	Tomb cards. Two small wooden arms from male figure found in chapel, above pit "b".
S.F.18						•		•	Not recorded. Boat model fragments found in unknown locations.
N.4172				•			•		Tomb cards. Boat and miller scene found between front of coffin and east wall of burial chamber, shown <i>in situ</i> in photograph C764.
N.429		•						•	Tomb cards. Basket fragment of offering bearer found in chamber B (chapel).
N.3907								•	Tomb cards. Broken male porter found in debris of disturbed burial chamber "b".
N.3567		•		•				•	Tomb cards. Wooden rower & standing male figure found in outer chamber B of chapel.
N.3769								•	Tomb cards. Wooden rower found in fill of shaft "b".
N.111				•				•	Tomb cards. Boat fragments found in burial chamber in room B of chapel, shown <i>in situ</i> in expedition photograph C9307 against northeast wall of chamber.
N.3558		•						•	Tomb cards. Small wooden figures found inside chapel entrance.
N.3795		•		•				•	Tomb cards. Granary, male porter statuette, model figure, wooden model vase & boat fragments found against north wall of chapel, shown <i>in situ</i> in photographs C302, C305, C330. Three model human figures, oar & boat fragment (?) found in burial chamber debris.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N.3916		•	•					•	Tomb cards. Three figures from boat found in chamber A (chapel). Additional wooden figures, clay ox haunch, boat fragments scattered in fill of burial shaft.
N.3756		•	•					•	Tomb cards. Boat fragments, figures from boat, male statuette (from boat or porter?) & wooden model vase found in debris in chapel. One oar found in fill of pit "b".
N.202					•		•		Tomb cards. Models & statuette of owner photographed <i>in situ</i> in niche in C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476. Scraps on linen on boat canopies and around figures when found. No known associated burial chamber.

Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

Tomb No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
N.3945		•						•	Tomb cards. One wooden figure found in chapel debris.
S.F.5021					•			•	Not recorded. One steering oar found in disturbed tomb, location not recorded. Corridor C was empty.
S.F.5025		•	•					•	Object register log. One seated human figure from pit E and one squatting rower from room B (chapel).
N.4003		•						•	Tomb cards. Boat model found in chapel debris.
S.F.5011					•			•	Object register log. Two wooden human figures (1 seated?) found in tomb debris, locations not recorded. Burial pit & chamber were empty.
S.F.5029				•				•	Object register log. Two human figures (1 squatting) found in corridor B, used as burial chamber.
S.F.5010		•						•	Object register log. Mallet from boat found in tomb debris, probably from chapel as burial pit & chamber were found empty (according to excavators' notes).
S.F.5204			•					•	Object register log. Head of model human figure and small arm found in fill of burial shaft.
N.3579	•	•						•	Tomb cards. Wooden human figures found scattered in courtyard A and chamber B (chapel). Two figures shown <i>in situ</i> in photographs C200 & C216, probably located in southwest corner of chapel, just inside entrance.
N.4401		•						•	Tomb cards. Model boat found in room A (chapel). Shown <i>in situ</i> in photograph C57.
S.F.25		•						•	Tomb cards. Female offering bearer statuette found in debris, exact location not noted; wooden rower from boat found in room L (=S.F.25a) of chapel.
N.110								•	Photograph register. Oar found near tomb, shown out of context in photograph C8993.
N.263						•			Tomb cards lost. Wooden human figures & steering oar from boat, and human figures, jars & table from brewery scene found in unknown locations.
N.408				•			•		Tomb cards. Wooden human figure found on ground behind coffin C, i.e., between front panel and south wall of chamber. Steering oar found between foot of coffin and west wall of chamber.
N.9090		•						•	Tomb cards. Oars, other boat fragments and small wooden boat figure found in chapel debris.
N.9091				•				•	Tomb cards. Female offering bearer found in burial chamber F.
N.9292		•						•	Tomb cards. Three oars from boat found in chapel debris.
S.F.167						•		•	Not recorded. Female offering bearer statuette found in disturbed tomb.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
S.F.187						•		•	Not recorded. Male figure found in disturbed tomb.
N.361						•		•	Not recorded in tomb cards. Four beer jars from brewing scene found in unknown location.
N.449	•							•	Tomb cards. Boat found in courtyard (“platform”) outside room B (chapel).
N.450		•						•	Tomb cards. Fragments of wooden human figures found in chamber C (chapel), probably from burial chamber below.

Phase IV = late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N.3575				•			•		Tomb cards. Boat found in burial, placed above head along southeast wall of pit, shown <i>in situ</i> in photograph C313.
S.F.64						•		•	Not recorded. Male boat figure found in disturbed tomb.
S.F.170						•		•	Not recorded. 21 figures from boat, boat model and female statuette recorded in field journal. 1 seated male figure and arm of female offering bearer listed on tomb card and in object register, but no locations provided.
S.F.209						•		•	Not recorded. Boat fragments and parts of female offering bearer statuette found in disturbed tomb.
S.F.132		•						•	Published in Reisner (1920). Male harpist statuette found in debris of single-chambered tomb chapel.
S.F.95						•		•	Not recorded. Female statuette standing before oven found in disturbed tomb.
S.F.218						•		•	Not recorded. Boat model found in disturbed tomb.

Appendix F: Tomb Model Typology

Transportation by Boat

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
1a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Model Boat, Type IV	Canopy support	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	B10699, c/5	Fig. 38
1b			Canopy support	15.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-15423	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 39
1c			Rudder post	14 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15466	NA	B10699, b/2	Figs. 30, 31
1d			Rudder post	14 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15467	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 31
2a	S.F.5000-5400, T.5203	Model Boat, Type IV?	1 steering oar	23.5 cm L x 3.6 cm W	Wood, gesso, black pigment	Not located	23-11-610	Not photographed	Fig. 32
2b			4 fragmentary canopy supports, may belong with 23-11-550a-b	16 cm to 28 cm H, 1 to 1.3 cm D	Wood, gesso, 2 are black on yellow ground, 1 with traces of white, 1 is blue & yellow	Not located	23-11-611	Not photographed	Fig. 40
2c			7 fragmentary canopy supports, may belong with 23-11-550c	7 cm to 25.3 cm H, 1.1 cm D	Wood, gesso, green & black pigments	Not located	23-11-612	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
3a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Model Boat, Type IV?	1 canopy fringe fragment, may go with 23-11-612	11.6 cm L x 2.35 cm x 1.5 cm	Wood, gesso, yellow, blue & black pigments	Not located	23-11-550a	Not photographed	Fig. 33
3b			1 canopy fringe fragment, may go with 23-11-612	11.5 cm L x 1.9 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, blue & black pigments	Not located	23-11-550b	Not photographed	
3c			2 canopy supports, may belong with 23-11-612	11.5 cm H, 11.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, green & black pigments	Not located	23-11-550c	Not photographed	Fig. 34
4a	C.100-400 T.51	Model Boat, Type IV	Squatting male figure, rower?, arms lost	9.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-13045	NA	C8908, c/3	Figs. 29, 44
4b			Canopy support	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8908, b/1	Fig. 29
4c			End post with papyrus umbel	Unknown	Wood, gesso, white pigment?	Not located	NA	C8908, c/2	Fig. 29
5a	C.100-400 T.241	Model Boat, Type IV, paddled	Paddler, male, kneeling on left knee, right knee bent	16.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868d	NA	B10698, d/6	Figs. 35, 42, left
5b			Paddler, male, kneeling on right knee, left knee bent	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868i	NA	B10698, d/5	Figs. 35, 42, right
5c			Right arm, paddler, goes with PAHMA 6-12868i	9.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-12868j	NA	C9590	Fig. 42

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
5d	C.100-400 T.241	Model Boat, Type IV, continued	Left arm, male, paddler	9.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-12868m	NA	C9590	Fig. 43
5e			Right arm, male, paddler	8.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-12868n	NA	Not photographed	
5f			Left arm, male, paddler	10.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-12868o	NA	C9590?	Figs. 43
5g			Right arm, male, paddler	9.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-12868p	NA	C9590?	Figs. 43
5h			Canopy support	24.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868a	NA	B10698, d/4	Figs. 35, 36, bottom
5i			Canopy support, broken	19 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 36, bottom
5j			Canopy support, broken	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 36, center
5k			Canopy support, broken	13.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868e	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 36, center
5l			Canopy support, broken	5.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12868f	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 36, top
6	C.100-400 T.105	Model Boat	Canopy support	19.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-16130	NA	C8882, c/2	Fig. 37

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
7	C.3500 T.3765	Model Boat	"2 small pieces of a boat"	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
8a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, Type IV	Papyrus umbel, cross/trefoil pattern on disc	5.5 cm L x 8 cm D	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1684cc	NA	C8191, top row, center	Figs. 51, 52, left
8b			Papyrus umbel, cross/trefoil pattern on disc	5.3 cm L x 6 cm D	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1684dd	NA	C8191, below broken prow	Figs. 51, 52, right
8c			Canopy, with front trim, broken pegs still inserted in 4 dowel holes for supports	18 cm L x 10.3 cm W (back), 13 cm W (front)	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thick stripes	PAHMA 6-1684ii	NA	C8191, top left corner	Figs. 51, 62
9	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat	Canopy support, same color scheme as PAHMA 6-1684ii, but top peg doesn't fit into it	21.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, yellow and black pigments, thick stripes	PAHMA 6-1684e	NA	C55 (in situ)	Figs. 51, 64, bottom
10a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat	Canopy, unroofed, trim	9.4 cm L x 1.4 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	PAHMA 6-1684mm	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Fig. 51

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
10b	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, continued	Canopy, unroofed, trim	11.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	PAHMA 6-1684mn	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Fig. 51
10c			Canopy, unroofed, trim	9 cm L	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	PAHMA 6-1684y	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Fig. 51
10d			Canopy, unroofed, trim	Unknown	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	Not located, goes with previous 3 pieces	NA	C8191, lower left corner	Fig. 51
10e			Canopy support	21.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	PAHMA 6-1684c	NA	C8191, center, left	Figs. 51, 64, 3 rd from top
10f			Canopy support	22.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments, thin stripes	PAHMA 6-1684d	NA	C8191, center, left, below 6-1684c	Figs. 51, 64, 4 th from top
11a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, Type IV	Prow w/carved rope ties, ends in stylized papyrus umbel, pilot's striding feet attached	32 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow, blue, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684bb	NA	C8191, top right corner	Figs. 51, 55

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
11b	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, Type IV, continued	Canopy, trapezoidal, trim missing, striped decoration on 2 sides	23.5 cm L x 12.9 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, red, blue & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1684oo	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 63
11c			Canopy support, tent pole top	27.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, blue, yellow & black pigments, thick stripes	PAHMA 6-1684a	NA	Not photographed, Some supports visible in C55 (in situ)	Figs. 14, 64, top
11d			Canopy support, tent pole top	24.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, blue, yellow & black pigments, thick stripes	PAHMA 6-1684b	NA	C8191, bottom right corner	Figs. 51, 64, 2 nd from top
12a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, Type IV, sailed	Yard	23.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-1684g	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 78, bottom
12b			Mast (part of bipod mast)	27.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment, string	PAHMA 6-1684f	NA	C8191, bottom right	Figs. 81, 78, top
12c			Mast support, top section, notched on inside	12.3 cm H x 4.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684pp	NA	C8191, center	Figs. 51, 77
12d			Mast support, bottom section	9.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684ss	NA	C8191, center, on right of 6-1684pp	Figs. 51, 77
12e			Mast support, top section, notched on inside	12.5 cm H x 4.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684tt	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 77
12f			Mast support, bottom section	9.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684uu	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 77

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
13a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat	Mooring stake	12.2 cm L	Wood, black pigment	PAHMA 6-1684u	NA	C8191, upper right	Figs. 51, 69, 3 rd from top
13b			Mooring stake	7.8 cm L	Wood, black pigment	PAHMA 6-1684v	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 69, bottom
13c			Mooring stake	16.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684w	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 69, top
13d			Mooring stake	16.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684x	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 69, 2 nd from top
14a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boats, Type IV	Rudder, 2 pieces (broken)	35.5 cm L	Wood, gesso	PAHMA 6-1684h	NA	C8191, lower right, 1 st rudder down	Figs. 51, 66, bottom
14b			Rudder, 2 pieces (broken)	31.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684i	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 66, 3 rd from top
14c			Rudder	32.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684j	NA	C8191, lower right, 3 rd rudder down	Figs. 51, 66, 2 nd from top
14d			Rudder	33.2 cm L	Wood, gesso	PAHMA 6-1684k	NA	C8191, lower right, 2 nd rudder down	Figs. 51, 66, top
14e			Rudder post	11.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1684ww	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 67, 3 rd from top
14f			Rudder post	11 cm H	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684xx	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 67, bottom
14g			Rudder post	12.3 cm H	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684ee	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 67, top
14h			Rudder post	12.1 cm H	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684ff	NA	C8191, center, left	Figs. 51, 67, 2 nd from top
14i			Cross-bar to support 2 rudders	9.9 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684hh	NA	C8191, top, center	Figs. 51, 68

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
15a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, rowed	Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	12.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684yy	NA	B8120, b/3; 5 rows visible in C55 (in situ)	Figs. 70, 71, 6 th from left
15b			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	12.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684aaa	NA	B8120, b/5	Figs. 70, 71, 7 th from left
15c			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	10.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684bbb	NA	B8120, a/6	Figs. 70, 71, far left
15d			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	10.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684ccc	NA	B8120, a/9	Figs. 70, 71, 2 nd from left
15e			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	10.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684ddd	NA	B8120, a/4	Figs. 70, 71, 3 rd from left
15f			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684eee	NA	B8120, a/7	Figs. 70, 71, 4 th from left
15g			Rower, male, kneeling, hole in thigh to hold oar	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684fff	NA	B8120, a/2	Figs. 70, 71, 5 th from left
15h			Oar	17.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684o	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 72, 4 th from top
15i			Oar	17 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684vv	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 72, 8 th from top
15j			Oar	18.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684l	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 72, 7 th from top
15k			Oar	21.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684r	NA	C8191, lower left, 4 th oar down	Figs. 51, 72, top

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
15l	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, rowed, continued	Oar	18.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684q	NA	C8191, lower, left, 3 rd oar down	Figs. 51, 72, 2 nd from top
15m			Oar	15.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684p	NA	C8191, lower left, 2 nd oar down	Figs. 51, 72, 3 rd from top
15n			Oar	11.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684n	NA	C8191, lower left, 1 st oar down	Figs. 51, 72, 5 th from top
15o			Oar, 2 pieces (broken)	19.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684m	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 72, 6 th from top
16a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, rowed	Rower, male, squatting	11.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6- 1684ggg	NA	B8120, a/8; 3 rowers visible in C55 (in situ)	Figs. 70, 73, far left
16b			Rower, male, squatting	11.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6- 1684hhh	NA	B8120, a/1	Figs. 70, 73, 2 nd from left
16c			Rower, male, squatting	11.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6- 1684kkk	NA	B8120, b/4	Figs. 70, 73, 3rd from left
16d			Rower, male, squatting	11.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6- 1684lll	NA	B8120, a/3	Figs. 70, 73, 4 th from left
16e			Rower, male, squatting	11.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6- 1684mmm	NA	B8120, a/5; C122 (in situ)	Figs. 70, 73, far right
16f			Right arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	7.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684nnn	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 7 th from left
16g			Right arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	7.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1684ppp	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 5 th from left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
16h	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, rowed, continued	Right arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684kk	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 2 nd from left
16i			Left arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684qqq	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 6 th from left
16j			Left arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	8.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684jj	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, far left
16k			Left arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	8.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684qq	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 4 th from left
16l			Left arm, male, hole in hand to secure oar	8.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684rr	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 3 rd from left
16m			Left arm, male, broken, hole in hand to secure oar	5.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684rrr	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 74, 8 th from left
16n			Striding male figure, right arm raised (lost), pilot?	19 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23522	NA	B8120, c/6	Figs. 70, 75, right
17a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Boat, sailed	Male figure, right leg forward, right arm bent, punter	16.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23521a	NA	B8120, c/7	Figs. 70, 76, left
17b			Male figure, left leg forward, left arm bent, punter	16.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23521b	NA	B8120, c/3	Figs. 70, 76, right
17c	C.3500 T.3737	Model boat, sailed or rowed	Standing male figure, legs together, right arm raised (lost), pilot?	18.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684iii	NA	B8120, c/8	Figs. 70, 75, left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
17d	C.3500 T.3737	Model boat, sailed or rowed, continued	Male figure standing with legs together & straight, raised left arm, sailor?	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NA	C55 (in situ)	Fig. 14
18	S.F.5000-5400 T.5214	Model Boat, Type IV	1 steering oar, with peg at end to attach to tiller	27.1 cm L x 3.3 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-12-109	Not photographed	Fig. 58
19a	S.F.200 T.18	Model Boats, Type II & IV, rowed and sailed	4 seated men, rowers, white fillets, from Type II boat	8.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	Not located	13-2-242	B1812, a/1-3	Fig. 54
19b			1 figure bending forward, white fillet, pegs in soles of feet, arms (missing) hanging down	8.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	Not located	13-2-242	B1812, a/6	Fig. 54
19c			2 striding figures from Type IV boat?, white fillets, arms upraised (missing), sailors?	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	Not located	13-2-242	B1812, b/6, b/8	Fig. 54
19d			1 stooped figure from Type IV boat?, white fillet, striding pose (decayed, arms lost), punter?	13.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	Not located	13-2-251	B1812, a/4	Fig. 54

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
19e	S.F.200 T.18	Model Boats, Type II & IV, rowed and sailed, continued	Steering oar from Type IV boat	32 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	13-2-243	B1812, c/13	Fig. 54
19f			Prow, from Type IV boat, broken	Ca. 23 cm L	Wood	Not located	13-2-244	B1812, d/7	Fig. 54
19g			Oar, from Type II boat?	Ca. 23.5 cm L	Wood	Not located	Not recorded	B1812, b/5	Fig. 54
20a	C.3500 T.4172	Model Boat, Type IV, sailed (complete boat)	Boat with 4 sailors, 2 standing helmsmen, 1 standing pilot, cabin beneath canopy with 6 supports, bipod mast	23.5 cm H x 125 cm L	Wood, gesso, black, white, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119, C761, C764- C765	Fig. 50
20b			6 oars	16.4 cm L, 16.2 cm L, 16.6 cm L, 16.9 cm L, 16.3 cm L, 15.8 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20c			2 mooring stakes	8.1 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20d			1 bailing bucket	4.1 cm L x 2.2 W x 1.3 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20e			1 gangplank	23.6 cm L x 2.3 cm W	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20f			2 yards	26.8 L x 27 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20g			Part of mast	33.8 cm L	Wood, string	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
20h	C.3500 T.4172	Model Boat, Type IV, sailed, continued	1 spar	14.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20i			1 canopy	18.2 cm L x 10.7 cm W x 4 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow, white pigments	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20j			3 canopy posts, fragments	3.5 cm L, 8.2 cm L x 9.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20k			1 canopy fragment, lower part	6.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20l			1 steering oar (2 nd one missing)	34 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20m			Helmsman's right arm, bent, hole in hand to hold tiller	3.2 cm W x 4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	Fig. 50
20n			1 wood fragment w/peg	7.8 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-17160	NA	B7115- B7119	
21	C.3500 T.3567	Model Boat, rowed	Rower, male, kneeling, holes drilled through hands/knees to hold oar	9.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-2846	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 79
22	C.3500 T.3769	Model Boat, rowed	Rower, male, squatting, holes drilled through hands/ankles to hold oar	11.3 cm H x 3.8 cm W	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1844	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 80

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
23a	C.100-400 T.1111	Model Boat, rowed, Type IV?	5 oars, trapezoidal shaped blades	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9307, C9308, C8994	Fig. 57
23b			Rudder, trapezoidal shaped blade	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9307, C9308, C8994	Fig. 57
23c			Rower, squatting male figure, no holes in legs to secure oar, arms lost	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9308	Fig. 57
24a	C.3500 T.3795	Model Boat, Type IV, rowed	Rower, male, squatting, right arm broken, left arm missing	9.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888a	NA	C8177, a/2, C302 & C305 (in situ)	Figs. 59, 60, bottom left, 61, center
24b			Rower, male, squatting, hole drilled through left fist to hold oar, right arm missing	9.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888b	NA	C8177, a/3	Figs. 59, 60, top left, 61, right
24c			Rower, male, squatting, arms missing	9.4 cm H x 3.3 cm W	Wood (fig, <i>Ficus</i> sp.), gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888j	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 61, left
24d			Canopy, rectangular, 6 holes for supports, carved as 1 unit	20.5 cm L x 9.1 cm W	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888c	NA	C8177, a/5, C302, C305, C330	Figs. 59, 60, top
24e			Canopy support	15 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888d	NA	C8177, b/2	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
24f			Canopy support	16.9 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888e	NA	C8177, b/4	Figs. 59, 60, bottom

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
24g	C.3500 T.3795	Model Boat, Type IV, rowed, continued	Canopy support	17.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1888f	NA	C8177, b/1	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
24h			Canopy support	6 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-1888g	NA	C8177, b/5 (now broken off from 6-1888g)	Figs. 59, 60, bottom
24i			Canopy support, fragment	2.5 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-1888i	NA	C8177, b/5	Fig. 60, bottom
24j			Rudder	21.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1888h	NA	C8177, b/3	Figs. 59, 60, center
25a	C.3500 T.3916	Model Boat, Type IV	Papyrus umbel, cross/trefoil pattern on disc	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, a/4	Fig. 53
25b			3 canopy fragments	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, c/1, 3-4	Fig. 53
25c			2 squatting figures, rowers?, 1 with arms forward	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, b/1, b/4	Fig. 53
25d			1 standing figure, legs together, right arm forward (broken), pilot?	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, c/6	Fig. 53
25e			1 striding figure, arms lost, right arm turned up, pilot or sailor?	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, c/7	Fig. 53
25f			Falcon	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, a/3	Fig. 53

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
26a	C.3500 T.3756	Model Boat, Type IV, rowed	Rower, holes in thighs to hold oar	8.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547a	NA	C8176, a/1	Figs. 56, 65, left
26b			Rower, holes in thighs to hold oar, face damaged	8.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547b	NA	C8176, a/2	Figs. 56, 65, far left
26c			3 rd small male figure from boat	Unknown	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments?	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
26d			Canopy, trapezoidal, holes for 4 supports, striped edges	15 cm L x 6.6 cm W (back) and 9 cm W (front)	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 56, center
26e			Canopy support	19.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547d	NA	C8176, b/3	Figs. 56, 65, right
26f			Canopy support	20.9 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547e	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 56, right
26g			Canopy support	19.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547f	NA	C8176, b/2	Figs. 56, 65, right
26h			Steering oar	35.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23547g	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 56, bottom
26i			Steering oar	35 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23547h	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 56, bottom
26j			Oar	Unknown	Wood, gesso, red pigment?	Not located	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
27a	C.100-400 T.202	Model Boat, Type IV, rowed (complete boat)	Rowed boat with standing pilot & helmsman, 6 kneeling rowers with holes in thighs to secure oars, standing lector priest, standing female mourner, coffin under canopy with 4 supports (2 aft posts are modern replacements), quant or lead missing	26 cm H x 89 cm W	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, black & white pigments, linen	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4887	Fig. 45
27b			1 rower (now separate)	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4887	Fig. 48
27c			Canopy or hull fragment	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	No photographs	
27d			2 rudder stanchions	17.2 cm L, 17.0 cm L	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4887	Fig. 45
27e			1 papyrus roll, held by priest (now separate)	3.7 cm L x 3 cm W x 1.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4887	Fig. 45
27f			7 gesso fragments from hull	NA	Gesso, red, yellow, & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	No photographs	
27g			2 steering oars (now separate)	31.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, white pigments	PAHMA 6-15584	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475-B4476, B4887	Fig. 45

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
28a	C.100-400 T.202	Model Boat, Type IV, rowed (complete boat)	Rowed boat with standing pilot & helmsman, 6 kneeling rowers with holes in thighs to secure oars, standing lector priest, standing female mourner, coffin under canopy with 4 supports, 3 oars (now lost), quant or lead missing	30.5 cm H x 90 cm L	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, black & white pigments, linen	PAHMA 6-17156	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, B4888-B4889	Fig. 46, 47
28b			2 steering oars (now separate)	31.2 cm L, 32.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-17156	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, B4888-B4889	Fig. 46, 47
28c			1 pilot, left arm extended, hole in hand to hold quant or lead (pilot now separate)	12.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-17156	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, B4888-B4889	Figs. 46, 47, 49

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
29	S.F.5000-5400 T.5021	Model Boat, Type II	1 large steering oar	50.2 cm L x 9.2 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-462	Not photographed	Fig. 89
30a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5025	Model Boat, rowed	1 male rower, squatting, holes drilled into ankles to hold oar	13.8 cm H x 3.9 cm W x 4 cm W (front to back)	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigment	Not located	23-11-181a	Not photographed	Fig. 93
31a	C.3500 T.4003	Model Boat, Type IV/V, rowed	Prow, with zig-zag lines, representing stitching Stern	32 cm L (total length of boat, 92 cm) 16 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & white pigments Wood, gesso, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-2064a PAHMA 6-2064b	NA NA	C8178 Not photographed	Fig. 81 Fig. 81
31c			Hull, holes for 6 rowers, striding pilot, seated helmsman, two rudder stanchions, boat owner (lost)	44 cm L x 16.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-2064c	NA	C8178	Fig. 81
31d			Papyrus umbel, flat disc with radiating pattern	9 cm D	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-2064d	NA	C8178	Fig. 81
31e			Papyrus umbel, flat disc with radiating pattern	9 cm D	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-2064e	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 81

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
32	S.F.5000-5400 T.5010	Model Boat	1 mallet	10.2 cm L; 3.3 L x 2.9 W (head) x 0.80-1.0 D (stem)	Wood, gesso, red pigment	BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-11a	B5047	Fig. 87
33	C.3500 T.3579	Model Boat?	Several small figures, "probably from a boat"	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
34	C.3500 T.4401	Model Boat, Type II/viii	Hull	22.3 cm L x 7.1 cm W	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-2250	NA	B8121, C57	Figs. 82, 83
35	S.F.200 T.25	Model Boat, Type II, rowed	1 seated rower, straight left arm intact, right arm missing	8 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	Not located	13-3-21	B1812, a/5	Fig. 54
36	C.100-400 T.110 (near)	Model Boat	Oar	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C8993, a/1	Fig. 95
37a	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, Type II	Steering oar, blade, broken	21.5 cm L x 5.6 cm W	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15808	NA	B10698, d/7	Figs. 35, 90
37b			Yard	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	B10698, d/8	Fig. 35
38a	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, Type II, rowed	Male, seated, beard/ moustache, rower	10.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15748	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, left
38b			Male, seated, beard/ moustache, rower	9.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15752	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, 2 nd from left
38c			Male, seated, beard/ moustache, rower	10.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15754	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, 3 rd from left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
38d	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, Type II, rowed, continued	Male, seated, beard/moustache, rower	10.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15755	NA	B10698, b/10	Figs. 35, 86, 4 th from left
38e			Male, seated, beard/moustache, rower	10.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15759	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, 5 th from left
38f			Male, seated, beard/moustache, rower	9.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15767	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, 6 th from left
38g			Male, seated, beard/moustache, rower	10.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15777	NA	B10698, b/4	Figs. 35, 86, 8 th from left
38h			Male, seated, beard/moustache, rower	10.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15779	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 86, 9 th from left
39a	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, rowed?	Male, squatting (broken), beard/moustache	8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15780	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 91, far right
39b			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	9.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15750	NA	B10698, b/6	Figs. 35, 91, far left
39c			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	10.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15751	NA	B10698, b/5	Figs. 35, 91, 2 nd from left
39d			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	8.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15753	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 91, 3 rd from left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
39e	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, rowed?, continued	Male, squatting, beard/moustache	9.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15756	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 91, 4 th from left
39f			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	10.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15758	NA	B10698, b/8	Figs. 35, 91, 5 th from left
39g			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	8.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15774	NA	B10698, b/7	Figs. 35, 91, 6 th from left
39h			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	10.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15775	NA	B10698, b/9	Figs. 35, 91, 7 th from left
39i			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	10.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15776	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 91, 8 th from left
39j			Male, squatting, beard/moustache	8.3 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-15778	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 91, 9 th from left
40a	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, Type II?, sailed	Male, standing, legs together, beard/moustache	17.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15764	NA	B10698, c/10	Figs. 35, 92, 4 th from left
40b			Male, standing, legs together, beard/moustache	19.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15765	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 92, 5 th from left
40c			Male, standing, legs together, beard/moustache	20.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15770	NA	B10698, c/9	Figs. 35, 92, 8 th from left
40d			Male, standing, legs together, beard/moustache	18.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15771	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 92, 9 th from left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
40e	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, sailed, continued	Male, standing, legs together, beard/moustache	17.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15772	NA	B10698, c/11	Figs. 35, 92, far right
41a	C.100-400 T.263	Model Boat, rowed or sailed	Male, striding, beard/moustache, pilot?	17.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15769	NA	B10698, c/8	Figs. 35, 92, 7 th from left
41b			Boat owner, seated on block chair, wears kilt, beard/moustache	13.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15768	NA	B10698, c/6	Figs. 35, 86, 7 th from left
42a	C.100-400 T.408	Model boat	Small wooden figure	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
42b			Steering oar	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NA	Not photographed, but sketched on tomb card	Fig. 27
43a	C.9000 T.9090	Model Boat, sailed?	Sailor, standing male	13.8 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-14951	NA	C8226, c/6	Fig. 88
43b			Mast-head	22.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-14954a	NA	C8226, c/1	Fig. 88
43c			Oar, vertical painted strokes	19.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-14954b	NA	C8226, c/3	Fig. 88
43d			Oar, vertical painted strokes	20.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-14954c	NA	C8226, c/2	Fig. 88
43e			Oar	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
43f	C.9000 T.9090	Model Boat, sailed?, continued	Canopy support	11.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6-14954d	NA	C8226, c/4	Fig. 88
44a	C.9000 T.9292	Model Boat	Oar	8 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-15734a	NA	C8228, b/2	Fig. 94
44b			Oar	12.9 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-15734b	NA	C8228, b/1	Fig. 94
44c			Oar	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
45a	C.100-400 T.449	Model Boats, Type VIII	Hull	38 cm L x 9.5 cm W	Wood, gesso	PAHMA 6-13752a	NA	C8897	Figs. 84, 85
45b			Steering oar	17.9 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-13752b	NA	C8897	Figs. 84, 85
45c			Steering oar	22 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-13752c	NA	C8897	Figs. 84, 85

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
46	C.3500 T.3575	Model Boat, Type V	Papyriform boat, white painted gunwales	12 cm L	Clay, white pigment	Not located	NA	C313	Fig. 96
47	S.F.200 T.64	Model Boat, Type II or V?	Male, standing w/arms crossed over chest, black beard/moustache, blue wig, officer or sailor?	14 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue, black & white pigments	BMFA 13.3629	13-3-97	A938, a/1	Figs. 99, 101
48a	S.F.200 T.170	Model Boat, Type II	1 boat, hollow hull	100 cm	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/4	Fig. 98
48b			1 tall stanchion, striped	Ca. 39 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/4	Fig. 98
48c			1 large rudder, blade, broken	Ca. 23 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/2	Fig. 98
49a	S.F.200 T.170	Model Boat, Type V, rowed	6 kneeling rowers with left arms crossed over chests	9-10 cm H (average)	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/1, b/2, b/4, b/6, b/11 and b/12	Fig. 98
49b			1 kneeling rower with right arm crossed over chest? (damaged)	Ca. 8 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/14	Fig. 98
49c			4 kneeling rowers with right arms crossed over chests	9-10 cm H (average)	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/3, b/5, b/9 and c/5	Fig. 98
49d			1 oar, broken	Ca. 9.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/7	Fig. 98
49e			1 oar, handle?	Ca. 15 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/6	Fig. 98

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
50a	S.F.200 T.170	Model Boat, Type V, sailed	1 rudder, with falcon-headed terminal	Ca. 36 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/6	Fig. 98
50b			1 rudder stanchion, 4-sided, with falcon-headed terminal	Ca. 14 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/3	Fig. 98
50c			Finial end-post?	Ca. 18 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/2	Fig. 98
50d			1 standing sailor with both arms crossed over chest	Ca. 16.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/7	Fig. 98
50e			1 standing sailor with left arm crossed over chest	Ca. 14 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/15	Fig. 98
50f			1 standing sailor with right arm crossed over chest	Ca. 14.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/16	Fig. 98
50g			4 other figures from a boat	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded (referenced in field journal)	Not photographed	
51a	S.F.200 T.170	Model Boat, Type V	1 striding figure, pilot?, decayed	Ca. 15 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/8	Fig. 98
51b			1 striding figure, pilot?, decayed	Ca. 8 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/13	Fig. 98

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
51c	S.F.200 T.170	Model Boat, Type V, continued	Boat owner, seated on chair, wears kilt, beard and moustache	15.2 cm H (with base), 8 cm L x 4.1 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, white, red & black pigments	BMFA 13.3795	13-3-279	A938, a/4	Figs. 99, 100
51d			3 globular jars, with constricted necks	Ca. 7 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/1, a/3, a/10	Fig. 98
51e			1 ovoid jar, flat base, constricted neck	Ca. 7 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, b/10	Fig. 98
51f			2 jars (1 globular and 1 <i>hs</i> jar w/conical seal)	Ca. 7-9 cm H	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, c/1, c/11	Fig. 98
51g			3 unidentifiable fragments	Ca. 12 cm L, 14 cm L, 10 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/5, a/8, a/9	Fig. 98
51h			4 unidentifiable fragments	Ca. 9 cm L, 5 cm L, 12 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	Not recorded	B1896, a/7, c/8, c/9, c/10	Fig. 98
52a	S.F.200 T.209	Model Boat, Type V, rowed	1 kneeling rower, left arm crossed over breast	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	13-4-244	B1812, a/7	Fig. 54
52b			1 seated rower	Not recorded	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	13-4-311	Not photographed	
52c			1 rudder stanchion, 4-sided with falcon-headed terminal	Ca. 14 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	13-4-315	B1812, c/7	Fig. 54
53	S.F.200 T.218	Model Boat, Type VII	Boat	8.3 cm L x 4.8 cm H x 3.0 cm W	Limestone, gesso, black, red & yellow pigments	BMFA 13.3796	13-4-225	A939, c/4	Fig. 97

Unknown Provenance

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
54	C.100-400 NNN 100	Model boat, sporting or fishing?	Fish	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15807	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 102
55a	C.100-400 NNN 100	Model Boat, Type IV	Prow or stern, with stylized papyrus umbel	13.1 cm L x 3.8 cm D	Wood, gesso	PAHMA 6-15812	NA	Not photographed	
55b	C.100-400 NNN 100		Prow or stern, with stylized papyrus umbel	12.5 cm L x 3.8 cm D	Wood, gesso	PAHMA 6-15813	NA	B10697, c/3	Fig. 30
56	C.100-400 NNN 100	Model Boat	Canopy support	12 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, yellow, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15827	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 103

People Carrying Supplies (Offering Bearers and Porters)

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
57a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Offering Bearer	Head wearing fillet, attached to round-topped chest	10.5 cm H (head & chest); 6.5 cm L x 5.5 cm W (chest); 40.5 cm total H of statue (with base)	Wood	PAHMA 6-15376a	NA	B10699, d/6	Figs. 38, 104
57b			Statue base	27.5 cm L x 8.5 cm W x 3 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-15376b	NA	B10699, d/1	Figs. 38, 104
57c			Left arm	13.5 cm L	Wood	PAHMA 6-15376c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 104
57d			Right arm, broken	6.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15376d	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 104
57e			Female torso	27 cm H x 5 cm W (shoulders)	Wood	PAHMA 6-15376e	NA	B10699, d/6	Figs. 38, 104
58a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Offering Bearer	Duck, drilled hole with peg on top of body	17.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, brown & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15413a	NA	B10699, a/9	Figs. 38, 105
58b			Trapezoidal basket, 7 bread loaves on top	9.5 cm H x 6.5 cm W (bottom), 13 cm W (top)	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15399	NA	B10699, c/6	Figs. 38, 106
58c			Female left forearm, tenoned at elbow joint, open palm w/out peg, wears bracelet	11 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15452	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 107

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
59	C.100-400 T.67/69	Offering Bearer	Round-topped chest	5 cm H x 8.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15393	NA	B10699, a/6	Figs. 38, 108
60	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porters, procession	Base, 3 pairs of male feet in single file	33 cm L x 10.7 cm W x 4.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15395	NA	B10699, d/5	Figs. 38, 119
61a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porter	Ox haunch, black & white hide, 2 dowels on one side	17 cm L	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15468	NA	B10699, c/4	Figs. 38, 113, bottom
61b			Male right arm, bent, palm up with dowel	13.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15461a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 113, center
61c			Male left arm, bent, palm up with dowel	12.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15461b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 113, top
62a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porter	Male left arm, straight, palm up with drilled hole	16.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15450a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 114, top
62b			Male right arm, straight, palm down without drilled hole	16 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15450b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 114, bottom
63	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porter	Male statuette, left leg advanced (broken), arms missing, carried object on head (lost)	22 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15412	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 115
64a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porter, water carrier	Vessel, globular jar, suspended from yoke	9.5 cm H (3.3 cm H, vessel)	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15416	NA	B10699, b/5	Figs. 38, 116, left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
64b	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porter, continued	Vessel, globular jar, suspended from yoke, broken	3.8 cm H (vessel)	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15418	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 116, right
65a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Porters, from procession	Vessel, faience jar with tall neck, suspended on yoke	7 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue/green pigment	PAHMA 6-15406	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 120, far left
65b			Vessel, faience jar with tall neck, suspended on yoke	7 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue/green, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15407	NA	B10699, b/4	Figs. 38, 120, 2 nd from left
65c			Vessel, faience jar with tall neck, suspended on yoke	6.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue/green, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15822	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 120, 3 rd from left
65d			Vessel, faience jar with tall neck, suspended on yoke	6.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue/green, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15823	NA	B10697, b/4	Figs. 30, 120, 4 th from left
65e			Vessel, faience jar with tall neck, suspended on yoke	7 cm H	Wood, gesso, blue/green, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15824	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 120, far right
66	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	Offering Bearer	Female torso, wearing painted necklace, left knee advanced (broken)	27 cm H x 6.6 cm W (hips)	Wood, gesso, yellow, red, green & white pigments	Not located	23-11-597	Not photographed	Fig. 109
67	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Porter	Male figure, clenched object in raised right arm, left leg advanced (broken)	28 cm H x 5.1 W (shoulders), 15 cm L (left arm), base missing	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	Not located	23-11-536	B5040, b/3	Fig. 41

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
68	C.100-400 T.43	Porter	Male figure, nude, striding, carrying jar on left shoulder	33 cm H (with base), 9.5 cm L x 7 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, black, white, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15203	NA	A4491, A4493-A4498, B4883, a/2	Figs. 117, center, 118
69a	C.100-400 T.241	Offering Bearer	Mirror	12 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12860a	NA	B10698, b/3	Figs. 35, 110, center
69b			Female left arm, bent to hold mirror	13.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-12860b	NA	B10698, b/3	Figs. 35, 110, right
69c			Female right arm, slightly bent, palm up, no peg	15.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-12860c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 110, left
69d			Female right foot, wearing sandal	5.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, black & yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-12860d	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 110, bottom center
70a	C.100-400 T.241	Offering Bearer, from procession?	Female figurine, striding, left arm pendant, right arm upraised (broken), carried object on head, wears pigtail	18 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12864a	NA	B10698, c/2	Figs. 35, 111, 112
70b			Right arm, broken above elbow	5.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-12864b	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 111, 112
71a	C.100-400 T.241	Porter, from procession?	Male right arm, straight, palm up, no peg	7.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23555a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 121, left
71b			Male left arm, straight, palm up, no peg	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23555b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 121, right

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
71c	C.100-400 T.241	Porter, from procession, continued	Ox haunch	10.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23555c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 121, bottom
71d			Male head fragment	3.2 cm H x 2.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23555d	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 121, top
71e			Male head fragment	1.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23555e	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 121, top
72	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5210	Porter?	Ox haunch	3.8 cm H x 3.1 cm W x 1.3 cm (thickness)	Limestone, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	23-12-15	Not photographed	Fig. 122

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
73a	C.3500 T.3737	Offering Bearer	Trapezoidal basket	6.1 cm H x 9.5 cm W (top) and 5.2 cm W (bottom)	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6-23524	NA	C55 (in situ), C8191, top right	Figs. 14, 51 (top right), 123, left
73b			Female left forearm, tenoned to upper arm (lost), palm flat w/out peg	7.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6- 23539	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 123, right
74a	C.3500 T.3737	Porter	Striding male figure on base, straight left arm upraised, jar on head (missing)	30.5 cm (with base), 14.8 cm L x 7 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23523a	NA	B8120, c/1	Figs. 70, 127
74b			Left arm	12 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23523b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 127
75	C.100-400 T.429	Offering Bearer	Trapezoidal basket, peg on left side where hand attached	9.6 cm H x 16.5 cm L (top) and 3 cm L (bottom)	Wood, gesso, white, yellow, black pigments	PAHMA 6-13590	NA	C11313, b/1	Figs. 124, 125
76	C.3500 T.3907	Porter	Male statuette, striding, peg in chest where he held object, head, arms & base missing	18.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1926	NA	C8239, b/2	Figs. 128, 129

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
77	C.3500 T.3795	Offering Bearer	Trapezoidal basket, 6 dowel holes on top & 1 on bottom, cross-hatching pattern, paint preserved on 3 sides	8.5 cm H x 7.4 cm W (top) and 11.2 cm W (bottom)	Wood, gesso, yellow, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1893	NA	C8177, b/6	Figs. 59, 126
78a	C.3500 T.3795	Porter	Male statuette, striding, left arm upraised, carried object on head	Unknown	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments?	Not located	NA	C302, C305, C330 (in situ)	Fig. 17
78b			Statue base	Unknown	Wood, gesso, black pigment?	Not located	NA	C302, C305, C330 (in situ)	Fig. 17
78c			Jar	10.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-2758	NA	C8177, a/1; C302, C305, C330	Figs. 17, 59

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
79a	S.F.200 T.25	Offering Bearer	Female statuette, nude, standing, with legs separated but not striding, carried object on head, arms missing	24.5 cm H (without base & object on head) x 4.7cm W, shoulders; 2.9 cm W, waist; 4.9 cm W, hips	Wood, gesso, black, white & yellow pigments	BMFA 13.3555	13-2-254	A938, a/2	Figs. 99, 130
79b			Wooden base of standing figure, feet together	Not recorded	Wood, gesso, pigment?	Not located	13-4-318	B1812 d/1	Fig. 56
80	C.9000 T.9091	Offering Bearer	Female statuette, striding, wears skirt, necklace & bracelets, arms bent, held missing objects, lower right arm broken	53.5 cm H (without base) x 10.5 cm W, shoulders	Wood, gesso, black, white, red, blue, green & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-22887	NA	C8238	Fig. 131
81a	S.F.200 T.167	Offering Bearer	Nude female statuette, wears anklets & girdle, stands with feet together, carried object on head	27 cm H (without base & object on head); 4.1 cm W, shoulders; 3.1 cm W, waist; 4.7 cm W, hips	Wood, gesso, white, yellow, green & black pigments	BMFA 13.3850	13-3-300	A938 a/3	Figs. 99, 132
81b			Right arm, straight with clenched fist, held object, wears 2 bracelets	11.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, white, yellow, green & black pigments	MFA 13.3850	13-3-300	A938 b/2	Figs. 99, 132
81c			Base	3 cm H	Wood, gesso, black pigment	MFA 13.3850	13-3-300	A938 a/3	Figs. 99, 132

D: Phase IV = late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
82a	S.F.200 T.170	Offering Bearer	Female statuette, nude	Not recorded	Unknown	Not located	Not located	Not photographed	
82b			Statue base, feet together	Not recorded	Unknown	Not located	Not located	Not photographed	
82c			1 bent, female right arm with 2 bracelets, held object in clenched fist	Forearm ca. 12 cm L; upper arm ca. 9 cm H	Wood, gesso, green & black pigments	Not located	13-3-323	A938 c/3	Fig. 99
83a	S.F.200 T.209	Offering Bearer	Trapezoidal basket	Not recorded	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	13-4-315	B1812, c/6	Fig. 54
83b			Base from striding statue, one foot preserved	Not recorded	Wood, gesso, pigment?	Not located	13-4-314	B1812, d/6	Fig. 54
83c		OR	Pair of feet from striding statue	Not recorded	Wood, gesso, pigment?	Not located	13-4-313	B1812, c/2	Fig. 54

Uncertain Provenance and Date

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
84	C.100-400 NNN 100	Offering Bearer	Female head w/trapezoidal basket, wears bangs & pigtail, wig tied w/white fillet	16.2 cm H Basket = 8.1 cm H x 11.7 cm L (top) x 8.5 cm W Head= 8.1 cm H x 7.7.cm L x 6.2 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15784	NA	B10697, d/4	Figs. 30, 133
85	C.100-400 NNN 100	Offering Bearer?	Duck	9.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-15821	NA	B10697, a/2	Figs. 30, 134
86	Naga ed-Deir	Porter or offering bearer?	Ox haunch	8.4 cm L x 4 cm W	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-16150	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 135

Food Storage (Granaries)

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
87a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Model Granary, 6 silos	Silo, hollow, rectangular opening for shutter, hole in top	20.5 cm H x 12.5 cm D (16 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood (sycamore fig), gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15383	NA	B10699, c/1	Fig. 38
87b			Silo, hollow, rectangular opening for shutter, hole in top	19.4 cm x 11.3 cm D (15 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15385	NA	B10699, c/2	Figs. 38, 136
87c			Silo, hollow, rectangular opening for shutter, hole in top	19.2 cm H x 11.5 cm D (14.5 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15384a	NA	Not photographed	
87d			Silo, hollow, rectangular opening for shutter, hole in top	17 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15384b	NA	Not photographed	
87e			Silo fragment, hollow	8.1 cm H x 5 cm W	Wood	PAHMA 6-15387	NA	Not photographed	
87f			Silo fragment, hollow	18.3 cm H (15.5 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15436a	NA	Not photographed	
87g			Silo fragment, hollow	17.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15436b	NA	Not photographed	
87h			Silo fragment, hollow, drilled hole in top	13 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15436c	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
87i	C.100-400 T.67/69	Model Granary, continued	Silo fragment, hollow, drilled hole in top	18.6 cm H (15.3 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15437a	NA	Not photographed	
87j			Silo fragment, hollow, drilled hole in top	19.5 cm H (15 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15437b	NA	Not photographed	
87k			Silo fragment, hollow, drilled hole in top	16.6 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15437c	NA	Not photographed	
87l			Silo fragment, hollow, drilled hole in top	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15437d	NA	Not photographed	
88a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Model Granary, Storehouse	Beam	11 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15366a	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, lower right
88b			Beam	10 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15366b	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, lower right
88c			Beam	17.0 cm L x 2.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15390	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 139, lower right
88d			Wall fragment	10.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366c	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, upper left
88e			Wall fragment	10.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366d	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, upper left
88f			Wall fragment, hieratic sign for "1,000" written 3 times?	5 cm H x 5.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366g	NA	B10699, a/1	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88g			Wall fragment	10.9 cm L x 5.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366k	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, upper left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
88h	C.100-400 T.67/69	Model Granary, Storehouse, continued	Wall fragment with double doorway	28.5 cm L x 8.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366f	NA	B10699, b/1	Figs. 38, 139, center
88i			Wall fragment with single doorway	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	B10697, b/6	Fig. 30
88j			Shutter/bin door	4.6 cm H x 4 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366e	NA	Not photographed	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88k			Shutter/bin door, hieratic sign for "1,000 + 1"	4.6 cm L x 3.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366f	NA	B10699, a/5	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88l			Shutter/bin door, hieratic sign for "1,000 + 2"	4.7 cm L x 4.3 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366h	NA	B10699, a/4	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88m			Shutter/bin door, hieratic sign for "1,000 + 3"	4.8 cm H x 4.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366i	NA	B10699, a/3	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88n			Shutter/bin door, hieratic sign for "1,000 + 4"	4.7 cm H x 4.4 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15366j	NA	B10699, a/2	Figs. 38, 139, upper right
88o			Bag of wood splinters, 4 small fragments from granary	NA	Wood	PAHMA 6-15366m	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 139, lower left
89a	C.100-400 T.241	Granary	Silo, hollow, drilled hole in top, peg in shutter	11.2 cm H x 7.5 cm D (9 cm H to where curved roof begins)	Wood, gesso, yellow, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-12866	NA	C9590, b/2	Figs. 43, 137
89b			Measuring basket	5.2 cm H x 6 cm D	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-12865	NA	C9590, b/1	Figs. 43, 138

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
90a	C.100-400 T.105	Model Granary	Stairs, 14 steps	25.7 cm H x 20 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 16101	NA	C8882, c/1	Figs. 37, 140
90b			2 painted wall fragments?	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C8882, a/1, b/1	Fig. 37

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
91a	C.3500 T.3737	Model Granary, Storehouse	Storehouse, enclosure wall with peaked corners and covered magazines	42.5 cm H x 51.5 cm W x 54 cm L; corner angles, 35 degrees	Wood, gesso, white, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676a	NA	C8152, C8153, C8154, a/2, c/2	Figs. 143, 144
91b			Door	23.7 cm H x 17.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676k	NA	C8154, b/1	Fig. 145
91c			Wall	9.5 cm L x 4.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676h	NA	C8154, b/2	Fig. 145
91d			Wall	10 cm L x 4.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676i	NA	C8154, a/1	Fig. 145
91e			Wall	9.5 cm L x 3.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676j	NA	C8154, b/3	Fig. 145
91f		Model Granary, Storehouse, magazine shutters	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of <i>bdt</i> (emmer)	8.1 cm H x 8.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676b	NA	C8155, b/3	Fig. 146
91g			Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of <i>bnr</i> (dates)	8.1 cm H x 7.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676c	NA	C8155, a/1	Fig. 146
91h			Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of an unknown grain (name lost)	6.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676d	NA	C8155, b/1	Fig. 146
91i			Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of <i>bs</i> (barley)	8.1 cm H x 8 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676e	NA	C8155, a/2	Fig. 146

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
91j	C.3500 T.3737	Model Granary, Storehouse, continued, shutters	Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of <i>swt</i> (wheat)	8.2 cm H x 7.8 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676f	NA	C8155, b/2	Fig. 146
91k			Shutter/bin door, inscribed with 1,020 <i>hkt</i> of <i>it-sm</i> (Upper Egyptian barley)	8 cm H x 7.1 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1676g	NA	C8155, a/3	Fig. 146
91l		Model Granary, Storehouse, workers	Male worker, striding, carrying basket	15.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1676m	NA	C778; B8120, c/5	Figs. 70, 147, left
91m			Male worker, striding, carrying basket	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1676l	NA	C778; B8120, c/4	Figs. 70, 147, center
91n			Male worker, striding, carrying basket	15.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, red, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1676n	NA	C778; B8120, c/3	Figs. 70, 147, right
91o	C.3500 T.3737	Model Granary, Storehouse, worker	Measuring basket w/grain, slot for (missing) hand in top	2.5 cm H x 2.6 cm D	Wood, gesso, red, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1683d	NA	C8191, top, right	Figs. 51, 148

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
92a	C.3500 T.3795	Granary	Six silos on platform, solid, partial holes drilled into tops	11.5 cm H (with base), base: 19.5 cm W x 30 cm L; D = 5.4 cm, 5.6 cm, 4.9 cm, 5.1 cm, 4.8 cm, 4.9 cm; H=8.7 cm, 8.7 cm, 8.7 cm, 8.7 cm, 6.4 cm, 6.7 cm; H to curve = 6.5 cm, 6.8 cm (tallest), 4.8 cm, 5 cm (shortest)	Wood, gesso, black, white, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-1892	NA	C302, C305, C330, C8057, C8058	Fig. 141
92b		Granary, worker	Male worker or scribe, squatting	12.2 cm H x 7 cm W	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1887	NA	C8177, a/4	Figs. 59, 142

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

None

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

None

Food Preparation and Processing (Kitchens)

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
93	C.100-400 T.248	Miller?	1 arm, broken, hand open, palm touches pestle?	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C8879, b/1	Fig. 152
94	C.100-400 T.70/71	Brewer	Female statuette, bent posture (N.71)	23.5 cm H x 3.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow & white pigments	PAHMA 6-16119	NA	C8908	Figs. 29, 167
95a	C.100-400 T.70/71	Duck roaster	Male figure, squatting (N.70)	17 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15378	NA	B10697, c/7	Figs. 30, 177
95b			Base of male figure (N.70)	Unknown	Wood, gesso	Not located	NA	B10697, d/9	Fig. 30
96a	C.100-400 T.11	Brewer	Beer vat with broken spout	Unknown	Wood?	Not located	NA	C9304	Fig. 171, center, right
96b			Beer jar	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9305	Fig. 172, center, left
97a	C.100-400 T.11	Duck Roaster	Duck on spit	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9304	Fig. 171, bottom, left
97b			1 left arm, slightly bent, clenched fist	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C9304	Fig. 171, top, left
98a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery, baker	Oven fragment, side (broken)	11 cm H x 11.3 cm W	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15410a-c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 155, left
98b			Oven fragment, side	11 cm H x 11.8 cm W	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15410d	NA	B10699, b/6	Figs. 38, 155, right

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
98c	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery, baker, continued	Oven fragment, top	11.8 cm D	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15410e	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 155, top
99	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery, baker	Stacked bread molds	9.2 cm H x 7.2 cm W	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15367	NA	B10699, c/7	Fig. 156
100	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery, baker	Male baker's left arm	7.3 cm L (shoulder to elbow), 7 cm L (elbow to finger tips)	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 15462	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 157
101a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery, Miller	Male figure, kneeling, arms & knees lost	13.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 15417	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 153
101b			Saddle quern	12 cm L x 3.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 15428	NA	B10699, a/8	Fig. 154
102	C.100-400 T.67/69	Bakery?	Tall mortar, hole in top to fit pestle	8.5 cm H x 3.5 cm D	Wood, gesso, white, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6- 15365	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 158
103a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Brewery	Beer vat	13.9 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6- 15388	NA	B10699, c/8	Figs. 38, 173, right
103b			Beer vat	13.9 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6- 15389a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 173, left
103c			Female right arm, slightly bent	14 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6- 15389b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 173, top

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
103d	C.100-400 T.67/69	Brewery, continued	Beer jar	9.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15414	NA	B10699, b/5?	Figs. 38, 174
104a	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5201	Bakery- brewery?	Base for a group scene (?)	Unknown	Wood	Not located	Not recorded in field journal, p.56	Not photographed	Fig. 158
104b			1 female straight right arm, fingers clenched over block (miller?)	15.9 cm L x 1.7 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-456b	Not photographed	
104c			1 male arm, bent back	5.9 cm x 2.5 cm x 1 cm	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-457d	Not photographed	
104d			2 beer jars, with constricted necks	3.3 cm H x 1.6 cm D, 1 cm D	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	Not located	23-11-446e	Not photographed	Fig. 162
104e			2 jars	6.4 cm H x 1.7 D, 1.9 D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-456f	Not photographed	
104f			2 ovoid beer jars, 1 decayed	Unknown	Wood	Not located	23-11-457c	Not photographed	
105a	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5203	Bakery- brewery?	Tall mortar, hole in top with pestle fragments	9.5 cm L x 4.3 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-604	Not photographed	Fig. 160
105b			2 objects: 1 decayed and 1 flat tray (of bread loaves or dough?)	8.7 cm x 6.3 cm x 2.9 cm	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	23-11-605	Not photographed	Fig. 161
105c			1 basket containing hollowed out, round object (dough?)	4 cm H x 5.3 cm D	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & black pigments	Not located	23-11-606	Not photographed	Fig. 161

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
105d	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	Bakery-brewery?	7 beer jars (see also 23-11-446e, 456f)	6.7 to 10.3 cm H, 2-3 cm D	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	23-11-609	Not photographed	
106	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	Brewer?	1 statue base, with 2 plastered feet together & central hole surrounded by a circle of plaster	24.3 cm L x 7 cm W	Wood, gesso, black pigment	Not located	23-11-595b	Not photographed	
107a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Bakery-brewery?	Base of model scene with 26 round peg holes, + 2 larger holes with gesso loss	49 cm L x 11 cm W	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	Not located	23-11-619	Not photographed, but sketched	Fig. 159
107b			Man carrying load, 1 left arm doubled-back, fist clenched	8.6 cm L x 1.4 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-539a	Not photographed	Fig. 163
107c			2 fans from bakers or cooks	7 cm L; 4.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	Not located	23-11-547b	B5047 & sketch Also perhaps figure B5040, a/4 or a/5	Fig. 164
108a	C.100-400-400 T.89	Brewer	Female statue, brewer with vat	20.5 cm H (figure), 26 cm L x 8.5 cm W (base)	Figure- wood, gesso, yellow, white & black pigments Jar- limestone, gesso, red & yellow pigments	BMFA 25.1521	NA	C8878, C11355, C11374, C11375	Figs. 165, 166
108b			Storage jar, ovoid	5 cm H	Limestone, gesso, black & red pigments	BMFA, not accessioned (should be BMFA 25.1521b)	NA	C11355	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
109	C.100-400 T.43	Miller	Female statuette, kneeling	18.5 cm H (includes base), 21.5 cm L x 8 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, black, white, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-15202	NA	A4491, A4493-A4498, B4883, a/1	Figs. 117, left, 149, 150
110	C.100-400 T.43	Duck Roaster	Male figure, cooking over hearth	27 cm H (with base), 20 cm L x 9.5 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15200	NA	A4491, A4493-A4498, B4883, a/3	Figs. 117, right, 175, 176
111a	C.100-400 T.269	Baker	Bread molds, stacked	7 cm H	Limestone, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13044c	NA	C8993, a/2	Figs. 95, 151, top right
111b			Male figure, squatting	14.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13043	NA	C8993, d/3	Figs. 95, 151, bottom right
112a	C.100-400 T.269	Brewer	Beer vat	6.3 cm H	Limestone, gesso, red, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13044a	NA	C8993, c/2	Figs. 95, 151, top center
112b			Male figure	Unknown	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments?	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
113a	C.100-400 T.269	Duck Roaster	Hearth	7.5 cm D	Limestone, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13044b	NA	C9000a, c/4	Fig. 151, top left, 168
113b			Male figure, squatting	14 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-13046	NA	C9000a, c/5	Fig. 151, bottom left, 168

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
113c	C.100-400 T.269	Duck Roaster, continued	Arm	Unknown	Wood, gesso, red pigment?	Not located	NA	C9000a, c/3	Fig. 168
114a	C.100-400 T.105	Brewer	Beer vat	12.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 12603	NA	C9000a, b/1	Figs. 168, 169
114b			Broken wooden figure, stands with legs together, bends at waist	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments?	Not located	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 170

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
115	C.3500 T.3765	Brewer	Female statuette, standing, leaning forward	29 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & black pigments	PAHMA 6-1894	NA	C8192	Fig. 187
116a	C.3500 T.3737	Bakery, miller	Female torso, kneeling	18.9 cm H (including tenon)	Wood, gesso, yellow, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1683a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 182
116b			Knees	6.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, white, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1683b	NA	C55 (in situ)	
116c			Right arm	14 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1683c	NA	Not photographed	
117a	C.3500 T.3737	Bakery, flour sifter	Torso, squatting, male	16.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23519a	NA	B8120, b/1; C55 (in situ)	Figs. 70, 183
117b			Sieve w/left arm	13 cm L (arm), 5.1 cm D (sieve)	Wood, gesso, white, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23519b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 183
117c			Right arm	13 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23519c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 183
118	C.3500 T.3737	Bakery, baker?	Male figure, squatting	15 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23526	NA	B8120, b/2; C122 (in situ)	Figs. 70, 184

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
119a	C.3500 T.3737	Brewery	Beer jar	12 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23520a	NA	C8191, right	Figs. 51, 188, top
119b			Beer jar	9.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23520c	NA	C8191, bottom, center	Figs. 51, 188, bottom
119c			Beer jar	8.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23520b	NA	C8191, top, center	Figs. 51, 188, center
120a	C.3500 T.3737	Brewery, paired arms	Male right arm, slightly bent	13.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23528a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 189, bottom
120b			Male left arm, slightly bent	13.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23528b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 189, top
121a	C.3500 T.3774	Bakery	Table w/bread loaves	9.7 cm L x 6.8 cm W	Wood, gesso, pigments	PAHMA 6-23550	NA	C8169	Fig. 185
121b			Male figure, squatting	12.5 cm H x 2.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6-1856	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 186
122	S.F.5000-5400 T.5214	Duck Roaster	Male figure cooking at hearth	11.6 cm H x 6.7 W (shoulders); 23.6 cm L x 6.7 cm W x 1.6 cm H (base); 6.7 cm W x 6.3 cm L x 0.4 cm H (hearth)	Wood, gesso, red, black, white & yellow pigments	Not located	23-12-108	B5040, b/1	Figs. 41, 190
123	C.3500 T.4172	Bakery, double millers	One male and one female figure on base	16.5 cm H (with base), 37.5 cm L x 6cm W	Wood, gesso, black, white, red & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-16164	NA	B7119, C761, C764, C765	Figs. 178, 179

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
124a	C.3500 T.3916	Butcher scene	Butchered ox	13 cm L x 5 cm W	Clay, gesso, yellow, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-2821	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 193
124b			2 male figures, bent at waist, arms hanging down (lost)	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, b/2, b/3	Fig. 53
125a	C.3500 T.3916	Bakery	1 squatting male figure, left arm raised (missing), baker	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, c/5	Fig. 53
125b			1 kneeling figure, arms raised (right one missing), miller	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, b/5	Fig. 53
125c			Fragment, stack of bread molds	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, c/2	Fig. 53
126	C.100-400 T.202	Bakery	2 men & 2 woman: female flour sifter, male miller, man stacking bread molds, female baker	25.7 cm H (with base), 55 cm L x 10.5 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 17161	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475- B4476, B4886, C4840	Figs. 180, 181
127	C.100-400 T.202	Duck Roaster	Male figure, cooking before hearth	21.3 cm H (with base), 20.5 cm L x 8 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 17159	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, and B4475- B4476, C4838	Fig. 191, right, 192

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
128a	C.100-400 T.263	Bakery- brewery	Beer <i>dww</i> jar	15.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13024c	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 194
128b			<i>Hs</i> jar	10.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-13024a	NA	B10698, c/3	Figs. 35, 195
128c			Table, with central depression	14 cm L x 5.3 cm W	Wood	PAHMA 6-13024d	NA	B10698, a/4	Figs. 35, 196
129a	C.100-400 T.263	Bakery- brewery	Male, standing, legs together, beard/ moustache	11.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15749	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 92, far left
129b			Male, standing, bends forward, beard/ moustache	13 cm	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15757	NA	B10698, c/5	Figs. 35, 92, 2 nd from left
129c			Male, standing, legs together, beard/ moustache	13.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15762	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 92, 3 rd from left
129d			Male, standing, pudgy, wears beard/ moustache, broad collar, overseer?	14.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15766	NA	B10698, c/4	Figs. 35, 92, 6 th from left

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
130a	C.100-400 T.263	Bakery- brewery, continued	Female, squatting	11.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, yellow & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 15760	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 197, center
130b			Female, squatting	11.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, black & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6- 15761	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 197, left
130c			Female, standing	15.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15763	NA	B10698, c/7	Figs. 35, 197, right
131a	C.100-400 T.361	Brewery	Beer jar	10 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 13300	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 198, far left
131b			Beer jar, broken	7.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 13301	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 198, 2 nd from left
131c			Beer jar, broken	4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 13302	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 198, 3 rd from left
131d			Beer jar	10.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 13303	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 198, far right

D: Phase IV = late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
132	S.F.200 T.95	Bakery	Female baker standing before oven	8.1 cm H	Limestone, gesso, white, black, yellow & red pigments	BMFA 13.3657	13-3-151	C4489, C4490	Fig. 199

Uncertain Provenance and Date (possibly N.69, N.247, N.263 or N.232)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
133	C.100-400 NNN 100	Miller	Kneeling male statuette	27.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15783	NA	B10697, d/1	Figs. 30, 200
134a	C.100-400 NNN 100	Miller statuette or bakery scene	Male left arm, straight, clenched fist, holds pestle	13.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15785a	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 201, left
134b			Male right arm, bent, clenched fist	11.9 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15785b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 201, right
135	C.100-400 NNN 100	Bakery or brewery?	Offering table, with depressions for six objects	11.5 cm L x 5.3 cm W	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15811	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 203
136	C.100-400 NNN 100	Bakery or brewery?	Container with wort/grain/dough	6.3 cm H x 6 cm W (top) and 3.5 cm W (bottom)	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15818	NA	B10697, b/3	Figs. 30, 204
137	C.100-400, tomb (?)	Baker statuette or bakery scene	Bread molds, stacked	10.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-2716	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 202
138a	C.100-400 NNN 100	Brewing scene	Beer jar, large	14.9 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15796	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, a/1
138b	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15797	NA	B10697, d/6	Figs. 30, 205, a/2
138c	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	18.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15798	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, a/3

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
138d	C.100-400 NNN 100	Brewery, continued	Beer jar, large	16.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15799	NA	B10697, d/5	Figs. 30, 205, a/4
138e	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	16 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15800	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, a/5
138f	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	15.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15801	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, b/1
138g	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	15.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15802	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, b/2
138h	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, large	13.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15803	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, b/3
138i	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, small	8.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15804	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, b/4
138j	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, small	9.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15805	NA	B10697, b/5	Figs. 30, 205, b/5
138k	C.100-400 NNN 100		Beer jar, small	9.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6- 15806	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 205, b/6
139a	C.100-400 T.105 + ?	Brewer statuette	Base, with open mortise & circular impression from vat	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C8882, c/3	Fig. 37
139b		Jar sealer or brewer	Beer jar	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	C8882, a/2	Fig. 37

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
140a	C.100-400 NNN 100	Duck Roaster statuette	Squatting male statuette	26.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6- 1578.1a	NA	B10697, d/2	Figs. 30, 206
140b			Right arm, bent, hole in fist	11.3 cm L x 10.4 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6- 1578.1b	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 206
141	C.100-400 NNN 100	Duck Roaster statuette or combined scene	Fowl on spit	9.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, black pigment	PAHMA 6- 15820	NA	B10697, a/3	Fig. 30, 207

Miscellaneous Model Types

Entertainment (Dancers and Musicians)

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
142	C.100-400 T.297	Dancer	Female statuette	Ca. 25-30 cm H (with modern base)	Wood, gesso, yellow & black pigments	Cairo JE 37756	NA	C8853, C8854, C8855, C8856, C8857	Figs. 208, 209

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

None

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

None

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
143	S.F.200 T.132	Musician	Male harpist	18 cm H; base is 6cm W x 9cm L	Limestone, gesso, white, yellow, red & black pigments	Cairo JE 44419	13-3-205	C4245, C4246, C4247, C4248	Figs. 210, 211

Craft Production (Brick-makers)

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

None

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitean Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
144	C.100-400 T.202	Brick-makers	5 men: man carrying water jar, man hoeing, man carrying basket of mud/straw, man filling brick molds; man stacking bricks	28.5 cm H (with base), 31 cm L x 19 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-16163	NA	C4307-C4309, A4485-A4488, B4475-B4476, C4842, C4843	Figs. 212, 213

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

None

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

None

Soldiers

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
145	C.100-400 T.67/69	Battalion	Soldier, striding, carrying spear over left shoulder	16.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15415	NA	B10699, c/3	Figs. 38, 214

B: Phase II
None

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)
None

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)
None

Priests

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
146	S.F.5000-5400 T.5201	Priest	Male, striding, yellow skin, wears long kilt with shoulder strap), no base	18.1 cm H x 3.3 cm W x 3.15 cm W (front to back)	Wood, gesso, black, yellow & white pigments	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-11-446a	B5041 (right)	Fig. 215

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
147	S.F.5000-5400 T.5214	Priest	Male statuette, striding, left arm crossed over breast, long kilt with shoulder strap	20.1 cm H (with base), 8.1 cm L x 3 cm W (base)	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-35	C10281 (left)	Fig. 216

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

None

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

None

Overseers

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

None

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
148	C.3500 T.3567	Overseer, from group scene	Male figure, standing, hands held at sides, holes drilled through hands to hold batons or scepters (lost)	14.8 cm H x 3.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1431	NA	Not photographed	Fig. 217

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
149	S.F.200 T.187	Overseer, statuette or from procession?	Male figure, striding with arms straight down at sides, wears long kilt, no base	17.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, yellow, white & black pigments	BMFA 13.3849	13-3-361	A938, a/6	Fig. 218

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

None

Miscellaneous Human Figures, Unknown Type

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
150	C.100-400 T.11	Male figure?	1 small left arm	Unknown	Wood		NA	C9304	Fig. 171, center, left
151a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Male figures	Squatting figure, arms lost, very worn	10.9 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-15439	NA	Not photographed	
151b			Small male head	6.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15409	NA	Not photographed	
152a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Paired servant arms, miller or brewer?	Female left arm, straight, palm down, peg in palm	14.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15444a	NA	Not photographed	
152b			Female right arm, straight, palm down, peg in palm	14.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15444b	NA	Not photographed	
153a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Paired servant arms, miller or brewer?	Male left arm, straight, palm down	14.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15454b	NA	Not photographed	
153b			Male right arm, straight, palm down	14.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15454a	NA	Not photographed	
154a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Unmatched limbs, female	Female lower left leg, attaches at knee to striding figure	8.7 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15419	N	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
154b	C.100-400 T.67/69	Unmatched limbs, female, continued	Female leg, straight, peg through top of foot	10.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15464	NA	Not photographed	
154c			Female straight leg, peg at top to attach to torso, ankle tenoned to base	7.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15426	NA	Not photographed	
154d			Female upper left arm, broken above elbow	7.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15441	NA	Not photographed	
154e			Female straight left arm, open palm	6.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15443	NA	Not photographed	
154f			Female straight left arm, clenched fist, drilled hole top to bottom, wears bracelet	15 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-15448	NA	Not photographed	
154g			Female left arm, slightly bent, clenched fist, drilled hole top to bottom	15.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15455	NA	Not photographed	
154h			Female straight right arm, clenched fist, drilled hole top to bottom	15.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15447	NA	Not photographed	
154i			Female right arm, slightly bent, clenched fist, drilled hole top to bottom	14.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, white & yellow pigments	PAHMA 6-15382	NA	Not photographed	
155a	C.100-400 T.67/69	Unmatched limbs, male	Male straight right arm, hole from top down in clenched fist	10.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15442	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
155b	C.100-400 T.67/69	Unmatched limbs, male, continued	Male straight left arm, sideways hole in clenched fist Right arm?	8.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15457	NA	Not photographed	
155c				14.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15445	NA	Not photographed	
156a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5201	Male figures	1 squatting male figure	12 cm H x 3 cm W	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigments	Not located	23-11-457a	B5040, a/2	Fig. 41
156b			1 squatting male figure	15 cm H x 3.4 cm W x 2.7 cm W (front to back)	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	23-11-446b	B5040, a/3	Fig. 41
156c			1 male head	3.8 cm H x 2.5 cm W	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	Not located	23-11-446d	Not photographed	
156d			1 male straight right arm, peg through hand (carried object)	15.9 cm L x 1.7 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-456c	Not photographed	
156e			1 male left arm, slightly bent	10 cm L x 1 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-456d	Not photographed	
156f			1 male leg & knee, peg holes of joint above knee, no foot	10.8 cm L x 1.6 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-456e	Not photographed	
157	S.F.5000-5400 T.5201	Female figure	Buttocks of female figure, yellow flesh & white skirt, peg hole in leg	9.2 cm H x 4.1 cm W	Wood, gesso, yellow & white pigments	Not located	23-11-457b	Not photographed	
158a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5201	Human figures	1 arm from model figure	13.9 cm L x 1.2 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-445a	Not photographed	
158b			1 straight arm, decayed	16.1 cm L x 1.8 D	Wood	Not located	23-11-446c	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
159	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	Human figures	8 figures: 4 standing straight, 3 sitting, 1 stooping, no arms	10.8 cm to 24.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, white, black & green paint, one with remains of linen on it	Not located	23-11-600	Not photographed	
160	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	Human figures	16 arms	8.3 cm to 18.9 cm L	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	23-11-601a	B5149, b/2 (1 left arm, slightly bent)	
161	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Male figure, butcher?	Male worker, stooped, left arm missing, right arm incomplete	13.8 cm H (body & head), 14.0 cm L (legs), 3.7 cm W (shoulders)	Wood, gesso, black & red pigments	Not located	23-11-537	B5040, b/4	Fig. 41
162a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Human figures	6 squatting figures, likely includes baker or duck roaster, rowers, etc.	H= 19.5 cm, 16.3 cm, 15.8 cm, 15.9 cm, 15.1 cm, 12.6 cm; W= 4.5 cm, 6.4 cm, 3.2 cm, 3.8 cm, 2.6 cm, 2.2 cm (front to back, at knees)	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	Not located	23-11-538	B5040, a/4, a/5, a/6, a/7 (4 tallest were photographed) (a/6 has straight arms still attached) B5040, a/5, resembles baker or duck roaster	Fig. 41
162b			1 leg from knee down, foot gone, peg at knee	11.1 cm L x 1.5 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-540a	Not photographed	
162c			1 leg from knee down, foot gone, ends in dowel, peg at knee	12.3 cm L x 1.3 cm W	Wood, gesso, pigment	Not located	23-11-540b	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
162d	S.F.5000-5400 T.5202	Human figures, continued	1 leg, fragmentary	18.9 cm L x 2 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-540c	Not photographed	
162e			2 right arms, slightly bent	10.8 cm L x 1.2 cm W; 11.3 cm L x 1 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-539b	Not photographed	
162f			2 left arms, slightly bent	11.4 cm L x 1.1 cm W; 13.2 cm L x 1.4 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-539c	Not photographed	
162g			1 straight left arm	11.3 cm L x 1 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-539d	Not photographed	

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
163	S.F.500 T.533	Male statuette	Male figure, striding, arms & base lost	18 cm H	Wood, gesso red & white pigments	Not located	23-11-8	Not photographed	
164	C.3500 T.3900	Serving statuette, kitchen figure?	Squatting statuette	Ca. 18 cm H	Wood, gesso	Not located	NA	C8239, b/3	Fig. 128
165a	C.3500 T.3737	Paired male kitchen workers, butchers?	Male figure, stooping, left knee forward, arms lost	14.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1676p	NA	C778; B8120, b/7	Fig. 70
165b			Male figure, stooping, right knee forward, clenched fists, gripped object in right hand	15.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1676o	NA	C778; B8120, b/6	Fig. 70
166	C.3500 T.3737	Male figure	Male squatting figure	10.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, black, white & red pigments	PAHMA 6-1684jjj	NA	C122 (in situ)	Fig. 13
167a	C.3500 T.3737	Paired Servant Arms, bakery or brewery?	Male right arm, slightly bent, palm faces down, no peg in hand	13.1 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23531a	NA	Not photographed	
167b			Male left arm, slightly bent, palm faces down, no peg in hand	13.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23531b	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
168a	C.3500 T.3737	Paired Servant Arms	Male left arm, slightly bent, palm faces down, hole in palm for peg	16.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23529a	NA	Not photographed	
168b			Male right arm, slightly bent, palm faces inward, no peg in palm	16.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23529b	NA	Not photographed	
168a	C.3500 T.3737	Paired Servant Arm	Male left arm, slightly bent, palm faces inward, no peg in hand	15.6 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23530a	NA	Not photographed	
168b			Male right arm, slightly bent, palm faces inward, no peg in hand	15 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23530b	NA	Not photographed	
170a	C.3500 T.3737	Misc. Arms, male	Right arm, male, straight, clenched fist with drilled hole top to bottom	7.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-1684000	NA	Not photographed	
170b			Male right arm, clenched fist with small peg through it	9.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23532	NA	Not photographed	
170c			Right arm, male, slightly bent, clenched fist with hole, pierced top down	7.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-23533	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
170d	C.3500 T.3737	Misc. Arms, continued	Right arm, male, slightly bent, clenched fist with hole, pierced top down	7.8 cm L	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-23534	NA	Not photographed	
170e			Male right arm, straight, clenched fist with peg through it	9.6 cm L	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-23535	NA	Not photographed	
170f			Male right arm, slightly bent, clenched fist with small hole/peg for object	13.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow & red pigments	PAHMA 6-23536	NA	Not photographed	
170g			Male right arm, straight, clenched fist w/out hole	10.7 cm L	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-23537	NA	Not photographed	
170h			Male left arm, straight, palm faces up with peg in it	10.3 cm L	Wood, gesso & red pigment	PAHMA 6-23538	NA	Not photographed	
171	S.F.5000-5400 T.5214	Male figure	1 male right arm, straight, with peg or object once secured through hole in hand	13.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	In BMFA, not accessioned	23-12-111	Not photographed	
172	C.3500 T.3930	Human figure	2 small arms of male figure	Unknown	Wood, gesso, white & red pigments	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
173a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5204	Male figures	1 small arm of man, doubled back	5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment		23-11-679b	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
173b	S.F.5000-5400 T.5204	Male figures, continued	Head of small male figure	4.5 cm H x 2.5 cm W	Wood		23-11-698	Not photographed	
174	C.3500 T.3558	Human figures	Small wooden figures	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
175	C.3500 T.3916	Boat or bakery figure?	1 standing figure, head & arms lost, peg beneath right foot	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, b/6	Fig. 53
176	C.3500 T.3756	Boat pilot, sailor or porter?	Male standing figure, legs together, arms forward (lost)	19 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-23547i	NA	C8176, b/1	Fig. 65

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
177	C.3500 T.3945	Human figure	1 wooden figure	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	
178	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5025	Male figure	1 male figure, seated or standing, bent at waist (arms lost, legs broken)	10.8 cm H x 3.7 cm W x 5.8 cm W (front to back)	Wood, gesso, red, white & black pigment	Not located	23-11-181b	Not photographed	
179a	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5029	Human figures	1 squatting figure	10.5 cm H	Wood	Not located	23-11-693	Not photographed	
179b			1 figure, pose unknown	17.5 cm H	Wood	Not located	23-11-693	Not photographed	
180a	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5011	Male figure	1 male figure, seated or bent at waist, decayed	11.5 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-354	Not photographed (sketched)	
180b		Human figure	1 figure, pose unknown, decayed	14.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	23-11-354	Not photographed	
181a	C.3500 T.3579	Male figures	Male figure, standing with straight arms at sides, damaged	20.5 cm H	Wood	PAHMA 6-1475	NA	C200, C216, C8176, b/6	Fig. 65
181b			Male statuette, striding, wears white fillet, short kilt, arms & base missing	26.1 cm H	Wood, gesso, red, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-1474	NA	C200, C216, C8176, b/7	Fig. 65
182	C.100-400 T.450	Human figures	Parts of wooden figures	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	Not photographed	

Human Figures of Uncertain Provenance and Date (possibly N.69, N.247, N.263 or N.232)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
183	Naga ed-Deir	Male Statuette, kitchen figure?	Squatting male, arms & base lost	20.3 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-16123	NA	Not photographed	
184	C.100-400 NNN 100	Male figure	Torso, striding male, wears belted kilt	13.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & white pigments	PAHMA 6-15773	NA	B10697, c/4	Fig. 30
185	C.100-400 NNN 100	Misc. Arms, female	Female right arm, straight, clenched fist	13.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-15786	NA	Not photographed	
186a	C.100-400 NNN 100	Misc. Arms, male	Male left arm, bent, clenched fist	14.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15787	NA	Not photographed	
186b	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male left arm, straight, clenched fist	13.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15788	NA	Not photographed	
186c	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male left arm, bent, clenched fist	16.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15789	NA	Not photographed	
186d	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male left arm, straight, clenched fist	13.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15791	NA	Not photographed	
186e	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male left arm, straight, clenched fist	13.8 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15792	NA	Not photographed	
186f	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male right arm, slightly bent, palm cupped & turned down	17.2 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15793	NA	Not photographed	
186g	C.100-400 NNN 100		Male right arm	14.4 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15790	NA	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
187a	C.100-400 T.105 + ?	Male statuette	Male right arm, palm facing downwards, cupped to hold object (now lost)	22.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-16112	NA	C8882, b/2	Fig. 37
187b		Male figure	Small arm, male?	Not located	Wood, gesso, red pigment?	PAHMA 6-16111	NA	C8882, c/4	Fig. 37
188	Naga ed-Deir	Male figure	Male left arm, straight, clenched fist	10.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-16128	NA	Not photographed	
189a	Naga ed-Deir	Misc. paired arms	Female left arm, straight, clenched fist	10.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-16127a	NA	Not photographed	
189b			Female right arm, straight, clenched fist	10.7 cm L	Wood, gesso, yellow pigment	PAHMA 6-16127b	NA	Not photographed	
190	Naga ed-Deir	Male figure	Male, standing, bent forward at waist	10 cm H	Wood, gesso, white, black & red pigments	PAHMA 6-16124	NA	Not photographed	

Miscellaneous Model Fragments, Unidentifiable Type

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
191	C.100-400 T.70/71	Kitchen?	Tall cylindrical fragment (N.70), resembles mortar	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	B10697, c/6	Fig. 30
192	C.100-400 T.70/71	?	Lower part of seated statue? (N.70)	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	B10697, b/9	Fig. 30
193	C.100-400 T.67/69	Furniture	Bed leg in shape of ox leg?	22.2 cm H	Wood, gesso, red & black pigments	PAHMA 6-15469	NA	Not photographed	
194a	C.100-400 T.67/69	?	Puffed rectangular shape, with dowels at ends	8.5 cm L x 5.1 cm W	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15391	NA	Not photographed	
194b		?	Puffed rectangular shape, with dowels at ends	9.4 cm L x 4.7 cm W	Wood, gesso, white pigment	PAHMA 6-15392	NA	B10697, a/4?	Fig. 30
195a	S.F.5000- 5400 T.5201	?	1 small wooden block, painted black on sides and top	3.3 cm x 1.6 cm x 1 cm	Wood, gesso, black pigment	Not located	23-11-446f	Not photographed	
195b		?	Scepter?	10.3 cm L x 2. cm W	Wood	In BMFA (not accessioned)	23-11-457e	Not photographed	
195c		?	1 model fragment with peg holes	17.4 cm L x 2.2 cm W	Wood	Not located	23-11-445b	Not photographed	
195d		?	1 fragment with 2 pegs in holes	11.2 cm x 2.7 cm x 1.7 cm	Wood	Not located	23-11-457g	Not photographed	

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
196a	S.F.5000-5400 T.5203	?	1 wooden object, carved block with round upright inserted	5 cm H x 10.6 cm L	Wood	Not located	23-11-607	Not photographed	
196b		?	1 model fitting (broken, into 3 parts), slightly curved with small pegs on bottom edge	7.6 cm L x 3.8 cm H	Wood	Not located	23-11-613	Not photographed	
198a	C.100-400 T.241	Boat?	Fender with hole for suspension?	2.9 cm H x 1.3 cm D	Wood, gesso, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-16154a	NA	C9590	Fig. 43
198b			Fender with hole for suspension?	2.7 cm H x 1.3 cm D	Wood, gesso, black & white pigments	PAHMA 6-16154b	NA	C9590	Fig. 43

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
199a	C.3500 T.3737	Miller?	Flat base, oval shaped, convex surface, resembles grinding stone	7.8 cm L x 3 cm W	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-23525	NA	C8191, center	Fig. 51
100b		Boat?	Curved piece of wood resembling boat canopy, small with 2 dowels, front & center	10.2 cm L x 4.6 cm W	Wood	PAHMA 6-16841	NA	C8191, center, right	Fig. 51
200a	C.3500 T.3916	?	1 unidentifiable fragment	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, a/1	Fig. 53
200b		?	1 unidentifiable fragment	Unknown	Wood, gesso, pigments	Not located	NA	C8557, a/2	Fig. 53
201	C.3500 T.3756	?	Small wooden vase	1.8 cm H	Wood, gesso, red pigment	Not located	NA	Not photographed	

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
202	C.100-400 T.263	Boat?	Papyriform finial from Type V funerary boat?	6 cm L x 4.1 cm D	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-15817	NA	B10698, a/3	Fig. 35
203	C.9000 T.9090	Boat?	Unidentifiable piece, ovoid with broken handle	6.3 cm L	Wood, gesso, red pigment	PAHMA 6-14952	NA	C8226, b/1	Fig. 88

D: Phase IV = late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)
None

Uncertain Provenance and Date (possibly N.69, N.247, N.263)

New Catalogue Number	Provenance	Model Type	Object	Dimensions	Materials	Museum Catalogue Number	Object Register Number	Expedition Photographs	Illustrations
204	C.100-400-400 NNN 100	House/ garden?	Tree	8.5 cm L	Wood, gesso, green pigment	PAHMA 6- 15814	NA	B10697, a/5	Fig. 30
205	C.100-400 NNN 100	Boat or kitchen scene?	Flat disc w/dowel in back, hearth or papyrus umbel?	Unknown	Wood	Not located	NA	B10697, c/5	Fig. 30

Appendix G: Frequency of Model Types from Excavated Tombs at Nagaded-Deir

A: Phase I= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

Model Type	Model Subtype	Complete Models	Model Fragments	Total Models
Boats	Type IV	0	35	5
	Uncertain type	0	1	1
People carrying supplies	Female offering bearers	2	9	6
	Male porters	3	19	10
Granaries	Domed silos	1	2	2
	Square/rectangular storehouses	0	21	2
Kitchens	Miller with quern	1	1	2
	Baker	1	0	1
	Brewer with vat	1	6	5
	Jar sealer?	0	2	1
	Duck roaster	2	4	4
	Paired brewers	0	4	1
	Bakery group: bakers, kneeling miller, standing miller with tall mortar	0	8	1+
Bakery-brewery scene or separate bakery, brewery scenes	0	24	2	
Entertainment	Dancer	1	0	1
Combat	Soldier	0	1	1
Priests	Priest	1	0	1
Total		13	137	46

B: Phase II= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

Model Type	Model Subtype	Complete Models	Model Fragments	Total Models
Boats	Type IV	3	63	11
	Type II	0	5	1
	Uncertain type	0	50	5
People carrying supplies	Female offering bearers	0	4	3
	Male porters	2	1	3
Granaries	Domed silos	1	0	1
	Square/rectangular storehouses	1	0	1
Kitchens	Brewer with vat	0	1	1
	Duck roaster	2	0	2
	Paired millers	1	0	1
	Bakery scene	1	12	4
	Brewery scene	0	5	1
	Butcher scene	0	3	1
Craft Production	Brick-making scene	1	0	1
Priests	Priest	1	0	1
Overseers	Overseer	0	1	1
Total		13	145	38

C: Phase III= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12)

Model Type	Model Subtype	Complete Models	Model Fragments	Total Models
Boats	Type II	0	15	4
	Type II/viii	1	0	1
	Type IV/V	1	0	1
	Type V?	0	1	1
	Type VIII	1	0	1
	Uncertain type	0	28	7
People carrying supplies	Female offering bearers	3	0	3
	Male porters	0	0	0
Kitchens	Bakery-brewery scene	0	10	1+
	Brewery scene	0	4	1
Overseers	Overseer	1	0	1
Total		7	58	21

D: Phase IV= late Middle Kingdom (mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

Model Type	Model Subtype	Complete Models	Model Fragments	Total Models
Boats	Type II	1	0	1
	Type V	1	42	4
	Type VII	1	0	1
	Uncertain type	0	1	1
People carrying supplies	Female offering bearers	1	2 or 3	2
	Male porters	0	0	0
Kitchens	Standing baker before oven	1	0	1
Entertainment	Harpist	1	0	1
Total		6	45	11

E: Unprovenanced Tomb Models

Model Type	Model Subtype	Complete Models	Model Fragments	Total Models
Boats	Type IV	0	2	1
	Uncertain type	0	2	2
People carrying supplies	Female offering bearers	0	2	2
	Male porters	0	1	1
Kitchens	Miller with quern	0	1	1
	Standing miller with pestle	0	2	1
	Baker	0	1	1
	Brewer with vat	0	1	1
	Jar sealer?	0	1	1
	Duck roaster	1	1	2
Bakery or brewery scene	Bakery or brewery scene	0	2	2
	Brewery scene	0	11	1
Total		1	27	16

Appendix H: Naga ed-Deir Tomb Plans

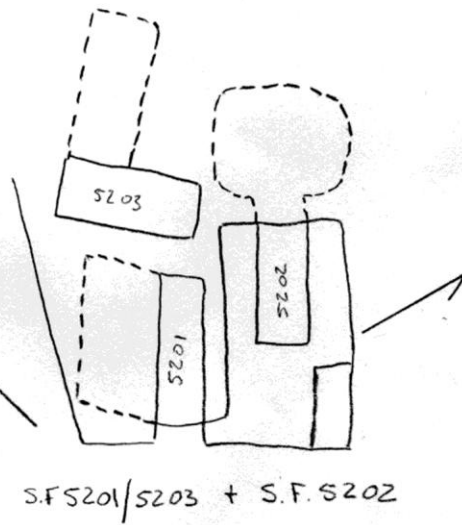
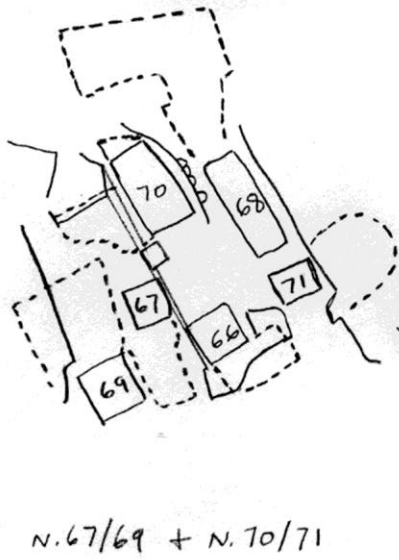
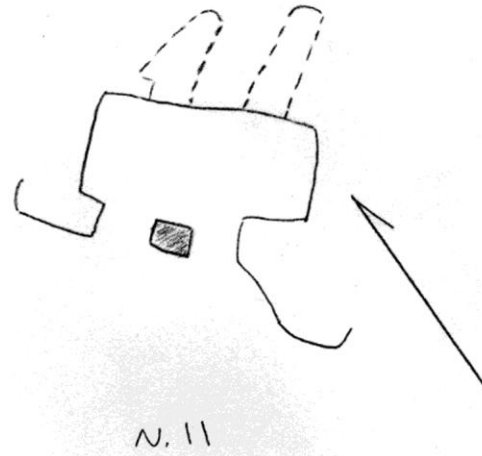
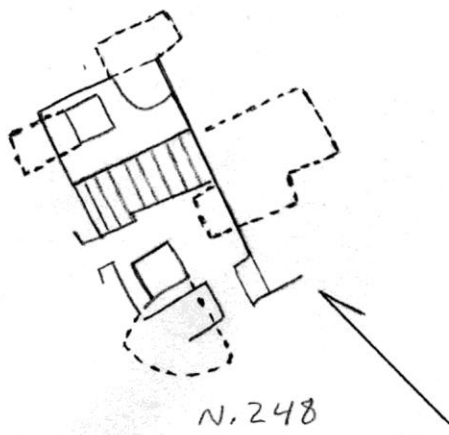


Plate 1. Phase I Tombs= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

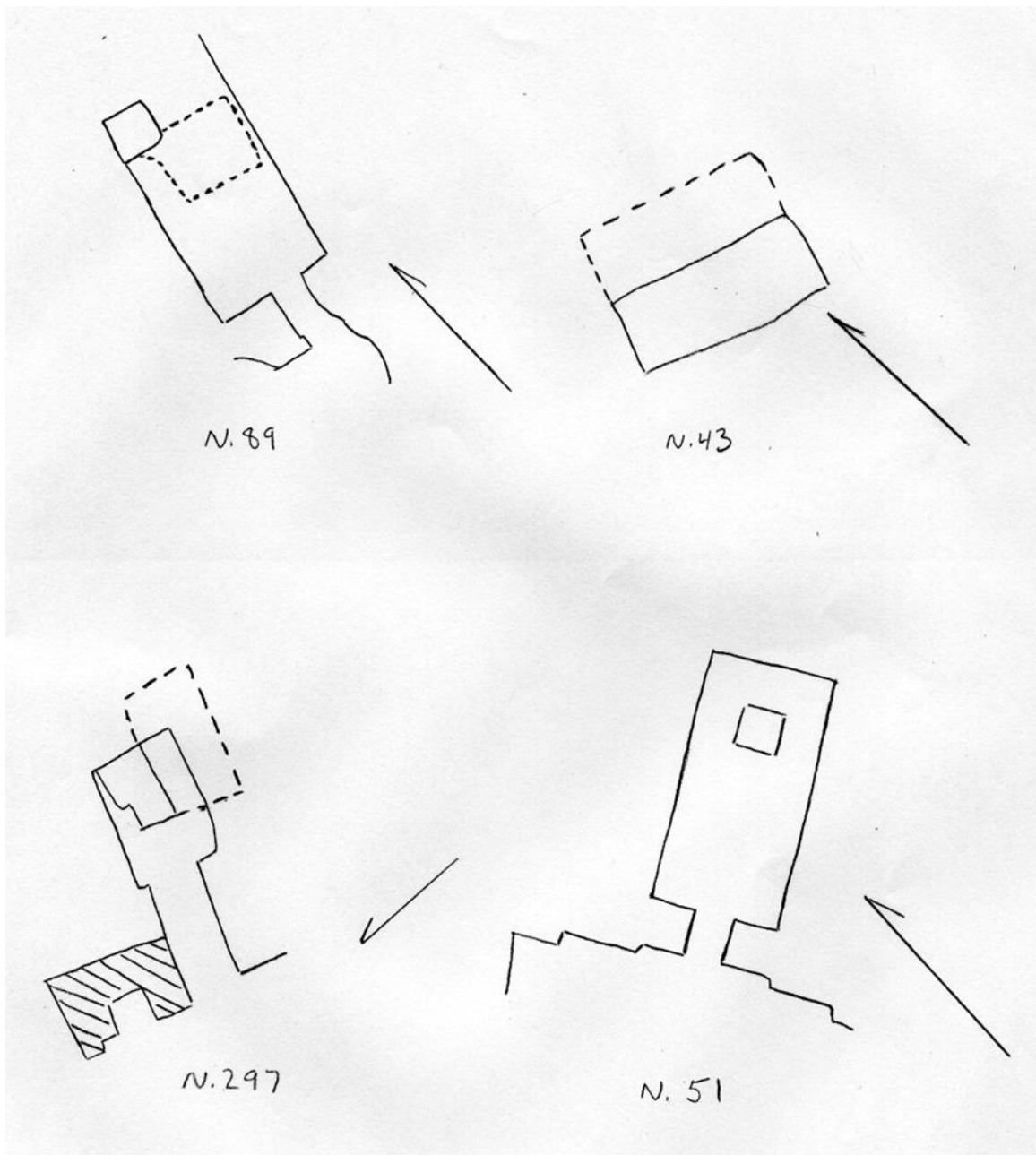


Plate 2. Phase I Tombs

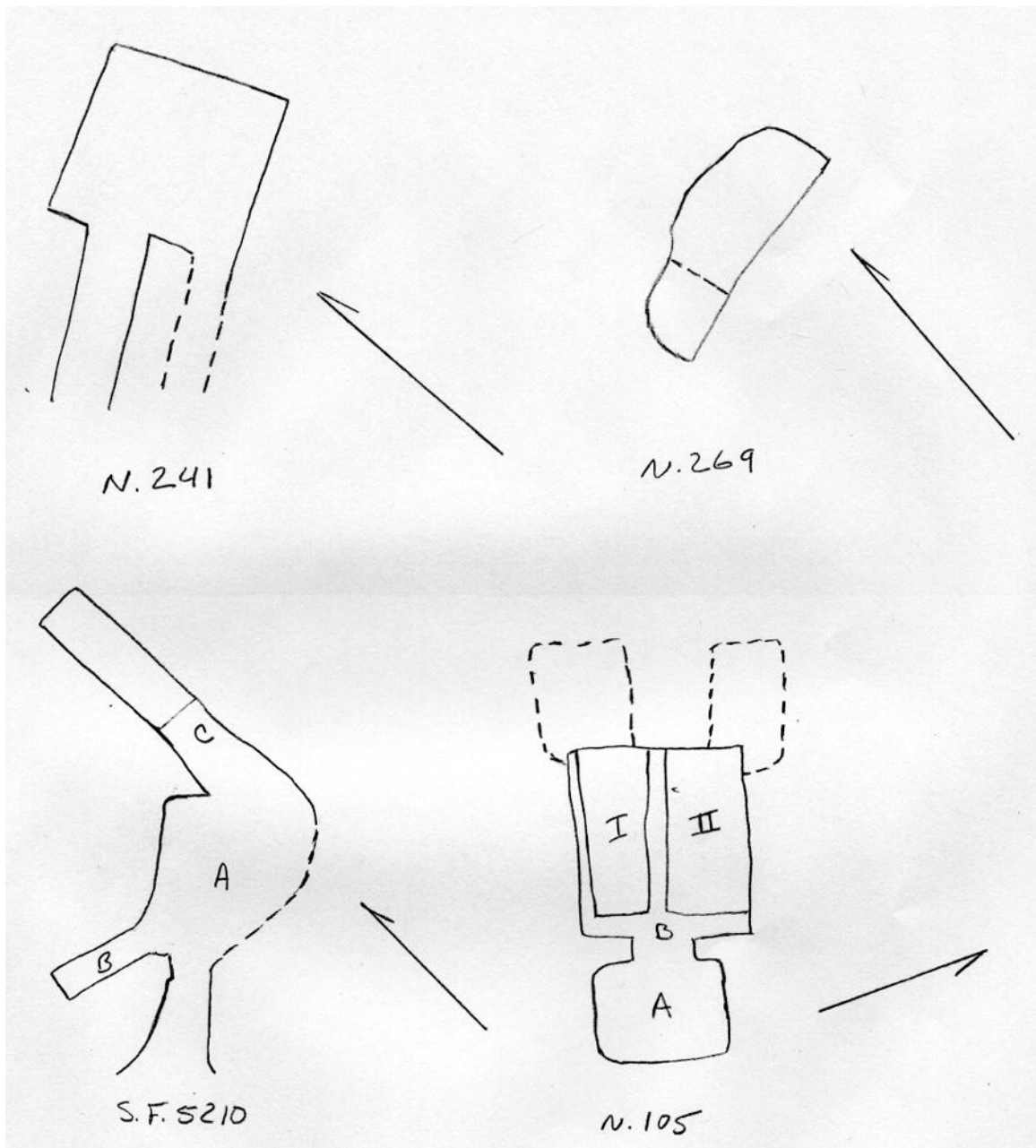


Plate 3. Phase I Tombs

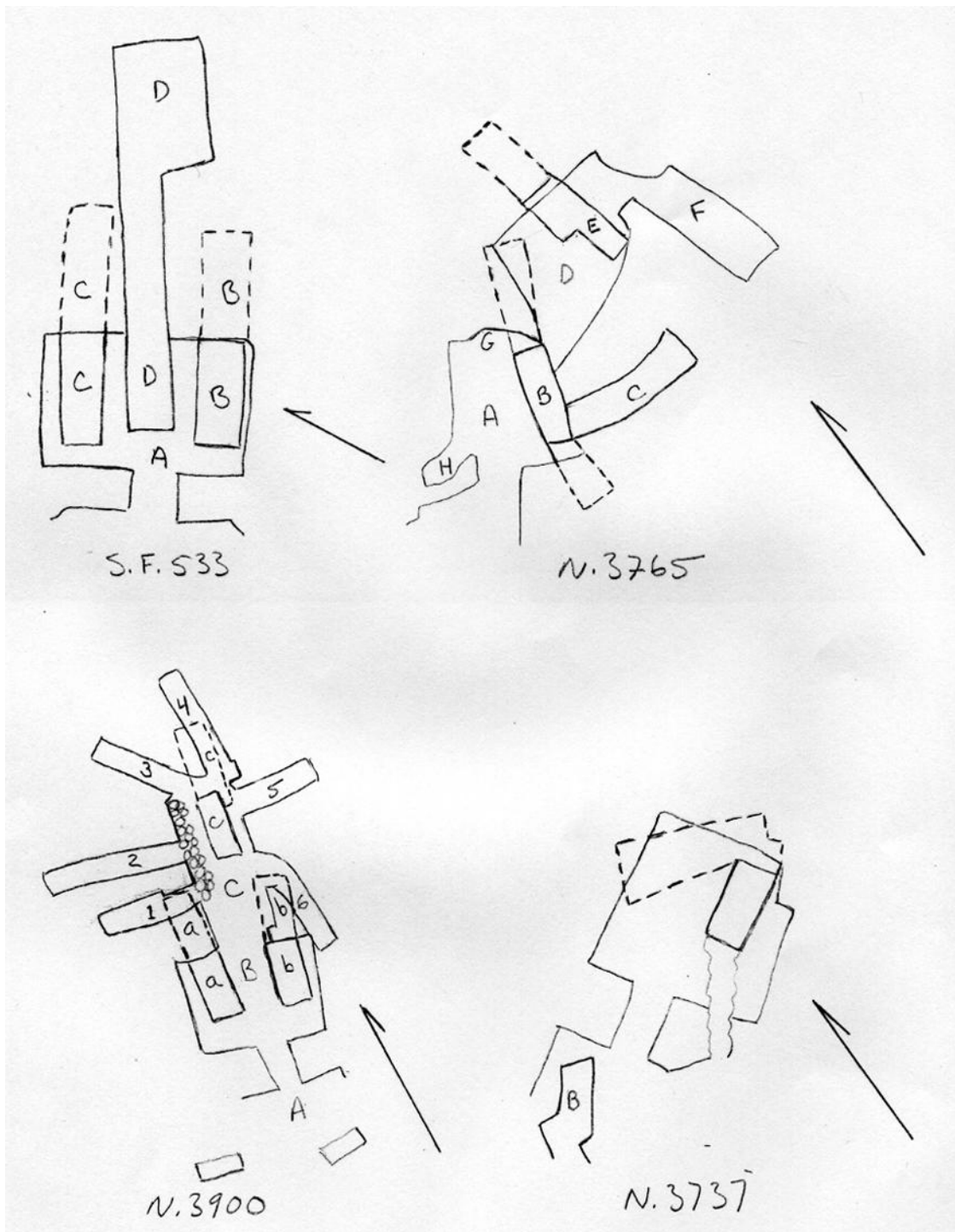


Plate 4. Phase II tombs= First Intermediate Period
 (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Theban Dynasty 11)

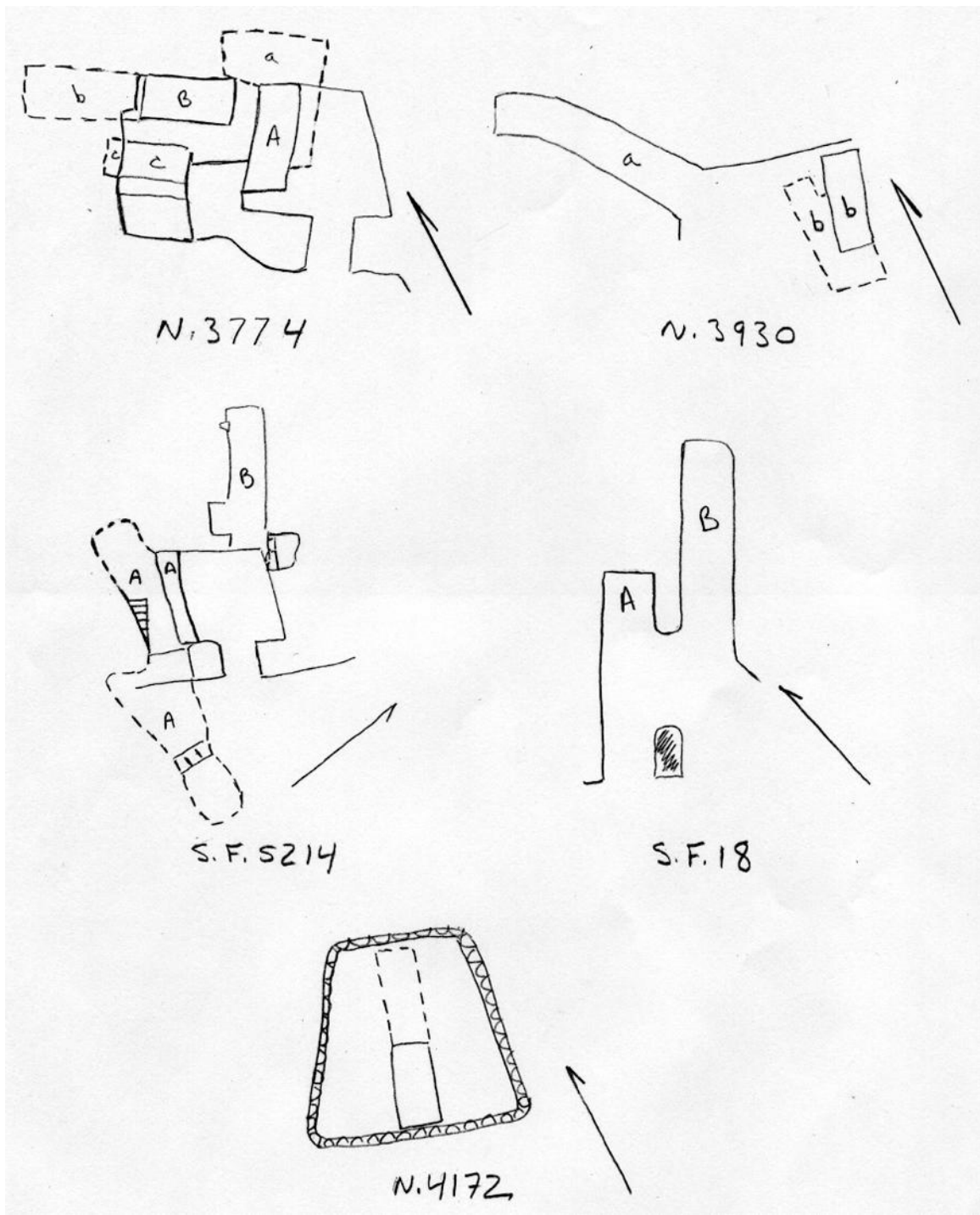


Plate 5. Phase II tombs

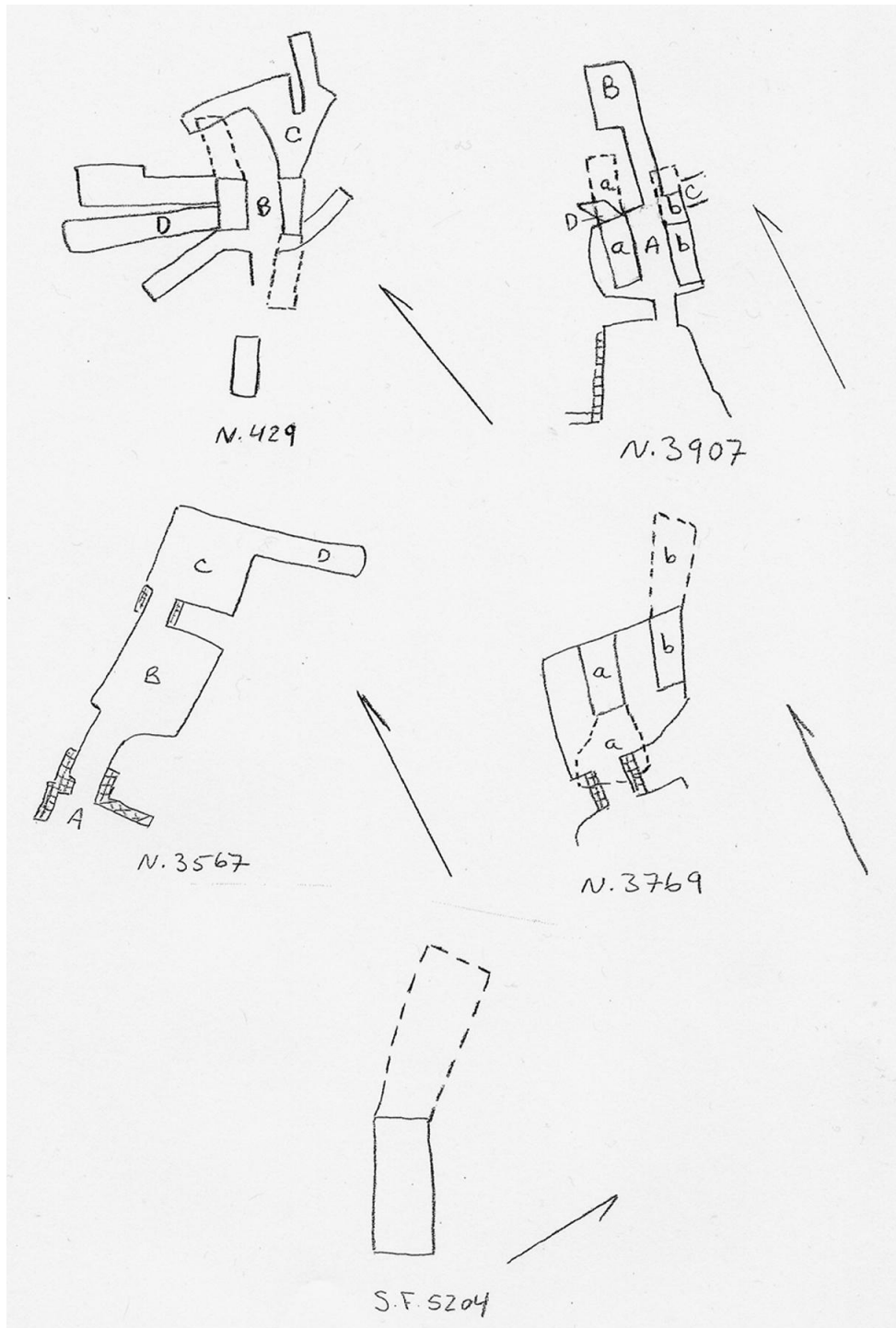


Plate 6. Phase II tombs

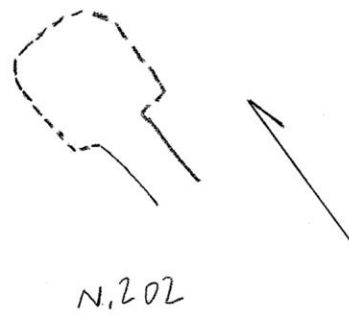
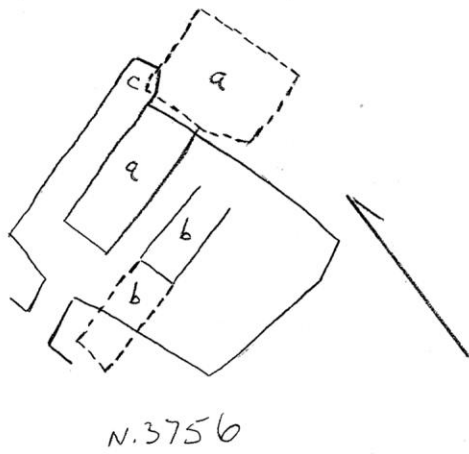
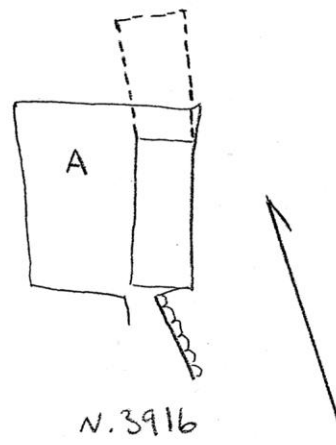
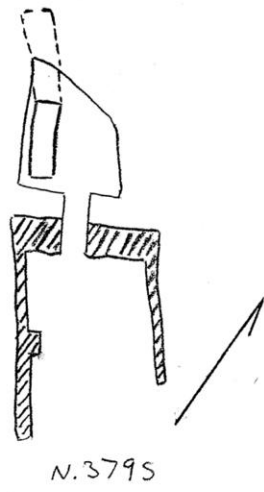
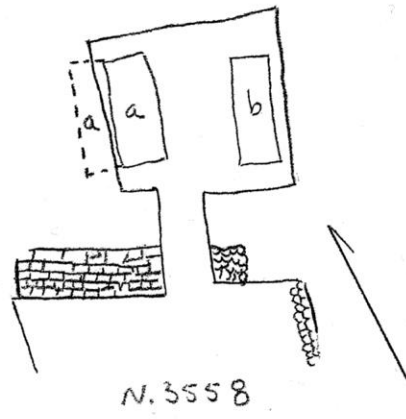
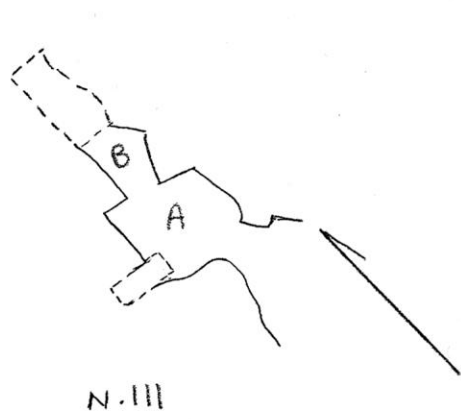


Plate 7. Phase II tombs

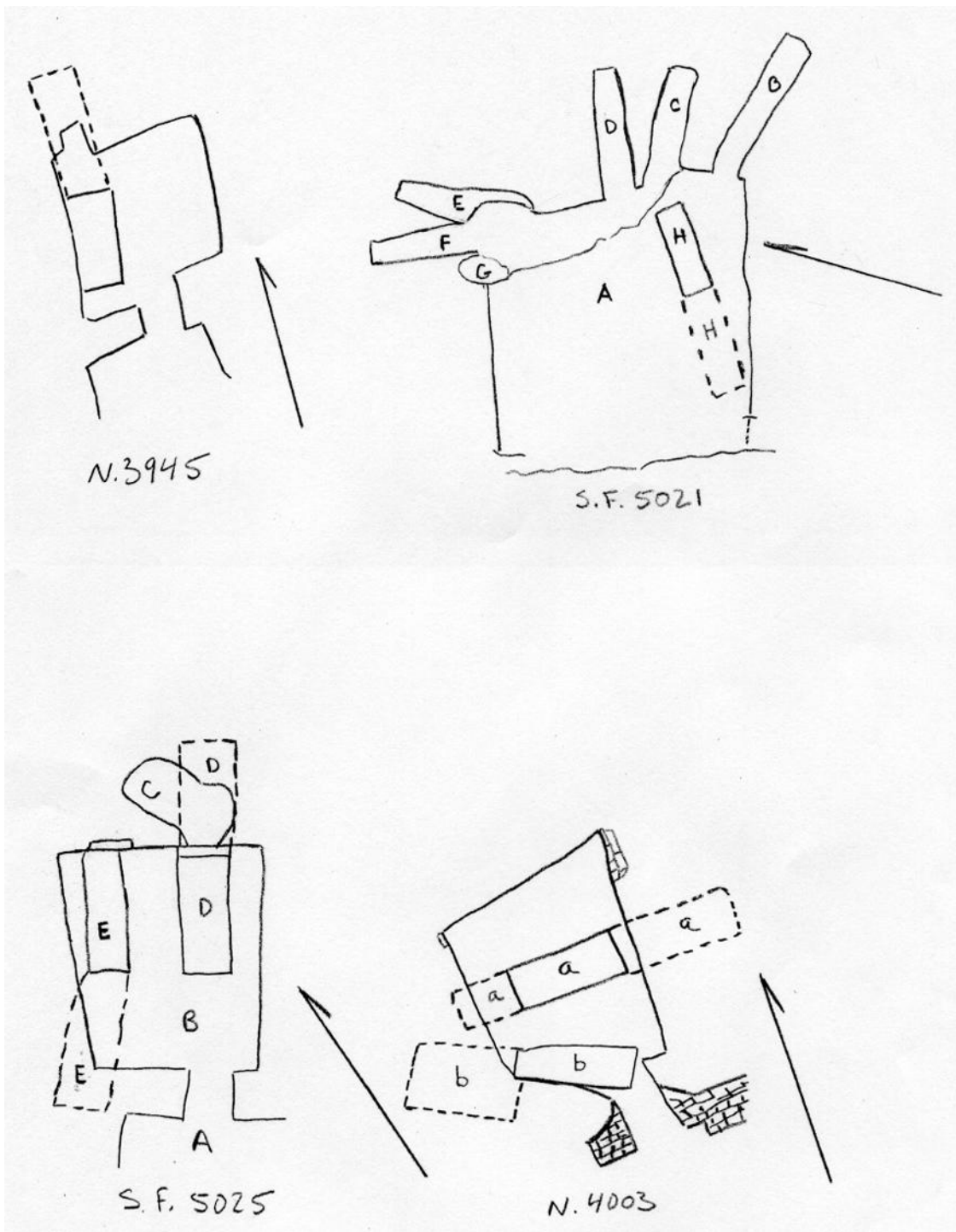


Plate 8. Phase III tombs= Early Middle Kingdom (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12)

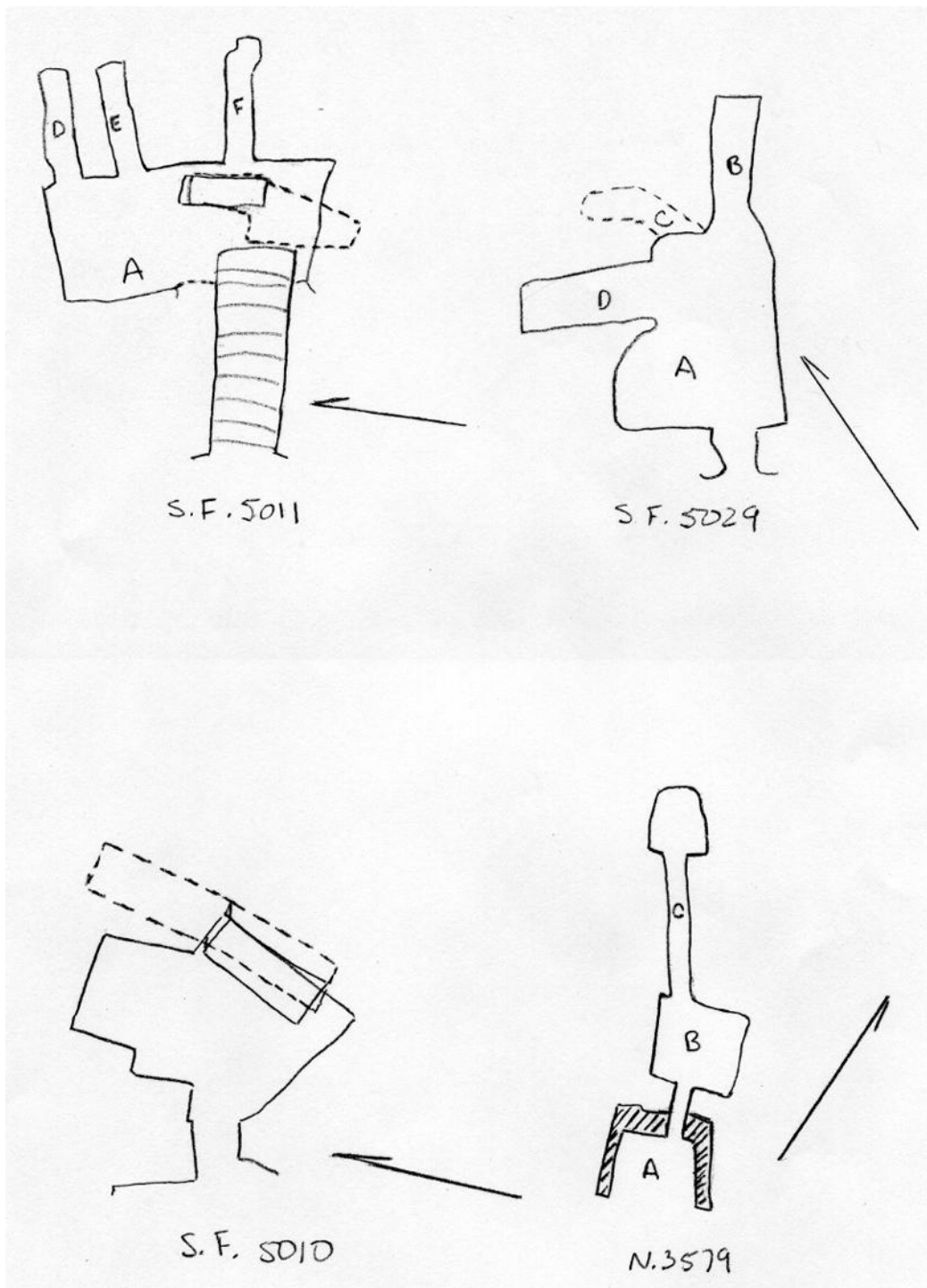


Plate 9. Phase III tombs

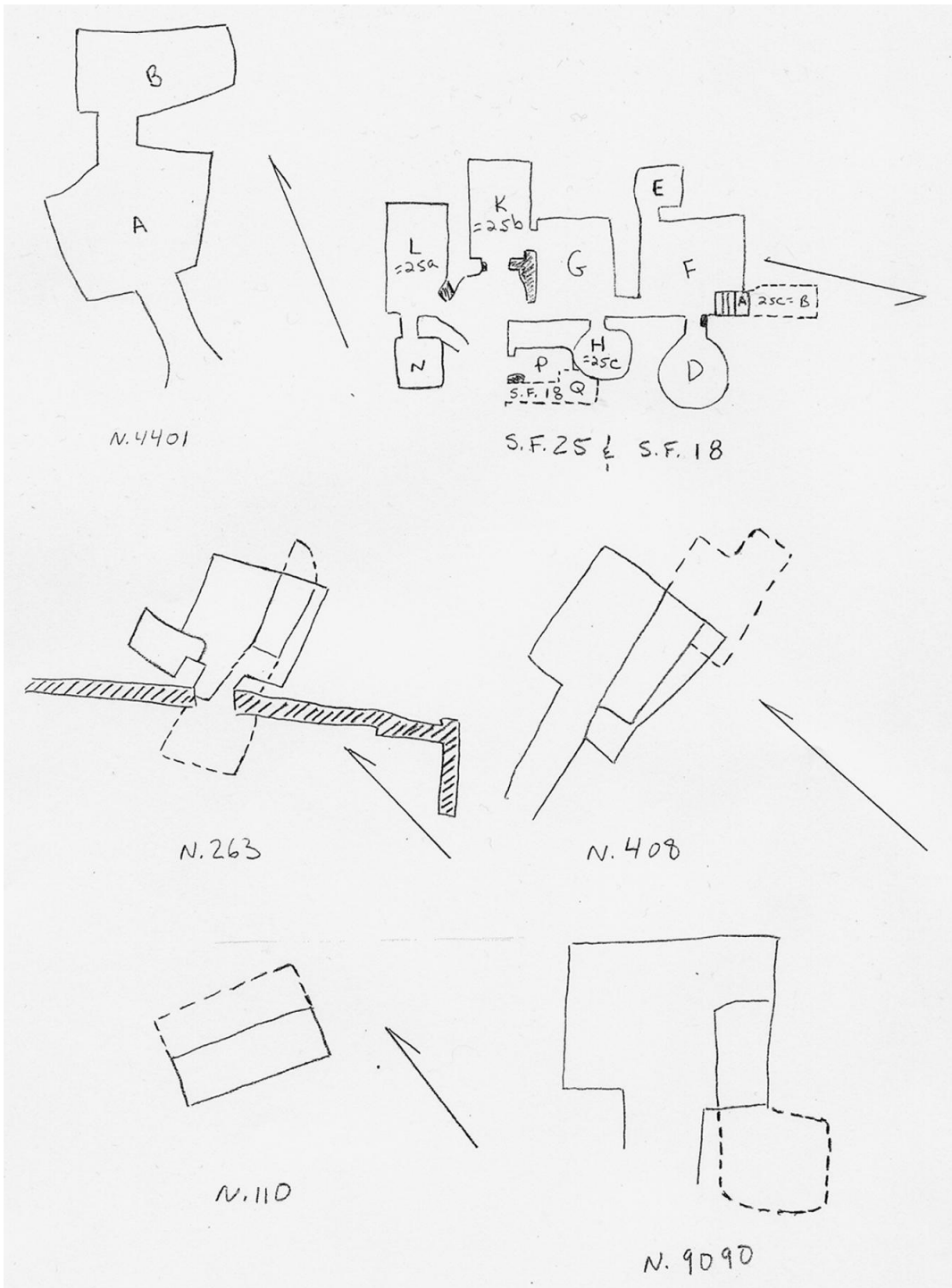
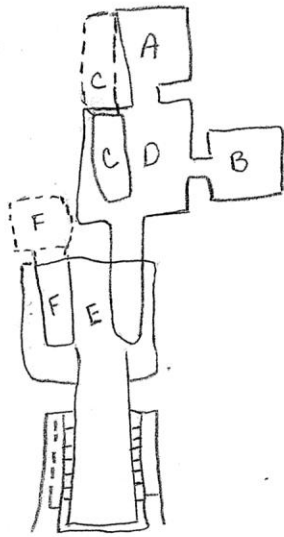
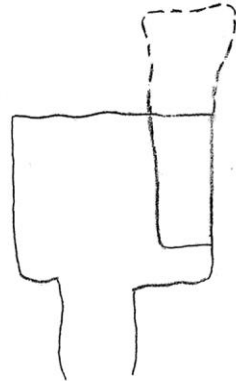


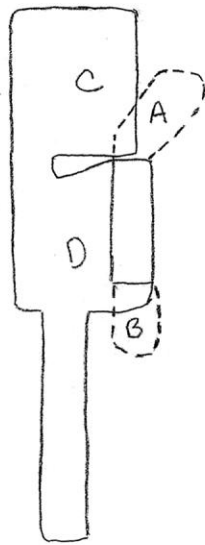
Plate 10. Phase III tombs



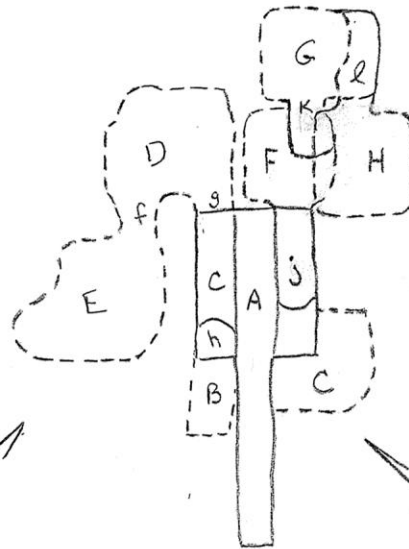
N. 9091



N. 9292



S.F. 167



S.F. 187

Plate 11. Phase III tombs

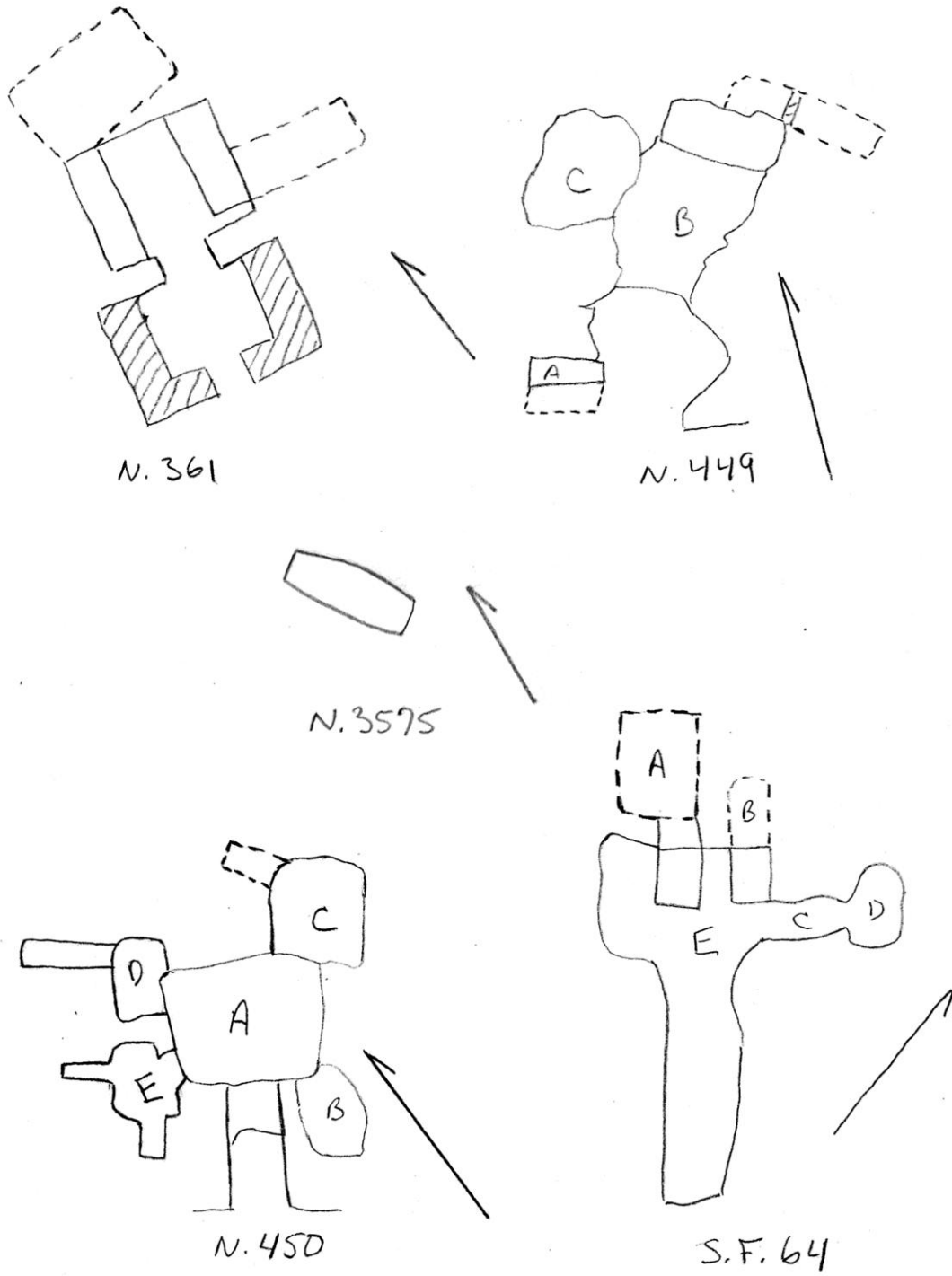


Plate 12. Phase III and IV tombs= early and late Middle Kingdoms
 (reunification Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12, mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

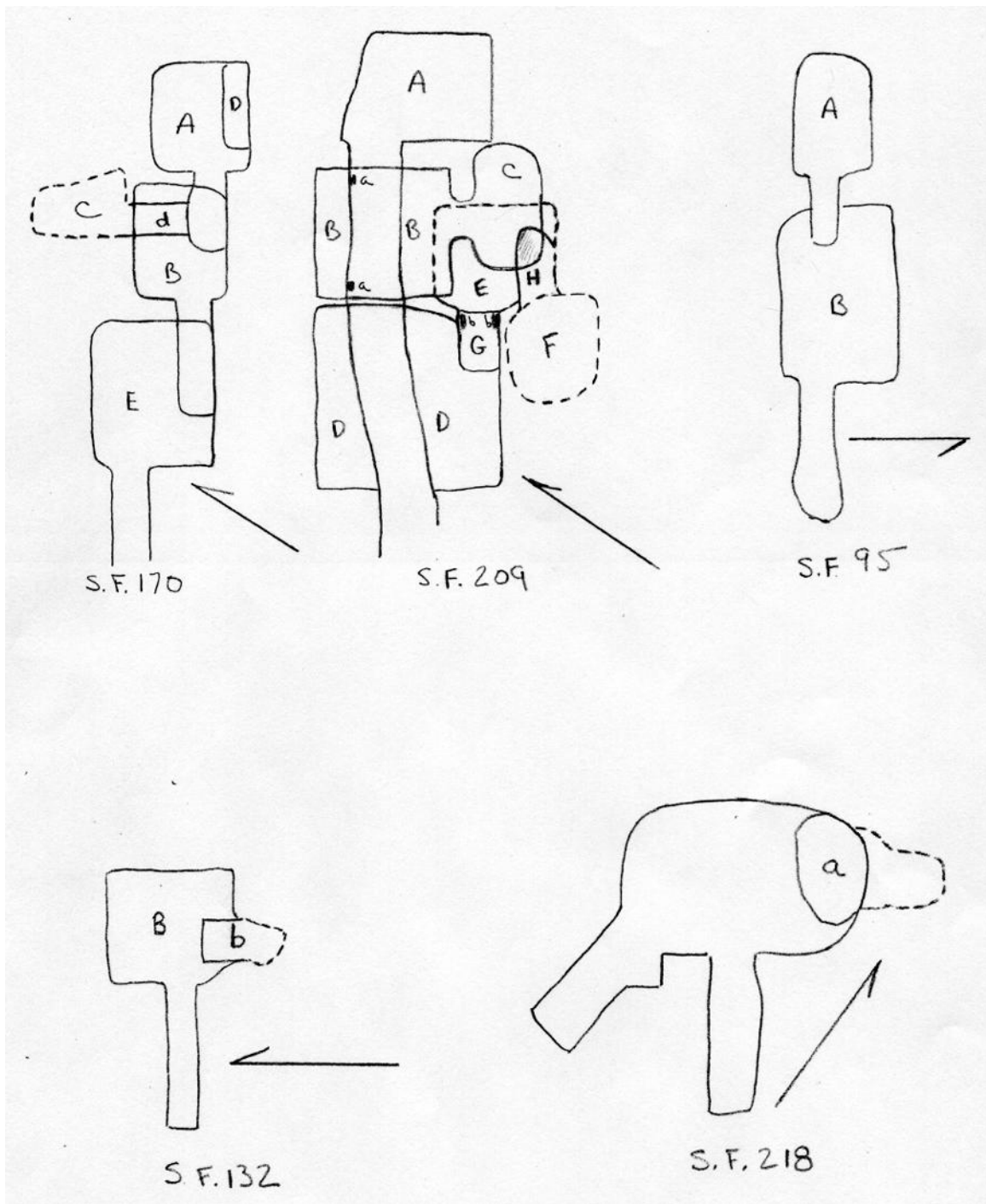


Plate 13. Phase IV tombs

Appendix I: Titles of Model Owners

Male Titled Tomb Owners

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Twn Knmwt</i>	Support of the <i>Knmwt</i> -people	N.67/69 (<i>Spss</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 whꜥ(w)</i> <i>nw(w) n spꜣt</i>	Overseer of fishers, fowlers and hunters of the nome	S.F.5202 (<i>H3gi</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 msꜥ</i>	Expedition leader	N.248 (<i>Tmrry</i>), S.F.5202 (<i>H3gi</i>)	N.3900 (<i>In-It.fꜣ</i> , name lost), S.F.18 (<i>Hmwy</i>)		5
<i>Imy-r3 msꜥ n Šmꜥw</i> <i>Mhw</i>	Expedition leader of Upper and of Lower Egypt		N.3900 (<i>Hti</i> , good name <i>Iti</i>)		1
<i>Imy-r3 nmt</i>	Overseer of the (temple) slaughterhouse	N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 hm(w) ntr</i>	Overseer of the <i>hm</i> <i>ntr</i> priests/god's servants	N.248 & N.71 (<i>Tmrry</i>), N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)	N.3737 (<i>Mrw/Iy ꜣw</i>), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>)		4
<i>Imy-r3 hm(w) ntr(w)</i> <i>n Inhr.t</i>	Overseer of priests of Onuris	N.71 (<i>Tmrry</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 hnty(w)-š (n)</i> <i>pr-š</i>	Overseer of land- tenants of the Great House		N.3567 (<i>Sfti</i>)		1
<i>Imy-r3 [ssr]</i>	Overseer of clothes	N.11 (<i>Hni</i>)			

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Imy-r3 šn-β nb n sp3t</i>	Overseer of all vegetation of the nome	S.F.5202 (<i>Hβgi</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 šn-β</i>	Overseer of vegetation	N.89 (<i>Hβgi</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 šnt(w)</i>	Overseer of disputes	S.F.5202 (<i>Hβgi</i>), N.89 (<i>Hβgi</i>)	N.429 (<i>Wh3</i>)		3
<i>Imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt irrt m T3-wr</i>	Overseer of all royal works which are executed in the Thinite nome	N.248 (<i>Imrry</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 k3t nbt wdt irrt m T3-wr</i>	Overseer of all work which is commanded to be done in the Thinite nome	N.71 & N.248 (<i>Imrry</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 k3t m ḥwt-ntr</i>	Overseer of work in the temple		N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>)		1
<i>Imy-r3 kmt ᵚnh (?) read ḥᵚ</i>	Overseer of the thousand black cattle		N.3567 (<i>Sḥt</i>)		1
<i>Imy-r3 kmt Imy-r3 ḏsrt m3ᵚ</i>	True overseer of black (cattle) and of red cattle	S.F.5202 (<i>Hβgi</i>)			1
<i>Imy-r3 tpwt nbwt nt Smsw m3ḥw</i>	Overseer of all the <i>tpwt</i> of the retinue of the <i>m3ḥw</i>		N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>)		1

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Imy-r3 tbww</i>	Overseer of sandal makers		S.F.5214 (<i>Wsr</i>)		1
<i>Iry-pꜣt</i>	Hereditary prince/nobleman/keeper of the patricians		N.3737 (<i>Mrw</i>), N.3765 (<i>Tby</i>), N.3900 (<i>Iti-ꜣ</i> , <i>Hti</i> , name lost), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>), N.3930 (<i>Mꜣ-ḥrw</i>), N.3907 [<i>W]ḥ[3]i</i> (?)	N.4003 (<i>Ppy-im3</i>)	9
<i>Iry nfr-ḥ3t m db3 nb.f ntr.f n niwty</i>	Keeper of the headdress in attiring his lord, (namely) his city/local god		N.3737 (<i>Mrw</i>)		1
<i>Wr dhꜥ</i>	Great/chief of leather crafts		S.F.5214 (<i>Wsr</i>)		1
<i>Mdw rḥyt</i>	Staff of the Rekhyet-people/commoners/herdsman of <i>rekhyt</i>	N.67/69 (<i>Špss/Impy</i>)			1
<i>H3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count	N.89 (<i>H3gti</i>)	N.3737 (<i>Mrw</i>), N.3765 (<i>Tby</i>), N.3900 (<i>Iti-ꜣ</i> , <i>Hti</i> , <i>In-it.f</i> ꜣ, <i>In-it.f šri</i> , name lost), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>), S.F.18 (<i>Hinwy</i>), N.3930 (<i>Mꜣ-ḥrw</i>), N.4172 (<i>Ibi</i>), N.3907 (<i>In-it.f</i> , [<i>W]ḥ[3]i</i> (?))	S.F.5025 (<i>Iti</i>), N.4003 (<i>Ppy-im3</i>)	16

Title/rank- Transliteration	Title/rank- Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Hry-sš3 <n htm- ntr> m t-3t</i>	Privy to the secret (of the god's treasure) in the great chamber		N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>)		1
<i>Hry-sš3 n htm-ntr</i>	Privy to the secret of the god's treasure	N.11 (<i>Hni</i> , title restored)	N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>)		
<i>Hry-tp 3 T3-wr</i>	Great overlord of the Thinite nome	N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)			1
<i>Hry-tp 3 n sp3t T3- wr</i>	Great overlord of the Thinite nome	N.248 (<i>Tmrry</i>)			1
<i>Hry-tp 3 n T3-wr</i>	Great overlord of the Thinite nome	N.248 (<i>Tmrry</i>)			1
<i>Hry-tp 3 m sp3t</i>	Great overlord in the Nome		S.F.18 (<i>Hnwy</i>)		1
<i>[Hry-tp d3t] n mnht</i>	[Overlord/supervisor of the wardrobe] of linen	N.11 (<i>Hni</i>)			1
<i>Hry-tp d3t [ssp.t?] m hwt-ntr</i>	Overlord/Supervisor of the wardrobe of [<i>ssp.t</i> -cloth?] in the temple	N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)			1
<i>Hk3 hwt</i>	Estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/field district	N.248 (<i>Sfh</i> , son), N.67/69 (<i>Spss/Impy</i>), S.F.5203 (<i>Dd-Inhrt- nh</i>), S.F.5202 (<i>H3gi</i>), N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)			5

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Hnty(w)-š (n) pr-š</i>	Land-tenants/tenant farmers, attendants of the Great House		N.3567 (<i>Sfhi</i>)		1
<i>Htm(ty)-bity</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt	S.F.5203 (<i>Dd-Imhrt-nh</i>), S.F.5202 (<i>H3gi</i>), N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>)	N.3737 (<i>Mrw/Iy 3w</i>), N.3765 (<i>Tby</i>), N.3900 (<i>Iti-š</i> , name lost), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>), N.3930 (<i>MB^c-hrw, Ikr-itw</i>), N.4172 (<i>Ibi</i>), N.429 (<i>Wh3</i>), N.3567 (<i>Sfhi</i>), N.3907 (<i>In-it.f</i> , [<i>W]h[3]i</i> (?))	S.F.5025 (<i>Iti</i>), N.4003 (<i>Ppy-im3</i>)	17
<i>Hry-hbt</i>	Lector priest, “he who carries the ritual book”		N.3765 (<i>Tby</i>), N.3900 (<i>Iti-š</i> , <i>Hti</i> , name lost), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>), N.429 (<i>Wh3</i>), N.3907 (<i>In-it.f</i> , [<i>W]h[3]i</i> (?))	N.4003 (<i>Ppy-im3</i>)	9
<i>Hry-tp nswt</i>	King’s liegeman/royal chamberlain, “he who is under the head of the King”	N.248 (<i>Imrry</i>), N.67/69 (<i>Spss/Impy</i>)			2
<i>S3b šd-mr, šd-mr (n) S3b</i>	Judicial <i>šd-mr</i> official (or Judge and border official)	N.248 (<i>Imrry</i>)			1

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late Dynasty 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Smr-wꜣty</i>	Sole companion	N.248 (<i>Tmrry</i> , <i>Sfḥ</i>), N.67/69 (<i>Špss</i>), S.F.5203 (<i>Dd-Inḥrt- ꜣnlj</i>), S.F.5202 (<i>H3gi</i>), N.89 (<i>H3gi</i>), N.105 (<i>Kky</i>)	N.3737 (<i>MrwIy 3w</i>), N.3765 (<i>Tby</i>), N.3900 (<i>Iti-3</i> , <i>Hti</i> , <i>In-it.f</i> ꜣ3, name lost), N.3774 (<i>Hni</i>), S.F.18 (<i>Hmwy</i>), N.3930 (<i>Ikr-itw</i>), N.4172 (<i>Ibi</i>), N.429 (<i>Wh3</i>), N.3567 (<i>Sfḥi</i>), N.3769 (<i>Nfr-iwnw</i>), N.3907 (<i>In-it.f</i> , [<i>W</i>]h[3]i (?), <i>P3i</i>) N.3558 (<i>Inḥrt-sn-nfr</i>)	N.4003 (<i>Ppy-im3</i>)	23
<i>Tbw nswt</i>	Royal sandal maker				1

Female Titled Tomb Owners

Title/rank-Transliteration	Title/rank-Translation	Phase I Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)	Phase II First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-10/early Theban 11)	Phase III Early Middle Kingdom (Late 11-Early Dynasty 12)	Total
<i>Tryt ht nswt/rht nswt</i>	One who is known to the king, king's/royal acquaintance, who is concerned with the things of the king, custodian of the king's property	N.248 (<i>Int-kmt</i>), N.248 & N.71 (<i>Int-[T3-wr]</i>), N.67/69 (<i>Int-kmt</i>), N.43 (<i>Tti</i>)			4
<i>Hm(t)-ntr Hthr</i>	Priestess of Hathor	N.248 (<i>Int-kmt</i>), N.248 & N.71 (<i>Int-[T3-wr]</i>), N.67/69 (<i>Int-kmt</i>), S.F.5202 (<i>Mry</i>)	S.F.533/536 (<i>Iy</i>), N.3900 <i>Htp.ti</i> (wife of <i>Iti</i> ʕ3), <i>Mri.t</i> (wife of <i>In-it.f</i> ʕ3), name lost (wife of expedition leader), N.3774 (<i>Kyt</i>), N.3930 (<i>Idi</i>)		10
<i>Hkrt nswt</i>	Ornament of the king, she (one) who is ornamented by the king, Lady-in-waiting	N.248 (<i>Int-kmt</i>), N.67/69 (<i>Int-kmt</i>)		N.4003 (<i>H^c-nfr</i> , unnamed woman)	4
<i>Hkrt nswt w^ctt</i>	Lady-in-waiting of the first rank, sole lady in waiting of the king, sole ornamented one of the king	N.241 (<i>Spst</i>)	S.F.533/536 (<i>Iy</i>), N.3900 <i>Htp.ti</i> (wife of <i>Iti</i> ʕ3), <i>Hnyt</i> (wife of <i>Hti</i>), <i>Mri.t</i> (wife of <i>In-it.f</i> ʕ3), name lost (wife of expedition leader), N.3774 (<i>Kyt</i>), N.3930 (<i>Idi</i>)		8

Appendix J: Provenanced Kitchen Models (Excluding Naga ed-Deir)

*= denotes fragment

I. Old Kingdom, Dynasties 4-5- single statuettes

A. Miller with quern- 22, 5*

- 1) CG 115, from mastaba C27 at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 122; Borchardt 1911: 89, and Pl. 25; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96);
- 2) CG 110, kneeling woman, from mastaba D20 of *Wr-irni* at Saqqara, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*dt, Iti-wr*) (Borchardt 1897: 122; Borchardt 1911: 86, and Pl. 24; Breasted 1948: 17; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96; Hill 1999: 386; Umesao 2001: 62, Cat. 28);
- 3) CG 114, from mastaba D20 of *Wr-irni* at Saqqara, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*dt, Is^ct*) (Borchardt 1897: 122; Borchardt 1911: 88-89, and Pl. 25; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96; Tooley 1995: 20, Fig. 9, and 28, Fig. 19; Hill 1999: 386);
- 4) Louvre E.7704bis, elderly female miller sitting (resting) in front of saddle quern, from a tomb at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 24-25, Pls. 25d; Ziegler 1997: 38, 239-240, Cat. 76);
- 5) OIM 10622, kneeling female miller, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*s3t.f, Nbt-m-pt*) (Breasted 1948: 18, Pl. 15a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96);
- 6) OIM 10638, kneeling female miller, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 19, Pl. 17a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96);
- 7) OIM 10637, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, described as squatting woman pouring grain onto grinding stone in Breasted (1948: 17, Pl. 16a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96, and Pl. 28c);
- 8) ?, fragmentary miller statuette from mastaba of *Shnt-K3-Hr* and *N(y)-^cnh-šrt* at Giza, Dynasty 5? (S. Hassan 1943: 199, Pl. 55B,C; Breasted 1948: 20);
- 9) PAHMA 6-19766, from G1213 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 65, 96, Fig. 15; Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 39; Hill 1999: 387-388, Cat. 136);
- 10) PAHMA 6-19812, from G1213 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 65, 96, Fig. 15; Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 53);
- 11) Ob. Reg. 38-4-4= BMFA 38.2129, from G2088 of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth*, fragmentary female miller grinding grain, wears elaborate painted necklace (Breasted 1948: 19; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96; Roth 1995: 82, Fig. 40, Pl. 33b; Hill 1999: 386);
- 12) Ob. Reg. 38-4-6= BMFA 38.2148, fragment of female miller, from G2088, tomb of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth* (Roth 1995: 81, Fig. 31a, Pl. 32a; Hill 1999: 386);
- 13) Ob. Reg. 38-4-7= BMFA 38.2149, upper legs of female miller, from G2088, tomb of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth* (Roth 1995: 82, Fig. 36, Pl. 32a);
- 14) BMFA 12.1486, limestone kneeling female miller, from G2185 (Breasted 1948: 20, Pl. 19b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 74; D'Auria et al. 1988: 90-91, Cat. 21);
- 15) BMFA 21.2601, female miller from tomb G2415, tomb of *Wri* and *Mti* (Breasted 1948: 18, Pl. 16b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 75, 96, Fig. 15; Hill 1999: 386);
- 16) Ob. Reg. 36-6-52= J.E.67572, female miller from tomb G2422, shaft C (Breasted 1948: 18; Stevenson Smith 1949: 65, 76, 96, Fig. 15);

- 17) Ob. Reg. 14-3-62 + BMFA 14.1456, Ob. Reg. 14-3-25 + 14.1479, base and knee fragments of a female miller from G4522, Dynasty 5 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 72, 96);
- 18) Leipzig 2567, kneeling female miller, from mastaba D29 at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 19, Pl. 18b; Krauspe 1997a: 42, Fig. 36, given as 2667; Krauspe 1997b: 77, and Pl. 72.1-4, Cat. 132);
- 19) Hildesheim Inv. 19, kneeling female miller from mastaba D20 of *Tp-m-ḥnh* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 19, Pl. 18a, given as Inv. 19; Porter and Moss 1974: 112, attributed to mastaba D 39/40; Eggebrecht 1996: 30, Fig. 22, Inv. 9; Hill 1999: 386);
- 20) Hildesheim Inv. 20, kneeling female miller, from mastaba D 39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 19, Pl. 20a; Porter and Moss 1974: 112);
- 21) KMW 7500, female miller from tomb of *Pth-Šps* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Junker 1944: 110, Pl. 20b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 96);
- 22) J.E.87819 and ?, two miller statuettes of *Sd-Htp* found between mastabas of *Sd-Htp* and *Mdw-nfr* at Giza (S. Hassan 1941: 111, Pls. 34-36; Breasted 1948: 20; Hill 1999: 386);
- 23) J.E.87818, female miller statuette from shaft 637 in mastaba of *ḥnh-tf* at Giza (S. Hassan 1944: 233, Pl. 25; Breasted 1948: 20);
- 24) Cairo (number unknown), female miller statuette from rock-cut tomb of *Ny-wd3-Pth* at Giza (Abu-Bakr 1953: 106, and Pl. 60; Hill 1999: 386);
- 25) J.E.72234, female miller, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hth*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*ḥm(t)-k3, Hnwt-sn*) (S. Hassan 1950: 177-78, and Pl. 74);
- 26) Leiden F1934/12.1, limestone female miller, found by Ballard in a tomb near G1225, Dynasty 5? (Breasted 1948: 20, 1, and Pl. 19a; Porter and Moss 1974: 59-60, attributed to Giza; Schneider 1981: 48-49, Fig. 26, attributed to Saqqara);

B. Baker forming loaves- 9

- 1) CG 322, kneeling man forming loaves, from Saqqara mastaba D47, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 125; Borchardt 1911: 186);
- 2) CG 323, kneeling man forming loaves, from Saqqara mastaba D47, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 125; Borchardt 1911: 186);
- 3) CG 329, kneeling man forming loaves, head lost, from a tomb at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 125; Borchardt 1911: 188-189, and Pl. 58);
- 4) Louvre E.7704, kneeling man shaping loaves on tray, from a tomb at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 26-27, Pl. 26d; Stevenson Smith 1948: 98; Ziegler 1997: 237-238, Cat. 75);
- 5) CG 109, probably from a tomb at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 124; Borchardt 1911: 85, 186-187, and Pl. 24; Stevenson Smith 1948: 91, Fig. 17, and 98; Breasted 1948: 27);
- 6) ?, man kneading dough or forming loaves (headless), from tomb of *H^c-mr-r-nbty II*, Giza, late Dynasty 4/early Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 26; Hill 1999: 386);
- 7) OIM 10624, man squatting with feet drawn back under body, molding cakes or loaves, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*s3.f, Mnw-h^c.f*) (Breasted 1948: 26, Pl. 26b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98; Tooley 1995: 30, Fig. 21);
- 8) Munich 4862, statuette of man shaping dough, Steindorff Excavations (1903-06), Giza, Dynasty 5 (Porter and Moss 1974: 177, dated Dynasty 6);

- 9) J.E.72233, kneeling man forming loaves on sloping tray, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*hm-k3, Inpw-šši*) (S. Hassan 1950: 180-81, and Pl. 79A,B, activity described as “dyeing?”);

C. Baker kneading dough- 3

- 1) Leipzig 2570, standing man(?) leans over pottery container with dough(?), from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 42, Pl. 41b; Krauspe 1997b: 74-75, and Pl. 68.1-4, Cat. 128);
- 2) Leipzig 2572, standing man leans over pottery container kneading dough(?), from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 42, Pl. 41a; Krauspe 1997b: 75, and Pl. 162.1-2. Cat.128a);
- 3) J.E.72231, kneeling woman kneading dough in vat between her knees, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*hm(t)-k3, Ny-m3^ct-Hthr*) (S. Hassan 1950: 181, and Pl. 80A-C; Umesao 2001: 58, Cat. 24);

D. Flour sifter- 7

- 1) J.E. 35313, squatting woman with knees drawn up and basket in front of her, from Saqqara, excavated 1901, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 25; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98);
- 2) J.E. 89385, squatting woman with knees drawn up and round basket in front of her, from Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Porter and Moss 1974: 698; Umesao 2001: 60, Cat. 25);
- 3) Ob. Reg. 27-5-4= BMFA 30.1458, kneeling woman (head lost) in asymmetrical pose holding basket tray with wicker sieve on top on lap, from G7530 +40, from tomb of *Mr.s-^cnḥ* III, late Dynasty 4/early Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 25, Pl. 25b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 43, Fig. 14a and 98; Dunham and Simpson 1974: 23; Tooley 1989: 2; Hill 1999: 386);
- 4) Leipzig 2564, squatting woman with knees drawn up and basket/sieve in front of her, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 25, Pl. 25c; Krauspe 1997b: 75-76, and Pl. 69.1-4, Cat. 129; Hill 1999: 394-395, Cat. 142);
- 5) OIM 10633, squatting woman with knees drawn up and rectangular basket/tray in front of her, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 25, Pl. 25a);
- 6) OIM 10623, squatting woman with knees drawn up and round tray in front of her, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*dt, Smrt*) (Breasted 1948: 25, Pl. 26a);
- 7) J.E.87820, female flour sifter (head lost), from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*hm(t)-k3, ...Phrt*) (S. Hassan 1950: 178, and Pl. 75);

E. Baker preheating molds – 6,3*

- 1) CG 108, from mastaba D4 at Saqqara, no bread molds or poker remaining, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 125, left photo; Borchardt 1911: 84-85, Pl. 24; Breasted 1948: 29; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98);
- 2) BMFA 21.2600, woman before stacked bread molds with left hand raised to ward off heat, from G2415, tomb of *Wri* and *Mti*, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 27, Pl. 28b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 65, 75, 98, Fig. 15; Hill 1999: 386; Freed et al. 2003: 95);

- 3) OIM 10634, man tends pile of rectangular (flat) bread molds on hearth, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*s3.f, Hw[fw]-im3*) (Breasted 1948: 28, Pl. 26c);
- 4) Hildesheim Inv. 2140, male baker, from tomb of *Pth-Šps*, Giza, Dynasty 5 (Junker 1944: 111, Pl. 19, 20b, 22c; Breasted 1948: 28, Pl. 28a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98; Tooley 1995: 30, Fig. 22);
- 5) J.E. 37822, female baker in front of stacked bread molds, from mastaba D39/40 of *D33* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 29; Stevenson Smith 1948: 98; Porter and Moss 1974: 111);
- 6) ?, baker from serdab near shaft S165, Giza (Breasted 1948: 29; Stevenson Smith 1949: 98);
- 7) BMFA 06.1887, model accessory, stone stacked bread molds from G 2004, tomb of *Pth-Hnw*, mid Dynasty 5 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 69, 93-94, 98);
- 8) J.E.72227, female baker with head turned to side and left arm upraised to touch neck, front part of base (with stacked bread molds) broken off, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5 (S. Hassan 1950: 180, and Pl. 78A-C);
- 9) ?, male baker with left knee bent up before him and right leg bent under him (head, arms and front of base lost), from debris of shaft 366 in mastaba of *Kdns*, Giza, Dynasty 5 (S. Hassan 1936: 103, and Pl. 29.3,4);

F. Brewer straining mash into vat - 12,2*

- 1) CG118, from mastaba D20 of *Wr-irni* at Saqqara, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*dt, Whm-nfrit*) (Borchardt 1897: 131; Borchardt: 1911, 90-91, Pl. 26; Breasted 1948: 32; Hill 1999: 386);
- 2) CG117, male brewer from a tomb at Saqqara (Borchardt 1911: 90, Pl. 26; Breasted 1948: 30);
- 3) ?, from tomb of *H^c-mr-r-nbty* II, Giza, late Dynasty 4/early Dynasty 5 (Daressy 1910: 47; Breasted 1948: 32);
- 4) Ob. Reg. 27-5-6= BMFA 27.2025.1-4, broken female brewer, from tomb of *Mr.s-^cnh* III, G7530 + 40, head and lower arms missing, late Dynasty 4/early Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 30, and Pl. 29b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 43, Fig. 14a, and 96; Dunham and Simpson 1974: 23; Tooley 1989: 2; Hill 1999: 386);
- 5) J.E. 66624, painted female brewer from tomb of *Mrs-^cnh* (man) at Giza, Dynasty 5 (S. Hassan 1932: 115, Pl. 71; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: Cat. 52; Tooley 1995: 31, Fig. 23; Hill 1999: 386);
- 6) PAHMA 6-19811, female brewer, from G1213, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 31; Elsasser and Frederickson 1966: 45);
- 7) Ob. Reg. 39-3-4, male brewer (head lost) from G2088, tomb of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth*, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*Htp.n.s?*) (Roth 1995: 82, Fig. 44, Pl. 33a; Hill 1999: 386);
- 8) Ob. Reg. 39-3-3, base with feet of female brewer statuette from G2088, tomb of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth*, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*Sti-mw*) (Roth 1995: 83, Fig. 43, Pl. 32b; Hill 1999: 386);
- 9) Ob. Reg. 38-4-8 + 39-3-4, male brewer statuette (broken), from G2230, Dynasty 5;
- 10) Hildesheim Inv. 18, male brewer, from mastaba D39/40 of *D33* at Giza (Breasted 1948: 31, Pl. 30a; Eggebrecht 1996: 31, Fig. 23);

- 11) Leipzig 2565, standing woman leaning over cauldron with 4 supports, right hand holds a cup to dip liquid from the cauldron or a sieve to strain fermented bread from the liquid, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 33, Pl. 32b; Tooley 1995: 31-32; Krauspe 1997b: 76, and Pl. 70.1-4, Cat. 130);
- 12) OIM 10635, woman leans over basin and dips up liquid in a small receptacle or holds sieve to strain fermented bread from the liquid, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*s3t.f Mr(t)*) (Stevenson Smith 1949: 97 and Pl. 28f; and Teeter 2003a: 22-23);
- 13) ?, model vat from brewer statuette, from tomb of *Pth-Špss* at Giza (Junker 1944: 94);
- 14) J.E.72228, male brewer, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*Wr-di*) (S. Hassan 1950: 180, and Pl. 79C-E);

G. Jar cleaner/sealer- 10

- 1) CG 112, from Saqqara mastaba D54, male jar cleaner w/3 extra jars (broken & lost), Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt: 1911: 87, and Pl. 25; Breasted 1948: 46; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: Cat. 53, action described as coating interior of jar with clay);
- 2) CG 113, from mastaba D56 at Saqqara, squatting male jar cleaner w/out extra jars, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt: 1911: 88, and Pl. 25; Breasted 1948: 46; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; Tooley 1995: 32, Fig. 25);
- 3) CG 116, from mastaba D20 of *Wr-Irni* at Saqqara, male jar cleaner w/out extra jars (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt: 1911: 89-90, and Pl. 26; Breasted 1948: 46; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; Hill 1999: 386; Umesao 2001: 61, Cat. 26);
- 4) BMFA 39.834, male jar cleaner statuette (broken), from G2230, Dynasty 5;
- 5) Ob. Reg. 36-5-30= J.E.67570, nude man cleaning jar, from G2420, shaft D (Breasted 1948: 47, Pl. 44c; Stevenson Smith 1949: 91, Fig. 18a, 97);
- 6) OIM 10630, man sealing jar, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 16, Pl. 14a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97);
- 7) Leipzig 2563, seated man cleaning or coating jar interior with additional jars from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 47, Pl. 44a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97; Krauspe 1997a: 39-40, Fig. 34; Krauspe 1997b: 73-74, and Pl. 67.1-4, Cat. 127);
- 8) Leipzig 2569, standing man leaning over basket of pots to be used for beer or wine, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 47, Pl. 44d);
- 9) Hildesheim Inv. 2142, (broken) seated man wiping out jar, from tomb of *Pth-Špss* at Giza, inscribed (*Iy-šm3*) (Junker 1944: 111, Pl. 22d; Breasted 1948: 47, Pl. 44b; Krauspe 1997b: 72-73, and Pl. 65.1-4, Cat. 125);
- 10) J.E.72229, man cleaning jars, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*hm-k3, Hmrr?*) (S. Hassan 1950: 179, and Pl. 76A,D);

H. Butcher- 4

- 1) Ob. Reg. 27-5-8= BMFA 30.1462, squatting man cutting up calf (broken), from tomb of *Mr.s-nh* III, G7530 + 40, late Dynasty 4/early Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 35, and Pl. 32d; Stevenson Smith 1949: 43, Fig. 14b, and 100; Dunham and Simpson 1974: 23; Tooley 1989: 2; Hill 1999: 386);

- 2) J.E. 37823, standing man leaning over to slaughter tied calf, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 36; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100; Tooley 1995: 32, Fig. 26; Umesao 2001: 62, Cat. 27);
 - 3) OIM 10626, man cutting throat of ox, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 35, and Pl. 32a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100, and Pl. 28e; Hill 1999: 388-389, Cat. 137);
 - 4) OIM 10625, man slaughtering calf, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 36, Pl. 34b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100);
- I. Duck roaster- 4, 1*
- 1) CG 321, limestone duck roaster, from mastaba D47 at Saqqara, Dynasty 5 (Borchardt 1897: 127; Borchardt: 1911: 186);
 - 2) J.E. 37824, man with goose on brazier or being plucked, from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 42; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99);
 - 3) Ob. Reg. 38-4-3= BMFA 38.2147, squatting man cutting up goose, from tomb G2088 of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth*, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*N-n-ḥ*) (Breasted 1948: 43, Pl. 42d; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99, Fig. 18c; Roth 1995: 81, Fig. 33; Hill 1999: 386);
 - 4) J.E.72232, man cleaning goose, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*Ny-ḥ-isi*) (S. Hassan 1950: 178-79, and Pl. 76B,C);
 - 5) OIM 10644, limestone goose with head cut off lying on block, possible accessory to figure, from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 44, Pl. 98b, upper; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99; Teeter 2003a: 21);
- J. Cooking food in basin over a fire- 3
- 1) Leipzig 2562, man holds fan in left hand and with right hand grasps object partially submerged in cauldron (described as stirring pot of bread pellets or small morsels of fish or meat), from mastaba D39/40 of *D3š3* at Giza, Dynasty 5 (Breasted 1948: 45, and Pls. 42c, 43; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100; Tooley 1995: 35, Fig. 30, museum number given as 2526; Krauspe 1997a: 40-41, Fig. 35; Krauspe 1997b: 72, and Pl. 64.1-4, Cat. 124; Hill 1999: 395, Cat. 143);
 - 2) OIM 10629, man cooks cuts of meat in cauldron in one hand, holds fan in other from *Ny-k3w-Inpw* group at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*s3.f, Hnw*) (Breasted 1948: 44, and Pl. 42a,b; Stevenson Smith 1949: 100);
 - 3) J.E.72230, male cook, right hand grasps object partially submerged in cauldron, from mastaba of *Ny-k3w-Hthr*, Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*ḥm-k3, Rḥ-m-šm-k3*) (S. Hassan 1950: 179, and Pl. 77A-C);

II. Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5- paired figures

A. Miller and sifter- 1

- 1) Ob. Reg. 28-4-2= J.E.72139, broken paired statuette, standing miller pounding with pestle (*ḥnh-m3ḥs*) and squatting female flour sifter (*Nfirt-Int*), from tomb G2088 of *K3-hnt* and *Phn-Pth* at Giza, Dynasty 5, inscribed (*Nfirt-Int* and *ḥnh-mḥs*) (Breasted 1948: 29, Pl. 29a; Stevenson Smith 1949: 91, Fig. 18b; Roth 1995: 81, Fig. 32, and Pl. 32c; Hill 1999: 386);

III. Late Old Kingdom, Dynasties 6-8- single statuettes

A. Miller with quern- 6, 4*

- 1) Ash. (number unknown), female miller from Sedment, tomb 604 of *Nbi-m-hnn-nswt*, Dynasty 6 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 4, 14, Pl. 17.3; Breasted 1948: 21; Picton and Pridden 2008: 242, 258, PMAN 3415);
- 2) Ash. 1921.1423, female miller from Sedment, probably also from tomb 604 of *Nbi-m-hnn-nswt*, Dynasty 6 (Moorey 1992: 28, color plate VI; Picton and Pridden 2008: 116, 243, 260, PMAN 3448);
- 3) CG 504, Dahshur tomb S24 of *Špy*, kneeling miller with yellow skin and short wig, Dynasty 6 (Borchardt 1925: 73, and Pl. 86; Breasted 1948: 21, identified as female; Tooley 1989: 10, identified as male);
- 4) ?, model fragment, limestone bread oven, from tomb of *Išti* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Drioton and Lauer 1958: 217, Pl. XIb, center; Tooley 1989: 9);
- 5) ?, kneeling female statuette, probably miller, from tomb of *Nfr-hww-Pth* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Drioton and Lauer 1958: 246-247; Tooley 1989: 8);
- 6) ?, limestone saddle quern from wooden miller statuette, from tomb 213 at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 40);
- 7) Ob. Reg. 35-11-20, 35-11-2, 35-11-12= BMFA 37.653, BMFA 37.657, three limestone querns from G2347a= G5564 at Giza (Stevenson Smith 1949: 96, 98-99, Fig. 24); may be from three separate wooden statuettes or paired with ovens or bread molds from tomb;
- 8) Ob. Reg. 12-12-174, limestone base of kneeling female miller statuette from G2450B, Dynasty 6 (unpublished);
- 9) Louvre E.17238, crude limestone statuette of a kneeling female miller, from Dara, mastaba 1, pit A, late Old Kingdom (Ziegler 1997: 241-242, Cat. 77);
- 10) Louvre E.25213, crude limestone statuette of a kneeling female miller, from Dara, mastaba III, chamber 2 (Ziegler 1997: 38, 243-244, Cat. 78);

B. Woman with mortar- 1

- 1) J.E. 88580, standing female miller dehusking grain in tall mortar with pestle, from tomb of *Išti* at Saqqara, Dynasties 6-8 (Lauer 1950: 16-17, Pl. IIc, left; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 216, Pls. Xa-b, left and XIa, left; Tooley 1989: 8-9, 15);

C. Baker forming loaves- 3

- 1) CG 240, from tomb A1 of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, baker kneads dough or forms cakes on board, with slab oven in front, Dynasty 6 (Borchardt 1897: 124, 126; Borchardt 1911: 156, Pl. 50; Darby et al. 1977: 510, Fig. 12.6; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 2) CG 252, from tomb A1 of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, baker holds dough in one hand, scrapes up dough in other, Dynasty 6 (Borchardt 1897: 124; Borchardt 1911: 162, Pl. 54; Breasted 1948: 27; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 3) Hildesheim Inv.?, baker shaping dough, from Giza S790, tomb of *Idw* II, Dynasty 6 (Junker 1947: 92; Tooley 1989: 7);

D. Flour sifter- 0,2*

- 1) BMFA 37.2750, limestone fragment, “drum-shaped object” with one hand on each side (probably sifting basket), from G7715, Dynasty 6 (unpublished);
- 2) Ob. Reg. 12-12-197, 12-12-198(=BMFA 13.3434), 12-12 -199? (1=BMFA 13.3435), and 12-12 -200 (=BMFA 13.3436), four limestone accessories to wooden figures: basket, basin and two sieves (sides with four incised rings), from G2385, tomb of *Snnm-ib* (Stevenson Smith 1949: 93, Fig. 23); could be from four separate statuettes;

E. Baker preheating molds- 4, 8*

- 1) CG 238, female baker before slab oven, from tomb A1 of *Ny-^ϵnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 126; Borchardt 1911: 155, and Pl. 50; Breasted 1948: 28, oven identified as baked clay discs; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 2) CG 247, female baker before stacked bread molds, from tomb A1 of *Ny-^ϵnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 126; Borchardt 1911: 160, and Pl. 53; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 3) OIM(?), female oven stoker before stacked bread molds, from tomb 613 of *Nni* at Sedment, right arm pendant with clenched right fist to hold poker, left arm (broken) once bent up, probably with hand in front of face, Dynasty 6 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 4, 15, Pl. 1.22,23; Breasted 1948: 29; Picton and Pridden 2008: 114-115, 241, 256, PMAN 3387, 3388);
- 4) ?, fragment, limestone stacked bread molds, from tomb of *Išti* at Saqqara, Dynasties 6-8 (Lauer 1950: 17; Drioton and Lauer 1958: 217, Pl. XIb, center; Tooley 1989: 9);
- 5) ?, fragment, limestone stacked bread molds, from tomb of *Sbk-m-^hnt* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Drioton and Lauer 1958: 245; Tooley 1989: 8);
- 6) ?, fragment, limestone stacked bread molds from mastaba of *Sšm-nfr* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Barsanti 1900: 159, Fig. 15; Breasted 1948: 29);
- 7) Hildesheim Inv.?, female baker with stacked bread molds, from Giza S790, tomb of *Idw* II, Dynasty 6 (Junker 1947: 92, Pl. 17d; Tooley 1989: 7);
- 8) ?, fragments, two model limestone stacked bread molds, from tomb of *Dr-sm3t*, Giza, Dynasty 6 (S. Hassan 1941: 13, Fig. 13 and Pl. III; Breasted 1948: 29); could be from separate statuettes or one paired scene;
- 9) Ob. Reg. 35-11-23, 35-11-24, 35-11-30, 35-11-31= BMFA 37.650, BMFA 37.655, model accessories, two limestone slab ovens and two limestone stacked bread molds from G2347a= G5564 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 98-99, Fig. 24); could be from four separate statuettes or paired with querns from tomb;
- 10) ?, fragment, stack of bread molds from baker statuette, from Giza S676/707 (Junker 1947: 45; Tooley 1989: 8);
- 11) ?, broken female baker before stacked bread molds, from serdab of *K3-k3i-^ϵnh*, Giza, Dynasty 6 (S. Hassan 1950: 28 and 240, and Pls. 15C and 99A);
- 12) ?, broken statuette of baker who kneels, leaning forward, and separated base with stacked bread molds, from shaft 36 in “the mastaba of shaft no. 35”, Giza, Dynasty 5-6 (S. Hassan 1932: 72, and Pl. 46.1);

F. Brewer straining mash into vat - 6, 5*

- 1) CG 239 from tomb of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1, figure straining mash in vat with second vat in front (Borchardt 1897: 131-132; Borchardt 1911: 156, and Pl. 50; Breasted 1948: 31; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 2) CG 246 from tomb of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1, figure straining mash into vat with jar in front (Borchardt 1897: 131-132; Borchardt 1911: 160, and Pl. 53; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 3) Ash. 1921.1421, female(?) figure straining mash into vat from Sedment, tomb unknown, Dynasty 6 (Baines and Malek 2000: 195; Picton and Pridden 2008: 117, 243, 260, PMAN 3449);
- 4) ?, statuette of standing woman, bent forward at waist, probably brewer, from tomb of *Nfr-ḥww-Pth* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Drioton and Lauer 1958: 247);
- 5) Hildesheim Inv. 2520, brewer, from Giza S790, tomb of *Ḥdw* II (Junker 1947: 92; Tooley 1989: 7);
- 6) Ob. Reg. 35-11-25, 35-10-29, two limestone sieves on basins standing on wicker bases, from G2347a= G5564 (Stevenson Smith 1949: 97, 99, Fig. 24); from two separate statuettes;
- 7) Ob. Reg. 12-12-195, 12-12-196, limestone beer vat and jar, accessories to wooden brewer figure, from G2385, tomb of *Sndm-ib* (Stevenson Smith 1949: 93, Fig. 23);
- 8) BMFA 37.2749, limestone beer vat (broken) with two hands on top, from G7715, Dynasty 6 (unpublished);
- 9) ?, fragments, two sets of model limestone beer vats/sieves, from tomb of *Dr-sm3t*, Giza, Dynasty 6 (S. Hassan 1941: 11, Fig. 9); could be from two separate scenes or one paired scene;
- 10) ?, limestone beer vat from wooden brewer statuette, from tomb 213 at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 40; Tooley 1989: 9);
- 11) Louvre E.25212, crude limestone statuette of a standing male brewer straining mash into a vat, from Dara, mastaba III, chamber 10, late Old Kingdom (Ziegler 1997: 246-248, Cat. 80);

G. Jar cleaner/sealer- 1, 4*

- 1) CG 251, man accompanied by vat and large number of sealed beer jars, from tomb of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1 (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt 1911: 162, and Pl. 54; Breasted 1948: 16; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97);
- 2) Ob. Reg. 35-11-28, stone accessory representing a row of sealed beer jars, from G2347a= 5564 (Breasted 1948: 16; Stevenson Smith 1949: 97, 99, Fig. 24);
- 3) BMFA 37.2746 + 37-5-72a,b, BMFA 37.2747, BMFA 37.2748, limestone jar cleaner/sealer statuette (fragments) and five model limestone beer jars, from G7715, Dynasty 6 (unpublished);
- 4) ?, three model limestone beer jars, broken, from Giza tomb S125/157 (shaft 126) built against mastaba VI (Junker 1951: 169-171, Pl. 21f);
- 5) Excav. No. 119/GG/1995, limestone model of sealed beer jar, from tomb of Qar at Abusir, Dynasty 6 (Bárta et al. 2009: 134);

H. Duck roaster- 6, 2*

- 1) Ash. 1921.1422, from Sedment, tomb 604 of *Nbi-m-hnn-nswt* (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 4, 10, Pl. 17.3; Baines and Malek 2000: 195; Picton and Pridden 2008: 242, 258, PMAN 3415);
- 2) CG 242, from tomb of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1 (Borchardt 1897: 127; Borchardt 1911: 157-158, and Pl. 51; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 3) CG 245, duck roaster from tomb of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1 (Borchardt 1897: 127; Borchardt 1911: 159, and Pl. 51; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99; Breasted 1948: 43; Tooley 1995: 35, Fig. 31; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 4) ?, squatting statuette on wooden board with pedestal for second object, probably duck roaster, from tomb of *Nfr-hww-Pth* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Drioton and Lauer 1958: 246-247);
- 5) ?, female duck roaster, from tomb 225 of *Pth-m-h^ct* at Saqqara, Dynasty 6 (Firth and Gunn 1926: 41; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 10);
- 6) ?, wooden duck roaster statuette, from Giza S676/707, Dynasty 6 (Junker 1947: 45; Tooley 1989: 8);
- 7) Ob. Reg. 35-11-22= BMFA 37.652, from tomb G2347a= G 5564, model fragment, limestone round brazier of coals for cooking goose, Dynasty 6 (Breasted 1948: 43; Stevenson Smith 1949: 99, Fig. 24);
- 8) BMFA 37.2745, limestone hearth (fragment) from duck roaster statuette, from G7715, Dynasty 6 (unpublished);

IV. Late Old Kingdom, Dynasties 6-8- combined scenes

A. Two millers on one base – 2

- 1) CG 237, double millers facing each other, from *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1 (Borchardt 1897: 123; Borchardt 1911: 155, Pl. 49; Breasted 1948: 21; Tooley 1989: 12);
- 2) Hildesheim Inv. 2521, from Giza S790, tomb of *Idw II* at Giza, wooden double millers kneeling side by side, with limestone querns (Junker 1947: 92, Pl. 17c; Breasted 1948: 22, Pl. 21a; Tooley 1989: 7);

B. Miller and baker preheating molds- 1

- 1) CG 243, one kneeling female miller and one seated female baker in front of stacked bread molds on one base, between them is a jar with a sieve and a wicker base, from tomb A1 of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, tomb A1 (Borchardt 1897: 123, 126; Borchardt 1911: 158, Pl. 52; Breasted 1948: 29; Tooley 1989: 12);

C. Two brewers - 2

- 1) CG 244 = J.E. 30821, 1 man straining mash into vat & 1 man cleaning or sealing beer jars, from tomb A1 of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir, (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt 1911: 159, Pl. 52, left; Breasted 1948: 32, 47; Tooley 1989: 12; Umesao 2001: 63, Cat. 29);
- 2) CG 253, 2 standing men facing each other, bent at waist and straining beer mash (like N.69), from tomb A1, of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy-km* at Meir (Borchardt 1897: 132; Borchardt 1911: 162; Pl. 54; Breasted 1948: 32; Tooley 1989: 12);

D. Brewery- 1, 1*

- 1) BM 55728, brewing scene with 3 figures: 1 standing woman strains mash into vat, 1 seated man cleans jars, 1 standing man pounds barley in mortar (missing), group of 7 connected beer jars, 1 offering bearer holding bird (basket lost), and wrack of beer jars, from Sedment tomb 274 of *Mry-R^c-h^c-št.f*, late Old Kingdom (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 3, Pl. 11.5; Breasted 1948: 33-34; Tooley 1989: 185, Pl. 33:2, counted as offering bearer; Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3400);
- 2) ?, “very small wooden figures of servants from kitchen and beer making scenes, and a number of small model beer jars”, from tomb 225 of *Pth-m-h^ct* at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 41; Breasted 1948: 40, identified as baking-brewing scene; Tooley 1989: 9, identified as “very small figures from a bakery”);

E. Bakery- 1

- 1) BM55730, baking scene with 3 figures: 1 kneeling female miller, 1 seated man forming loaves on tray, 1 female baker seated before slab oven, from Sedment tomb 274 of *Mry-R^c-h^c-št.f*, late Old Kingdom (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 2, and Pl. 11.6; Breasted 1948: 29; Wilson 1988: 51, Fig. 57; Tooley 1989: 10; and Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3401);

F. Cooking scene-1

- 1) BM55729, cooking scene with 3 figures: 1 cook with fan and spitted duck before hearth (lost), 1 man stacking jars of meat(?), and 1 man standing with arms outstretched and holding(?), from Sedment tomb 274 of *Mry-R^c-h^c-št.f*, late Old Kingdom (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 2, and Pl. 11.4; Breasted 1948: 45; Tooley 1989: 11; Picton and Pridden 2008: 241, 257, PMAN 3399);

V. First Intermediate Period- single statuettes

A. Miller with quern- 5

- 1) BM18177, crude miller, purchased, with given provenance of Thebes, but more likely from tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein (Tooley 1994: 349);
- 2) Turin S.8946, kneeling male miller from Asyut, tomb unknown (Robins 1990: 58, 78, Cat. 29, dated First Intermediate Period-Middle Kingdom);
- 3) Brus. E785. 9, kneeling female miller statuette from burial of *Mr-šnt* in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada (Breasted 1948: 30; Tooley 1989: 24);
- 4) Brus. E785.10, kneeling female miller statuette from burial of *Mr-šnt* in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada (Breasted 1948: 30; Tooley 1989: 24);
- 5) ?, miller from Abusir, tomb 10 (Borchardt 1909: 74; Tooley 1989: 27);

B. Miller with mortar- 1

- 1) KUL (number unknown), burial of *Hnw* in second shaft of *Wky*'s tomb at Deir el-Bersha, standing woman husking grain in a tall mortar with a pestle (De Meyer 2007: 22, no. 31);

C. Brewer straining mash into vat - 3

- 1) BM45196, standing female brewer straining mash into vat with 11 sealed beer jars and ovoid storage jar in front, from Hogarth Tomb XLV (45), at Asyut, found on coffin C (Edwards, James and Shore, eds., 1964: 9, Fig. 3; Tooley 1989: 37, dated to Middle Kingdom; Merriman 1999: 358, Cat. 122, dated boat model from coffin A to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11; Russmann (2001: 79-81) dated female statuette (BM45200) from coffin A to late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period);
- 1) KUL (number unknown), burial of *Hnw* in second shaft of *Wky*'s tomb at Deir el-Bersha, woman straining beer mash with 2 ovoid storage jars in front (De Meyer 2007: 22, 23, no. 31; Merriman 1999: 337, Cat. 82, dated boat model from tomb to the First Intermediate Period);
- 2) Brus. E785.22, man standing before a vat and a lump/pile of dough/grist, right arm stretched out holding lost object, from burial of *Mr-šnt* in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada (Breasted 1948: 43, identified as duck roaster; Tooley 1989: 24, identified as "cook");

VI. First Intermediate Period- combined scenes

A. Miller and baker preheating molds- 2

- 1) ÄMB 10828, double scene with 1 kneeling female miller and 1 female baker before stacked bread molds and jar, with given provenance of Akhmim, but more likely from tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein (Breasted 1948: 38, Pl. 34a; Tooley 1994: 347, 349, and Pl. XLIV.b, called "kitchen" scene);
- 2) BM45197, kneeling female miller and female baker seated before stacked bread molds, from Hogarth Tomb XLV (45), coffin C, at Asyut (Stead 1986: 23, Fig. 29, dated to Middle Kingdom; Tooley 1989: 37, dated to Middle Kingdom; Merriman 2009: 358, Cat. 122 dated papyriform boat from coffin A in tomb to Middle

Kingdom, Dynasty 11; kitchen model is stylistically closer to late Old Kingdom-First Intermediate Period date);

B. Two Brewers-1

- 2) Brus. E785.8, standing nude woman with arms at sides and pierced right fist, and squatting man before a vat and lump of dough/grist, with both fists pierced to hold lost objects (pokery?), from burial of *Mr-šnt* in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada (Breasted 1948: 30, identified as making bread; Tooley 1989: 24, and Pl. 6.1, identified as “cook”; Merriman 2009: 352, Cat. 109 dated boat model from tomb to First Intermediate Period);

C. Bakery- 2,2*

- 1) BM45128-45131, bakery scene fragments from Hogarth tomb LVII (57), Asyut (Tooley 1989: 13, dated to Dynasty 6 or later, dated porter BM45096 from second burial in tomb dated post Dynasty 6);
- 2) KUL (number unknown), burial of *Hnw* in second shaft of *Wky*'s tomb at Deir el-Bersha, three kneeling female millers on one base (De Meyer 2007: 22, no. 31);
- 3) UCL 31721, bakery (missing elements): 1 male flour sifter, 1 standing woman with arm outstretched, and jar, probably from Sedment tomb 389 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 36; Tooley 1989: 20);
- 4) ?, bakery fragment, model oven, from Saqqara tomb 507 of *Snb-imy* (Quibell 1908: 18, and Pl. 30.2; Tooley 1989: 26, said tomb date is uncertain, but probably First Intermediate Period);

D. Brewery-1

- 1) UCL 31721, brewing scene (missing elements): 1 striding man holding long pestle (mortar lost), 2 other (lost) figures and vat, probably from Sedment tomb 389 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 36; Tooley 1989: 20);

E. Bakery-brewery- 3

- 1) Turin S.13271 from the Dynasty 8/9 tomb of *Ini* at Gebelein, with 1 female miller, 1 man straining beer mash, 1 female baker before stacked bread molds and 1 female offering bearer with tray on shoulder (Tooley 1989: 17, called a kitchen scene; 182-183, Pls. 4.1, 32.2, counted as offering bearer; Tooley 1994: 343-344, Pl. XLI.c; Roveri n.d.: 30);
- 2) ECMM 2, almost identical (mirror image) to Turin S.13271, probably from Gebelein (Tooley 1989: 17, Pl. 4.2; Tooley 1994: 349, Pl. XLII.b);
- 3) Man. 6598a-g, bakery-brewery scene from Sedment tomb 1525 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 49, 50, dated late Dynasty 11-early 12); Merriman 2009: 395-396, Cat. 195 dated boat model from tomb to First Intermediate Period); no pottery in tomb for dating;

F. Bakery-brewery-butcher scene- 5

- 1) Brus. E5798d, bakery-brewery-butcher scene from Sedment tomb 374, with 7 figures: 1 standing man butchering ox, 1 seated butcher's assistant, 1 standing man before basket of loaves, 1 standing female brewer, 1 standing man dehusking grain in low,

- cylindrical mortar with pestle, 1 female miller at low quern, 1 female baker before conical oven, 1 basket with beer jars, extra beer storage jar (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 26.13; Breasted 1948: 42; Tooley 1989: 50, tomb dated late Dynasty 11-early 12; Picton and Pridden 2008: 109, 242, 259, PMAN 3429, 3430; Merriman 2009: 459-460, Cat. 295-296, dated boat models from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
- 2) Sunderland (number unknown), group bakery-brewery-butcher scene, from Sedment, tomb 1593, includes 2 butchers slaughtering bound ox, male brewer straining mash into vat, another vat, seated man before cooking vat holding fan, seated woman before cylindrical brazier with jar on top (cooking grain to make mash?), 1 female miller at low quern, standing man perhaps originally using pestle (lost), seated woman sifting flour(?), extra vats, basket with beer jars (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38, “cooking” scene; Tooley 1989: 20, dated tomb First Intermediate Period-Senusret I; Picton and Pridden 2008: 120-121, 243, 259, PMAN 3447; Merriman 2009: 420,421, Cat. 238-239, dated boat models from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
 - 3) OIM 11495 from Sedment tomb 2105, group baking, brewing and slaughtering scene with 7 figures: 1 man butchering ox with assistant catching blood in container, 1 man with fan cooking ox blood mixture in small vat(?), 1 female miller at low quern, 1 seated female flour sifter, 1 standing man straining mash into vat, 1 seated woman before cylindrical brazier with jar on top (cooking grain to make mash?), extra vat, basket, basket of beer jars (Petrie and Brunton 1924, 10, called “domestic scene”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Breasted, 40, Pl. 40a, dated to 9th Dynasty; Tooley 1989: 219, dated offering bearer from tomb to Dynasty 11-Senusret II; Teeter 2003a: 35-36, Fig. 13, dated to Dynasties 9/10; Arnold 2005: 29, n. 100 prefers First Intermediate Period date; Merriman 2009: 423, 424, Cat. 242, 243, dated boat models from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
 - 4) Edin.1921.1657, baker-brewer-butcher scene from tomb 2112 of *Mrt-it.s* at Sedment, with eight figures: 2 men slaughtering an ox, 1 individual sits near the ox’s hindquarters next to a small cooking vat, 1 male brewer, 1 man standing (originally with pestle?), 1 woman sitting next to a basket, 1 female miller at low quern, and 1 figure sitting in front of a cylindrical brazier with a jar on top (cooking the grain to make mash?), extra storage jars, vat, beer jars in a basket (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 39, called “group”; Breasted 1948: 41; Do. Arnold 1988: 144, n.339, dated pottery from tomb to Dynasty 11- Amenemhat II; Tooley 1989: 20, 50-51, called a “combined scene”, said pottery from tomb was consistent with that from 2106, but model styles were closer to late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II; Picton and Priddon 2008: 122-123, 243, 260, PMAN 3450; Merriman 2009: 419, Cat. 236, dated boat model from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
 - 5) ?, either group bakery-brewery-butcher scene on one base or collective group of four separate models, from tomb HMK68 at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 55, “group of models, killing ox, cooking goose, making bread, baking in oven”; Tooley 1989: 26-27, stated tomb date is uncertain, but probably First Intermediate Period; and described as a “model kitchen scene and parts of a butcher scene” and put in 2 categories on Table 3); no burial or other datable material found in tomb, could also date to Middle Kingdom);

H) Cooking scene-12,1*

- 1) ?, “various small figures from kitchens”, from Abusir tomb MR13 of *Nht* (woman), First Intermediate Period-Dynasty 11? (Schäfer 1908: 89; Tooley 1989: 27);
- 2) UCL 31721, cooking scene (missing elements): 1 seated woman with fan before oven or cauldron, tall mortar (from brewer model?) and jars, probably from Sedment tomb 389 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 36; Tooley 1989: 20);
- 3) ?, “cooking” scene, from Sedment, tomb 996, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20);
- 4) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 998, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 5) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1002, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 6) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1010, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 7) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1529, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 8) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1531, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 9) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1535, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 10) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1541, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 11) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1557, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 37; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 12) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1564, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 13) ?, “cooking” scene(?), from Sedment, tomb 1684, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I(?) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 39; Tooley 1989: 20).

I) “Group” scene- 9

- 4) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 1607, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I(?) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 5) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 1629, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I(?) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 6) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 1639, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I(?) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38);
- 7) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 1641, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 8) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 2100, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I(?) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 39; Tooley 1989: 20); Merriman 2009: 462, Cat. 300, dated boat model from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
- 9) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 2101 of *ʿwy.fy* (*Dwdw-fy?*) (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 10”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Tooley 1989: 50, called a “combined” scene, dated early Dynasty 12; Merriman 2009: 424-425, Cat. 244, dated boat model from tomb to First Intermediate Period);

- 10) ?, “Group”, from Sedment, tomb 2104, First Intermediate Period to Senusret I (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 39; Tooley 1989: 20);
- 11) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 2107 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 11, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Tooley 1989: 50, called a “combined” scene, dated late Dynasty 11-early 12; Merriman 2009: 421, 422 Cat. 240-241, dated boat models from tomb to First Intermediate Period);
- 12) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 2127 of *Nḥt-k3wi* (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 13, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Tooley 1989: 50-51, dated late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II; Merriman 2009: 462-464, Cat. 301, 302, dated boat models from tomb to First Intermediate Period);

VII. Early Middle Kingdom- single statuettes

A. Miller with quern- 1

- 1) ?, female miller from tomb shaft on ridge at Beni Hasan, unknown date (Fraser in Newberry 1893: 80-81; Tooley 1989: 43-44, 61?);

B. Brewer straining mash into vat - 4

- 1) ?, formerly in MacGregor collection, BH1, tomb of *3ntf*, man straining beer mash on base with two large storage jars, late Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1907: 64, Fig. 50; Breasted 1948: 32; and Tooley 1989: 44, dated early Dynasty 11);
- 2) British Museum of Natural History, S. Kensington (?), man straining beer mash on base with extra storage jar from tomb of *T33y*, BH275, at Beni Hasan, late Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1907: 221; Tooley 1989: 44, Pl. 47.2); Merriman 1999: 485-486, Cat. 335-336, dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 3) ?, brewer on base with five jars and a barrel-shaped vat with a small jar on top, from a tomb at Meir, Dynasty 12 (Kamal 1914: 60; Breasted 1948: 33);
- 4) Edin. 1914.77, standing female brewer statuette, probably from Beni Hasan (Breasted 1948: 39);

VIII. Early Middle Kingdom- combined scenes

A. Two brewers- 1

- 1) ?, two brewers: 1 man straining mash into beer vat and 1 water carrier with 2 jars, with 2 extra vats and jars on base, from shaft tomb of *K3y-Hnnt*, north of tomb B3 at Meir, late Dynasty 11 (Kamal 1911: 24; Tooley 1989: 39);

B. Bakery- 11, 13*

- 1) ?, baking scene fragments from tomb of woman (name unknown) pit 4 at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification (Naville 1907: 45; Tooley 1989: 33);
- 2) ?, bakery fragments from tomb of woman (name unknown) pit 5 at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification (Naville 1907: 46; Breasted 1948: 102; Tooley 1989: 33);
- 3) Turin S.8789, bakery scene from tomb of *Km-ḥtp* or *Min-ḥtp* at Asyut, includes 2 standing female millers, 1 female baker before stacked bread molds, and 1 man

- carrying water jar on his head (Tooley 1989: 38, identified as a “workshop”, attributed to *Km-ḥtp* and dated to Middle Kingdom; Robins, ed. 1990: 58, 78-79, Cat. 30, identified as a bakery-brewery, attributed to *Min-ḥtp* (tomb 2b) and dated First Intermediate Period to Middle Kingdom; Merriman 2009: 399, Cat. 201, 202 dated boat from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 4) BM45163-65, 45092-93, bakery scene fragments from Hogarth tomb LVI (56) of *Nb-ḥtp* at Asyut (Tooley 1989: 13, dated to Dynasty 6 or later; Tooley 1989: 146, dated boat BM45089 from same tomb to late Old Kingdom; Merriman 2009: 360, Cat. 126, dated boat model from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
 - 5) BM45126-45127, figures from bakery from Hogarth Tomb XLIX (49) at Asyut (Tooley 1989: 37, dated to Middle Kingdom);
 - 6) ?, bakery scene from tomb 20 of *ḥnh.f* and *It-ibi* at Asyut, Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 189, “dough-kneaders working inside a small enclosure”; Tooley 1989: 35-36);
 - 7) ?, bakery scene, from shaft tomb of *K3y-Ḥnnt*, north of tomb B3 at Meir, group of 6 people: 2 millers, 1 miller dehusking grain in mortar with pestle, 1 figure gathers something on the ground, 1 water carrier (jars lost), 1 man crouching behind large “cooking” pot (perhaps oven?), late Dynasty 11 (Kamal 1911: 24; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 39);
 - 8) Brus. E785.17, bakery from second burial in tomb A at Sheikh Ibada, with 3 figures: 1 female baker before slab oven, 1 standing female miller and 1 male water carrier with yoke balanced on right shoulder and holding stick in right hand, large vase with constricted neck (Breasted 1948: 30, dated to 12th Dynasty, identified as bakery scene, and identified water carrier; Tooley 1989: 24, Pl. 5.1, identified as combined miller-baker, and dated model stylistically (wig/hair style, slab oven) to First Intermediate Period; however, both Tooley and Merriman 2009: 400, Cat. 204 dated boat model from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
 - 9) Leiden F1935/1.7, bakery scene with three figures: 1 offering bearer carrying tray on shoulder, 1 standing female miller, 1 striding female(?) figure, beer vat, smaller vat, sealed beer jars, from Bersha, late Dynasty 11 (unpublished);
 - 10)** BM30719, restored bakery scene with 6 figures inside a walled enclosure, including 2 female offering bearers with baskets and 1 male porter with grain sack, probably from Bersha, early Dynasty 12 (Tooley 1989: 206-207, 232, and Pl. 44.1);
 - 11) Leicester 86.1929, bakery scene from BH1, tomb of *3ntf*, with 3 figures: 2 standing female millers, 1 woman seated before combination slab oven/elongated bread molds, extra vats/jars on base, late Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1907: 63-64, Fig. 51; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 44; Merriman 2009: 426, Cat. 247, dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
 - 12) ?, fragments of bakery ovens from BH12, late Dynasty 11-mid 12 (Garstang 1907: 216; Tooley 1989: 45);
 - 13) Bristol H.4587 or H.4596, bakery scene from tomb of *T3y*, BH275, at Beni Hasan, 5 figures: 1 female miller leaning over saddle quern, 1 man and 1 woman each with a long pestle dehusking grain in a cylindrical mortar, 1 male(?) baker before stacked bread molds, 1 standing man with round tray of loaves on head, and extra vat, Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1904: 221; Garstang 1907: 221, Breasted 1948: 38, museum number H.4596; Tooley 1989: 44, 211, Pl. 48.1, counted with porters, museum

- number given as both H.4596 and H.4587; Merriman 1999: 485-486, Cat. 335-336, dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 14) ?, baker (fragment) from BH614, late Dynasty 11-Senusret II (Garstang 1907: 233; Tooley 1989: 48);
 - 15) ?, bakers (fragments) from BH777, late Dynasty 11-Senusret II (Garstang 1907: 239; Tooley 1989: 48);
 - 16) Cairo (number unknown), bakery scene from tomb of *Nfry*, BH116, with 3 figures: 1 man dehusking grain in a low mortar with long pestle, 1 standing female miller, 1 female baker before oven, extra vat and jar, late 11th-early 12th Dynasty (Garstang 1907: 76, Figs. 61, 63; Breasted 1948: 40; Tooley 1989: 48; Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99);
 - 17) ?, double quern, 7 figures and small female figures from bakery scene from BH522, Dynasty 12 (Tooley 1989: 49);
 - 18) ?, table from a bakery and 4 decayed figures from BH563, Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 230; Tooley 1989: 49);
 - 19) ?, decayed figures from bakery scene from BH654, Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 234; Tooley 1989: 49);
 - 20) ?, parts of a bakery from BH722, Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 237; Tooley 1989: 49);
 - 21) Edin. 1914.72, bakery scene with 3 figures: 1 male overseer(?), 1 female baker before (lost) bread molds or oven, 1 man carrying yoke with water jars, probably from Beni Hasan (Breasted 1948: 39);
 - 22) ?, bakery scene fragments, from burial chamber of *Gmn-Wsr*, Lepsius tomb group 10 at Saqqara (Lepsius 1897: 154, 157; Tooley 1989: 25; Do. Arnold 1005: 29, n.102, stated date of tomb group yet to be determined);
 - 23) ?, model “furnace”, or oven fragment from bakery from tomb 124 of *Šm3i* at Saqqara, Middle Kingdom (Quibell 1907: 6-7; Tooley 1989: 54);

C. Brewery- 4, 2*

- 1) J.E. 36295, brewery scene from tomb 7 of *Nḥti* at Asyut, with 7 figures: includes 2 female millers standing at high, double quern, 1 male water carrier with yoke (lost), 1 man crushing grain into tall mortar with pestle, 1 woman tending oven topped with jar (cooking grain to make mash?), 1 male brewer straining mash, 1 man carrying water jar on head, early Dynasty 12 (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 49-50, Pl. XV:2; Breasted 1948: 34; Tooley 1989: 35);
- 2) ?, brewing scene, from tomb of *R^c-ḥtpi* and *K3yt*, north of nomarch A group at Meir, includes 6 workers: 1 seated man pounding grain with pestle, 2 standing men, 1 man straining mash into a vat, 2 water carriers with jars on straps, extra vats and beer jars, early Dynasty 12 (Kamal 1912: 100; Tooley 1989: 38-39);
- 3) Cairo (number unknown), brewing scene from BH116, tomb of *Nfry*, 7 figures: 2 men strain mash into vats, 1 man empties jar into vat, 2 men carry jars on yokes w/bent arms, 1 seated man, 1 man stomps mash in vat, 6 storage jars on sides, late 11th-early 12th Dynasty (Garstang 1907: 73-74, Figs. 61, 62; Breasted 1948: 35; Tooley 1989: 48; Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 99);

- 4) BM36433, brewing scene with 5 figures: 3 men straining mash into vats, 1 man standing inside vat, 1 male water carrier with jar on head, probably from Beni Hasan (Baines and Malek 2000: 195);
- 5) SAOS E7018, fragments of brewing scene from BH64, late Dynasty 11-mid Dynasty 12 (Tooley 1989: 45);
- 6) ?, parts of brewery from burial shaft of *Hri-š.f-nht* in tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, early 12th Dynasty (Quibell 1908: 6-7; Tooley 1989: 54);

D. Butcher shop- 4, 8*

- 1) MMA 26.3.103, fragments of a butcher model from TT311 in Asasif, Thebes, contemporary with N.M. II (Breasted 1948: 37; Tooley 1989: 34);
- 2) ?, three butchers (fragments) from tomb of woman (name unknown) pit 5 at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification (Porter and Moss 1964: 656; Tooley 1989: 33?);
- 3) MMA 20.3.10, butcher shop from tomb of *Mkt-R^c*, TT280, includes 2 overseers, 2 men butchering 2 oxen, 1 man catching ox blood in bowl, 2 seated men with fans cooking blood or meat mixture in braziers, 1 man plucking feathers of a duck or goose (Breasted 1948: 37, Pl. 34c; Winlock 1955: 23-25, 86-87, and Pls. 18-19, 21, 24, 60-61; Tooley 1989: 32, 61; Ikram 1995: 87-88; Do. Arnold 2005: 1-8, 62-65, Figs. 1-2, Pls. I.2, II, III, Type 7 storehouse model).
- 4) ROM, BM, MMA (multiple numbers), butcher shop fragments from pit 14 of *Nb-hpt-R^c Mntw-htp* II at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification, includes seated/squatting male figures holding knives, fans and buckets for catching blood, cauldrons with blood/fat, joints of meat, bound oxen (Navelle 1910: 2-4; Navelle 1913: 31; Di. Arnold 1972: 13-31; 1981: 31-32, Pls. 34-36, 57; Tooley 1989: 32-33, referred to cooking scenes; cannot determine exact totals);
- 5) BMFA 04.1781, butcher shop from tomb 7 of *Nhti* at Asyut, includes man carrying beef haunch, low enclosure wall, early Dynasty 12 (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 49, Pl. XV.1; Breasted 1948: 36-37, Pl. 33; D'Auria et al. 1988: 102, No. 35; Tooley 1989: 35, 61);
- 6) BM45084, bound ox from butcher scene, from Hogarth Tomb XLVI (46) at Asyut (Tooley 1989: 37, dated to Middle Kingdom);
- 7) BM45051 or 45053?, fragments of butcher scene, from Hogarth Tomb XLVIII (48) at Asyut (Ryan 1988: 77; Tooley 1989: 37, dated to Middle Kingdom);
- 8) Hildesheim Inv. 1694, butcher shop inside walled enclosure with five figures: 1 standing butcher, 1 seated butcher's assistant, 1 standing man cooking ox blood/meat in cauldron, 1 seated scribe, 1 cloaked figure, probably from Asyut, Middle Kingdom (Breasted 1948: 37, and Pl. 35; Do. Arnold 2005: 45);
- 9) ?, butchered ox (fragment) from butcher scene, from tomb of *Wh-htpi* at Meir, Dynasty 12 (Kamal 1911: 16-17; Breasted 1948: 37; Tooley 1989: 39);
- 10) ?, bound ox from butcher scene, from BH578, late Dynasty 11-mid 12 (Garstang 1907: 231; Tooley 1989: 45);
- 11) Fitz. E.71c.1903, butcher shop with 3 figures: 2 men slaughter an ox, 1 man cooks the collected blood in a three-legged basin, from BH366, tomb of *Hty*, no architectural elements, early Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 105, Fig. 94; Breasted 1948: 37; Bourriau 1988: 106, no. 93; Tooley 1989: 46-47, 61);

12) ?, fragments of a butcher scene from BH772, late Dynasty 11- Senusret II (Garstang 1907: 239; Tooley 1989: 48);

E. Bakery-brewery- 14, 4*

- 1) BM40915, bakery-brewery scene from pit 3 at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification, 13 standing millers, 12 squatting men sifting flour/making dough, back to back to the men are 3 squatting bakers, each in front of tall black, rectangular oven, three standing brewers straining beer mash in vats between the ovens (Neville 1907: 44, IX; Breasted 1948: 38(3), identified as a bakery-brewery; Di. Arnold 1981: 29, Pls. 62b, 63, identified as a bakery, considered beer “vats” to be jars of dough; Tooley 1989: 32-33, identified as a bakery-brewery; Quirke and Spencer 1992: 18, Fig. 7);
- 2) MMA 20.3.12, bakery-brewery inside enclosure, from early 12th Dynasty TT280 of Meket-Re at Thebes, includes man standing in vat, 2 female millers, 1 man kneading dough, 1 man pouring off liquid into crock, 3 men with pestles dehusking grain in low mortars, men tending ovens, men mixing dough, men forming loaves from dough (Breasted 1948: 38, Pl. 36a,b; Winlock 1955: 27-29, Pls. 22-24, 64, 65; Tooley 1989: 32);
- 3) ROM, BM, MMA (multiple numbers), bakery and brewery fragments from pit 14 of *Nb-ḥpt-R^c Mntw-ḥtp* II at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Dynasty 11 ca. reunification, includes human figures (group M), querns/grinding stones, two types of ovens (conical and rectangular), vats of dough, beer jars, beer vats, water jars, bases with multiple holes (Neville 1910: 2-4; 1913:31; Breasted 1948: 59; Di. Arnold 1972: 13-31; 1981: 28-31, Pls. 29-33, 38, 39, 41e, 46, 53-55; Tooley 1989: 32-33, referred to cooking scenes; cannot determine exact totals, also could be separate bakery and brewery scenes);
- 4) BMFA 04.1782, baker-brewer scene from tomb 14 at Asyut, of *Wp-w3wt-m-ḥ^ct*, with 6 figures: 2 standing female millers, 1 man carrying water jar on head, 1 man carrying jars on yoke across shoulders, 1 seated female baker before stacked molds, 1 standing male brewer at beer vat, extra jars and vats (Chassinat and Palanque 1911: 164, Pl. 34.1,3; Breasted 1948: 34-35; D’Auria et al. 1988: 100-101, dated tomb to Dynasty 10 or 11; Tooley 1989: 35, dated late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12; Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n.110, dated to Dynasty 11 by pottery);
- 5) Turin S.8652, baking-brewing scene from tomb of *Ḥp-df (Df3-Ḥ^cpy?)* at Asyut, with 7 figures: 1 man dehusking grain in a tall mortar with a pestle, 1 striding man with bent arms carrying a yoke with water jars (lost), 1 man standing beside him, 1 man stooping forward at the waist with separated legs straining beer mash into vat, 2 standing female millers, 1 seated female baker before stacked bread molds, extra vat and beer storage jar (Roveri, ed. 1987: 64, C5; Tooley 1989: 38, Pl. 7.1, dated to early Dynasty 11; Malek 2003: 108; Do. Arnold 2005: 31, n. 110 dated tomb to late Dynasty 11);
- 6) OIM 10514, bakery-brewery scene with 6 figures: 2 kneeling female millers, 1 standing man dehusking grain in cylindrical mortar with pestle, 1 man forming loaves, 1 male baker before stacked bread molds, 1 brewer straining mash, from Asyut (Breasted 1948: 39-40, and Pl. 38b);
- 7) Limoges (number unknown), 2 bakery-brewery scenes, each with 5 figures, from Meir (Breasted 1948: 39, and Pl. 39b);

- 8) Leiden F1939/1.4, bakery-brewery scene from Bersha tomb 23, chamber II, of *Dḥwty-ḥtp* (female), with 9 figures: 1 man carrying water jar on head, 1 man and 1 woman straining beer mash in vats, beer jars, 2 leaning female millers, 2 female bakers seated before stacked bread molds (elongated form) and holding pokers, 1 seated male cook with fan, 1 seated man forming loaves(?), rack of 8 beer jars, late Dynasty 11 (Kamal 1901: 38-40; Schneider 1981: 62, Cat. 7, identified as a brewery; Tooley 1989: 42, identified as a bakery-brewery);
- 9) BMFA 21.807, from tomb 10A at Bersha, baking and brewing scene with 4 figures: 1 standing female miller, 1 male brewer straining mash, 1 standing offering bearer holding tray of loaves on left shoulder, 1 female baker seated before small, conical oven, extra beer storage jar (identical to BMFA 21.886), late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 (unpublished);
- 10) BMFA 21.886, from tomb 10A at Bersha, baking and brewing scene with 4 figures: 1 standing female miller, 1 male brewer straining mash, 1 standing offering bearer holding tray of loaves on left shoulder, 1 female baker seated before small, conical oven, extra beer storage jar (Breasted 1948: 39, Pl. 37b; Tooley 1989: 40, described as combined bakery-brewery-butcher scene; Freed et al. 2003: 120);
- 11) ?, fragments, figures representing bakers-brewers from tomb shaft on ridge at Beni Hasan (Fraser in Newberry 1893: 80-81; Tooley 1989: 43-44);
- 12) Fitz. E.71d.1903, from BH366, tomb of *Hty*, with 8 figures divided into groups: 1 man dehusking grain in cylindrical mortar with long pestle, 2 standing female millers, 1 woman sieving, 1 female baker before stacked bread molds, 2 men carrying yokes with water jars, 1 man straining beer mash into vat, another vat and storage jar, early Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 126-128, Fig. 124; Bourriau, 1981: 63, no. 113; Bourriau 1988: 105-106, no. 92; Tooley 1989: 46-47; Samuel 1994: 9, colored photograph);
- 13) ?, wooden figures from bakery, bakery table and beer vat from BH516, of *ʿryt-ḥtp* and *ʿi-n-mwt*, Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 227; Tooley 1989: 49, identified as parts of bakery or brewery);
- 14) LM (number unknown), combined bakery-brewery from BH707, tomb of *ʿIpi*, with 6 figures: 2 standing female millers, 1 male brewer straining mash, 1 man with long pestle, 1 man carrying yoke with beer jars, 1 woman seated before bread molds, extra vat and storage jar, late Dynasty 11-Senusret I (Garstang 1907: 126-127, Fig. 125, called bakery; Breasted 1948: 37-38; Tooley 1989: 46);
- 15) ?, 16 wooden figures, querns, bakers, beer vat, table with circular holes for vases, legs in beer vat from BH822-8233, late Dynasty 11-mid 12 (Garstang 1907: 240; Tooley 1989: 45);
- 16) Edin. 1914.71, bakery-brewery scene with 5 figures: 2 seated female millers, 1 standing male brewer straining mash, 1 standing overseer(?), 1 seated woman (sifter or baker, arms lost), 2 ovens (conical and cylindrical), probably from Beni Hasan (Breasted 1948: 39, and Pl. 37a);
- 17) J.E. 39146, combined bakery-brewery inside walled enclosure, 2 separate rooms, from burial of *Nfr-mddnyt* in tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mddnyt* at Saqqara, figures include 1 man standing inside vat, 1 duck roaster before hearth, 2 standing women with long pestles (and low mortars, missing?), 2 standing female millers, 1 woman seated before conical oven with jar on top, early 12th Dynasty (Quibell 1908: 12, 76,

Pl. 19:3, model 20; Breasted 1948: 34; Tooley 1989: 55-56, assigned J.E.45497; Do. Arnold 2005: 45, n. 175, assigned J.E.39146);

F. Bakery-butcher shop – 1,2*

- 1) ?, formerly in MacGregor Collection, painted canopy with 4 striped posts (red, green and white) inside a fenced enclosure with beer jars and closed baskets stored underneath, 1 baker seated before slab oven, 3 butchers(?) with knives before a round table, 6 other miscellaneous seated and standing figures, from Bersha, Dynasty 11, model possibly a pastiche with boat canopy (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge 1922: 73, no. 82, Pl. 18; and Do. Arnold 2005: 45).
- 2) ?, fragments of a bakery (2 ovens) and a butcher shop (“cow”, “leg of a bull”) probably originally from a combined scene with bakery, from tomb 289 of *Hnnw* at Saqqara (Quibell 1908: 16, 76, and Pl. 27, described as “kitchen or slaughterhouse”; Tooley: 1989, 26, placed tomb in First Intermediate Period, but said pottery types compared with those of *K3-rnn* and *Gmni-m-h^t* (*Gmni*), which Do. Arnold dated to early Dynasty 12: 2005, 29, n. 102; Merriman 2009: 537, Cat. 421, dated boat model from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 3) ?, damaged model of a house with partition walls, fragments of painted wooden figures, including a scribe, a “cook poking a fire” (baker) and a cow, from tomb M.XVI of *ʿnw* at Saqqara, early Middle Kingdom (Jéquier 1935: 153; Breasted 1948: 46);

G. Brewery-butcher shop- 0, 1*

- 1) ?, fragments of a brewery and a butcher shop from BH26, late Dynasty 11-Senusret II (Garstang: 1907: 212, described as “remains of sacrifice and brewing”; Tooley 1989: 48); could be from separate scenes or a combined scene with bakery;

H. Bakery-brewery-butcher scene- 17,1*

- 1) J.E. 31346, bakery-brewery-butcher scene from pit 28 of *Bw3w* at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, late Dynasty 11 (Winlock 1947: 43; Tooley 1989: 33);
- 2) MMA 11.150.12, a bakery-brewery-butcher scene inside a fenced enclosure, with 8 figures: 2 male butchers, 2 standing millers (lost), 1 man dehusking grain in cylindrical mortar with pestle, 1 seated man forming loaves on tray, 1 seated male baker before cylindrical oven, 1 seated man stirs dough/mash in jar, from Meir, early Middle Kingdom (Hayes 1953: 265; Breasted 1948: 41; and Do. Arnold 2005: 44-45, and Pl. 7.13);
- 3) Ash. E.2312, bakery-brewery-butcher scene inside enclosure, from BH575 of *Hty-i*, 1 man dehusking grain, 2 standing female millers, 2 men carrying jars on yokes, a male brewer straining mash, a butcher slaughtering an ox, 2 standing female millers and a man dehusking grain with a (lost) pestle, late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1904: 222; Garstang 190: 129, Fig. 127; Breasted 1948: 42; Tooley 1989: 45);
- 4) BM41576, bakery-brewery-butcher scene from BH723, of *Sbk-ḥtpi*, with 1 cylindrical oven, 1 domed bake oven, 1 female miller leaning over a saddle quern, 1 man carrying water jars on a yoke, 1 male brewer leaning over a vat sieving mash, a beer jar, trussed ox and a butcher with knife, late Dynasty 11 (Garstang 1907: 237; Wilson 1988: 18, Fig. 16; Tooley 1989: 46; Taylor 2001: 101, Fig. 62);

- 5) Cairo (number unknown), bakery-brewery-butcher scene with 6 figures: 1 man slaughtering ox, 1 male brewer sieving mash into vat, 1 standing female miller, 1 male(?) baker before cylindrical oven, 2 female offering bearers, and 2 beer storage jars, from burial of *Ntr-nḥti* in BH585 at Beni Hasan, late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II (Garstang 1904: 223; Garstang 1907: 94-95, Fig. 84, top; Tooley 1989: 212, Pl. 50.1, counted as offering bearer);
- 6) LM 55.82.7, baker-brewer-butcher scene from burial of *Hnm-nḥti* in BH585 at Beni Hasan, with 5 figures: 2 standing female millers, 1 seated female baker before conical oven, 1 man slaughtering ox, 1 male brewer sieving mash into vat, table with jars, late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II (Garstang 1907: 94, Fig. 84, bottom; Bienkowski & Southworth, 1986, Pl. 3; O'Connor and Silverman 1980: 80, Fig. 91; Baines and Malek 2000: 193; Tooley 1989: 47);
- 7) Cairo (number unknown), bakery-brewery-butcher scene, from tomb BH186 of *T3wy*, includes brewing and slaughtering inside a partial enclosure (one upright wall section), with 7 figures: 1 male brewer standing behind 3 vessels, 1 man standing before basket, 2 men slaughtering ox, 1 man dehusking grain in low, cylindrical mortar with pestle, 1 standing female miller, 1 female baker before cylindrical oven, late Dynasty 11-Amenemhat II (Garstang 1907: 81, Fig. 69, and 85-86, Fig. 75; Breasted 1948: 41; Tooley 1989: 46, called baker-butcher model; Arnold 2005: 44);
- 8) AEIN 1571 from tomb 2106 of *W3dt-ḥtp* at Sedment, with 8 figures: 2 female millers seated at low querns, 1 oven, 1 man with jar on head standing before beer vat, 1 man butchering ox, 1 standing man dehusking grain in low mortar with pestle, 1 kneeling man before cylindrical oven, 1 offering bearer and 1 porter carrying baskets on their heads (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 11, Pl. 20:3, called “cooking” group”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Mogensen 1930: 211, and Pl. LXIII; Breasted 1948: 40, Pl. 39a; Tooley 1989: 20, 217-218, and Pl. 56, dated Dynasty 10/11, counted with offering bearers, and misidentified as AEIN 1572 (the granary); Jørgensen 1996: 109, called a “kitchen”; Do. Arnold 2005: 28, n. 94 dated tomb to pre-unification Dynasty 11, after Seidlmayer; Picton and Pridden 2008: 242, 258, PMAN 3422; Merriman 2009: 469-470, 472, Cat. 312, 315, dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 9) ÄMB 1366, Lepsius tomb group 10, burial chamber 2 of *Gmni* at Saqqara, bakery-brewery-cooking scene, with 4 figures: 1 female miller (missing) at tall quern, 1 female baker before stacked bread molds, 1 standing man straining mash into vat, 1 vat, 1 male duck roaster (fan and spitted duck missing) (Lepsius 1897: 158; Lepsius 1913: Pl. XLVI; Tooley 1989: 25, and Pl. 5.2, described as “baking and brewing elements”, dated First Intermediate Period to Senusret I; Merriman 2009: 365, 401, Cat. Nos. 136 and 205, dated boat models from chambers 3 and 2 to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 10) ÄMB 1367-72, 1374, 1376-78, Lepsius tomb group 10, burial chamber 2 of *Gmni* at Saqqara, model accessory fragments (Lepsius 1897: 158; 1913: 158, Pl. XLVI, ovens, querns, jars, beer mash tubs shown on plate; Breasted 1948: 42; Tooley 1989: 25, listed ÄMB 1367-68 as butcher scene);
- 11) J.E.45496 (or J.E.45497?), bakery-brewery-butcher scene inside walled enclosure from burial of *Inpw-m-ḥt* in tomb 2757 of *Inpw-m-ḥt* and *Usr-mwt* at Saqqara, includes 12 figures: 2 butchers and 1 assistant collecting ox's blood, 1 man stomping

- dough in vat, 1 male brewer straining mash, 2 standing women with long pestles (low mortars missing?), 2 standing female millers, 1 man forming loaves on tray, 2 female bakers with pokers before ovens (cylindrical and beehive with jar on top), late Dynasty 11-early Dynasty 12 (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 40, and Pl. 24.1; Tooley 1989: 55; Do. Arnold 2005: 45);
- 12) ?, bakery-brewery-butcher scene, from burial of *K3-rnn* in tomb of *K3-rnn* and (*Sm-dt*) *Nfr-mddnyt* at N. Saqqara, late Dynasty 11-early 12th Dynasty (Quibell 1908: 8, Pl. 9:1, described as “kitchen”; Tooley 1989: 56; Do. Arnold 2005: 45, see her Table 1 and p. 52, n. 218 for confusion in assignment of museum numbers; model may not actually exist);
- 13) AEIN1631, bakery-brewery-butcher scene from tomb (HMK30) of *Gmni-m-h^ct* (*Gmni*) at Saqqara, 3 separate rooms with 12 figures: 1 standing woman with pestle (low mortar missing?), 2 standing female millers at high querns, 1 squatting woman in front of a conical (beehive) oven, 1 man stomping mash or dough in vat, 1 squatting man kneading/shaping dough, 1 squatting man before cylindrical oven, 1 woman with pestle (low mortar missing?), 1 woman binding ox, 1 man holding butcher’s knife, 1 man with barrel to catch blood, 1 man roasting duck over hearth, holding (broken) fan, late Dynasty 11- early 12th Dynasty (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 31a-b; Breasted 1948: 41, Pl. 40b; Tooley 1989: 55; 1995: Fig. 28; Jørgensen 1996: 128-129, no. 50; Do. Arnold 2005: 47, Pl. 8.14);
- 14) ?, decayed bakery-brewery-butcher scene, from tomb HMK2 at Saqqara, possibly early 12th Dynasty (Firth and Gunn 1926: 48, and Pl. 33c, identified as “kitchen”; Tooley 1989: 57, identified as “combined scene”; Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 102, date of tomb group yet to be determined; Merriman 2009: 497, Cat. 352-353, dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 15) Neuchâtel 354, bakery-brewery-butcher shop, from tomb HMK159 of *Mwt-htpi* at Saqqara, late Dynasty 11 (Firth and Gunn 1926: 57, identified as “kitchen scene bread and beer-making, butcher, etc.”; Merriman 2009: 494, Cat. 348 dated boat model from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 16) Leipzig 34, bakery-brewery-butcher scene inside walled enclosure, from Abusir MR6, tomb of *Hri-š.f-htp* I, with 8 figures: 1 seated male duck roaster, 1 standing male butcher and 1 seated male assistant, 1 standing woman with long pestle dehusking grain in a depression in the ground(?), 1 standing female miller at tall quern, 1 seated female baker before conical oven, 1 seated female baker before low, cylindrical oven, 1 seated male baker forming loaves on tray, sealed beer jars and vats (Schäfer 1908: 44, 45, Fig. 60 and 65-69, Figs. 97-100; Breasted 1948: 45-46, dated First Intermediate Period; Krauspe 1976: 31, no. 46/2; Tooley 1989: 58, dated to First Intermediate Period (early Dynasty 11), but placed in her Middle Kingdom discussion; Do. Arnold 2005: 29, n. 101, dated tomb to early Dynasty 12, and 45; Merriman 2009: 439, Cat. 267, dated boat model from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 17) ?, butcher-kitchen scene from tomb MR15 at Abusir, probably early Middle Kingdom (Schäfer 1908: 90; Tooley 1989: 27);
- 18) ÄMB 17443, bakery-brewery-butcher scene from Abusir tomb MR43 of *In-m-s3.f*, late Dynasty 11, based on writing of *htp di nsw* formula (Schäfer 1908: 107-109,

Figs. 172-174, and Pl. 12; Tooley 1989: 27, dated First Intermediate Period to Dynasty 11);

I. “Group scene”- 5,2*

- 1) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 1021, late Dynasty 11-early 12? (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 15);
- 2) ?, “group” scene, from Sedment, tomb 1650, late Dynasty 11 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: Pl. 38; Tooley 1989: 20).
- 3) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 2104, late Dynasty 11-early 12 (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 10”, and Pl. 39, called “group”);
- 4) ?, “domestic scene” from Sedment tomb 2111 of *Hnty-hty* (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 7, 11-12, called “domestic scene”, and Pl. 39, called “group”; Tooley 1989: 20, 49, dated tomb to early Middle Kingdom; Do. Arnold 2005: 30, n.103, dated burial to pre-Mentuhotep II, after Seidlmayer); Merriman 2009: 611,616, Cat. 515, 520 dated boat models from tomb to Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11);
- 5) UCL 6645, 6647-6653, 6659 (ox haunch) and 6600, parts of unidentified “kitchen” scenes from mastaba N17 of *Yti* at Lahun, late Dynasty 11-early 12 (Brunton, in Petrie et al. 1923: 34; Tooley 1989: 51);
- 6) MMA24.1.18a, ?, fragments of at least one “domestic scene”, possibly including 1 male brewer, 1 sieve from top of vat, and 1 female miller, from shaft tomb 6LP13, south of the pyramid enclosure at Lisht, early Dynasty 12 (Lansing 1924: 40, 42, Fig. 14; Tooley 1989: 52; Merriman 2009: 628, Cat. 534, dated boat model from tomb to early Dynasty 12);
- 7) ?, decayed “kitchen” scene (probably bakery-brewery), with squatting female and male figures, jars and vessels, an oven and a quern still attached, from tomb MR8 of *Hri-š.f-htp* II at Abusir (Schäfer 1908: 89; Tooley 1989: 59, identified as combined scene);

J. Storehouses-4

- 1) AEIN1632, storehouse brewing scene from tomb HMK30 of *Gmni-m-h^ct* (*Gmni*) at Saqqara, includes man carrying jars on yoke, brewer straining beer mash, 2 vats, 4 small jars, 4 large beer jars, cuts of meat hang (to dry) from roof, architecture with columns/partial roof, late Dynasty 11-early 12th Dynasty (Firth and Gunn 1926: 53, Pl. 28a-b; Breasted 1948: 34, Pl. 32c; Tooley 1989: 56-57, called storehouse; Jørgensen 1996: 130-131, Cat. 51; Do. Arnold 2005: type 7 model, 52, 54, Pl. 10.20);
- 2) J.E. (number unknown), storehouse with brewing-butcher activities from tomb 2757 of *Inpw-m-h^ct* and *Ushr-mwt* at Saqqara, one end roofed over and supported by four pillars, figures include 1 male brewer with jars, 1 female miller, 1 slaughtered ox, 1 man kneading dough, two women (one holding a fan) before ovens (cylindrical and conical) (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 12-13, called a “farmyard”; Tooley 1989: 55, 115, identified as a storehouse and attributed to *Ushr-mwt*’s burial, museum number given as J.E. 45496?; Do. Arnold 2005: 34, 35, n. 122 and Table 1, suggested the “storehouse” referred to a brewery of her type 7 Saqqara model with columns, and attributed to *Inpw-m-h^ct*’s burial); I followed Tooley’s attribution;

- 3) Cairo 14/3/15/8, storehouse brewing scene with cooking activities that includes brewer with vat at base of stairs, man carrying water jars on a yoke, duck roaster with fan, from burial of *K3-rnn* in tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mḏdnyt* at Saqqara, early 12th Dynasty (Quibell 1908: 8-9, Pl. 12; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 56, called storehouse; 1995: 42, Fig. 40, there identified as Cairo 14/3/5/8; Do. Arnold 2005: type 7 model, 52, Pl. 10.18, see her n. 218 for confusion in assignment of museum inv. numbers due to Quibell's description of models in tomb);
- 4) Cairo 4/3/23/1, storehouse with brewing-butchering activities that includes brewer with vat at base of stairs, a tall man who may have carried water jars on a yoke (missing), beer jars and table with beer jars, a slaughtered ox, and duck roaster, from burial of *Nfr-mḏdnyt* in tomb of *K3-rnn* and *Nfr-mḏdnyt* at Saqqara, early 12th Dynasty (Quibell 1908: 10-11, 76, Pl. 19.1, called "kitchen or slaughterhouse"; Breasted 1948: 46; Tooley 1989: 55, identified as storehouse; Arnold 2005: type 7 model, 52, 54, and Pl. 10.19);

IX. Late Middle Kingdom- single statuettes

A. Brewer straining mash into vat - 2

- 1) ?, standing brewer straining mash into vat, with 4 small globular jars, 1 tray with mash, 1 large vat with small jar on top, 1 other small jar in the form of a “cask”, from tomb of *Wh-htpi* son of *Hp* at Meir (near tomb A3), late Dynasty 12 (Kamal 1912: 114; Tooley 1989: 38; Merriman 2009: 366-368, 369, 604, and Cat. Nos. 140, 142, 143 and 508 dated boat models from tomb to late Dynasty 12);
- 2) J.E. 43307, BH487, from tomb of *Snb*, limestone brewer stands with bent knees next to large vat, into which he reaches with both hands, Dynasty 12 (Garstang 1907: 146, Fig. 144, left; Breasted 1948: 33, identified as earthenware; and Tooley 1989: 86, identified as clay; Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 161, identified as limestone);

X. Late Middle Kingdom- combined scenes

A. “Cooks”- 0, 1*

- 1) ?, wooden figures seated, raking fire (duck roasters?) from BH526, dated Dynasty 11- Amenemhat III (Garstang 1907: 228; Tooley 1989: 65, called “cooks”);

B. Brewery-0, 1*

- 1) ?, small vases (i.e., beer jars?) and two wooden figures from brewing scene, from late 12th Dynasty tomb BH440 (Garstang 1907: 225; Tooley 1989: 66);

C. Bakery-brewery-weaver shop with granary- 1

- 1) MMA 32.1.125, from mastaba B, tomb of *Dhwtj* at Lisht South, bakery-brewery figures includes 1 standing female miller, 1 standing woman dehusking grain in tall mortar with pestle, 1 standing female brewer straining mash and 1 seated man forming loaves on tray, late Dynasty 12 (Lansing 1933: 20-21, Fig. 16; Breasted 1948: 54, Pl. 38a; Tooley 1989: 53, counted with granaries, dated to early Dynasty 12; Tooley 1995: 39, Fig. 37; Merriman 2009: 595-597, Cat. 497-498 dated boat models from tomb to late Dynasty 12);

D. Brewery-butcher-weaver shop -1

- 1) MMA15.3.94, MMA15.3.95, MMA15.3.97, MMA15.3.98, MMA15.3.99, bound/slaughtered ox, tray with carved vegetables, vat or cauldron, sealed beer jar, spinning bowl, all painted limestone, from cemetery south of tomb 493 of *Nht*, pit 428, north chamber at Lisht North, MMA 1913-1914 excavations, mid-late Dynasty 12 (MMA online photos); could have been combined with wooden figures or could represent separate models;

XI. Tables comparing Tooley's and Kroenke's totals for kitchen scenes

Key:

1= Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4-5)

2= Late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8)

3= First Intermediate Period (Heracleopolitan Dynasties 9-10/early Dynasty 11 at Thebes)

4= Early Middle Kingdom (Reunification Dynasty 11- early Dynasty 12)

5= Late Middle Kingdom (Mid Dynasty 12-Dynasties 13/17)

T= Tooley's data

K= Kroenke's data

*= denotes fragment

Tooley's total number of kitchen models: 211

Kroenke's revised total: 305

XI.1. SINGLE FIGURES

	1		2		3		4		5	
MODEL TYPE	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
Miller w/quern	20	22,5*	6	6,4*	2	5	1	1	—	—
Woman w/mortar	—	—	1	1	0	1	—	—	—	—
Baker forming loaves	9	9	1,4*	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baker kneading dough	—	3	3	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Flour sifter	4	7	—	0,2*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baker preheating molds	3	6,3*	4	4,8*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brewer straining mash	8	12,2*	1,5*	6,5*	0	3	0	4	0	2
Beer jar cleaner or sealer	4	10	2	1,4*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Butcher	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duck roaster	3	4,1*	5	6,2*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cook	0	3	—	—	1	0	—	—	—	—
SUBTOTALS	53	91	32	52	2	9	1	5	0	2

XI.2. PAIRED FIGURES

	1		2		3		4		5	
MODEL TYPE	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
Miller & flour sifter	0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Double millers	—	—	0	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Miller & baker preheating molds	—	—	0	1	1	2	—	—	—	—
Miller & brewer	—	—	3	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Two brewers	—	—	0	2	0	1	—	—	—	—
Brewer & water carrier	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	—	—
SUBTOTALS	0	1	3	5	1	3	0	1	0	0

XI.3. GROUP SCENES

	1		2		3		4		5	
MODEL TYPE	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
Bakery	—	—	1	1	2,3*	2,2*	4,15*	11,13*	0	—
Brewery	—	—	1	1,1*	0,1*	1	6,5*	4,2*	0	0,1*
Butcher shop	—	—	—	—	1,1*	0	3,8*	4,8*	—	—
Bakery-brewery scene	—	—	—	—	3	3	11,1*	14,4*	0,1*	0
Bakery-butcher scene	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1,2*	—	—
Brewery-butcher scene	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0,1*	—	—
Bakery-brewery-butcher scene	—	—	—	—	1	5	13	17,1*	—	—
“Cooking” scene	—	—	1	1	14	12,1*	3	0	—	0,1*
“Kitchen” scene	—	—	—	—	1,6*	0	0	0	—	—
“Group” scene	—	—	—	—	3	9	4	5,2*	0	—
Storehouse (includes brewing, butchering, cooking)	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—
Bakery-brewery-weavers-granary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Brewery-butcher-weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1
SUBTOTALS	0	0	3	4	36	35	79	93	1	4
TOTALS	53	92	38	61	39	47	80	99	1	6