ASKUT IN NUBIA

STUDIES IN EGYPTOLOGY

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ASKUT IN NUBIA
STUART TYSON SMITH

ASKUT IN NUBIA

THE ECONOMICS AND IDEOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

STUART TYSON SMITH

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For My Father

Russell Robert Smith, Jr.

1917-1982

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Chronology (Chapters 1-2)

REIGN	NATIVES	NUBIA	EGYPT	DATE
Early Dynastic Period	A-Group	Peaceful Trade	Unification	**2920 - 2575**
Dynasty 1				
Djer			Consolidation of State	
Dynasty 2		Conquest by Egypt		
Old Kingdom	Hiatus?	Eradication Imperialism	Pyramid Building	**2649 - 2134**
Dynasty 3				
Dynasty 4				
Dynasty 5				
Dynasty 6	C-Group Ia	Peaceful Trade		
Dynasty 7-8				
First Intermediate Period			Civil Wars	**2134-2040**
Dynasty 9-10				
Dynasty 11 (Early)				
Middle Kingdom	C-Group Ib	Reconquest	Reunification	**2040-1652**
Dynasty 11 (Late)		Equilibrium Imperialism		**2040-1991**
Dynasty 12	*Kerma Moyen*			**1991-1785**
Amenemhet I		Buhen, Semna South Built	Capital moved from Thebes to *Iṭ-T3wy* near entrance to Fayum	
Senwosret I				
Amenemhet II				
Senwosret II		Mirgissa Built		
Senwosret III	C-Group IIa	Askut, Uronarti, etc. Built	Increased Centralization	
Amenemhet III				
Amenemhet IV	Pan Grave			
Nefrusobek				

Chronology (Chapters 3-5)

REIGN	NATIVES	NUBIA	EGYPT	DATE
Middle Kingdom	C-Group IIa Pan Grave	Equilibrium Colonialism	Central Control Firm	**2040 -1652**
Dynasty 13	*Kerma Classique I*		Capital Still at *Iṯ-Tȝwy* near entrance to the Fayyum	**1785-1652**
Wegaf Amenemhet V Hor Neferhotep I Sobekhotep V		Central Control Loosens *K-XVI*	Hyksos Influence Grows in the Delta	
Dynasty 14 Nehesy				
Second Intermediate Period	C-Group IIb Pan Grave	Kerman Control *Equilibrium Imperialism*	Egypt Divided:	**1652-1544**
Dynasty 15 (*Hyksos*)	*Kerma Classique II*	*K-X*	Hyksos Control North from Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)	
Salitis Sheshi Khayan Apophis Khamudi	*Kerma Classique III*	*K-IV*	Egyptians Control South from Thebes	
Dynasty 17 (*Thebans*) Inyotef V Sequenenre Tao I Sequenenre Tao II Kamose	C-Group III	*K-III* Reconquest	War of Expulsion of the Hyksos Begins	
Dynasty 18 Ahmose			Sack of Avaris	

Kamose Khamudi **Dynasty 18** Ahmose	C-Group III	*K-III* Reconquest	the Hyksos Begins Sack of Avaris	

Chronology (Chapters 6-7)

REIGN	NATIVES	NUBIA	EGYPT	DATE
New Kingdom	C-Group III Pan Grave	Acculturation Colonialism	Reunification	**1552-1070**
Dynasty 18				**1552-1307**
Ahmose		Sai Island Captured Fadrus 1b		
Amenhotep I				
Thutmose I		Sack of Kerma Kerma Uprisings		
Thutmose II		Fadrus IIa-b		
Thutmose III/Hatshepsut			Conquest of Syro-Palestine	
Amenhotep II		Fadrus IIc	Equilibrium Imperialism	
Thutmose IV				
Amenhotep III	Transitional Group	Fadrus IIIa-b		
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton			Amarna Period	
Tutankhamen				
Horemheb				
Ramesside Period	Complete Acculturation	Acculturation Colonialism		**1307-1070**
Dynasty 19				**1307-1196**
Ramesses I				
Seti I				
Ramesses II			Battle of Kadesh	
Merneptah			Sea Peoples Repulsed	
Dynasty 20				**1196-1070**
Setnakht				
Ramesses III			Sea Peoples Repulsed Loss of Asiatic Empire	
Ramesses IV-X				
Ramesses XI Herihor		Panhesy Revolts, Loss of Nubia	Decline of Central Authority	

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Stuart Tyson Smith
Los Angeles, 1994

Chapter 1

A Model for Egyptian Imperialism

Egyptologists such as Janssen (*e.g.*, 1975, 1979, 1982), O'Connor (*e.g.*, 1972, 1991 and in Trigger, *et al.* 1983), Bleiberg (*e.g.*, 1984, 1988), Assmann (*e.g.*, 1991) and Kemp (*e.g.*, 1989) have increasingly adopted a more synthetic, theoretical approach, like that envisioned by Donald Redford (1979:4-6, 10-13). Egypt's involvement in Nubia (Figure 1.1) provides an excellent opportunity to attempt a study embracing a wide body of theory, and with application outside of Egyptology. Egyptian imperialism in Nubia passed through several distinct stages (see Trigger 1976; Adams 1977; Kemp 1978 and Frandsen 1979). During the Old Kingdom, military campaigns and slave raids destroyed or pushed out the native A-Group culture in Lower Nubia. At least one outpost was established (at Buhen) for the exploitation of mineral resources, but it was eventually abandoned. The C-Group re-occupied Lower Nubia at the end of the Old Kingdom, establishing control over the region. Egyptian trading expeditions were sent out from Aswan, but there was no attempt at military control. With the Middle Kingdom, emphasis was placed on the exploitation of resources and trade routes. A chain of several powerful fortresses was established up to the Second Cataract, but little significant contact existed between the natives and occupying Egyptians. The Second Intermediate Period saw all Nubia controlled by the powerful Kerma polity from the south, with a mixture of Kerma, Pan Grave, local C-Group and expatriate Egyptian cultures in Lower Nubia. With the beginning of the New Kingdom came the Egyptian reconquest, and a new colonial policy which brought Nubia directly into the Egyptian civil and religious systems.

Egyptological Formulations

Most of the theoretical work in the study of Egyptian Imperialism is being done by scholars with an anthropological background. One common Egyptological explanation for the differences in imperial policy between the Middle and New Kingdoms is that the re-unification of Egypt in these periods created a military and bureaucratic impetus towards conquest (Kemp 1978:20 ff.; Murnane 1983:56; and to a lesser extent even Adams 1984). This is not really sufficient to explain the nature of Egyptian imperialism, and is

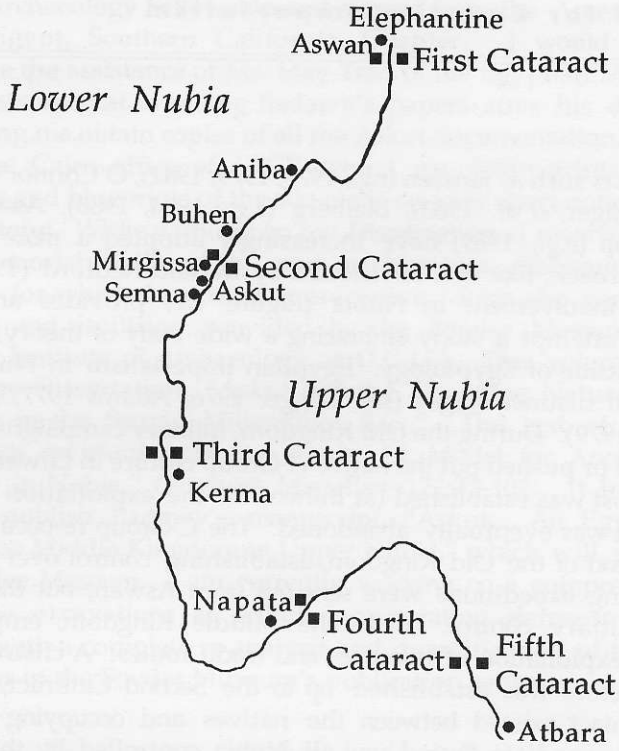

Figure 1.1 The Nile from the First to Fifth Cataracts.

something like saying that the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and the Serbian Crisis explains the war of 1914. The early campaigns of Eighteenth Dynasty into Palestine and Nubia were a direct result of the Egyptian desire to expel the Hyksos and neutralize the potential threat from Kush (Kerma). Weinstein (1981) stresses the punitive nature of the attacks on Syro-Palestine, with a truly imperialistic policy developing only with the reign of Thutmose III, especially with his Megiddo campaign. At this point, the Egyptians had a number of options, including simple withdrawal after neutralizing the enemy. The pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom engaged in a considerable number of campaigns south of the Second Cataract, yet no attempt was made to extend formal Egyptian

control into this region. It requires more than the simple presence of a military impetus to explain the contrasting systems.

Williams (1995) stresses the military purpose of the Nubian forts, arguing that trade played only a minor role. He rightly argues that the scale of construction and costs of manning the fortresses indicates a compelling military interest in the Egyptian expansion. This threat came from the rising *Kerma Moyen* polity. His contention that gold, trade goods and exotica from the south would have come to Egypt in any case and were therefore not a consideration is not convincing. If the Egyptians could eliminate the costs imposed by C-Group middlemen by establishing an imperial presence, then the fort system could have been 'profitable' from an economic point of view, as long as it did not exceed these payments in resources expended on the forts. The resolution of security concerns would have helped mitigate the costs of the imperial system. Williams also sees an economic and political necessity as driving imperial expansion. During the First Intermediate Period the borders had become porous, with Nubian mercenaries entering the private armies of various Nomarchs and fighting on either side of the civil war. Only an occupation would effectively secure the border. Egyptian political renegades and deserters from the labor corvée would also find it more difficult to flee Egypt with a large controlled buffer zone between Egypt proper an independent Nubia. These individuals provided both a drain on Egyptian state resources and a potential threat in the service of potential rivals like Kerma. Williams also suggests, based on figures extrapolated by Hayes (1955), that the corvée runaways would have made up a substantial number, from 3000-4000 per year, providing a real economic burden in lost labor to the state. These figures, however, are derived from a single papyrus, which covers short periods in three years of the reign of Amenemhet III. The representativeness of the reports and the nature of the Labor Prison (*ḥnrt*) courts is not well enough understood to place any great confidence in the numbers extrapolated from the papyrus. Williams' arguments provide some good points for the initial expansion and practical application of force in Lower Nubia, and some motives for the character of the imperial system in the early Middle Kingdom. It does not, however, explain why the Egyptians chose a massive deployment in Nubia and the maintenance of the traditional border at the Nile Delta and political manipulation in Syro-Palestine at the same time, and when faced with a similar threat of the rising military power of Middle Bronze Age civilization and corvée deserters combined with potentially destabilizing political refugees like Sinuhe.

The argument that fundamental differences in the *Weltanschauung* of the two periods explain the differing imperial approaches provides a more explanatory model for the changes and differences in policy between regions and time periods. Wilson, one of the few Egyptologists to attempt a synthetic, explanatory approach,[1] provides a summary of this idea. He characterizes the Middle Kingdom as essentially pacific and isolationist, concentrating more on internal development than external conquest. With the expulsion of the Hyksos, Egypt no longer felt secure and content within her own borders. The frontier was seen as rebellious and potentially threatening, and a policy of outright expansionism was followed (Wilson 1951:167, 174). Trigger also argues that the personality of the monarchs and the domestic political situation fueled the extent of Egypt's imperial ambitions. Thus the critical factor between the Old Kingdom A-Group depopulation and Middle Kingdom coexistence strategies was the more moderate nature of Twelfth Dynasty rulers in their control over both Egypt and Nubia (Trigger 1976:78). The idea of pacifist or even simply moderate kings in the Middle Kingdom, however, is contradicted by their Nubian policies, both ideological and practical. Senwosret III's Semna Stela adopts an overtly bellicose tone, glorifying war and conquest. Passages in this text seem to react to the more genuinely passive policy of the late Old Kingdom, seen in the expeditions of officials like Harkhuf. For example, one part of Senwosret III's Semna Stela, copied at Uronarti, reads (Koenigliche Museen 1913:257-8; Janssen 1953; *cf.* Lichtheim 1973:119-20): 'The son is pleasing who protects his father, and maintains the boundary of his begetter. But as for one who leaves it or who fails to fight for it, then he is not my son, nor was he born to me.' Statements such as these are naturally propagandistic, and may or may not reflect the social and political reality (*e.g.*, Posener 1956; Loprieno 1988:22-34; and for pictorial representations Simpson 1982). Senwosret III was, in fact, quite aggressive in protecting his border, making several punitive raids into Upper Nubia, and a careful watch was kept by each of the forts on the movements of the natives (see below Chapter 2). Similar military campaigns continued throughout Twelfth and well into Thirteenth Dynasty (Trigger 1976:83).

Trigger also acknowledges the nature of the conquered civilization as an important influence. Thus during the New Kingdom, the Levantine states were thought of as civilized peoples with an equivalent complexity and technology to Egypt. They were therefore treated as subject states and taxed.

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[1]Contrasting sharply with the more typically Egyptological and entirely descriptive work of Sir Alan Gardiner (1961).

Kerma and Lower Nubia, however, were thought of as barbarians, and their cultures were completely reorganized along Egyptian lines (*ibid.*:110). An important distinction, however, should be made between the settlements in Palestine and Lebanon/Syria at different periods in the Middle Bronze Age (MB). Centers such as Byblos and Ugarit were always treated as important trading partners, but the small, loosely organized settlements in MB I Palestine were, like the C-Group, considered to be of little account. Thus Sinuhe, along with the Middle Kingdom administration, largely bypasses the region, settling in Upper Retenu, perhaps not far from Byblos, a recognized area of cultural sophistication, where at least some people spoke Egyptian (Redford 1992:82-97; Loprieno 1988:41-59). By the Late Bronze Age, after the rise of the Hyksos, both the Palestinian and Lebanese/Syrian centers were of sufficient complexity to warrant serious attention (Redford 1992:82-97). Despite state ideological representations of Asiatics as uncivilized enemies, Levantine mythical and literary motifs, loanwords, and deities such as Ba'al, Astarte, and Reshep, all entered into the Egyptian cultural sphere during the New Kingdom (Kemp 1978:37; Redford 1992:229-37; and for the contradiction between ideology and reality, Loprieno 1988 and below Chapter 7). At the same time, not a single native Nubian cultural motif can be detected in Egypt, and no native deity was deemed to be of sufficient importance to be adopted into the Egyptian pantheon, although local gods were apparently syncretized as Horus or Hathor of a particular place during the Middle Kingdom (Kemp 1978:37-8).

Säve-Söderbergh also considers the character of the native population. He sees the lack of acculturation in the Middle Kingdom as a reaction by the native groups to the Egyptian military occupation of Nubia. The late 18th to early 19th Dynasty Transitional group of tombs with a distinctly, if somewhat generic, native Nubian configuration found in the Scandinavian concession would also represent a conservative backlash to the Egyptian acculturation policy (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:9, 1991:8, 12). Williams (1991) has noted that the C-Group deliberately maintained a cultural contrast with Egypt, even when adopting some Egyptian practices. Ian Hodder has observed a similar pattern in modern Kenya (1979). Tribes competing over limited resources maintain distinctly separate material cultures, stressing inter-group differences. "When tensions exist between groups, specific artifacts may be used as part of the expression of within-group corporateness and "belongingness" in reference to outsiders" (*ibid.*:450). Removal of the Middle Kingdom garrisons allowed more peaceful interaction and the beginning of acculturation. Superior Egyptian technology and culture was rapidly adopted. This process was furthered by the use of Nubians as mercenaries in the war against the Hyksos, and the less exploitative nature

of the New Kingdom assimilation policy. By the time of the reconquest, much of the population was amenable to integration into the Egyptian social and economic systems, which provided them with considerable benefits. From the Egyptian point of view, the new policy was driven less by economic interests like the exploitation of gold and other resources, which nonetheless played a role, than the need to neutralize completely the growing threat posed by the now powerful Kerman state. Only complete domination and control could permanently eliminate the danger (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:4 ff.; 1991:10 ff.).

These are all good points, and Säve-Söderbergh's emphasis on the native population as an active player is particularly important. Yet are these factors enough to account for the differences between the Middle and New Kingdom imperial patterns? Williams (1991:84) has noted that neither military force nor familiarity with Egyptian customs can explain the rapid acculturation of the C-Group/Pan Grave culture in the New Kingdom. The nature of Egyptian-Nubian relations from the Middle to New Kingdom supports this observation. The New Kingdom armies were just as much an occupying force as those of the Middle Kingdom. They may have been perceived as less of a threat, but why? Nubian mercenaries could have brought back Egyptian culture in the Second Intermediate Period, but Nubians were also employed as soldiers during the First Intermediate Period civil war, and may have even helped in the Middle Kingdom conquest (Fischer 1961). More convincing is the argument that an already acculturated or acculturating population was more receptive to Egyptianization, although the idea of a 'superior' Egyptian culture, and to some extent even technology, is overstated. This theme will be pursued with a slightly different twist below. As noted above, destruction of Kerma as a motive explains only the impetus for military action, not the subsequent occupation, and, more importantly, imperial policy.

Kemp (1978:20) argues that although militarism and the pursuit of glory and booty might have provided an initial impetus for expansion, the extension of the state, both secular and religious, fits a scribal, bureaucratic value system. It is this sub-system, well integrated throughout the Egyptian state system as a whole, which drove Egyptian imperial policy in the New Kingdom. Kemp particularly argues against an economic return as a prime motive in imperialism (*ibid.* 1978:19). He notes that for the New Kingdom much of the revenue was consumed locally through a temple redistribution system similar to that of Egypt itself, and thus was of no economic benefit to Egypt (*ibid.* 1978:33). This argument is not entirely convincing. A colonized Nubia might be expected to underwrite a considerable portion, if not the

entire cost, of imperial maintenance. This contrasts sharply with the situation during the Middle Kingdom, where the fort system must have provided a considerable drain on the royal resources. Smith argues that a more permanent garrison system was established during Thirteenth Dynasty in order to cut imperial costs (1976:68-9).

Kemp's view is by no means universal. Wilson recognized the importance of commerce as a factor in the end of Middle Kingdom 'isolationism' and the change to a new emphasis on expansionism (1951:174, as does Murnane 1983:56). Zibelius-Chen (1988:69, 126-58, 195-6, 204 ff.), while acknowledging the importance of political factors such as the rise of Kerma and the Hyksos, also gives considerable weight to the value of Nubian resources, whether in products or manpower, as a key motive for Egypt's expansion into Nubia in the Middle and New Kingdom. She adopts the Egyptian point of view, characterizing the relationship between Egypt and Nubia as exploitative. Changes in the native C-Group simply reflect that dominance. She relies, however, too heavily on Egyptian ideological representations of Nubia as a subdued country whose people were inferior and must be pacified. Thus, the actions of the natives are largely irrelevant, except in stimulating a response when they might threaten Egypt's security. Additionally, since the Egyptian ideological portrait of Nubia changes little from the Middle to the New Kingdom, she underplays the marked differences in the imperial systems during these periods (see Chapter 7 below).

Adams (1984:40), an anthropologist, adopts the most explicitly economic model. The nature of exploitation is critical as a driver for colonial policy. When the area produced animals, in the late Predynastic and Archaic Periods, the Egyptians pursued a policy of peaceful trade. A demand for slaves in the early Old Kingdom resulted in a more bellicose policy of depopulation. The exploitation of mineral resources led to the establishment of extractive industries, with changing demands determining the nature of the system through the New Kingdom. Working along with this was the need to control the critical trade routes to the south. This model gets closer to a viable explanation for Egyptian imperialism, but is still not entirely satisfactory, since the patterns of exploitation in the Middle and New Kingdoms are not really that different. Although many important and useful observations have been made by Egyptologists, no one system provides an adequate explanation for the changes in Egyptian imperialism. We must look outside of Egyptology for a model for Egyptian imperialism.

A Definition of Imperialism

Zibelius-Chen (1988:xiii ff.) argues strongly against the use of a modern concept like 'imperialism' for an ancient society such as Egypt. We need not, however, be bound only to concepts and terms which existed in antiquity, nor is the concept of imperialism only applicable to the late nineteenth century domination of the Third World by the industrial West. At the most basic level, imperialism is about power, the domination of one society over others (whether cultural, economic, political or a mixture of the three). Beyond this basic statement, little consensus exists in the literature for a definition of imperialism. Horvath attributes this to an emphasis by scholars on the modern, Western expressions of the phenomenon, a tendency to avoid theory, particularly in the humanities, and the application of terms (often ideologically loaded) to specific situations in rigid formulations (1972:46). Perhaps the most useful system for archaeological data is that developed by Horvath (1972) and adapted by Bartel (1980, 1985; also Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:10 ff.). It uses a matrix, with a difference between Colonialism (with settlers) and Imperialism (no settlers), and Eradication, Acculturation and Equilibrium strategies within these (Figure 1.2).

This matrix is particularly appropriate for Egypt. The abrupt disappearance of the A-Group culture at the end of the Archaic Period (Dynasties 1 and 2) has been attributed to Egyptian aggression, including mass deportations (Trigger 1965:77 ff.; Adams 1977:139). It was accompanied not by large scale resettlement of the area by Egyptians but by the establishment of a very few specialized sites for the exploitation of mineral wealth (Trigger 1965:79 f., 1976:46 ff., Adams 1977:138 f.). It can be seen as an example of Eradication Imperialism. During the Middle Kingdom the native C-Group were allowed to remain in Nubia and retained their culture with little Egyptian interference.[2] Again there was no real attempt at large scale settlement, but rather the establishment of a series of forts aimed at controlling the local population, maintaining and securing the riverine and desert trade routes, and exploiting certain mineral resources (Trigger 1976:67 ff.; Adams 1977:183 ff.; Smith 1991b). This provides a good example of Equilibrium Imperialism. Egypt's New Kingdom policy towards the Levant was similar (*cf.*, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:12). Again, there was no

[2]Hodder (1979) has established that the maintenance of separate material cultures does not necessarily indicate limited contact and interaction. In the case of the C-Group, however, there is a corresponding lack of culturally neutral trade goods which might establish any substantial interaction (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:9). Williams (1983:117). has suggested that the Egyptians deliberately restricted the trade in copper.

	Colonialism	Imperialism
Eradication	Replacement of native by colonial culture.	**Dissappearance of all regional habitation.**
Acculturation	Indigenous culture change to colonial culture.	**Change in indigenous economic system to imperial system.**
Equilibrium	Separate settlement enclaves of the two cultures.	**Indigenous cultural maintenance with only small imperial presence.**

Figure 1.2 Horvath/Bartel Matrix.

attempt at colonization. The Egyptian presence was never very large and always military and administrative (and perhaps also commercial). Each city state was left to govern its own territory, the only constraint being the regular collection of tribute for Egypt and the restriction of relations outside of the system. Morkot has suggested that Egyptian policy in Upper Nubia between Kawa and the Fourth Cataract may have been along similar lines, with local princes/chiefs as tributaries of Pharaoh (Morkot 1987:40). The general lack of New Kingdom Egyptian remains found in recent work in the fertile Dongola Reach between Kawa and Gebel Barkal tends to support this picture. In this case it would represent another example of Equilibrium Imperialism, with key control points established in the settlements at Kawa and Gebel Barkal, but no permanent settlers within the region itself. Egypt's Nubian policy at the same period was radically different. Nubia was brought completely within the Egyptian social, economic, religious and

administrative systems. Settlers were sent to Nubia from Egypt as well as captive populations from the Levant. Acculturation was encouraged, with indigenous elites allowed virtually full participation in the Egyptian system (Kemp 1978:29 ff.; Frandsen 1979). Some eventually reached high ranks in the bureaucracy in Egypt and Nubia (Kemp 1978:35 f.). What we see here is clearly an example of Acculturation Colonialism.[3] The weakness of Horvath's system is that it makes no attempt to explain why a particular strategy was chosen. The next step, therefore, is to link this classification with a theoretical framework.

Theories of Imperialism

Frandsen (1979) concludes that the data do not allow us to comment on the motives and purpose of Egyptian imperialism. This view is, however, overly pessimistic. Archaeology can shed considerable light on the nature of imperial systems. It can provide a level of diachronic and cross-cultural data which is unavailable for modern manifestations of the phenomenon. Yet despite this, the theoretical approach to ancient imperialism is still in its infancy. Studies to date have tended to be descriptive, without many serious attempts to go beyond the how to the why of imperial systems. Those which do often take a comparative approach at a generally synthetic level (*eg.*, various contributions in Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991). Such work is useful for stimulating discussion, but by itself can only advance our knowledge of imperialism in a limited way. These formulations need to be tested in explicit, localized studies (Bartel 1980:14 f., 1985:11, and Alcock 1989:88 f.). D'Altroy (1992) provides a thorough summary of the theoretical issues involved in studies of imperialism in his analysis of Inca provincial organization (see below). The following discussion, while not as far ranging, will treat some of the more important points relevant to a consideration of Egyptian imperialism.

The work of Eisenstadt (1979) provides a good example of the tendency towards over generalization. He divides imperial systems into 'patrimonial' ones, with little differentiation between center and periphery

[3] *cf.* Säve-Söderbergh and Troy (1991:10 ff.), who characterizes the New Kingdom as Acculturation Imperialism. It is useful, however, to make a distinction between the Middle Kingdom rotating impermanent garrisons and New Kingdom settled colonists, even if the Egyptians did not travel to Nubia out of a necessity to relieve an overpopulated Egypt, and were comparatively restricted in number. I agree with Säve-Söderbergh's (1989:10-1, 1991:8-9) objections to the idea that the native population was simply replaced by Egyptian colonists (see below Chapter 6).

and little interconnectedness between the parts, and 'imperial' ones, where there is considerable differentiation within the empire, but a high level of interconnectedness between the individual parts. He likens this to a difference between mechanical and organic solidarity within the two systems. Thus, the kind of empire, 'patrimonial' or 'imperial,' guides the structure of the imperial system (Eisenstadt 1979). Yet there are basic problems with this analysis when it is applied to Egypt. Eisenstadt ignores the external empire in the Levant and Nubia. He sees Egypt as an internal patrimonial empire, composed of a number of like parts, the Nomes. This proposal itself could be contested. Patterns of land tenure contradict the lack of integration proposed in Eisenstadt's model. From the Old Kingdom on land holdings by an individual or institution might be spread throughout Egypt regardless of Nome boundaries (Kemp in Trigger, *et al.* 1983:89-92).

Eisenstadt would portray Egypt as a group of culturally similar polities which have strong tendencies towards independence in times when the central authority weakens. This model was long in vogue among Egyptologists, but is now being replaced by a more integrative one. Although Kemp (1989:65-107) posits the existence of strong local 'cultures' early in Egypt's history, he argues that distinctive 'Preformal' religious traditions were completely replaced throughout Egypt by a 'Formal' state culture by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. O'Connor (1992) suggests that this process began even earlier. At both Abydos and Hierakonpolis temples were built during the Archaic Period in an early 'Formal' style, and it is possible that similar structures once existed at other provincial sites. If this is the case, then the early elites made a determined effort from the beginning of Egypt's history to bind the Nomes into a single nation-state through the spread of elite culture to provincial areas. Local traditions were apparently still viable down to the end of the Old Kingdom, although they were gradually eclipsed by the 'Formal' culture of the emerging nation. O'Connor's argument is supported by the durability of the Egyptian state. Over some 2000 plus years from the Archaic Period to the Third Intermediate Period, the times of actual disunity probably do not exceed three centuries. This number dwindles to decades if a division of the country into two unified polities, as was the case throughout the bulk of the First and Second Intermediate Periods, is considered 'unity.' Egypt should be viewed as a well integrated nation-state, not an Empire made up of smaller, homogeneous polities dominated by a center.

But whatever the internal situation, the two imperial systems imposed by the Egyptians on the Levant and Nubia vary so widely as to belie any explanation which relies solely on the internal character of the conquering

society. Egypt's approach to the latter was initially more along Imperial lines. Great differences between conqueror and conquered were fostered. Later an acculturation policy was followed (presumably a more Patrimonial approach). At the same time a classically Imperial system was adopted in the Levant, with great diversity allowed to exist between center and periphery. The fact that Egypt was a Patrimonial empire internally (if indeed it was), characterized by a high degree of mechanical solidarity, apparently had little influence on how it approached external imperial situations. Bartel (1985:12) has pointed out that this diversity of approach to imperial situations over time and space is more the norm than the exception in the history of empires. Eisenstadt's model therefore works better as an approach to individual imperial situations. A state can choose between Patrimonial and Imperial styles of dominance. If we adopt this idea, then Eisenstadt's model is reduced to a typology without direct theoretical implications. What we want to know is why one or the other system was chosen.

Eisenstadt, along with others, emphasizes the dominant society to the exclusion of the indigenous cultures. Doyle (1986:128 ff..), on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of the local population in determining the nature of the colonial system. In order to adopt an imperialist approach, however, the aggressor must also meet certain criteria. There must be a metropolitan polity (or metropole) with a highly centralized government, strong sense of community, and substantial degree of social differentiation. Not all societies meeting these criteria, however, become imperial powers. Although ideological factors and the interests of the agents of contact can be important, the specific nature of the imperial system adopted is largely determined by the character of the dominated society. Conquered societies are classified into three levels of internal organization, tribal, patrimonial, and feudal. These fall along a continuum of three critical variables, level of systemic integration, centralization and social stratification (Figure 1.3).

A tribal society's critical lack of centralization and social differentiation make it particularly vulnerable to aggression. Its high level of systemic integration magnifies the shock to any one part of the system. Thus a system collapse is almost inevitable, encouraging direct intervention by the aggressor. The North American Indian is a good example of this pattern. A high level of integration with low centralization made both coordinated resistance and co-operation difficult.

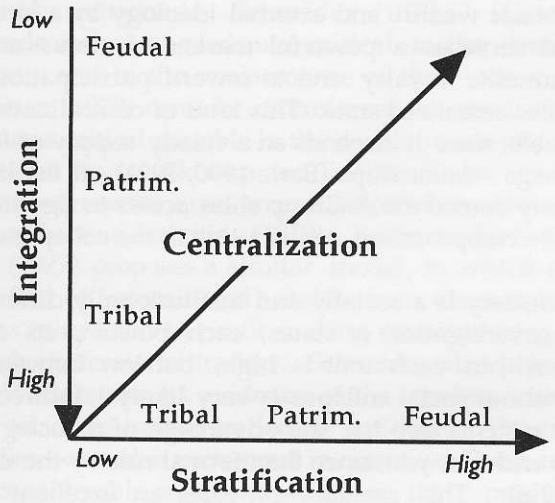

Figure 1.3 Doyle's Model of Peripheral Societies.

The patrimonial society has a greater degree of differentiation but still lacks a centralization sufficient to effectively resist dominance. The presence of a local elite and some institutional differentiation allows for collaboration while avoiding system collapse. The exploiting center gradually integrates sectors of the indigenous society into its system, until the local ruler is either deposed and replaced by a governor or co-opted by the center. Imperial rule is much more likely to be indirect, through native intermediaries, than with a tribal society. The C-Group and A-Group would fall into this category. The former coped with imperial intervention, eventually becoming fully integrated into the imperial culture. The latter had developed a degree of centralization by the Early Dynastic period (Williams 1986), perhaps reaching the level of a complex chiefdom (O'Connor 1993). The A-Group nonetheless could not cope with Egyptian aggression and suffered a system collapse, perhaps in part due to a relatively high level of systemic integration. The presence of luxury goods from Egypt and Egyptian symbolism in elite burials at Qustul suggests that this centralization was founded on long distance sumptuary exchange.[4]

[4]*Contra* Williams 1980 and 1986, who suggests that the A-Group rulers originated motifs associated with Egyptian kingship like the *serekh* palace façade and Horus Falcon. His view is, however, not widely accepted (*eg.*, O'Connor 1993). The limited

Control over esoteric wealth and external ideology by a king or paramount chieftain would serve as a powerful marker of status and as political currency to ensure elite loyalty and to reward participation by elites and commoners in the centralized state. This kind of centralization is, however, inherently unstable, since it depends on a steady supply of foreign objects to maintain patronage relationships (Earle 1990, 1991). If the kings of the First or Second Dynasty denied the A-Group elites access to Egyptian goods, their position would be compromised, contributing to the collapse of their society.

The feudal society is a socially and institutionally differentiated polity of small quasi sovereignties, or states, each pursuing its own advantage. Centralization within each unit is high, but low between units. Here collaboration without social collapse is very likely. Indirect rule over such well developed systems also has the advantage of reducing administrative costs and meets with less resistance than formal rule by the exploiting polity (Doyle 1986:132-6). This category provides an excellent model for the Egypt's relations with the Levantine petty kingdoms during the New Kingdom. Doyle's formulation, while interesting and important in recognizing both ends of the system, perhaps places too much emphasis on the nature of the dominated culture. It is hard to detect differences in the level of complexity of the A-Group and C-Group cultures substantial enough to explain the differences between Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom imperial strategies in Nubia.

In essence, he down plays the economic nature of imperialism. Far from being abandoned as a prime mover in studies of imperialism (Kemp 1978:19; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Hodder 1986), it has been given much attention over the past decade with the application of Wallerstein's (1974) Modern World System to antiquity (*ie.*: Schneider 1977, Ekholm and Friedman 1979, Blanton and Feinman 1984, Rowlands, *et al.* 1987). In his original formulation, Wallerstein argued that the World System did not exist before the development of capitalism only a few centuries ago. Transportation networks were not sophisticated enough to carry bulk goods, like grain and cloth, which represented high amounts of stored energy (man hours for their production). Ancient exchange was restricted to luxury goods used only as status markers for a restricted elite, and thus not important in the total economic system. Only trade in staples could support a World System with its attendant inequities between center and an exploited periphery. This

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use of Egyptian motifs is more likely due to conscious borrowing by the A-Group elites in order to emphasize their own power and authority (see Earle 1990, 1991).

notion was quickly criticized. Schneider (1977:22 ff.) notes that the international trade in luxury goods was critical to the development of the early civilizations and to the maintenance of their elites. Both Redman (1978) and Hoffman (1979) consider control over the production of and trade in luxury goods as a critical variable in the development of complex societies in the Near East and Egypt. Ekholm and Friedman argue that accumulation of goods at centers represents a real accumulation of wealth, which might be re-invested in productive activities (1979). In his analysis of the suburbs of Amarna, Kemp (1977) proposes a similar model, in which large estates in Egypt acted as foci of accumulated wealth from the surplus production of grain, which was reinvested in profit making manufacturing and mercantile activities through professional traders. Schneider also points out that bulk goods cited by Wallerstein as evidence of the modern world system, like wine and olive oil, were indeed traded in antiquity. Other products, like copper and textiles, were also exchanged in quantity. These trade goods were invested with considerable energy expended in their production, and were central to the economic systems concerned. For example, Kohl points out that the thriving long-distance trade in metals and textiles between Assyria and Anatolia was critical to the former's entire economic system. In a manner highly reminiscent of modern imperialism, core areas might even serve as nodes for the production of manufactured goods which were traded to the periphery in exchange for raw materials (Kohl 1987; also Larsen 1987). It would be too much to say that there is a complete correspondence between the modern and ancient systems, but by noting points of continuity and discontinuity we can understand both better. For our purposes, Kohl's (1987) model of multiple world systems is the most appropriate to the Near East. A simplified reconstruction of this system after the fall of Mittanni might look something like Figure 1.4.

Each center has its own dominated periphery, which might fluctuate from period to period. Theoretically, vassal states were not allowed to treat outside their system. In practice, border states had considerable flexibility. Unlike the modern system, dependent states could break off and align with other systems, or even occasionally become the center of their own system. Centers might fall and be replaced by new centers, as was the case with Mittanni and Hatti. The World System can contribute to the study of ancient imperialism through its emphasis on the fundamentally economic nature of contacts between societies, which might be the result of stronger societies and their elites imposing themselves on less developed areas for material profit (Kohl 1987:24). The critical point for this study is that Egypt's relations with Nubia were ultimately driven by economic (not ideological) considerations which spanned the entire system and connected with external

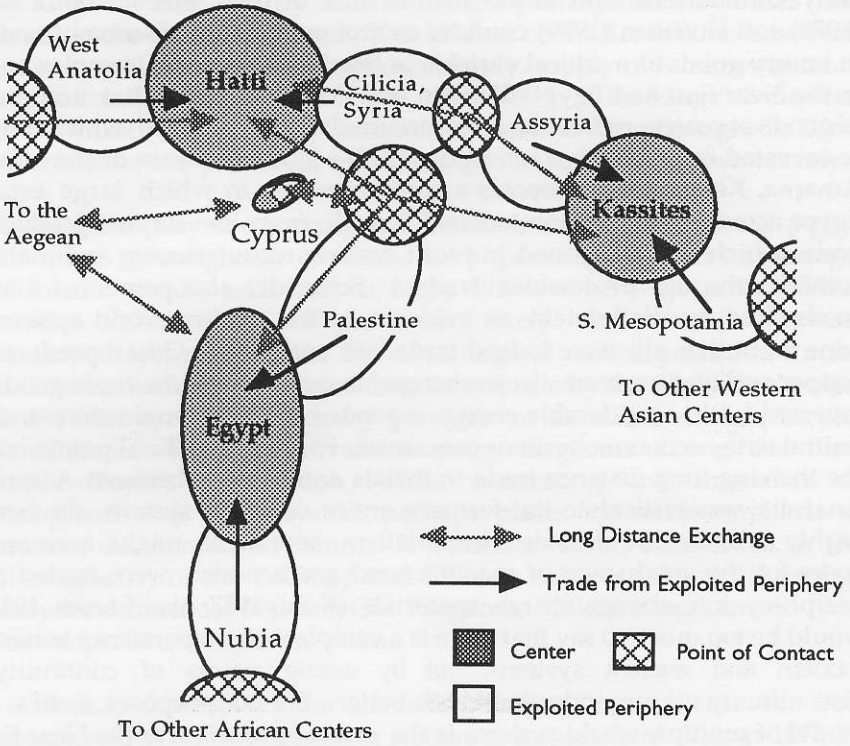

Figure 1.4 Near Eastern Multiple World System c. 1300 B.C.

systems. Morkot (1987:44-5) rightly calls into question the uncritical use of modern terms for pre-capitalist economies. These forces were economic in the broadest sense, and are not meant to be identical with modern capitalist notions of profit and loss. Thus gold extracted from Nubia during the New Kingdom was critical in the maintenance of Egypt's economic and political relations with the Near East. Indeed, gold replaced silver as a standard of value in Mesopotamia as a result of these shipments (Edzard 1960). Luxury goods and displays of foreign exotica helped to reinforce the prestige of the Egyptian elites (Earle 1990, 1991; see below Chapters 6 and 7).

D'Altroy (1992) offers a materialist viewpoint, envisioning a complex set of interactions between geo-politics, imperial goals, nature of the exploited resources, transport and the political and economic organization of the center and subject periphery. His work is important in emphasizing that the disposition of imperial resources shapes the imperial system relative to the extraction of desired resources, the main focus, after all, of imperial activity. Ideology serves primarily as a means of legitimization, with only a secondary role in determining the imperial strategy. He also favors a Territorial-Hegemonic model (Luttwak 1976; Hassig 1988). A Territorial empire is accomplished through direct incorporation of a dominated periphery to the center. This system is costly (although see below for Nubia), but also produces higher yields of extracted resources by direct stimulation of production. A Hegemonic empire controls a region through co-opting the local elites. This system produces poorer yields, intensifying production by skimming a portion of those resources normally consumed by local elites. Hegemony has the advantage, however, of being very inexpensive to maintain. This is not a rigid formulation, like Eisenstadt's (1979) simplistic characterization of empires as either 'patrimonial' or 'imperial,' guiding the entire structure of the imperial system. The two strategies sit at either end of a continuum, with various blending and degrees chosen for specific situations based on cost-benefit reasoning and geo-political considerations (Hassig 1988). Thus Egyptian imperialism in Nubia was a Territorial system, while the approach to Syro-Palestine was almost entirely Hegemonic.

Alcock (1989) provides a similar model with more detail concerning the specific mechanisms involved in imperial decision making. Her approach is explicitly economic, as it relies on a cost-minimization strategy by the dominant state as the prime mover. She provides a more balanced perspective than Doyle, stressing both the nature of the indigenous system and the exploitative goals of the imperial system. As imperial polities absorb other polities, some territorial reorganization usually follows. Where the necessary infrastructure for exploitation is lacking, the imperial polity will create a new system. If the existing structure is too unwieldy, it will be simplified, for example, by dividing a larger area into smaller units. Finally, the conquered polity will be left intact if it can meet imperial requirements. Her approach accounts better for the Nubian situation. The differences between Nubia and the Levant, for example, are clearly not primarily due to different patterns of exploitation, although this could have been a contributing factor, but to differences in the local systems. In Nubia, the extant system was inadequate to meet Egyptian needs, while in the Levant, the political and economic systems met Egyptian imperial

requirements without the need for radical restructuring. The driving factor behind the choice of different imperial policies in the Middle and New Kingdoms is not as easy to establish. Differing patterns of exploitation might have played a critical role. The nature of the imperial remnant surviving in Nubia during the Second Intermediate Period, the introduction of Kerman groups, and their interaction with each other and the C-Group polities, could have changed the previously existing infrastructure. A new policy of acculturation colonialism might have been more attractive to the Eighteenth Dynasty invaders as a result.

A Model for Egyptian Imperialism

Alcock's system of an interaction between the needs of the imperial power and structure of indigenous systems in a cost-minimizing system provides a good overall framework for understanding changes in Egyptian imperialism. Due to my own research interests (see below), the main emphasis is on changes from the Middle to New Kingdoms in Lower Nubia.

Using this model, then, the first possibility is that the nature of exploitation created different imperial needs, requiring different levels of restructuring in indigenous systems and/or the creation of new systems. In order to accept of this idea, a major shift in exploitation from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom should be apparent. The most convincing evidence is the addition of intensified agricultural and/or pastoral activity to the continuing mineral exploitation. But it is not clear that there is a corresponding increase in exports of these products to Egypt (Morkot 1987:44). Local production without exports could simply be the result of the restructuring process and not a causal factor. As noted above, Kemp argues that exports of these goods to Egypt were never significant, with most of the surplus consumed locally. Another possibility is a dramatic intensification of overall mineral exploitation accompanied by the use of native labor, which would require a colonial occupation for its mobilization (immigrants might also be used in this case). This is perhaps a better possibility, although it must be remembered that substantial mineral exploitation was carried out in the Old and Middle Kingdoms using labor from Egypt, and there is no indication that this method changed in the New Kingdom.

The second, and I feel more likely, possibility is that changes in the local systems (the mix of C-Group, Egyptian expatriates, and the newly introduced Kermans and possibly Pan Grave peoples) during the Second Intermediate Period could have provided a sufficient infrastructure, lacking in the Middle Kingdom, for the pursuit of Acculturation Colonialism in the

New Kingdom. The C-Group was maintaining strong cultural boundaries in the Middle Kingdom through an emphasis on their own, and rejection of Egyptian, material culture. In Doyle's (1986:130 ff.) terms, the native polities effectively resisted cultural, if not physical, domination, avoiding system collapse by emphasizing their separate cultural identity. The Middle Kingdom indigenous systems therefore provided a completely inadequate infrastructure for exploitation, leading to the creation of a new, parallel system completely bypassing the native one.[5] There is evidence for both increasing socio-economic stratification (O'Connor 1991; *contra* Trigger 1976:79 ff.; and Säve-Söderbergh 1989:10) and Egyptianization (*ibid..*; and Trigger 1976:79 ff.) in the C-Group during the Second Intermediate Period. The natives were thus both better organized and more open to Egyptian influence. Contact and assimilation with the Pan Grave culture (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:4), might also have weakened the 'traditional' C-Group's cultural identity, adversely affecting its ability to resist domination. An imperial remnant during the Second Intermediate Period, still culturally Egyptian but with profound contacts with C-Group and Kermans (and perhaps also Pan Grave peoples), would have been well placed to take advantage of the more open and perhaps culturally 'weakened' C-Group. Lacking sufficient cohesion and/or will for resistance, the native elite could be co-opted by the invading Egyptians. The expatriates could have provided the needed infrastructure to make Acculturation Colonialism more appealing than simple occupation. They would have provided a direct link to the native systems of both the C-Group and Kerma cultures (and perhaps also Pan Grave). This community is well attested at Buhen both textually and, with less precision, archaeologically (Smith 1976:73 ff.).

This provides us with the mechanism for acculturation, but how and why would the Egyptians find such a system attractive? We have already rejected Kemp's idea of a proselytizing bureaucracy. The Egyptians simply were not that interested in foreigners. D'Altroy and Earle (1985) have proposed a model for understanding the economic dynamics of the Inka Empire that may provide us with an explanation. In their study, they make a distinction between wealth and staple finance. The former consists of high value goods with low spoilage, really anything that would justify the costs of transport. For Nubia this category would include various luxury trade

[5]Presumably also the costs of expelling the C-Group were too great compared with simply establishing control over the region and maintaining a close watch on the population centers.

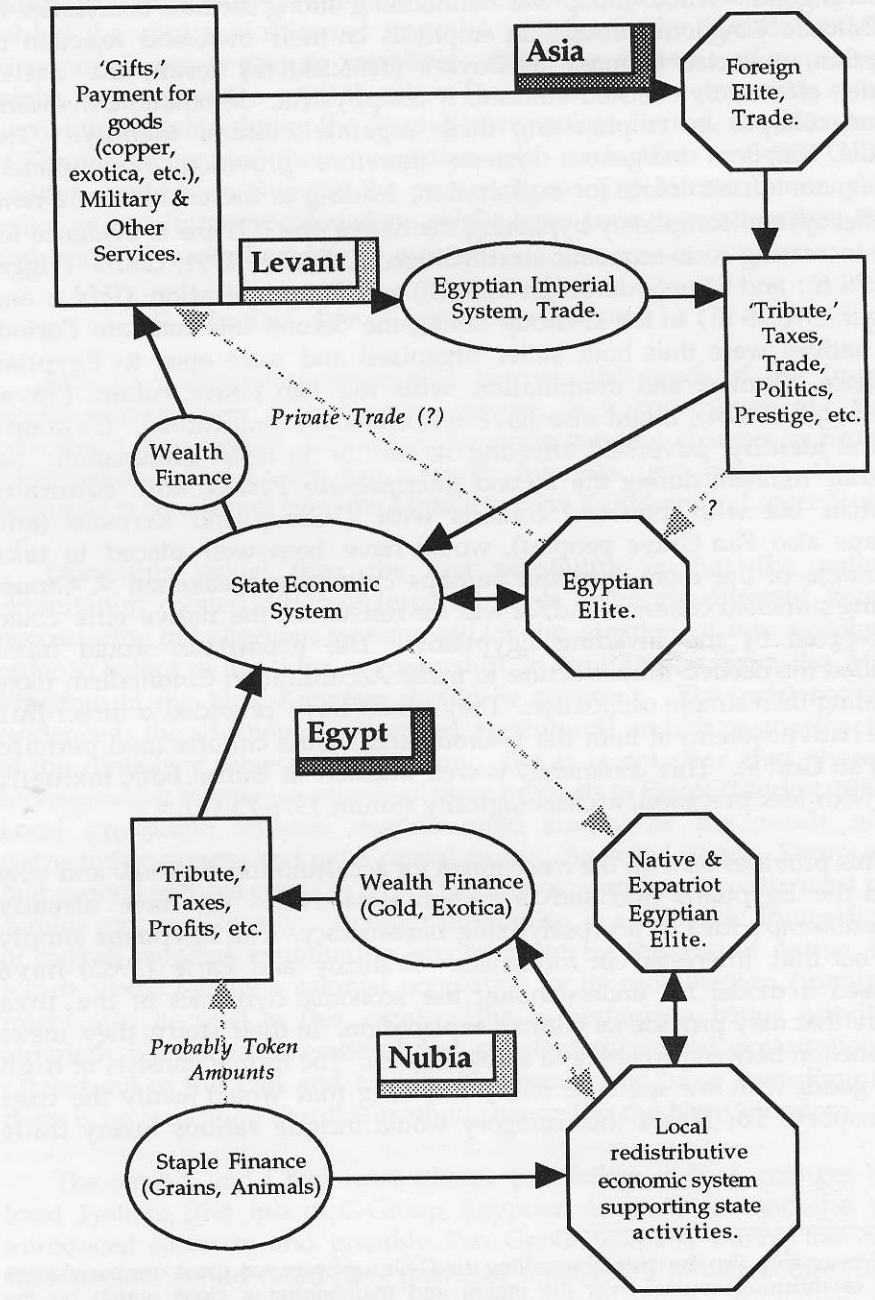

Figure 1.5 Staple/Wealth Finance System.

goods, costly bulk items like wood, and valuable minerals like precious stones and, perhaps most importantly, gold. Staple finance depends on the collection of subsistence goods, like grain and cattle, which would then be redistributed locally to state functionaries and periodic laborers.[6] Staple finance would serve to support the local administration, while wealth finance could be employed to support centralized state functions, both locally and inter-regionally. There are numerous advantages to the imperial power with such an arrangement. The inter-regional integration of economic systems would provide a more cost effective method of mobilizing local resources. Such a system would provide a secure agricultural base for imperial garrisons. State control over the local redistribution of luxury and subsistence goods would ensure that the local elite had a vested interest in the maintenance of the imperial system. Such a system need not be without benefit to the exploited. The local elite would have the obvious advantages of imperial patronage, while even the general populace might benefit from the state storage of staples in case of shortage or famine, and income from corvée labor during the off season.

This model works well for Egyptian Imperialism in Lower Nubia. Surpluses created by the intensification of pastoral and agricultural activity were reinvested in a local temple and estate system modeled on Egypt's. It would have been run partly by Egyptian officials and settlers, but also by co-opted native leaders and an increasingly acculturated population. As in Egypt, the general population would have been gradually impoverished to the benefit of the Egyptian and Egyptianized Nubian elite. Far from being of no real value to the state, this reinvestment of resources into the maintenance of local systems would have underwritten most or all of the costs of the infrastructure required for the exploitation of mineral resources and trade routes for exotic goods. Some bulk export goods, especially timber, could also be exploited more efficiently in this way. As noted above, it has been argued that wealth goods had a very limited economic role, consisting largely of reciprocal, and often unequal, gifts between elites. Morkot (1987:44 f.) rightly points out that we should not impose modern, capitalist

[6]Goods which were too cheap and too bulky, and thus too costly, to transport over long distances. This was not as much of a problem for Egypt as for the Inkas, since the Nile provided a comparatively cheap means of bulk transport. Still, the higher cost and smaller productive capability of land in Nubia, combined with the additional costs of transport, would have made Nubian grain too expensive to be profitably transported, except in time of severe shortages. With cattle the situation might have been more favorable, since in some ways they might be counted as wealth goods and could be transported with relative ease (see below Chapter 6).

concepts of profitability on ancient economic systems. Luxury goods especially might be exchanged for political and social reasons, as well as purely economic ones. This does not mean, however, that the state did not take the costs of the production and management of such goods into account in its organization of the state economy (D'Altroy and Earle 1985:189-90; D'Altroy 1992). These goods were critical to Egypt's foreign policy in the Near East and the maintenance of Egypt's elites and royal power and prestige (*cf.* Earle 1990, 1991). What appears on the surface to be simple redistribution with little direct economic benefit to the state becomes a system of state finance when it is used to support centrally controlled activities. Thus in Nubia the New Kingdom acculturation policy was not meant to produce an agricultural surplus for the direct profit of the state, but rather to finance state activities, like mineral exploitation and the control and facilitation of the trade in luxury goods from the south (Figure 1.5).

Hypotheses

Two hypotheses can be generated to test the model outlined by Alcock (*cf.* Smith 1991a): 1) The nature of Egyptian imperialism in Lower Nubia was inherently economic, conditioned by imperial goals and the character of the local infrastructure in a cost-minimization strategy. 2) Changes in the local systems brought on by the interaction between Egyptian expatriates, the local C-Group, and newly introduced Kermans during the Second Intermediate Period provided a sufficient infrastructure, lacking in the Middle Kingdom, for the pursuit of Acculturation Colonialism in the New Kingdom. In order to confirm the first hypothesis, the Middle and especially New Kingdom imperial and colonial systems must show a substantial return on the investment in resources required to establish them. In order to accept the second hypothesis, there should be a lack of change in exploitation from the Middle to New Kingdom, minimal changes in native complexity, and the presence of a culturally Egyptian population with significant native contacts having continuity between the Middle Kingdom and the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

The site of Askut provides an excellent source of data for addressing these questions, particularly the second. All of the other major Egyptian settlements in Lower Nubia were poorly preserved or excavated, lacking the critical stratigraphic data needed for a diachronic analysis. Evidence thus far has been drawn from textual sources, cemeteries, and highly ambiguous settlement remains. The main forts at Buhen and Mirgissa were severely denuded over most of their area. The situation at the former was particularly bad, with the mixing of deposits leading the excavators to

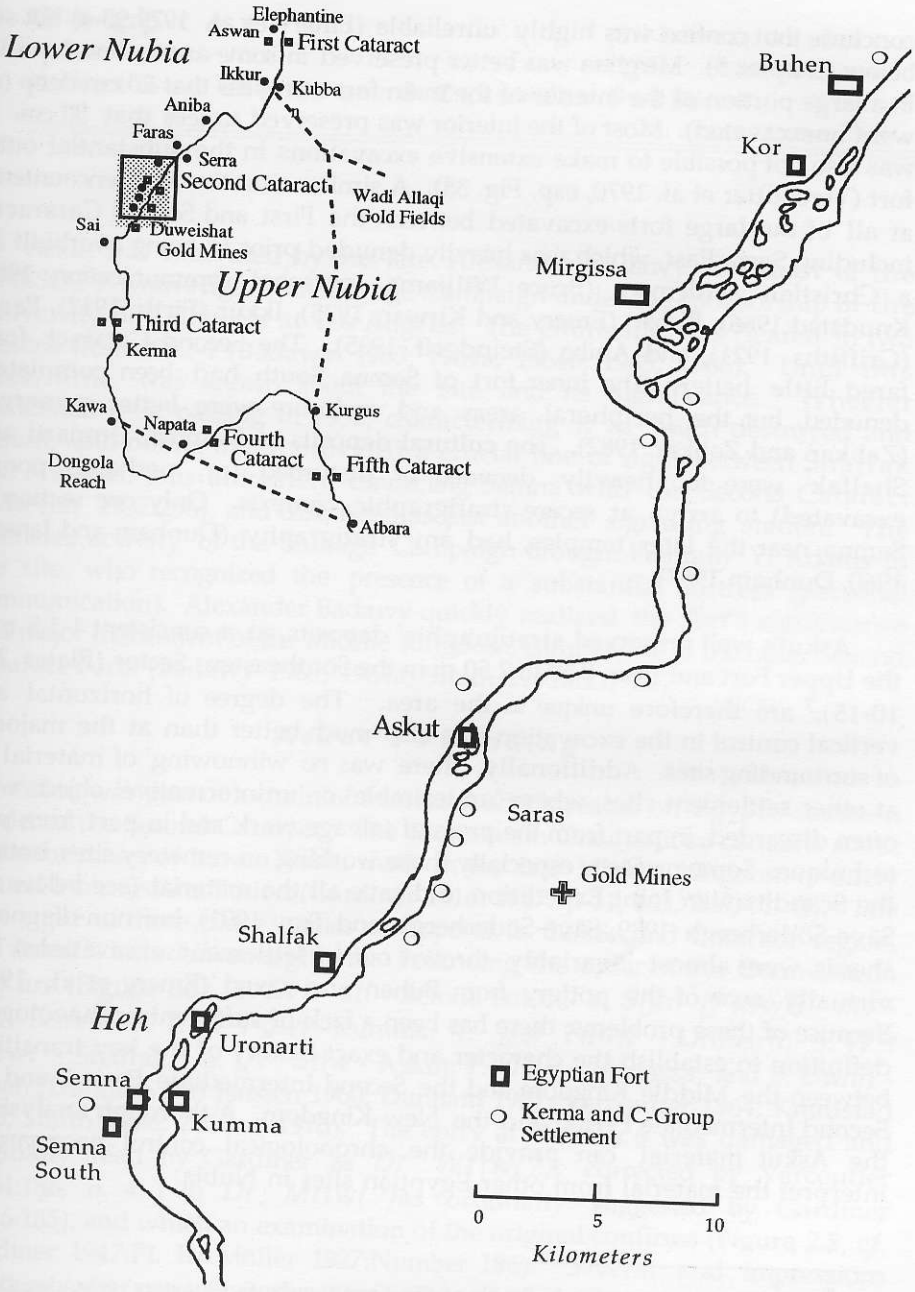

Figure 1.6 The Second Cataract Forts.

conclude that context was highly unreliable (Emery et al. 1979:93-4, but see below Chapter 5). Mirgissa was better preserved in some areas, but deposits in a large portion of the interior of the main fort were less that 20 cm deep (or went unexcavated). Most of the interior was preserved to less that 50 cm. It was also not possible to make extensive excavations in the substantial outer fort (Vercoutter et al. 1970, esp. Fig. 38). A similar situation was encountered at all of the large forts excavated between the First and Second Cataracts, including Serra East, which was heavily denuded prior to being overbuilt by a Christian settlement (Bruce Williams, personal communication 1988, Knudstad 1966), Kuban (Emery and Kirwan 1935), Ikkur (Firth 1912), Faras (Griffiths 1921), and Aniba (Steindorff 1935). The Second Cataract forts fared little better. The inner fort of Semna South had been completely denuded, but the peripheral areas and enclosure were better preserved (Zabkar and Zabkar 1982). The cultural deposits at Kumma, Uronarti and Shalfak were too heavily denuded or disturbed (or, perhaps, poorly excavated) to arrive at secure stratigraphic contexts. Only one section of Semna, near the later temples, had any stratigraphy (Dunham and Janssen 1960, Dunham 1967).

Askut's well preserved stratigraphic deposits, at a consistent 1-1.5 m in the Upper Fort and from 0.50 to 2.50 m in the Southeastern Sector (Plates 2-4, 10-15),[7] are therefore unique to the area. The degree of horizontal and vertical control in the excavation was also much better than at the majority of surrounding sites. Additionally, there was no 'winnowing' of material as at other settlement sites, where 'undesirable' or 'uninformative' objects were often discarded, in part from the press of salvage work and in part from poor technique. Some projects, especially those working on cemetery sites, notably the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, did save all the material (see below and Säve-Söderbergh 1989; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991), but non-diagnostic sherds were almost invariably thrown out in settlement excavations, *eg.*, virtually none of the pottery from Buhen was saved (Emery et al. 1979). Because of these problems, there has been a lack of sufficient archaeological definition to establish the character and exact history of the key transitions between the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, and the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. A thorough analysis of the Askut material can provide the chronological control necessary to interpret the material from other Egyptian sites in Nubia.

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[7]Only the area immediately South of the 'Commandant's Quarters' was denuded at Askut, although the entire magazine structure was heavily disturbed by later, probably Meroitic, activity.

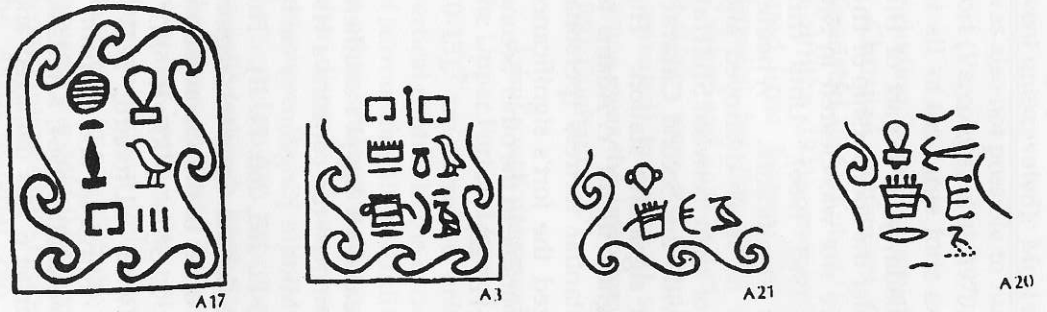
Chapter 2

Askut and the Second Cataract Forts

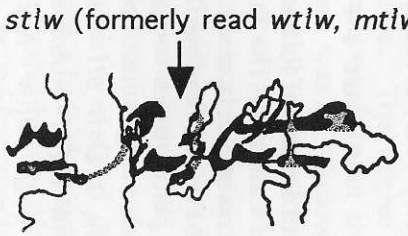
Askut was excavated by the late Alexander Badawy as a part of the UNESCO Aswan High Dam Salvage Campaign under the sponsorship of the University of California at Los Angeles. The entire site was cleared in two seasons from 1962-4 (Badawy 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1965, 1966). Until this work, little was known about the site and its significance. Wheeler mentioned it in passing in 1932, characterizing it as 'much destroyed and rebuilt,' and noting that it provided a crucial line of sight between Shalfak and Murshid, thus ultimately connecting Semna with the Second Cataract (Wheeler 1932:256), and dismissed as just another signalling station. The intensive activity of the Salvage Campaign brought William Y. Adams to the site, who recognized the presence of a substantial fortress (personal communication). Alexander Badawy quickly realized the fort's significance as a major monument of the Middle Kingdom, comparable to the other Second Cataract Forts (Badawy 1963; 1964a; Smith 1991a:117-22).

Askut's Founding

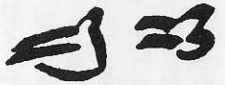
Askut was part of a chain of fortresses which sealed off Egypt's southern border at the Second Cataract. The Ramesseum Onomasticon contains a list of the fortresses of Lower Nubia made in the late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period (Gardiner 1916; 1947:10-11, 263, 266, Pl. II). The first eight of these place names correspond to the Second Cataract region, and Askut is included among them. Following the order of the Onomasticon they are (Figure 1.6): 1. *Dȝir stỉ* - Semna South; 2. *Sḫm Ḥ'kȝwR' mȝ'-ḫrw* - Semna; 3. *Ỉtnw Pḏwt* - Kumma; 4. *Ḥsf Ỉwnw* - Uronarti; 5. *W'f Ḥȝswt* - Shalfak; 6. *Ḏr Stỉw* - Askut; 7. *Ỉḳn* - Mirgissa; and 8. *Bwhn* - Buhen (Dunham and Janssen 1960; Dunham 1967; Vercoutter 1964; Knudstad 1966; Smith 1966; Zabkar 1975). The entry at Number 6 was damaged and originally read by Gardiner as *Dr Wtỉw(?)*, corrected by Vercoutter (1964:186, n. 4) to *Dr Mtỉw(?)*as originally suggested by Gardiner (1916:185), and which an examination of the original confirms (Figure 2.2, *cf.* Gardiner 1947:Pl. II; Möller 1927:Number 196). Several seal impressions found at Askut come from the 'Upper Fort,' *Ḥnrt*, Granary and Treasury of



a. Askut's Institutional Seals, the Storehouses and Treasury, *ḫrt, ḫnrt* of the Fortress *Ḏr-Stiw*



b. Ramesseum Onomasticon



c. *stj* after Möller

Figure 2.1 Askut's Institutional Seals and the Ramesseum Onomasticon.

the otherwise unknown Fortress of *Ḏr Stỉw* ( ), 'fending off' or 'destroying the Nubians' (Figure 2.2). A close examination of the Onomasticon entry shows that the *m* sign can be read as *stỉ*, while *dr* and *ḏr* are synonyms, and might easily be mistaken for one another as *ḏ* changed to *d* from the Twelfth (when the seals were made) to the Thirteenth Dynasty or later (when the Onomasticon was written, for a fuller account see Smith 1991a:117-25).

Most of the fortresses were probably erected as a strategic unit, or at least as complements of one another, over a period of years by Senwosret III. The Uronarti Stela indicates that that fort was built in Year 16 of his reign (Janssen 1953), and an inscription from Year 3 of Amenemhet V at Askut indicates that it was built by an unspecified, now deified 'Senwosret':

1. *rꜣ n(ỉ) ḥʿp rnpt 3 ḫr ḥm n(ỉ)*
2. *nỉswt bỉty sḫmkꜣRʿ ʿnḫ ḏt r nḥḥ*
3. *ḫft wnn śmsw n(ỉ) ḥḳꜣ sbk sꜣ ỉb*
4. *ḥr ṯs m mnw ỉr.n*
5. *snwsrt mꜣʿ.t-ḫrw*

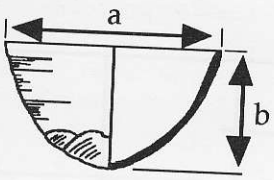
Water level, Year 3 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sekhem-ka-Re, may he live forever and ever, when the royal follower Sobek's son Ib was commanding in the Fortress which Senwosret, t.v., built.[8]

Figure 2.1 Askut's Institutional Seals and the Ramesseum Onomasticon.

[8]Note the difference in Vercoutter's translation of the name and titles (1966:139). The version presented here is taken from a hand copy of the inscription included in Badawy, supra n. 2. The title *śmsw n(ỉ) ḥḳꜣ* is certain, both from the copy and a (rather poor) copy of the photograph of the original. The reading of the name itself is less certain. The reading *ḥr ṯs m* 'upon commanding in' is to be preferred to *ḥꜣty-ʿ m* 'foremost in.'

Radiocarbon dates from Askut, although imprecise, are consistent with its construction at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (see below Appendix 1). The plentiful Middle Kingdom pottery from Askut provides more precise evidence, indicating an occupation beginning in the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty (see Chapter 3 below). Both regional variation and a time lag in the distribution and adoption of new styles could conceivably hamper the comparison of pottery from Egypt and Nubia. Delay in transportation was clearly no obstacle. Smith (1976:83) notes that a small boat could travel from Buhen to Aswan in eight days with favorable conditions. Reisner (in Gunn 1929:10) calculated that the trip from Kerma to Edfu, a longer journey than that from the Second Cataract to Thebes, would take an individual or small group only 13 to 16 days travelling partly on land and partly by water. A larger caravan might take from 20 to 30 days. A fast trip by boat during the flood water would take about 15 days. The Nile thus provided a ready means to ship even fairly bulky items at the right time of year. Amphorae from the New Kingdom at Buhen included wine from Lower Egypt and even as far as the Levant. Inscribed and dated vessels from Egypt contained preserved meats, fats and oils, perishable items which had to be transported quickly (Smith 1976:162-89). Pottery from Askut and elsewhere shows that material was coming directly from Egypt throughout the Middle Kingdom and on into the Second Intermediate Period (see below Chapters 3 and 4). Janine Bourriau (1991:129-30) has summarized the evidence, and has convincingly shown that the pottery from Nubia did, in fact, keep up with the latest styles from Egypt. The fact that the fort system was under tight administrative control from Egypt well into the Thirteenth Dynasty (see below) supports the idea that pottery production would also have been standardized, as was the case throughout Egypt at this period (Bourriau 1981:55). Regional variation does seem to play a role in the later Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, but only in the sense that Nubia was essentially an extension of trends appearing at the same time in Upper Egypt (see below Chapters 3 and 4).

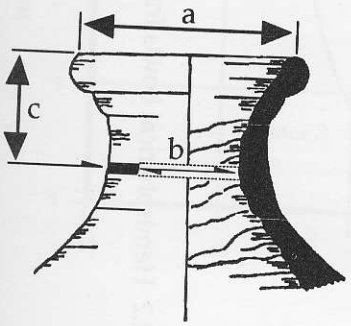
Hemispherical bowls, the standard drinking cup, occur in large numbers at any Middle Kingdom site. Dorothea Arnold, in her studies of pottery from the pyramid complexes at Lisht and Dahshur has discovered that the proportion of width to height in these vessels changes systematically over



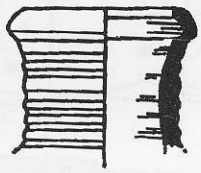
Vessel Index =
(a/b) x 100

Hemispherical Bowl

Aperture Index = a/b x 100
c = Neck Height



"Funnel Necked"



"Kettle Necked"

Beer Jars

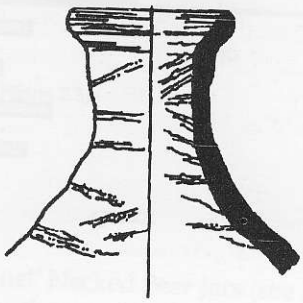


Figure 2.3 Hemispherical Bowl and Beer Jar Types.

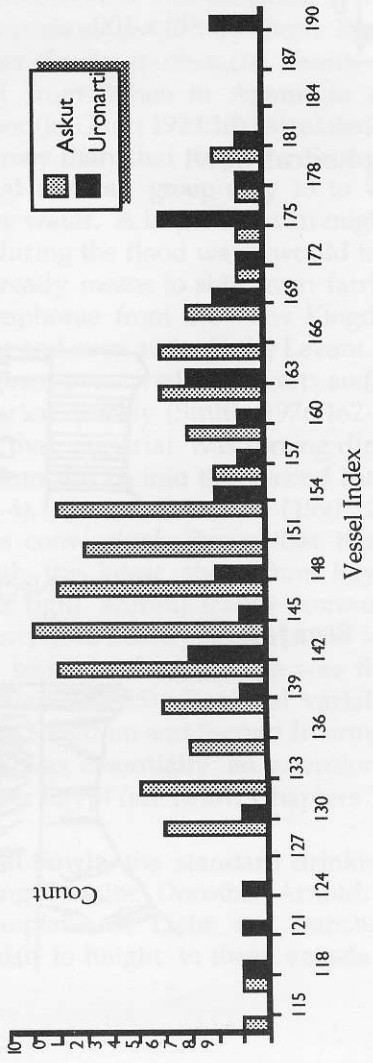


Figure 2.2 Hemispherical bowls from Askut and Uronarti.

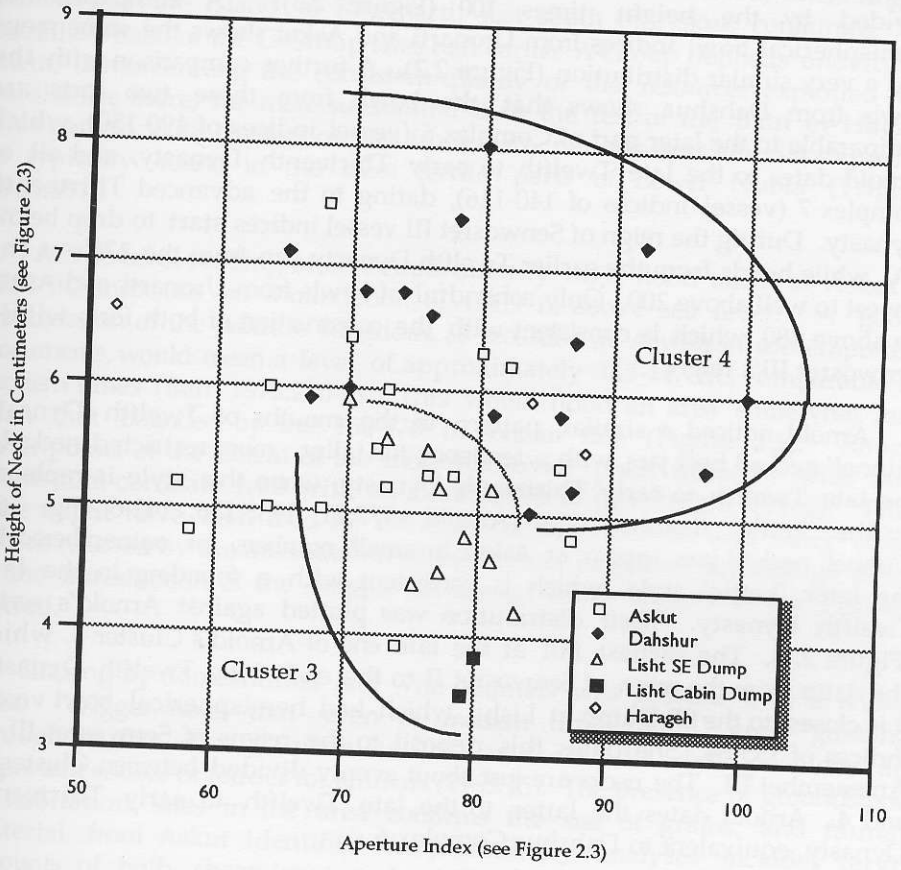


Figure 2.4 Proportions of Middle Kingdom 'Funnel' Necked Beer Jars (see Figure 2.3). The Aperture Index is calculated by taking the interior rim diameter and dividing by the interior diameter at the narrowest point on the neck. Height is measured from the narrowest point on the neck to the top of the rim (Arnold 1988:142-6).

time, with shallower bowls in the Twelfth Dynasty changing to deeper, more restricted vessels in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Arnold 1988:136, 140-6). This proportion can be calculated using the 'vessel index,' the rim diameter divided by the height times 100 (Figure 2.3). A comparison of hemispherical bowl indices from Uronarti and Askut shows the same range and a very similar distribution (Figure 2.2). A further comparison with the bowls from Dahshur shows that the bowls from these two forts are comparable to the later part of Complex 6 (vessel indices of 190-150), which Arnold dates to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, and all of Complex 7 (vessel indices of 140-116), dating to the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty. During the reign of Senwosret III vessel indices start to drop below 170, while bowls from the earlier Twelfth Dynasty run from the 170's at the lowest to well above 200. Only a handful of bowls from Uronarti and Askut lie above 180, which is consistent with the construction of both forts within Senwosret III's reign.

Arnold noticed a similar pattern in the mouths of Twelfth Dynasty 'funnel' necked beer jars, with a tendency for taller, more restricted necks by the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, when this style is replaced by the 'kettle' mouthed type (Arnold 1977:21; 1988:136, 142-6, Fig. 76). 'Funnel' necked jars appear at Askut in small numbers, far outnumbered by the later 'kettle' style, which is consistent with a founding in the late Twelfth Dynasty. Their distribution was plotted against Arnold's series (Figure 2.4). The earliest fall at the late end of Arnold's Cluster 3, which she dates from the reign of Senwosret II to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. It is closest to the SE Dump at Lisht, which had hemispherical bowl vessel indices of 155-64. She dates this deposit to the reigns of Senwosret III to Amenemhet III. The necks are just about evenly divided between Clusters 3 and 4. Arnold dates the latter to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, equivalent to Dahshur Complex 6.

Site Catchment Analysis

Askut's location on an island in the Batn el-Hagar (Plate 1), one of the most barren parts of Lower Nubia, is deceptive. The fortress has been characterized as a minor outpost on a lonely stretch of river (Trigger 1976:72). In spite of this reputation, the Saras area contains one of the largest concentration of cemeteries and habitation sites in the region, including 34 C-Group and 12 Kerma sites. There were approximately 9 C-Group and 5 Kerma settlement sites, and 25 and 7 cemeteries, respectively, totalling over 264 C-Group and 335 Kerma burials (Figure 2.5). The largest cemetery contained 65 C-Group and 255 Kerma interments. The largest C-

Group settlement was 500 meters long (no width or area was given), and was associated with three structures. The Kerma sites also contained substantial mud brick houses. Several pharaonic sites are also attested, including a cemetery on the island of Kagenarti, just south of Askut, containing 250 burials.[9] Each of the C-Group sites had earlier A-Group deposits underlying them, demonstrating the consistent quality of the resources exploited for subsistence there, far more substantial than the rest of the Batn el-Hagar. This pattern, with clusters of sites from many periods near alluvial deposits, is typically found in the most fertile parts of Lower Nubia (Trigger 1965:151).

A Nile level reading of an extraordinarily high flood taken at Askut c. 1750 BC indicates an innundation of 151.9 m above sea level. A 'good' innundation of the Middle Kingdom, as recorded at Aswan in contemporary documents, would mean a level of approximately 145-147 m., comparable to modern times (Bell 1975:230-9). This would flood an area somewhat less than that bounded by the 160-170 m contour line (Figure 2.5). Rough descriptions of the extent of the modern alluvial plain made by Mills and Nordström correlate well with an innundation of this height (1966). This zone might have been used for the cultivation of cereals and other crops where reached by the innundation or the limited irrigation technology prior to the introduction of the Saqqia (ox-driven water wheel) in the Persian Period.

Grazing by domesticated and wild animals was possible over a wider area. Trigger notes that even in modern times halfa grass growing throughout the alluvial plain as well as nearer the river provided an important source of fodder for animals (1965:15). The presence of groundstone at habitation sites in the area confirms the use of grains, and faunal material from Askut identified in preliminary analyses includes large amounts of both sheep/goat and cattle from Middle Kingdom levels

[9]Although a preliminary report (Mills 1965) hinted at the area's importance, only the final report, delayed until 1974 by the difficulties in the publication of *Kush*, revealed the full extent of occupation (Mills 1967-8). The exact number of sites found during the second campaign is not entirely clear, since a description is not given for each. The number of settlements and cemeteries in the Saras area is estimated from the few specific descriptions, the general tallies from the survey down to Semna, and the overall distribution of sites by cultural association as indicated on the maps. The number of burials for each culture represents a minimum, since counts were given for only eight of the C-Group and three of the Kerma cemeteries.

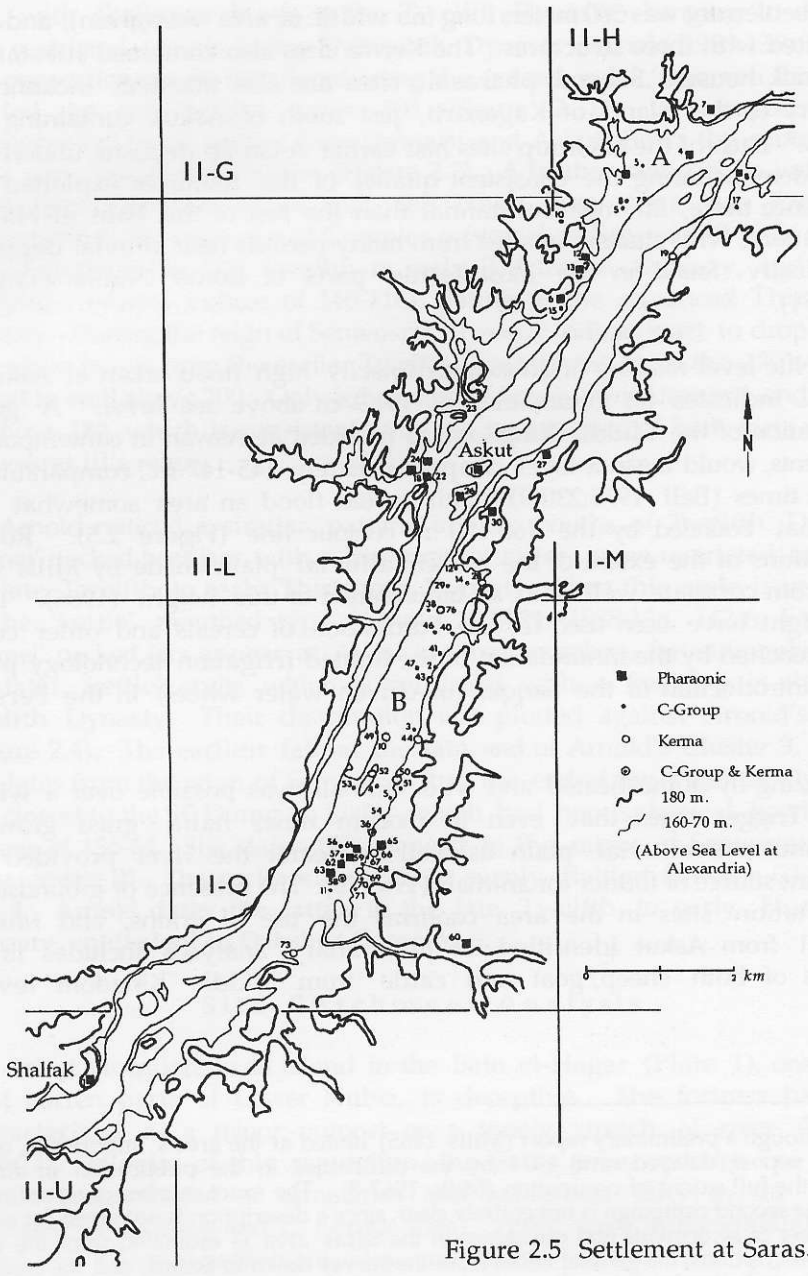


Figure 2.5 Settlement at Saras.

(Barbara Ghaleb, personal communication, 1992).[10] A milk and meat exploitation pattern, often seen among modern pastoralists, can yield comparable return rates to agricultural production (Russell 1988). In modern times pastoralism was only slightly less important than agriculture in Nubia, and milk and butter were an important part of the diet. Garden plots for fruits and vegetables were common in Egypt, and might have been used here also. Such a plot was found at Mirgissa, just to the north in direct association with the Egyptian fortress there (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1970:11, Pl. Xa). Both date and dom-nut palms commonly occur in this part of Nubia, and probably provided a rich resource. Dom nuts have been found in profusion at Askut. Dates are attested as well, and a tomb scene of Djehutyhotep to the north at Wadi Halfa shows the cultivation and harvesting of date palms (Säve-Söderbergh 1960; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:199, Pl. 1). Dates were a major export from Nubia in the Nineteenth century A.D., highly prized for their sweetness (Trigger 1965:15). The ancient landscape would surely have been far less forbidding than that of modern times. This resource was also exploited in antiquity. In the Old and New Kingdom, boats were made in Nubia to transport not only various trade goods and tribute, but also wood itself to Egypt (Säve-Söderbergh 1941:24; 219-20; Sethe 1932-3:108 f.; 1906:695 ff.). Even as late as the Nineteenth century AD, charcoal was exported from Nubia in large quantities (Trigger 1965:32). The exploitation of these products in recent times and antiquity shows the potential value of bulk goods to the trade between Egypt and Nubia (also see Morkot 1994), refuting Wallerstein's conclusion that pre-capitalist long distance trade consisted solely of largely symbolic exchanges of exotica.

Hunting and fishing were also potential sources of subsistence. Fishing would have provided an important supplement to the diet. The Nile has several species of fish. There is ample evidence from Egypt and Nubia for their exploitation using fishhooks and nets (Butzer 1976; Säve-Söderbergh 1989:11-12). Additionally, a small Egyptian site at the edge of the river was characterized as a fishing village (11-H-4), presumably on the basis of artifactual and/or faunal evidence (Mills and Nordström 1966). The Nile is also home to an edible turtle (Butzer 1976), and abundant and quite large fresh water shellfish (Greenwood 1968). Fishhooks, net sinkers, fish bone and shellfish were found at Askut in significant quantities, and at least one turtle carapace fragment has been noted (Barbara Ghaleb, personal communication 1992).

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[10]Unfortunately it was not possible either to record or save the faunal material from the surrounding sites (Anthony Mills, personal communication 1990).

Gazelle were exploited by the C-group (as seen in settlements from Faras just to the north), Kermans (in cemeteries at Saras, Mills 1967-8), and Egyptians (at Askut, Barbara Ghaleb, personal communication 1992). Ostrich eggs are common at Askut and often occur elsewhere in Nubia. Ratios of wild animals, especially gazelle, to domesticates at a few C-group sites outside the area are high enough to indicate a substantial reliance on hunting, although they may be atypical in this respect (Gautier 1968; Säve-Söderbergh 1989:11-12). Some vegetation would be expected out to the 180 m line, which represents the area of the valley floor which, while not reached by the innundation, is still sheltered from the full desert. This area might have held enough vegetation to support limited grazing by the domesticated and wild animals mentioned above (Butzer 1976). Gazelle, antelope and ostriches have ranged throughout the Western Desert into modern times (Van Neer and Uerpmann 1989:316, 322-3).

It is also likely that complete desertification had not yet arrived in the vicinity of the Second Cataract by the Middle Kingdom. Although the desert in Egypt had reached modern levels of desiccation by the end of the Old Kingdom, recent surveys have shown that the Nubian desert did not reach the same point until the end of the New Kingdom (Neumann in Kuper 1989:142-156). Extrapolating from the data provided by Neumann for recent vegetation and the period c. 5700 bp (*ibid.*:Figs. 3, 39), contracted semi-desert vegetation must still have prevailed around the Second Cataract in c. 1800 B.C. (Figure 2.6).

Enough information is provided by Mills to get a rough idea of the carrying capacity of the Saras area. Arbitrary catchment circles are not appropriate for Lower Nubia, with its extended settlement patterns which were highly dependent on the vagarities of the flood plain (Trigger 1965; Flannery 1976). Settlements were placed in close proximity to one another, even circles of 1/2 km showed some overlap. Settlement size was, for the most part, quite small, consisting of clusters of several rooms (Kerma and Egyptian) or limited midden deposits of about 50 cm depth (C-group). This pattern suggests that these sites represent family/extended family units, forming part of a dispersed village. Modern boundaries in this area were settled in much the same fashion, with dispersed settlements forming a single village, a pattern common throughout Lower Nubia (Mills and Nordström 1966; Trigger 1965:22). On the basis of site clustering and terrain, two 'villages' can be proposed, occupying the two substantial areas of alluvial land to occur at Saras (Figure 2.5 above). On the west bank of the river to the north is 'Village A,' which occupies a deep alluvial plain. Its boundaries are determined by sharp cliffs to the north, and broken ground to

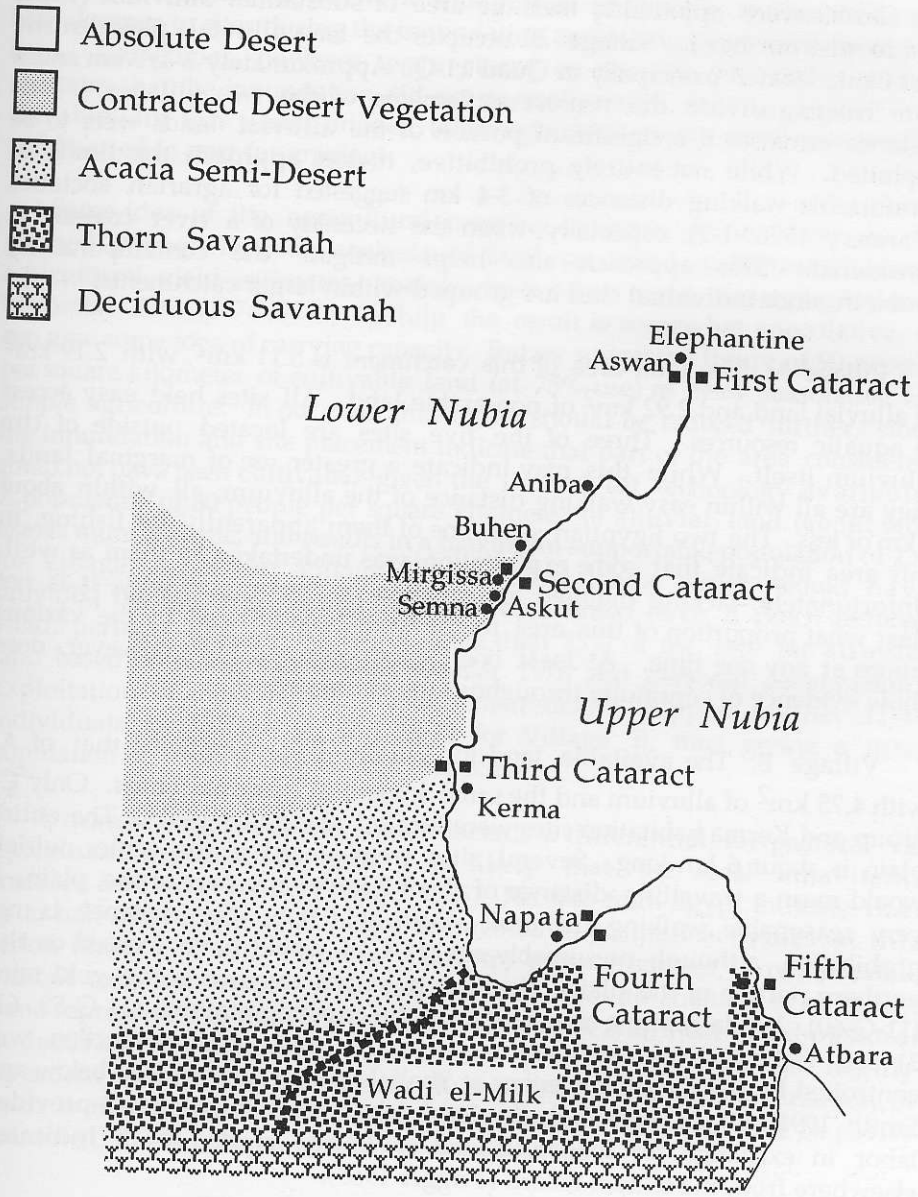


Figure 2.6 Reconstructed Vegetation Zones, c. 1800 B.C.
(projected from Katharina Neumann in Kuper 1989:Abb. 3, 37, 39).

the south, which apparently ends the area of substantial alluvium (Mills and Nordström 1966). 'Village B' occupies the long alluvial plain on the east bank, located principally in Quad 11-Q. Approximately 3 1/2 km and a river crossing divide the nearest settlements of the two villages. This distance increases if a significant portion of the alluvial lands were to be exploited. While not entirely prohibitive, it does approach the limits of comfortable walking distances of 3-4 km suggested for agrarian societies (Flannery 1976:91-2), especially when the necessity of a river crossing is considered. This approach also helps mitigate the contemporaneity problem, since individual sites are grouped within larger catchments.

Village A: The total area of this catchment is 5.11 km^2, with 2.19 km^2 of alluvial land and 2.92 km^2 of non-arable land. All sites held easy access to aquatic resources. Three of the five sites are located outside of the alluvium itself. While this may indicate a greater use of marginal lands, they are all within easy walking distance of the alluvium, all within about 1 km or less. The two Egyptian sites, one of them apparently for fishing, in this area indicate that some exploitation was undertaken by them as well. Unfortunately, lacking detailed information on contemporaneity, it is not clear what proportion of this area might have been utilized by the various groups at any one time. At least one C-group site, 11-M-7, however, does show evidence of continuity throughout the entire period.

Village B: The available land for Village B is over twice that of A, with 4.75 km^2 of alluvium and the same amount of marginal lands. Only C-group and Kerma habitation sites were located along this plain. The entire plain is about 6 km long. Several sites were placed in the center, which would mean a travelling distance of about 3 km to any part of the plain, a very reasonable walking distance. Even at 6 km., the distance is not prohibitive, although presumably site 11-L-14 would have focused on the northern portion of the plain. Another potential resource is the gold mine (11-Q-60). While ceramic associations at the crushing stations (11-Q-59, 61-3) and technological considerations indicate that gold production was controlled by the Egyptians, either at Shalfak, Askut or both (see below and Smith 1991b:111-15, Figs. 5-6), the local inhabitants might have provided labor in exchange for foodstuffs and/or luxury goods, as is indicated elsewhere from the textual record (Trigger 1965).

With few exceptions, habitation sites are located consistently either on or near distinct rises on the alluvial plain or the contour lines between alluvial and marginal lands. While site disappearance due to alluviation

could be a factor in site placement, this pattern is sensible, and would avoid both damage to sites during the innundation and taking up potentially usable land. Cemeteries, however, were placed on the alluvial plain, which indicates that the innundation did not normally reach these areas and that the alluvium was under-utilized (although these areas could presumably still be used in part for grazing).

Some idea of the agricultural carrying capacity of this land can be gleaned through Butzer's analysis of land use based on historical data, agricultural yield estimates, analogy from other areas, demographic and historical data (1976:57 ff.). While the result is somewhat speculative, it can give some idea of carrying capacity. Butzer suggests a figure of 90 people per square kilometer of cultivable land (at 75% use) as being reasonable for simple agriculture. In our case, this figure should be reduced further, since the innundation and site placement indicate that part of the area considered could not have been cultivated given the limited lift technology available. A population of 60 people per square kilometer of alluvial land (about 50% use) is more realistic, and results in a maximum supportable population of 131 for Village A, 285 for Village B. Marginal lands, which would have provided hunting and grazing opportunities, would have a much reduced yield, perhaps 10% and not likely more than 25% of the rate for alluvial land based on modern conditions (Butzer 1976 and personal observation). Exploitation of these resources could theoretically support another 17-44 individuals for Village A, and 28-71 for Village B, thus giving a total population of 148-175 and 313-356 respectively.

A more accurate estimate should include a differential for pastoral vs. agricultural exploitation, since it is likely that the local inhabitants practiced a mixed economy (Trigger 1965). Records from Egypt indicate that up to half of available land might be devoted to pastoral activities at this period (Baer 1963:12). Figuring yields for these resources is not possible without more information about relative and absolute amounts of different fauna represented at the various sites. While milk and meat based pastoral productivity can approach agricultural productivity, this is highly dependent on herd size and species (Russell 1988). Any overestimation of yields is offset somewhat by additional resources which could not be easily quantified, like hunting and fishing (see above).

The Second Cataract Forts

The fort system functioned as a tightly integrated system designed to protect the frontier, facilitate trade, and exploit the local resources. The

Second Cataract Forts performed a key role in furthering these activities. The official border was established by Senwosret III at *Ḥḥ*, the region around Semna and Uronarti, as indicated in a stela at Semna (Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin, 1913:255 f., and see Smith 1991b:126-8):

> Southern Boundary made in Year 8 under the Majesty of KhakauRe, may he be given life for ever and ever; in order to prevent all *Nḥsỉ* passing it in travelling downstream by water or by land with a ship or with all cattle of the *Nḥsỉw*, except when a *Nḥsỉ* will come in order that trading might be done in *Ỉḳn* or on a commission. Any good thing may be done with them; but without allowing a boat of the *Nḥsỉw* to pass in travelling downstream by *Ḥḥ*, forever.

This border was maintained well into Dynasty 13. A series of dispatches found at Thebes shows that even small groups of natives were tracked through the desert. They also show that any Nubians not on legitimate business were turned away, in spite of their willingness to serve the Egyptians (Smither 1945). When fully manned, the fort system could also deal with larger threats, perhaps from the growing Kerman polity. Semna's plan is dominated by 'barrack' style rooms, giving it the largest garrison of all the forts south of Mirgissa. Combining these troops with the garrisons from Kumma and Semna South, the Egyptian commander could place a large force in the field (or, presumably, on water if necessary). Using Dunham's estimate of four to ten men per 'barrack' style three room complex (Dunham 1967:118), the garrison at Uronarti might number from 112-280 men, Kumma approximately 40-100 men, and the West Wing of Semna alone from 216-540 men (exceeding Reisner's rather conservative estimate of a maximum of 300 men, 1929:72). The garrison of Semna South, which in any case must have been small, would presumably be isolated by any serious assault on the border. The garrisons at Askut (76-190) and Shalfak (60-150) were probably too far away to be of immediate help. In light of Williams' (1995) discussion of siege technology, the entire defensive perimeter would have to be manned in order to prevent a fort being overwhelmed by a large attacking force picking hand and footholds in the mud brick walls. He suggests a requirement of one soldier per meter of wall, although a ratio of one to two meters would probably be acceptable. This would yield higher figures of roughly 450/225 men for Askut, Shalfak 360/180 (480/220 including the long outer work), Uronarti 500/250 (750/375 including the long outer work), Kumma 350/175, Semna (including its many towers) 800/400. A total of from about 920 men using Dunham (discarding the lower figures in light of

Williams), or 1650 (1900) to 825 (950) using Williams, might have been available to the commander at Semna from the forts immediately at hand. A reasonable estimate of the force which the Egyptians could place in the field at need, leaving a small number as a reserve to man the fortifications and cover a retreat, would number at least 500, and perhaps well over 1000 men, a sizable body of troops for the period (*cf.* Winlock 1945; Williams 1995).

If the threat was overwhelming, the commanders could retire into the safety of the fortifications with their entire garrisons, and signal directly for help to Uronarti. Uronarti's commander could then send a message to Mirgissa and ultimately Buhen using a pre-arranged visual signal relayed through Shalfak, Askut, Murshid, and Gemai (Wheeler 1932:255-6). The great fortified towns of Buhen and Mirgissa held large reserves of troops. A reserve supply of weapons preserved at the latter held 300-400 bows and about 2700 arrows, along with almost 400 pikes and javelins. Assuming reasonable rates of re-supply, this cache alone might have served 6-800 bowmen and 800 foot soldiers. Reconstructing approximately 150 three room 'barracks' complexes in the inner fort yields a similar total of at least 600-1500 men,[11] using the formula above. Using Williams' method, the main fortifications at Mirgissa would require around 1300/650 soldiers to man, and the extensive northern wing a like number, although it is possible that these works might not have been as heavily defended. The inner fortress at Buhen would require around 700/350, although the later massive outer works, which were on a similar scale and directly connected to the inner fortress, would require about 1400/700 men. Given the presence of a large reserve force for contingencies, total garrison of about 2000, in line with Emery's estimates for Buhen, is reasonable.

If, on the other hand, the Nubians were found to be engaged in trade to *Ikn*, or on official business, they could proceed along the overland route. Native cargo vessels would be required to stop and transship their goods (and/or personnel) to Egyptian vessels, or to Egyptian or native overland expeditions. Managing these activities would have been an important part of the Second Cataract Forts' mission, more significant than Williams (1995)

[11]Based on the fragmentary plans recovered for the inner fort (Vercoutter, et al. 1970:Figs. 37-8). The numbers generated are consistent with the higher estimates from the weapons. The actual force present might have been considerably more if soldiers and/or conscriptable reserves were also quartered in the outer town. These figures also do not consider potential occupants of the elite/administrative structures.

would allow, but perhaps not so overwhelming as Adams (1977) argues. The first and seventh Semna Dispatches, originating from Semna fort, record direct trade with native merchants sailing up from the south (Smither 1945). Thus, Semna should also have facilities for the transfer of goods from native cargo vessels to Egyptian bottoms, or to overland expeditions. The lower pool at Semna could hold several small vessels, as seen in a photograph of the date fleet taken in 1928 (Reisner 1929:Fig. 2). Semna, in fact, must have been a bustling center of trade itself (Kemp 1986:Fig. 6), although not as prominent as *Ikn*, which had access to important desert trade routes an thus a much broader market. Since the number of vessels arriving from the south might very well outstrip the capacity for immediate shipment north, Semna must have had facilities to hold the goods until arrangements could be made. Although no block of storerooms was found in the excavations there, evidence of thick walled structures, similar to those of the official buildings at the other forts, was found underneath the temple mound in the north Wing (Dunham and Janssen 1960:7, Pls. 6C, 8A, Map III). Kemp has rightly suggested that this area probably contained the fort's granary, which might have been tapped for trading purposes (1986:130). Every transaction recorded at Semna, in fact, included a gift of bread and beer before the trader(s) departed (Smither 1945). This structure might also have included an attached treasury complex such as that found at Uronarti.

Even more significant in this context, however, is the outer enclosure at Semna South. Surrounded by a low, insubstantial brick wall, it contained evidence of temporary occupation, but no trace of permanent structures. The excavator suggests that it was suitable for use as a commercial exchange base (Zabkar and Zabkar 1982:9), exactly the sort of facility necessary for the transshipment of goods required by the edict of Senwosret III.[12] The upper pool of the Semna cataract, opposite this fort, was large enough to make a harbor capable of sheltering a number of vessels (Ibid., Pl. I). Ancient merchant vessels might have stopped there and off loaded their goods, putting them into temporary storage at Semna South. More valuable goods might be taken for safekeeping to Semna and/or Uronarti. The large plain at Semna South would, in fact, provide a good staging area for the native caravans to await official permission to leave, or the Egyptian ones to buy up

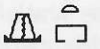
[12]The Zabkar's date the use of the fort until the reign of Amenemhet III, based upon the distribution of seal impressions found in a very large dump nearby (1982:14). This may, however, simply date the use of the dump, and does not necessarily reflect the terminal period of occupation at the fort itself, which might well have extended into Dynasty XIII, as was the case at all of the other forts.

native goods brought in by boat. Alternatively, the goods could be transported down past the cataract to the lower pool opposite Semna fort and transferred to Egyptian ships. The extensive defense wall traced by Mills from a point north of Uronarti to Semna extends into this area (Ibid.:12 f., Pl. I), and might have been used to keep unauthorized groups out and contain this activity.

In addition to regulating native trading missions, the forts were also responsible for assisting the Egyptian fleets through the series of rapids running from the Second Cataract through the Semna Cataract (Adams 1977:184). A rock inscription of Senwosret III's expedition of Year 19 found at Uronarti actually records the difficulties of negotiating the shoals there (Wheeler 1932:259). Mirgissa provides even more dramatic evidence of these activities. The excavators uncovered an approximately 2 km long slipway which bypassed the worst rapids at the Second Cataract. Impressions on the surface showed that the boats were placed on sledges dragged by men and oxen (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1970:204-14). Although Adam's characterization of the fort residents as glorified stevedores may be somewhat exaggerated, it is clear that assisting riverine traffic, including portage of goods and even boats, was an important part of their overall mission. The function and placement of the forts was thus strongly tied to the economic interests of Egypt in the region, consistent with both Alcock's and D'Altroy's models (Chapter 1 above).

Control of goods was maintained by the central administration through a complex sealing system. Six separate institutions were represented at Mirgissa, five at Semna South and Askut, four at Buhen, three from Bigeh, and two from Shalfak, Uronarti and Semna (Figure 2.7). The small number of institutions at Uronarti, and large number at Semna South is interesting. Both of them had large samples of sealings, Uronarti the largest amount next to Mirgissa, so differential preservation is unlikely. It appears that Uronarti's rearward position gave it a less complicated economic role. Semna South's importance as an entrepôt is the likely explanation for its prominence. The samples from Semna, Kumma, Shalfak and Faras were too small to draw any conclusions. The fact that all of the sealings from Bigeh, which lay on the Egyptian frontier, came from its communications with the other forts underscores its importance in the exchange of goods from the Egyptian border at Aswan. The original number of institutions present at Bigeh is not clear, but it is interesting to note that both it and Serra East had only a Treasury, Granary, general () and Document Seal. The large number of institutions represented at Askut also indicates that it also had a

Large Seals:

Granary  Bigeh, Serra East, Buhen, Mirgissa, Askut, Uronarti, Semna South.

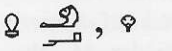
Treasury  Bigeh, Serra East, Mirgissa, Askut, Uronarti, Semna South.

Magazines  Mirgissa, Askut, Shalfak, Semna South.

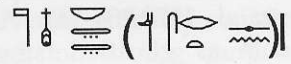
Provisions  Shalfak, Semna, Semna South.

Upper Fort  Buhen, Askut, Semna South.

Seal  Bigeh, Serra East, Buhen.

Seal of the Governor  Mirgissa, Buhen.

'Labor Prison'  Mirgissa, Askut

Senwosret, Seal of  Mirgissa.

Small Seals for Documents:

Elephantine, Bigeh, Faras, Buhen, Mirgissa, Askut, Shalfak, Uronarti, Semna, Semna South.

Figure 2.7 Institutions of the Nubian Forts (taken principally from Knudstad 1966, Gratien 1982 and personal communication 1990, 1994, Reisner 1955, Zabkar and Zabkar 1982, Williams, personal communication 1990).

complex economic role which belied its seemingly insignificant rearward position. Differential preservation is unlikely. The number of sealings at Askut is far less than Uronarti or Mirgissa, roughly equivalent, although still less, than Serra East.

The complexity of the sealing system reflects Askut's multi-faceted role. It served first and foremost as a fortified grain reserve. Barry Kemp draws a parallel between sets of contiguous rooms like the East complex at Askut (Rooms E1-17, Figure 2.8), found at all of the forts, and granary models like that from the tomb of Meket-Re. In the latter, scribes sit in an outer room, off of which depend a set of square rooms. As each sack is recorded, the bearer ascends a stair leading to the top of the wall, pouring his grain into one of the chambers through its open roof (Winlock 1955:25-7, 87-8, Pls. 20, 62-3). Each of these features, the scribe's area, stair, and set of rooms with limited access, are present at the Second Cataract forts, as well as in the mansions of

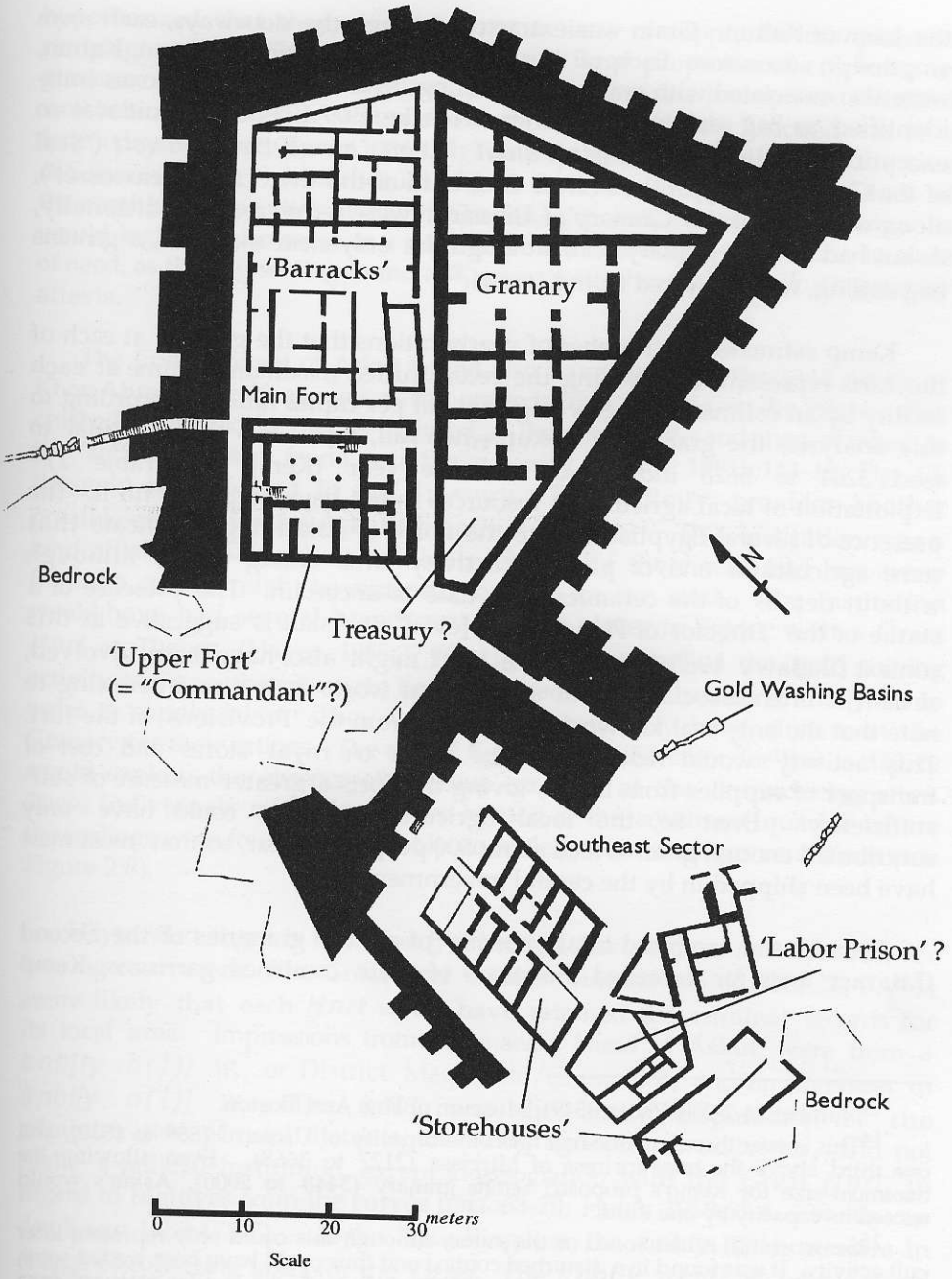


Figure 2.8 Askut's Institutions during the Middle Kingdom.

the town of Kahun. Grain was extracted through the doorways, each room emptied in succession. Each of these structures, excepting those at Kahun, were also associated with granary peg sealings from doors and/or boxes (misidentified as bag sealings by Reisner, Wiencke 1977:127-30). Askut was no exception. Sealings of the *ḫtm šnwt ʿȝ.t nṯr nfr nb tȝwy Snwsrt* ('Seal of the Great Granary of the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Senwosret'), along with that of the 'Granary of Uronarti,' were recovered. Additionally, Askut had its own granary seal, although the only clear example, a genuine bag sealing, was recovered from Kumma.[13]

Kemp estimates the number of yearly rations that the granary at each of the forts represents by dividing the reconstructed maximum volume at each facility by an estimate of the average annual per capita ration. According to this analysis, the granary at Askut, when full, represents the potential to feed 3264 to 5628 individuals for one year (Kemp 1986:Table 2)[14] Exploitation of local agricultural resources might have helped to fill it. The presence of several Egyptian sites to the north of Askut might indicate that some agricultural and/or pastoral activity was taking place, although without details of the ceramics their date is uncertain. The presence of a statue of the 'Director of Plowings Sob[ek...]' at Askut is suggestive in this context (Badawy 1965:127-8).[15] The *ḥnrt* might also have been involved, since it is often associated with agricultural work. It is also interesting to note that the only seal known for Shalfak is from the 'Provisions' of the fort. This activity would reduce both the drain on royal stores and cost of transport of supplies from Egypt, giving the forts a greater measure of self-sufficiency. Even so, the local agricultural yields could have only contributed enough grain to feed about 500 people per year, so that most must have been shipped in by the central government.

Because the combined total capacity of all the granaries of the Second Cataract forts far exceeded the needs of their combined garrisons, Kemp

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[13]Number 24-2-280, Photo B5491, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[14]This is over three and one-half times the capacity of Uronarti (889 to 1532), and one third above the huge fortress of Mirgissa (2127 to 3668). Even allowing the maximum size for Kemp's proposed Semna granary (3448 to 2000), Askut's would exceed its capacity by one third.

[15]Senwosret III is mentioned on the statue, although this could only represent later cult activity. It was found in a disturbed context and thus could have been traded south from Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period as with the similar statuary from Kerma, although it is tempting to ascribe it to Commandant Ib's father Sobek (above).

hypothesized that they served as a secure base of supply for the periodic campaigns of the Middle Kingdom. Askut's large proportional emphasis on granaries (22% of its total area), coupled with its secure location on an island well behind the frontier, suggests to Kemp that its primary function was as a fortified grain store (Kemp 1986:134, Table 1). Indeed, depending on the size of Semna's granary, Askut would account for from one-quarter to one-half of the combined capacities of Askut, Shalfak, Uronarti, Semna and Kumma. It would logically also serve as a reserve for the entire system, at least in time of need, as the bag sealing found at Kumma with the seal of Askut's granary attests.

The Commandant of Askut would also have overseen the gold mines at Khor Ahmed Sherif, as well as the ore reduction stations on the plain. The crushed ore would be further reduced at the fort itself, and then washed in the 'settling' system found near the gateway (Smith 1991b:111-15, Fig. 6), the gold being placed in the Treasury. This activity provides another possible explanation for Askut's branch of the *ḥnrt*. This institution was a kind of labor prison, where criminals, especially those who had run away from the corvée, might be sentenced to work for the state. The institution would have had several branches at various places in Egypt, with a Great *ḥnrt* at Thebes. (Hayes 1955:37 ff.). If Askut controlled the gold mining activity at Saras, then it might have required its own branch of the *ḥnrt* in order to supply labor. They would also presumably have drawn on the Granary for their rations. The use of Egyptian forced labor for this activity would explain the absence of C-Group ceramics at the ore reducing sites. These individuals might have been housed in the southeast quarter where the sealings were found, presumably under less than luxurious conditions (see Figure 2.8).

Hayes also suggests that the *ḥnrt* might have served as a location for hearing court cases. The Great *ḥnrt* held a criminal record (*ibid.*:38-9). It seems likely that each *ḥnrt* would have retained the criminal records for its local area. Impressions from name seals found at Askut, were from a *ḳnb[ty n(ỉ)] w*, or District Magistrate/Councillor, and an Overseer of *ḳnbt[y n(ỉ)] w*. The *ḳnbt* was the entity responsible for the administration of rural districts, including agricultural activities, and not really a judicial institution, except in association with the Great *ḥnrt* in regard to fugitives from the corvée (*ibid.*:68-70; Helck 1958:61-4, 239-40; van den Boorn 1988:175-7). In the New Kingdom, the *ḳnbty n(ỉ) w* were in charge of collecting taxes for the Vizier. The *ḳnbt[y n(ỉ)] w*, whose name was *Rn-f-snb* (see below Figure 3.14), appears as a regular countersealer, a

good sign that he was actually resident at the fort (for a fuller discussion of countersealing see Smith 1990:206-9, 1995). A sample sealing bears an imprint of the seal of the 'Great One of the Tens of Upper Egypt,' an important judicial position. While he and the Overseer of *ḳnbty* may not have actually resided at Askut, the presence of their seals, coupled with that of *Rn-f-snb*, may indicate that Askut served as the administrative center for *ḫnrt* labor, court documents, and perhaps agricultural activities and/or grain supplies throughout the Second Cataract Fort system, at least those forts south of Mirgissa.[16]

Askut must also have kept watch over the considerable C-Group population of the Saras plain, which might conceivably pose a threat to river traffic. Shalfak's strategic location on a sharp bend in the river at the very end of the plain, where the cliffs rise precipitously to sixty meters above the river level and the valley becomes tightly constricted, implies that the fort may have helped to contain the natives, or at least to regulate their movements. Any irregularities would be quickly reported to the other forts and the central government, which remained in close contact with the imperial frontier. Letter sealings from various forts document these exchanges. Askut sent letters to Mirgissa (Brigitte Gratien, personal communication 1994) and recieved a package from Buhen, a box from Serra East, and letters from Faras, Semna and the court, presumably at the capital *Iṯ-tȝwy* at the entrance to the Faiyum (Smith 1990). Almost all of the forts had at least one of these sealings, which used the royal Horus Name, traditionally employed in official royal correspondence and decrees. The pattern of sealing from the other forts, especially Uronarti, however, shows that immediate control was established through the Office of the Vizier of the *Tp-rsy* (lit. 'Head of the South') and *Nỉwt-rsyt* (lit. 'Southern City' = Thebes, see Smith 1990:209-11). Egypt was divided into two *wʿrt*, or 'departments,' each with its own Vizier. The Department of the North was administered from the capital at *Iṯ-tȝwy*, and had control of Egypt up to the area around Akhmim. The Head of the South was administered from Thebes. The lists in the Ramesseum Onomasticon and Brooklyn Papyrus establish its limits, from Akhmim to Aswan and on into Nubia as far as Semna South, the last entry in the Ramesseum Onomasticon.[17] The recovery

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[16]Of some 88 counterseals (14 individuals) with titles at Uronarti, none were made by a judicial official, most being from individuals with a military title (Smith 1990:208).

[17]The Brooklyn Papyrus' omission of the Second Cataract Forts may indicate that the authority of the 'Labor Prison' office did not extend into Nubia at the time of writing, or that it functioned as a separate division of the institution.

of the Semna Dispatches at Thebes leads further credence to this notion, implying that the Vizier of the Head of the South was receiving regular reports of the situation in Lower Nubia.

The fort system operated apparently without significant contacts or cultural influence with the native C-Group. Egyptian imported and influenced objects increase in frequency before the conquest of Lower Nubia (Ib phase). Cemeteries and settlements contemporary with the Egyptian occupation in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (IIa phase), however, show a sharp decline of imported objects, along with dearth of new Egyptian influences. Burial customs remained distinctly Nubian in character (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:6-14). As Ian Hodder (1979) has shown, this need not mean a lack of interaction, but rather indicates an emphasis of cultural distinctiveness in the face of a political, cultural or economic threat, in this case the Egyptian invasion. Williams (1991) suggests that before the New Kingdom the C-Group showed signs of intentional cultural contrast with Egypt, even when relations were good and some Egyptian burial practices adopted. Säve-Söderbergh sees this as a deliberate attempt to resist the exploitative nature of the Middle Kingdom empire (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:8). Although this may to some extent help explain the lack of Egyptian and Egyptian inspired goods in C-Group sites, the fact that even culturally neutral materials which might have been reworked, like metals or cloth, are rare, suggests that there was an economic as well as cultural separation (Säve-Söderbergh 1989:8-9; Williams 1983:117). The archaeological record reflects at best a pattern of aloof contact and infrequent trading, perhaps grain or beads in exchange for occasional labor (cf. Trigger 1976:79-80).

The Egyptian Middle Kingdom occupation does seem to have suppressed any tendencies towards increasing social complexity that the C-Group may have had before the conquest (Trigger 1976;79). O'Connor has recently argued to the contrary, suggesting that the C-Group had reached the point of a complex chiefdom or even state society as early as the Ia-b phases. Solid evidence of increasing differentiation in wealth is found in the cemetery at Aniba, where large tumuli appear in segregated areas in the IIb phase (Second Intermediate Period). His argument for complexity at periods contemporary with the Middle Kingdom occupation of Lower Nubia rests heavily on evidence from texts and settlement patterns which, as he admits, are highly ambiguous. In particular, the cemeteries of these early phases do not reflect social differentiation on the level he proposes. His answer to this criticism is that cemeteries do not always reflect social differentiation and complexity. While this may be true, it seems unlikely that the C-Group of

phase IIb would suddenly decide that funerary practices were a good way to express social differentiation. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that the Native Nubians had any taboo on the expression of status in this way, since both the preceding A-Group and the Kerma culture show early evidence of differentiation in their cemeteries (O'Connor 1991:153-6; Williams 1986; Bonnet 1982; 1986; 1988; 1991). It is far more likely that the dynamic economic, political and cultural environment of the Second Intermediate Period, free of Egyptian military dominance, provided a stimulus for increased complexity. Trigger's picture of a largely egalitarian tribal society (or rather somewhat more complex patrimonial in Doyle's terms) remains by and large the best characterization of the C-Group during the Middle Kingdom occupation (1976:79).

Conclusions

Archaeological and textual evidence places the construction of Askut in the reign of Senwosret III. The surrounding Saras area was an exception in the otherwise barren Batn el-Hajar, capable of supporting a considerable population, as shown by the comparative abundance of C-Group and Kerma sites. The nearby gold mine at Khor Ahmed Sherif was an important resource exploited by the garrison at Askut. The chain of forts at the Second Cataract, of which Askut was a part, operated as a well planned and integrated system with considerable functional differentiation, ranging from Semna fort's apparent emphasis of garrison, to Askut's more passive focus on support of the other forts and local activities, like gold mining. The forts played a multi-faceted role in the Nubian policy of the Middle Kingdom Pharaohs, serving on the one hand in support of the punitive campaigns to the south and as a static defense to prevent violation of the boundary, and on the other to regulate and facilitate riverine and overland trade, monitor the local population both on the Saras Plain and in the Eastern and Western deserts, and exploit the natural resources of the area. Sealings and papyri show that Nubia was incorporated into the Egyptian administration in a Territorial system. The native population was carefully watched but otherwise left to themselves in a classic example of Equilibrium Imperialism. In line with Alcock's model and the first hypothesis, the fortresses were designed to provide the infrastructure necessary to meet imperial economic and political goals, the extraction of local resources, maintenance and security of the trade in southern exotica, and the security of the Egyptian border.

Chapter 3

The First Settlers

H. S. Smith (1976:67-9) has made a convincing argument that the garrisons of the fort system shifted from rotating military units to permanent settlers at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. This step marks a fundamental change in the imperial system, from Equilibrium Imperialism to Equilibrium Colonialism. The archaeological record at Askut confirms this restructuring, but before considering this new evidence, a review of Smith's argument will help place Askut in historical perspective.

H. S. Smith's Buhen Model

Smith's model for the shift to permanent settlers is founded on stelae from the cemetery and settlement at Buhen. They show an overwhelming proportion of examples made after the start of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Figure 3.1). Smith argues that at the apex of royal authority in the

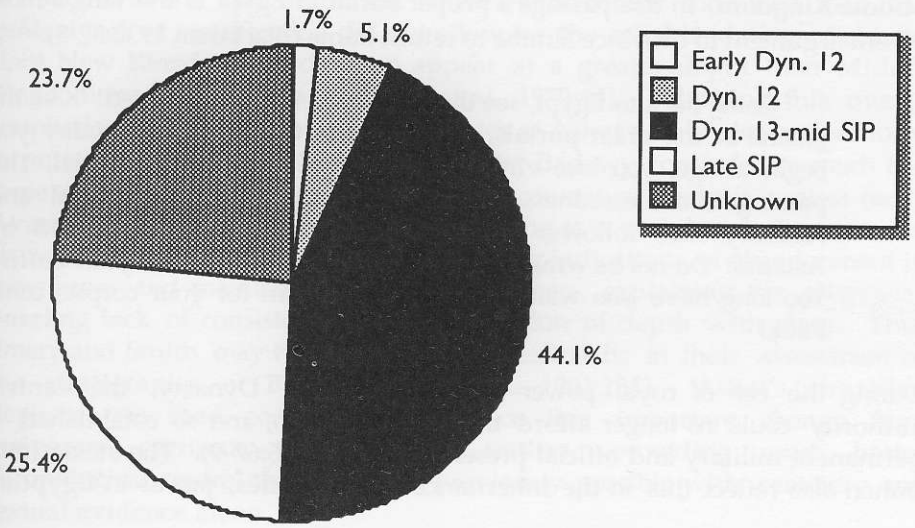

Figure 3.1 Funerary Stelae from Buhen.

Twelfth Dynasty, the central administration could afford to rotate garrisons in and out on a regular basis. Under such a system deaths would be limited by the absence of the aged, women and children. Interments, especially among the elite, would be further reduced by the practice of sending the sick and dead back to Egypt for treatment or burial. The Sixth Dynasty biographies of the Aswan expedition leaders Sabni and Pepinakht, called Heqaib, show the lengths to which Egyptians would go to ensure a proper burial at home (Sethe 1932-3:131-40; Breasted 1906:Vol. 1, §§ 365-71, 359):

> [Then came] the Ship Captain, Intef, and the Overseer of [...?...] Behkesi, to give information that the Sole Companion, and Lector Priest [Mekhu] was dead. [Then I <Sabni> took] a troop of the estate... I pacified these countries...I loaded up the body of this sole companion upon an ass, and I had him carried by the troop of the estate...I buried this my father [in his tomb] in the necropolis...
>
> Now the Majesty of my Lord send me <Pepinakht> to the country of the Asiatics to bring for him the sole companion, [commander] of the sailors, the caravan-conductor, Anankhet, who was building a ship there for Punt, when Asiatics of the Sand-dwellers slew him...

The Story of Sinuhe shows that this attitude was maintained into the Middle Kingdom. In this passage a proper burial in Egypt is the king's most potent argument to convince Sinuhe to return home (Blackman 1932:32-3):[18]

> Come back to Egypt, see the Residence where you lived! Kiss the ground at the great portals, join with the Courtiers! For today you begin to age, you lose virility. Think of the day of burial, the passing into blessedness. <a long description of the burial and funerary rites follows> Do not die abroad, and be interred by Asiatics! Do not be wrapped in the skin of a ram to make your coffin! Too long have you wandered! Have concern for your corpse, come back!

During the ebb of royal power in the Thirteenth Dynasty, the central authority could no longer afford this costly system, and so established a permanent military and official presence (Smith 1976:67-9). The stelae from Buhen also reflect this in the inheritance of local titles, just as in Egyptian

[18]The translation deviates somewhat from that offered in Lichtheim 1973:231-2.

towns. Death rates would assume a more normal pattern, with higher mortality rates among families of the colonists. With permanent relocation of the family funerary cult, burials would occur locally, not back at the owner's home town in Egypt.

Settlement at Askut

Archaeological evidence from Egyptian settlements in Lower Nubia is not so satisfactory. Preservation and/or excavation has not been good enough at any of the other forts to document the transition from rotating garrisons to permanent settlers with any precision. The assumptions the excavators made about depositional processes have contributed to the lack of archaeological definition. Egyptologists have tended to regard stratigraphy as a kind of giant layer cake, with one stratum succeeding another in relatively orderly fashion. Deposition usually occurs, however, in a complex pattern of peripheral disposal and partial abandonment throughout the history of a site. This 'spiral stratigraphy' leads to deposits of very different dates within and outside of buildings, and from one area to another at a given depth (Haines 1969:1; Dixon 1972; Hoffman 1974; Schiffer 1987; Kemp 1989:301; *cf.* Rosen 1986:9-13). Such layers often appear to reflect severe disturbance, and might be dismissed by the excavators as unreliable.

Such was the case at Buhen, where H. S. Smith concluded that the general lack of stratification did not allow for the reliable dating of objects, since New Kingdom sherds often appear at a greater depth than Middle Kingdom material (Smith in Emery et al. 1979:44). Following this overly simplistic model, the different assemblages at Askut would also appear to be inconsistent and badly disturbed. Alexander Badawy concluded in much the same terms that disturbance had rendered contextual analysis useless (nd.). A careful consideration of deposition according to a peripheral disposal and abandonment model, however, reveals strong indications of abandonment in some areas and maintenance of floors in others, explaining the otherwise puzzling lack of consistency in the association of depth with date. Thus Emery and Smith may have been overly pessimistic in their assessment of the stratigraphy at Buhen (*cf.* Bourriau 1991:131). Askut's stratified deposits can shed considerable light on this important change from temporary garrisons to permanent settlers, providing much better chronological control than has been previously possible with cemetery and textual evidence alone.

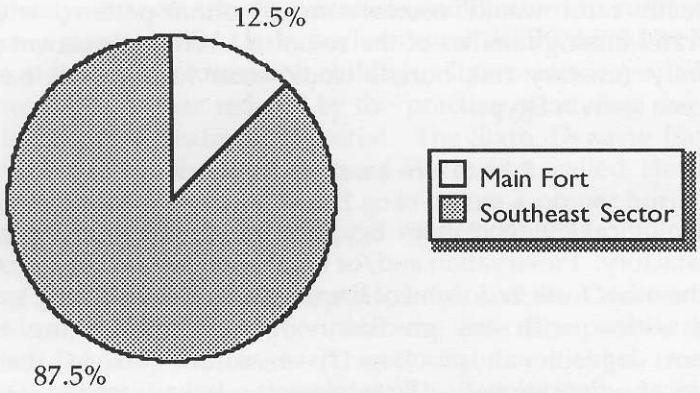

Figure 3.2 Funnel-necked Beer Jars from Askut.

The earliest deposition at Askut occurs outside of the main fort, in a peripheral disposal pattern around the 'Storehouse' complex in the Southeastern Sector. The majority of the earlier style funnel-necked beer jar sherds appear here (Figures 3.2 and 3.3), many falling within Arnold's Group 3, dating from the reign of Senwosret III to Amenemhet III (Chapter 2, Figure 2.4). Several necks found within the structure correlate with a floor raising of about 40 cm in that room. Two hemispherical bowls with vessel indices in Complex 6 are associated with funnel-necked beer jars in the heavy trash deposits on the south side of the storehouse. The clustering of virtually all of the early style beer jar necks in the Southeast Sector implies that the Main Fort was kept clean, probably indicating an organized system of trash disposal, like that attested at Deir el-Medineh (Dixon 1972; Bruyère 1939).[19] Dixon also notes that some trash might be dumped in the river, which would have been comparatively easy to reach at Askut. This pattern could indicate that food production (*i.e.*, beer making) may have been centrally located in this area at this early period, a system of supply consistent with a military garrison. A large square structure on the south side of the storehouse could be a large oven for making bread, which was often associated with beermaking. A lack of archaeological detail, however, makes this idea difficult to prove. No clusters of bread molds, used

[19]Note that Deir el-Medineh was not by any means a normal settlement. The provision of generous rations and servants made this community quite affluent, and the necessity of maintaining a consistent workforce, and difficulties in expanding the site much beyond its final boundaries may have helped dictate a policy of house maintenance more strict than the usual settlement.

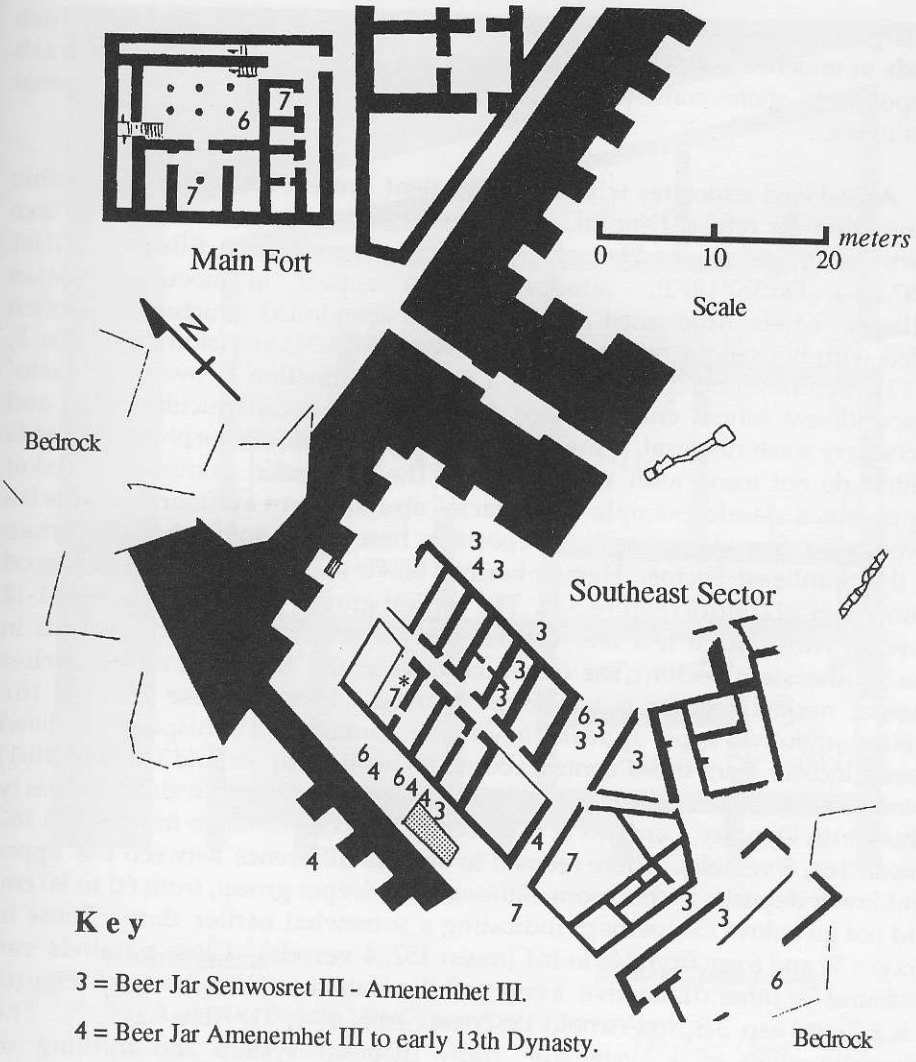

Figure 3.3 Hemispherical Bowls and Beer Jars from the Southeast Sector at Askut.

in large numbers in the ration system (Jacquet-Gordon 1981), appear, which tends to undermine this theory. In any case, an organized system of trash disposal is more consistent with a rotating garrison than a normal settlement.

Abandoned structures within a settlement present an almost irresistible temptation for refuse disposal. Trash tends to attract more trash, and once started, deposition would continue until the rooms were filled (Schiffer 1987:63-4; Dixon 1972). Similar patterns appear in modern Egyptian villages, where little used alleyways and abandoned structures are often filled with household refuse and ash (Eigner 1984:34; at Askut see Plates 5, 6, 12). Schiffer (1987:58 ff.) makes a further distinction between 'de facto' abandonment refuse, characterized by intact and reconstructible pots, and secondary trash disposal, represented by large numbers of 'orphaned' sherds which do not mend with one another. The 'Barracks' complex at Askut represents a classic example of 'de facto' abandonment at floor level, with secondary refuse above as fill. Deposition here began somewhat later than in the Southeast Sector. Hemispherical bowls and beer jars allow for good chronological control (Figure 3.4). The earliest groups in Rooms 5-6 and 11-12 overlap with with a few late Twelfth-early Thirteenth Dynasty deposits in the Southeastern Sector. The only occurrence in the Main fort of the earlier 'funnel' necked beer jar is in Rooms 5a and 6. Even in these contexts the 'kettle' mouthed type appears in greater numbers. Hemispherical bowl vessel indices from these contexts correlate well with Arnold's (1988:140-1) minimum-maximum values of 145 to 190 for the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty Complex 6. The bowls in Room 12 range from 142 to 180 (mean 161, 6 vessels). There seemed to be little difference between the upper and lower deposits in this room, although the deeper group, from 60 to 90 cm, did not go below 154, perhaps indicating a somewhat earlier date. Those in Rooms 5b and 6 run from 146 to 164 (mean 152, 4 vessels). Close parallels can be found for other distinctive forms and decoration in Complex 6 (*cf.* Figures 3.6, 3.7, and esp. 3.8, and Arnold 1982, esp. Abb. 6:11, 21, Abb. 8:1, 2, 7). The discontinuation of a systematic trash disposal system and infilling of abandoned rooms with trash are all indications that the fortress was swiftly developing the character of a normal Egyptian settlement.

Modifications in the plan of several of the rooms in this area confirm this conclusion (Figure 3.4). Rooms 5-6 show the typical tripartite arrangement of the Twelfth Dynasty 'barracks' unit, but there are several examples of remodeling. Upon the abandonment of Rooms 11 and 12 in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, a door was knocked through to Room 13 from Room 28. More drastic alterations were made elsewhere. Two doors were

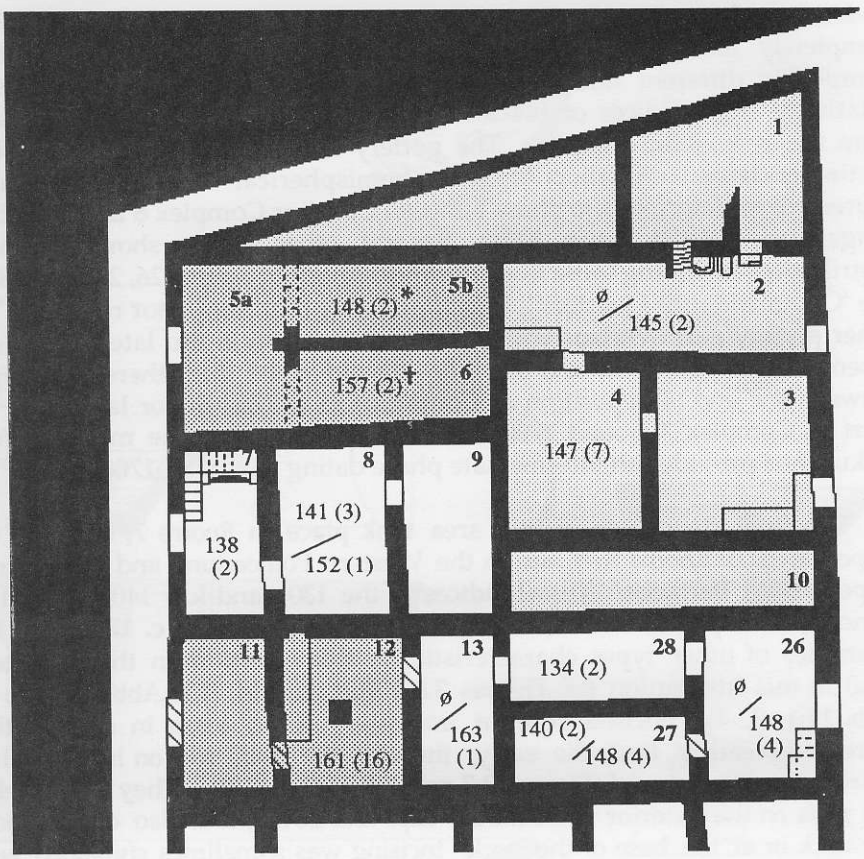

Figure 3.4 Average Hemispherical Bowl Vessel Indicies in the 'Barracks' area of the Main Fort.

added from Room 2 to the Room 1 complex, and Rooms 2, 3, 4 and 10 were completely remodeled from two 'Barracks' units into one house with a completely different floor plan. Vessels in the street near Room 1 with relatively high indices of 144-166 indicate peripheral disposal, probably from the remodeled complex. The pottery from within the new house is distinctly later. A group of seven hemispherical bowls from Room 4 represents an intermediate phase between Dahshur Complex 6 and 7, with a range from 133-158 (mean 147). Several other groups show a similar distribution, including those from the lower levels in Rooms 26, 27, and 38 (in the 'Commandant's Quarters'), which probably represent floor raisings. The other pottery also overlaps with the earlier Complex 6 and later Complex 7 assemblages (Figures 3.7 and 3.8, 3.9). Arnold noted that there was a gap between the end of deposition at Complex 6 in c. 1760 BC or later and the start of Complex 7 around 1700 BC (Arnold 1982:40). The material from Askut thus provides an intermediate phase dating to c. 1750-1700 BC.

The final deposition in this area took place in Rooms 7, 8, 13, in the upper layers of Rooms 26-8, and in the Western Pomoerium and Main Street opposite the 'Barracks.' Vessel indices in the 130's and low 140's indicate a period contemporary with Dahshur Complex 7 (145-115), c. 1700-1650 BC. Examples of other types characteristic of this group from these contexts confirm this attribution (*cf.* Figures 3.8-9 and Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:7, 8, 15; Abb. 11:1, 3, 4). Incised straight and wavy lines, often in combination, increased steadily from the early, through the mid, and on into the late Thirteenth Dynasty (*cf.* Figures 3.7 and 3.8-9; Plate 19). They occur below the rims on the exterior of carinated cups and bowls, and also on jars along the neck or at the base of the neck. Incising was sometimes combined with rim pinching and applied ridges on large carinated bowls from the mid Thirteenth Dynasty onwards (Figure 3.8). A feature appearing in the early Thirteenth Dynasty is the application of two pieces of clay below the rim of small cups, by the mid Thirteenth Dynasty sometimes in combination with the incised decoration on carinated cups (Figures 3.7-8). They might either be related to the Hathor vase with applied nipples, which does occur rarely at Askut (Figure 3.9), or perhaps served to tie off a cord securing a cloth or leather cover. They certainly do not represent real or vestigial handles. Parallels with wavy incised decoration appear in Dahshur Complex 7 and in Strata E-D at Tell el-Dab'a, which date to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty into the early Second Intermediate Period (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:8; Bietak 1991:Fig. 10).

These changes reflect patterns of private ownership attested at other periods in Egyptian history (H. S. Smith, 1972: esp. 705-7, 710-11). Legal

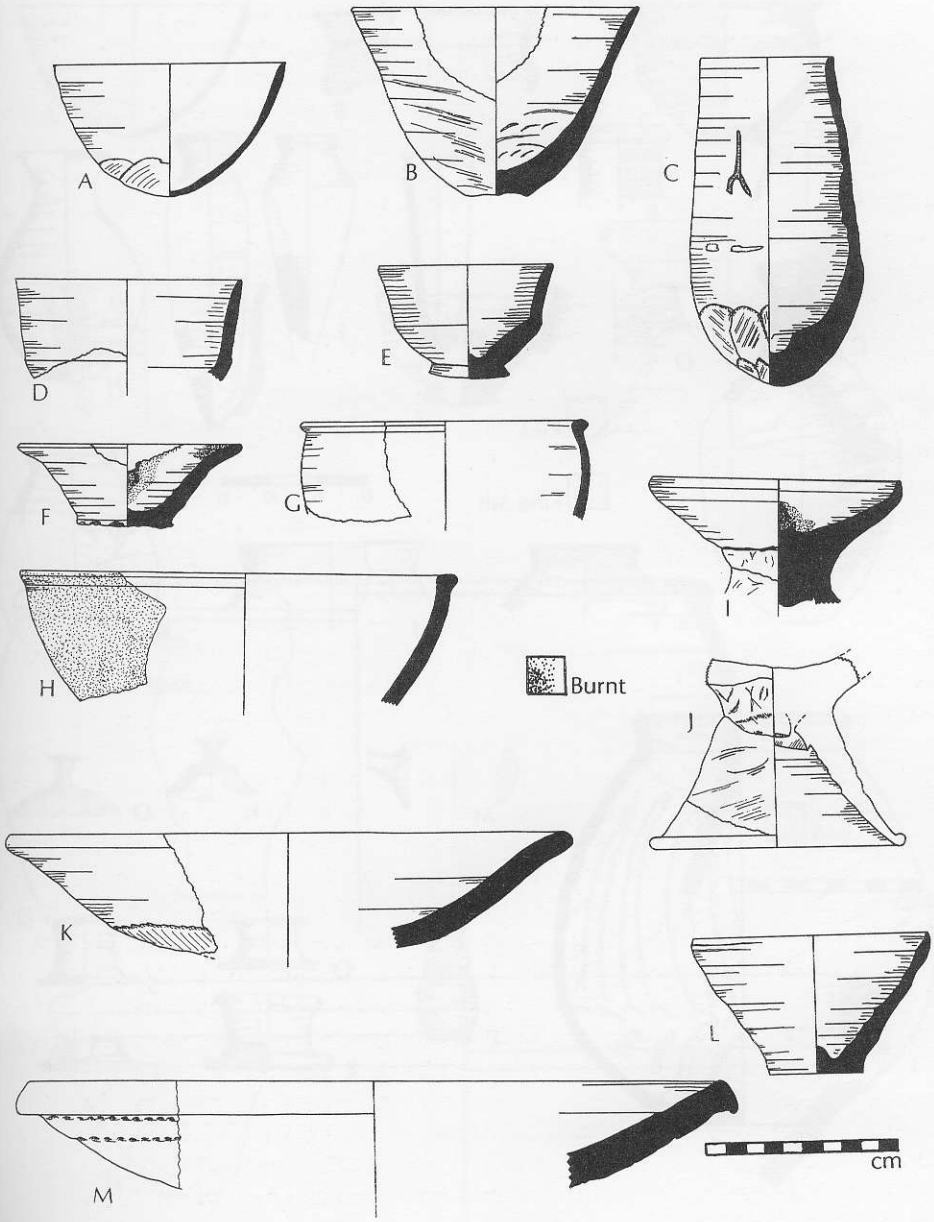

Figure 3.5 Middle Kingdom Cups and Bowls from Askut.

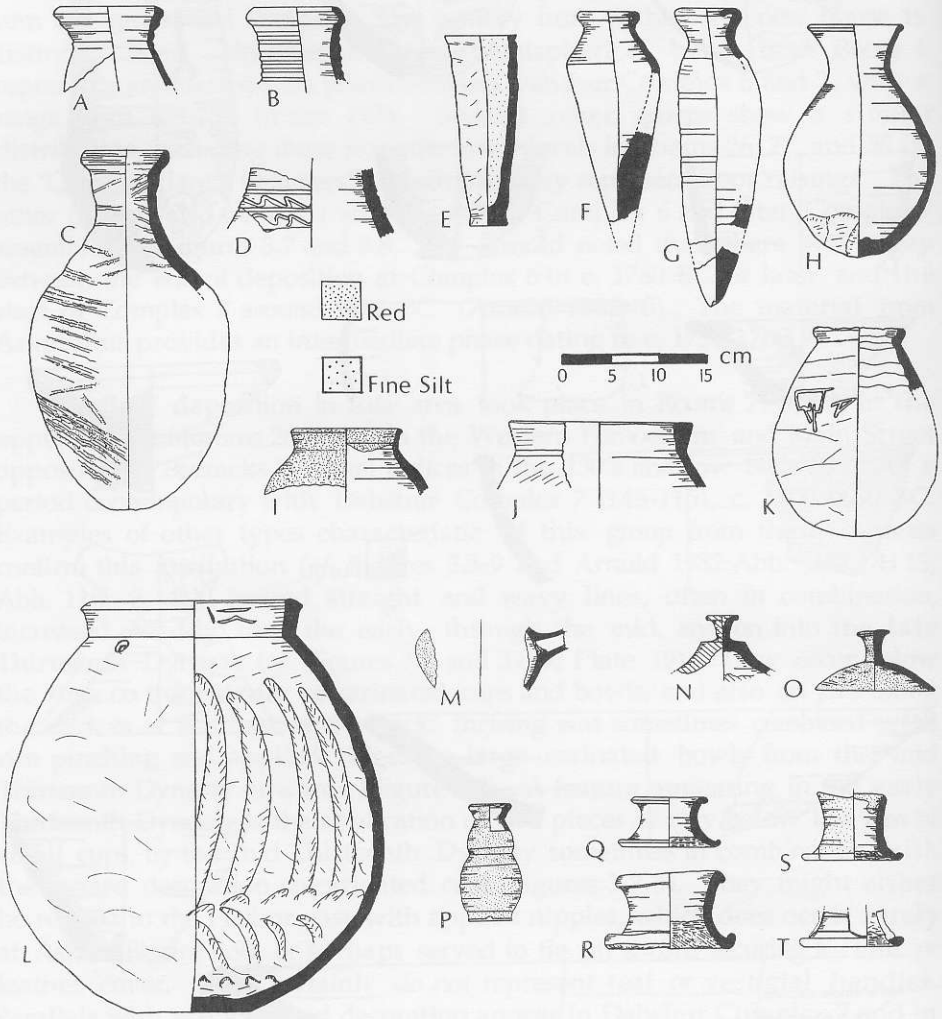

Figure 3.6 Middle Kingdom Jars and Miscellaneous Types from Askut.

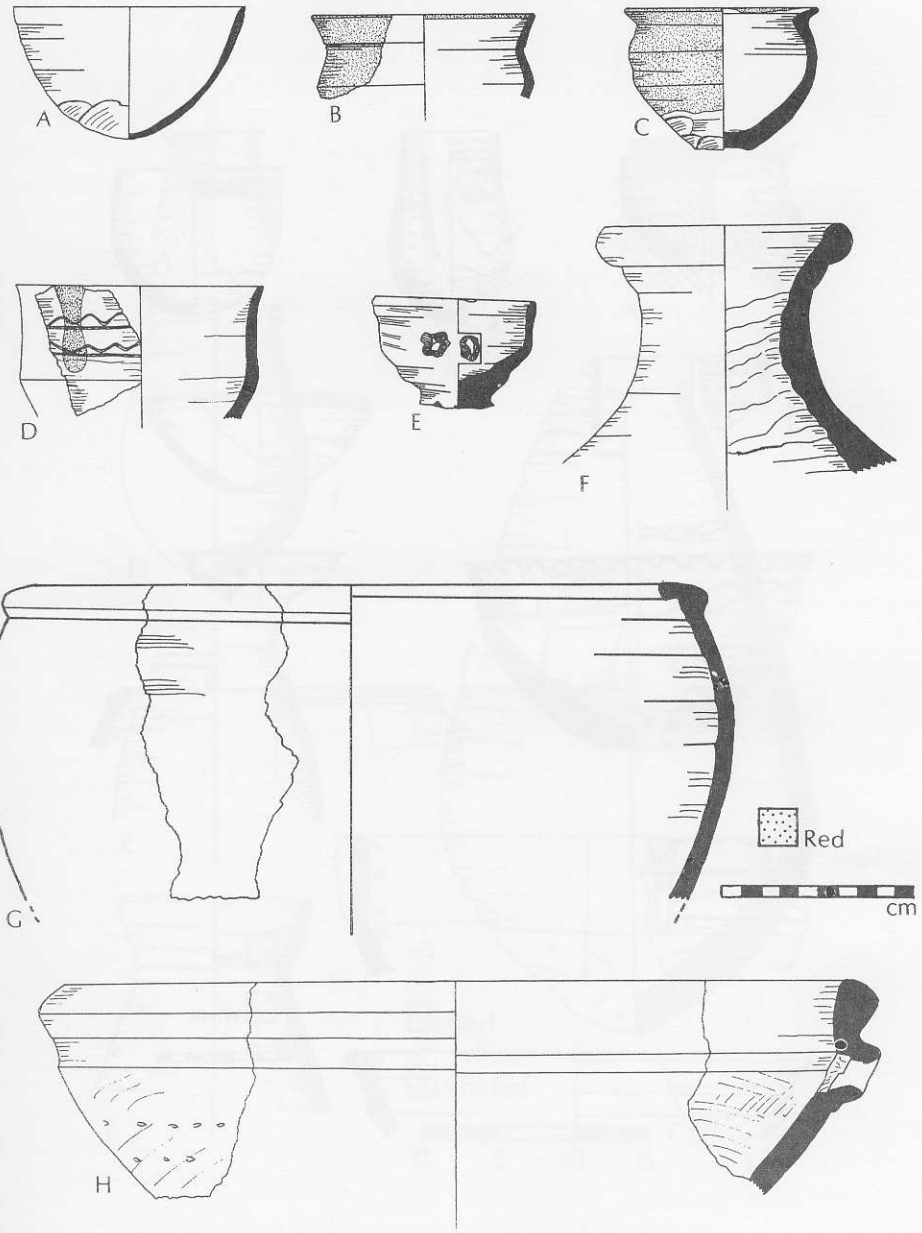

Figure 3.7 Pottery of the Late Twelfth to Mid Thirteenth Dynasty from Askut.

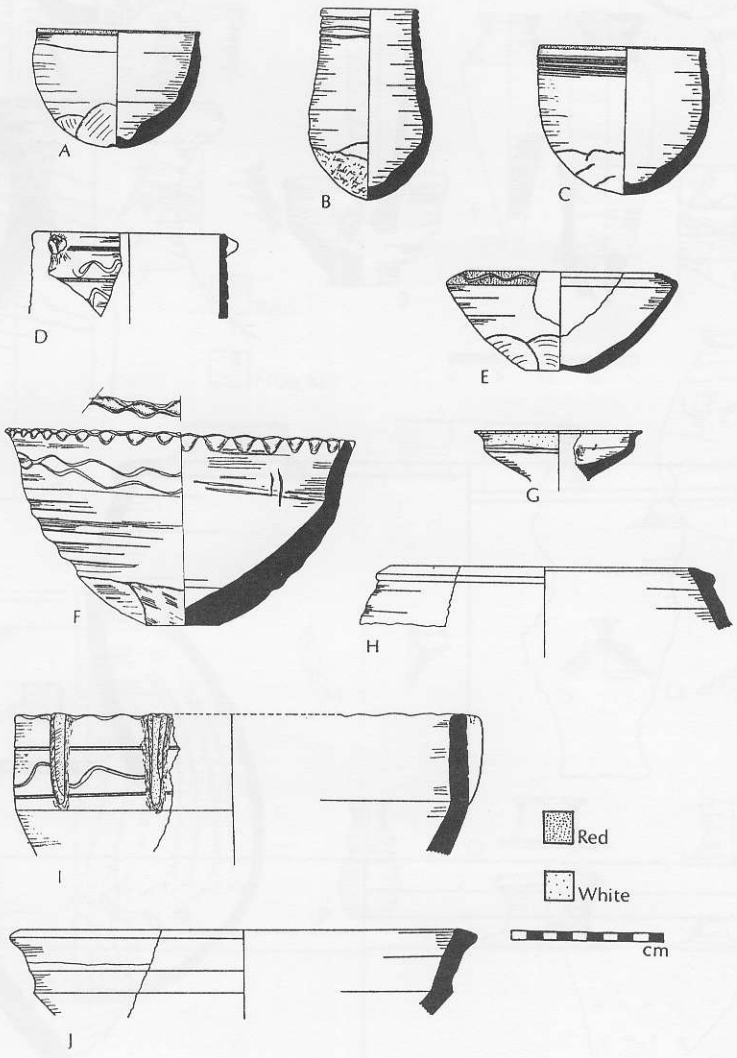

Figure 3.8 Cups and Bowls of the Mid to Late Thirteenth Dynasty from Askut.

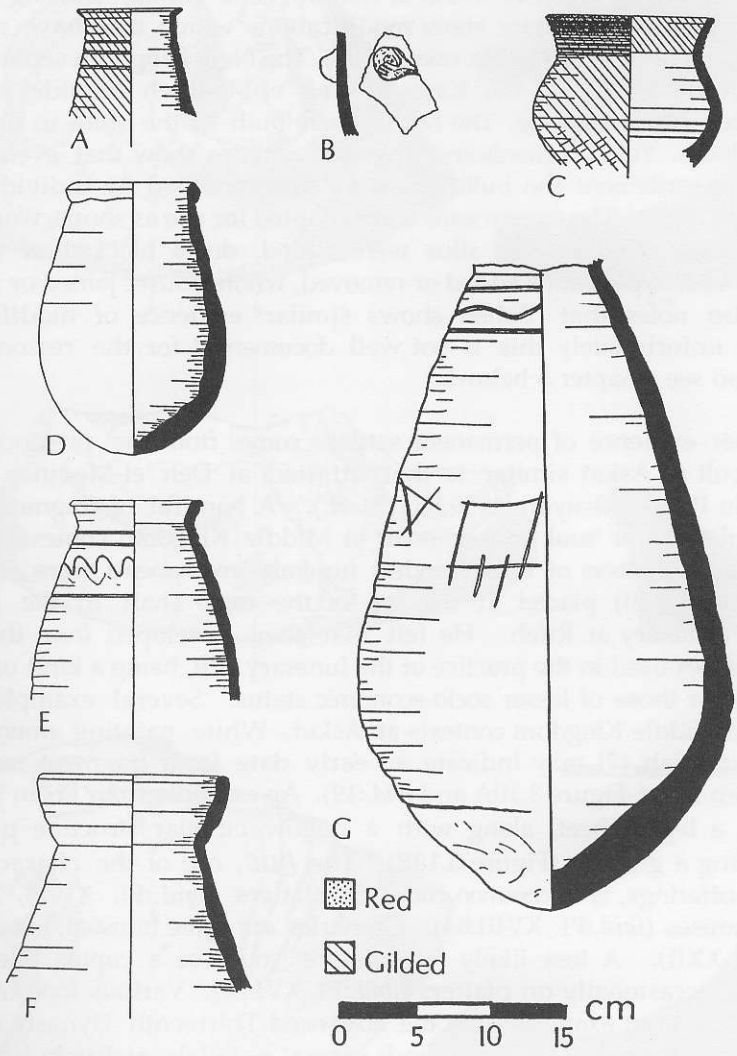

Figure 3.9 Jars of the Mid to Late Thirteenth Dynasty from Askut.

documents from the Late Period track the changing ownership patterns of houses at Thebes. Buildings might be added to and divided up, with doors blocked or opened, as a result of sales and family inheritances. Documents from the Thirteenth Dynasty found at Kahun relate similar shifting family groups, and the houses there show modifications which may have resulted from similar patterns of private ownership. The New Kingdom settlement of workers in the Valley of the Kings at Deir el-Medineh provides an even better documented example. The houses were built by the state in regularly laid out blocks. Yet documents and physical remains show that even in this government settlement the buildings were soon modified by individuals to suit private needs. The front rooms were adapted for use as shops, workshops or beer halls. Cellars and silos were added, doors blocked or opened, windows added, partitions added or removed, whole houses joined or rebuilt. Smith also notes that Buhen shows similar evidence of modification, although unfortunately this is not well documented for the reasons cited above (also see Chapter 5 below).

Further evidence of permanent settlers comes from the presence of an ancestor cult at Askut similar to that attested at Deir el-Medineh in the Ramesside Period (Bruyère 1939:85, 151 ff.). A handful of fragments from offering platters or 'soul houses' occur in Middle Kingdom contexts (Figure 3.10). Large numbers of these modest funerary monuments were found by Petrie (1907:14-20) placed at the top of the tomb shaft in the Middle Kingdom cemetery at Rifeh. He felt that they developed from the stone offering tables used in the practice of the funerary cult, being a kind of cheap substitute for those of lesser socio-economic status. Several examples come from good Middle Kingdom contexts at Askut. White painting around a bin containing a fish (?) may indicate an early date for a fragment recovered from Room 10 (*cf.* Figure 3.10A and *ibid.*:19). An example from Room 7 shows the *ḫpš*, a leg of beef, along with a hollow circular structure probably representing a granary (Figure 3.10B). The *ḫpš*, one of the characteristic funerary offerings, is a common motif on platters (*ibid.*:Pl. XIV:5, 7, 9) as well as houses (*ibid.*:Pl. XVIII:84). Granaries are more unusual, but do occur (*ibid.*:Pl. XXII). A less likely alternative could be a cupule like those appearing occasionally on platters (*ibid.*:Pl. XVI:24). Various food offerings are modeled on an example from the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty deposit in Room 26 (Figure 3.11C), which finds several parallels at Rifeh (*ibid.*:Pls. XX:46, XIV:8-9).

Although usually considered a purely funerary artifact, they also appear, along with stelae and statuary, at Kahun, Buhen, and other

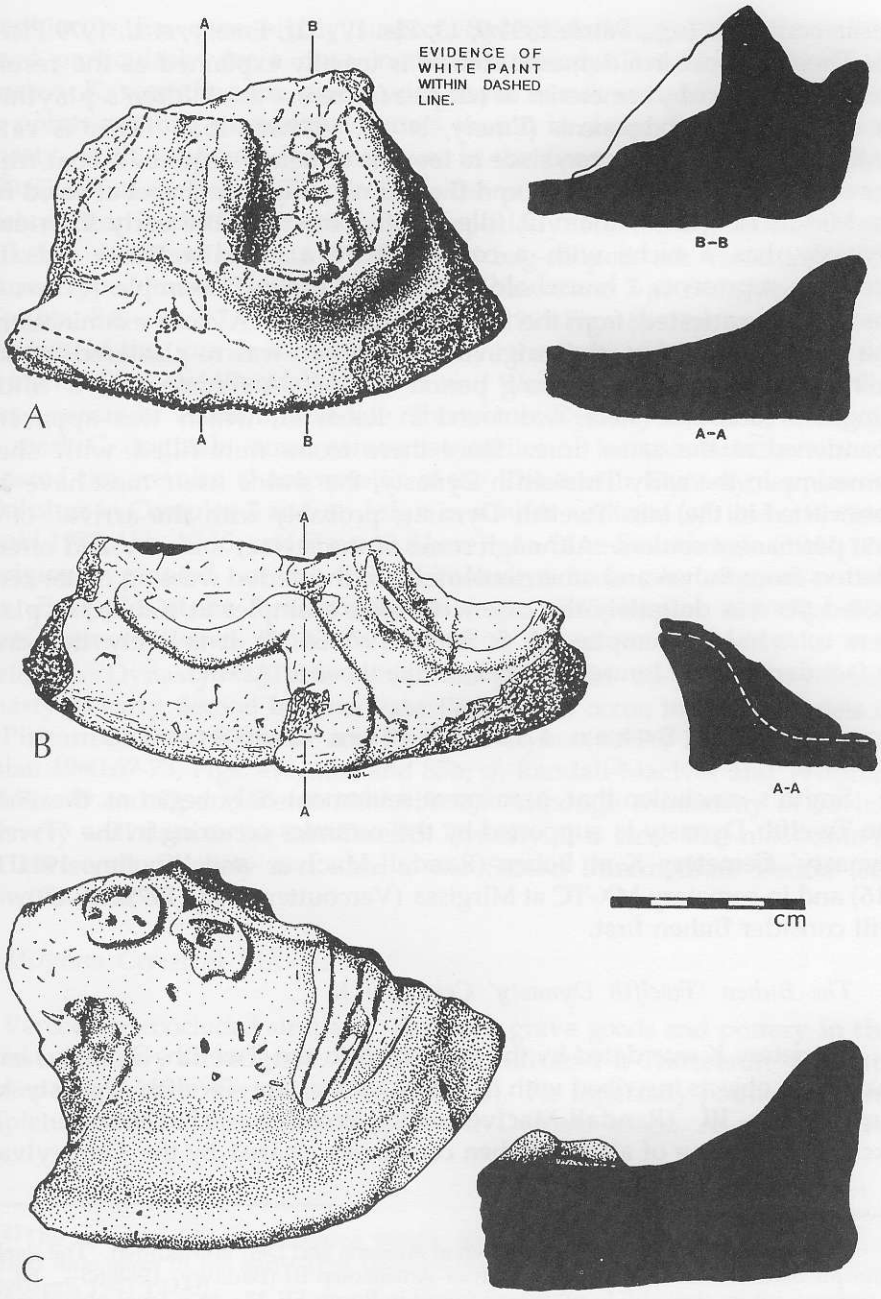

Figure 3.10 Fragments of Offering Platters from Askut.

settlement sites (*e.g.*, Petrie 1891:9, 13, Pls. IV, XII; Emery, *et al.* 1979:Pls. 54-5). Their presence in a domestic context is usually explained as the result of looting from nearby cemeteries or temples for re-use as children's playthings or architectural components (Emery, *et al.* 1979:98, 151). This is rather unlikely at Askut, however, since to loot the cemetery requires a boat trip to the opposite bank of the river, and there is no temple or chapel attested from the Middle Kingdom. Room 12, filled with pottery of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, has a niche with a cornice above a mastaba (Plate 7). This certainly represents a household shrine, the earliest example known, and the first one attested from the Middle Kingdom.[20] A close examination of the photo shows that the original installation was re-plastered at some point, indicating a fairly long period of use. A fragment of a Middle Kingdom sandstone stela was found in Room 11, which was apparently abandoned at the same time. Since these rooms were filled with sherds sometime in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the shrine itself must have been constructed in the late Twelfth Dynasty, probably with the arrival of the first permanent settlers. Although some of the stelae, statuary and offering platters from Buhen and other settlements of the period were no doubt really looted (as was definitely the case with some examples at Kahun) or placed as *ex votos* in local temples (H. S. Smith 1976:66-77), it is likely that many in fact derive from household shrines like those at Askut.

The Buhen and Mirgissa Cemeteries

Smith's conclusion that permanent settlement only began at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty is supported by the ceramics occurring in the 'Twelfth Dynasty' Cemetery K at Buhen (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:185-216) and in cemetery MX-TC at Mirgissa (Vercoutter et al. 1975:229-89). We will consider Buhen first.

The Buhen 'Twelfth Dynasty' Cemetery K

Cemetery K was dated by the excavators to the Twelfth Dynasty, based mainly on objects inscribed with the name of the late Twelfth Dynasty king Amenemhet III (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:185-216). The excavators' dating of all the Buhen cemeteries cleared by the Pennsylvania

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[20]Household shrines are well known at Amarna and Deir el-Medineh. The earliest example before Askut dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (Badawy, 1968:65-7, 68, 94). A shrine with its stela still in place was found in Room SE 32a in a level abandoned in the mid 18th Dynasty, but with possible antecedents in the Second Intermediate Period, or even the late Thirteenth Dynasty, see below Chapter 4.

expedition is, however, highly suspect. Säve-Söderbergh (1941:122-6) has argued particularly for a date in the Thirteenth Dynasty or later for Cemetery K, regarding the pieces with royal names as heirlooms. Kaplan also points out that most of the burials should be dated in the Thirteenth Dynasty, with continued but lesser use in the Second Intermediate Period (1980:83-6; and see below Chapter 5).[21] The pottery illustrated shows forms which appear in the late Twelfth and especially Thirteenth Dynasty, like the kettle mouthed beer jar (Pl. 93i) and bag-shaped silt imitation of a common type of marl C jar (Pl. 93iii; *cf.* Complex 6 and 7 at Dahshur, Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:8, 10, 12, Abb. 11:7; Bietak 1991:Fig. 8; Figure 3.9 here). Examples of the former show particularly the long straight neck of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:Pls. 75, 93i). The latter appears at Askut in mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty contexts, although the marl C originals occur somewhat earlier. Incense burners with a carinated rim are also characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty, appearing at Dahshur in Complex 7 and at Askut in similar contexts (*cf.* ibid., Pl. 94v; Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:15; and Figure 3.8 here). As Säve-Söderbergh (1941:124-6) originally pointed out, the Tell el-Yahudiya ware also suggests a late date. Examples of the Piriform 1b style (*e.g.*, 10765, Kaplan 1980:Fig. 23b) juglets were recovered, dated by Bietak to ranges in the early to mid Thirteenth Dynasty.[22] Types which he places in the late Thirteenth Dynasty to early Second Intermediate Period also occur, including juglets of the Piriform 2, later Globular and Biconical styles (10876, 10831, and 10869; Kaplan 1980:67-73, Figs. 49e, 13a, and 85b; *cf.* Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:Pls. 49 and 92; and Bietak 1989:Abb. 2). Although a minority of burials may very well date to the late Twelfth Dynasty, it is clear that most date to the Thirteenth Dynasty and some to the Second Intermediate Period (see below Chapter 5).

Mirgissa Cemetery MX-TC

Vercoutter concluded similarly that the grave goods and pottery in the earliest cemetery at Mirgissa, MX-TC, all indicated a Thirteenth Dynasty or later date (Vercoutter, et al. 1976:278, 302). He especially pointed out the complete absence of scarabs naming Twelfth Dynasty kings. As noted above,

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[21]The construction of defensive works above the cemetery provides a secure *terminus ante quem* in the early 18th Dynasty, perhaps in the reign of Ahmose (Säve-Söderbergh 1941:122-3).

[22]Dever and Ward, however, would place these in the late, or even early-mid 12th to early Thirteenth Dynasty, see the discussion below.

they are attested at Buhen, although only from the late Twelfth Dynasty and in small numbers consistent with the rarity of Twelfth Dynasty stelae (Figure 3.1). The hemispherical bowls from Mirgissa, especially cemetery MX-TC, indicate that burials were probably also made there at the same period. Vessel indices from cemetery MX-TC range from 136 to 185, peaking at about 169 (Figure 3.11). Only two vessels are below 150, indicating a date solidly within the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, equivalent to Dahshur Complex 6. The higher hemispherical bowl indices from both cemetery MX-TC and MX cluster at about 170 (Figure 3.11). This distribution suggests a date in the reign of Senwosret III at the earliest, but more likely one of the succeeding reigns. An earlier date is ruled out by the appearance of only one bowl from each cemetery with a vessel index above 180, with the highest at 185 for cemetery MX-TC and 190 for Cemetery MX. If the cemeteries dated to the early to mid Twelfth Dynasty one would expect a number of vessels with indices from 180-200 (Arnold 1988:136, 140-6).

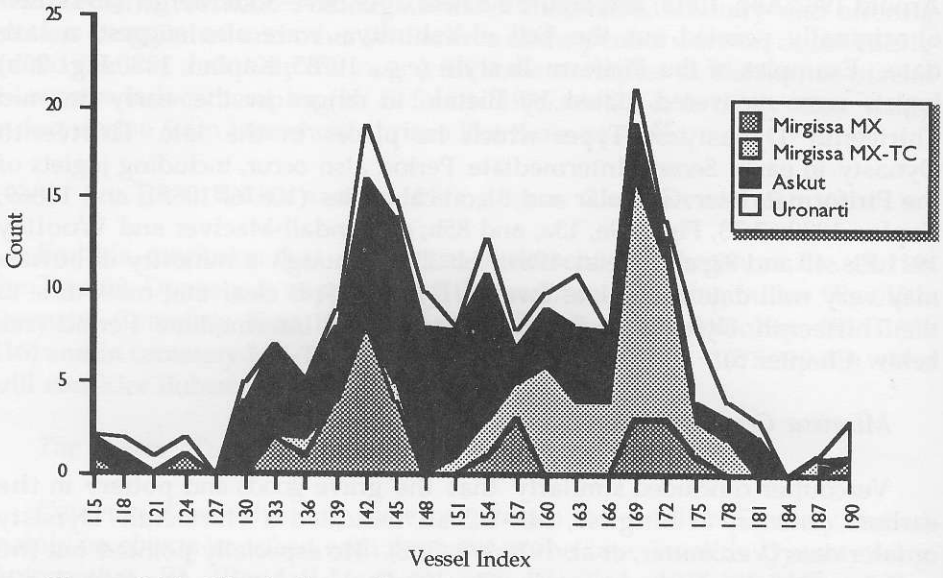

Figure 3.11: Hemispherical Bowls at Askut, Uronarti, and Mirgissa.

Other finds confirm the somewhat earlier date of cemetery MX-TC. The 'funnel' mouthed type of beer jar neck of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty is more common than the 'kettle' mouthed shape introduced in the Thirteenth Dynasty (see above Figure 2.3). Smaller funnel necked globular jars characteristic of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty also

occur in large numbers (*cf.* Vercoutter, et al. 1975:229-89; Bourriau 1988:135, #133).[23] The only type of coffin to appear is the plastered rectangular type, the typical form of the Middle Kingdom.[24] A single scarab with a good Middle Kingdom design appears in tomb 4, and Middle Kingdom statue was placed with the burial in tomb 101 (Vercoutter, et al. 1975:229-89).

A comparison with the hemispherical bowls from Askut and Uronarti confirms the relatively late date of the burials at Mirgissa. The overall ranges are equivalent, in spite of the fact that Mirgissa was built and occupied by the reign of Senwosret I (Vercoutter, et al. 1970:20-22),[25] far earlier than the others (see above Chapter 2). Even modest burials (*i.e.*, without stelae but with pottery) took place only at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and later. The comparatively large proportion of hemispherical bowls at the highest end of the distribution may indicate that burials took place there earlier, although it could simply be a result of differential preservation and deposition, since the bowls from Askut and Uronarti come from the settlement rather than a cemetery. The bimodal tendency of the distribution is puzzling, and presumably the result of a systematic variation in the vessel form, rather than indicating an otherwise unattested chronological fluctuation in occupation at any of the sites. In any case, we have good evidence from both inscriptions and burials at Buhen and Mirgissa that permanent settlement began at the end of the Twelfth and beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Administrative Control and Continuity in the Thirteenth Dynasty

The change from military to civil garrisons was not accompanied by a relaxation of central control. The presence of both Marl A and Marl C storage jars in advanced Thirteenth Dynasty contexts at Askut shows that goods

[23]From Kemp's seriation of the Harageh necropolis, this general type should extend well into the Thirteenth Dynasty (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:23 ff., esp. Fig. 13). Another similar type with a somewhat less flaring rim, which may correspond to some of the Mirgissa examples, occurs in substantial numbers in a distribution running from the middle to late part of Kemp's seriation, thus probably from the late early to late Thirteenth Dynasty.

[24]But see below Chapter 5.

[25]This attribution, although generally accepted, is somewhat uncertain. Vercoutter (1970:22) indicates that a date in the reigns of Amenemhet II to Senwosret II is possible. This would still mean that Mirgissa had been occupied for at least a generation earlier than Uronarti or Askut, which were built in the reign of Senwosret III.

were flowing from both Upper and Lower Egypt.[26] The association of official sealings with Middle Kingdom ceramic deposits at Askut and Uronarti provides more concrete evidence for the maintenance of central control until at least the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty (below and Smith 1990:211-14, 1995). Tufnell (1975:67-70) has argued that the collections from Kahun and Uronarti, which are very similar in the seal motifs used, date to the late Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1863-1785 BC), with Kahun starting somewhat earlier and Uronarti lasting somewhat later. At Kahun she follows Petrie's argument that since the town was originally built for the construction of Senwosret II's pyramid, the greatest activity should be attributed to his reign, using a similar argument to place the bulk of the Uronarti impressions in Senwosret III's reign.

Several scarabs and cylinder seals name a variety of Twelfth Dynasty kings at Kahun, but those appearing on sealings are confined to one of *Ḫʿ-kȝ-Rʿ* (Senwosret II), which is very likely to have been saved as an amulet, and three of *Nỉ-mȝʿt-Rʿ* (Amenemhet III), which could be a version of a popular pseudo-royal name motif (Petrie, *et al.* 1923:Pls. 4-5; Petrie 1891:Pl. IX-X, *cf.* IX:1 and 2, the latter clearly not naming the king, *cf.* Ward 1987:522; also Petrie 1890:X, showing seals only). Such seals could also be used long after the death of the king named on them. A *Nỉ-mȝʿt-Rʿ* seal was used to close the canopic box in the burial of Auibre Hor, the fourteenth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Arnold 1982:39; von Beckerath 1964:44-5, 222). Even if the Kahun *Nỉ-mȝʿt-Rʿ* sealings were made in the reign of Amenemhet III, their provenance is not precise enough to prove contemporaneity with the bulk of the seal impressions. As Kemp has pointed out, papyri and ceramics establish that the town was active through the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, only declining in the Second Intermediate Period. In addition to its continuing role in support of the well endowed mortuary cult of Senwosret II, it served as an important center of commercial and building activity at the entrance to the Faiyum (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:87-8). As I have argued elsewhere, Tufnell's attribution of most of the Uronarti impressions to the late Twelfth Dynasty is also weak (Tufnell 1975:69; Smith 1990:206-7). Considering the continuing presence of royal endowments in Egypt and Nubia, seals with the nomen or prenomen of Twelfth Dynasty kings cannot be used to establish contemporaneity. The continued use of such seals is shown by the *Nỉ-mȝʿt-Rʿ* sealing cited

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[26]The Marl C fabric was produced in northern Upper and Lower Egypt, while the series of Marl A fabrics came from southern Upper Egypt (Bourriau 1991:129-30).

above from the tomb of Auibre Hor. The king's Horus name, not the prenomen or nomen, was typically used for royal decrees and correspondence, and thus we would expect the use of this seal to be contemporaneous. It is significant that the only examples of sealings with Horus names at Uronarti come from the Thirteenth Dynasty, implying that their deposition mainly dates from that period.

Large concentrations of sealings in Block D at Uronarti, the Granary/Treasury complex, probably indicate an archival system (Smith 1990, 1995; Fiandra and Ferioli 1990; Weingarten 1990). The Uronarti sealings from this context thus probably represent a point in the last yearly (or biennial?) administrative cycle when the system was abandoned. The deposits of private sealings might have covered a somewhat longer range, especially if the kind of peripheral disposal pattern evinced at Askut also occurred in the 'barracks' blocks at Uronarti. The fact that most of the large deposits in this area share seal types among themselves and with Block D, however, supports the notion of at least a rough contemporaneity. Private seals from Apartments 1, 8, 17, 18, 19, 23, and 25, and Block A were found alone or as counterseals in Block D. Apartment 8, the largest deposit in the Apartments with 819 private and 5 official sealings, shared private seals with 1, 3-4, 7, 18, 19, and 25 (Figure 3.12; Smith 1990; Reisner 1955:34-6).

The pottery from Uronarti confirms the Thirteenth Dynasty date of the sealing system. Vessel indices from hemispherical bowls found in the Granary/Treasury complex (Room 144, 155, 156, 163 and Cross Street East), run from 121 to 148, with a mean of 136 (6 examples), solidly in the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty. A total of 2046 sealings were found in various rooms of this complex, 45% of all the sealings recovered from the fort. An overwhelming 99% of them were from official seals, mostly from the Granary and Treasury of the fort, but also from various other institutions in Egypt and Nubia. Several packages were received from the Commandant and Treasury of Mirgissa, the Treasury of Bigeh, and an unknown institution at Shalfak. Boxes came from the Commandant of Mirgissa, Treasury of Bigeh, Uronarti (using the small seal for correspondence) and the granary of an unknown fort. Letters were sent from Semna, Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa, the Vizier of the Head of the South and of the Southern City (but mainly the former), and from the king himself (9 of 14 such sealings found at Uronarti). Clearly there was no lack of oversight by the central authority at Thebes, and even the Residence itself.

A similar pattern occurs at Askut, with large numbers of official sealings found in and around the 'storehouse.' Seals of Uronarti (package), Semna

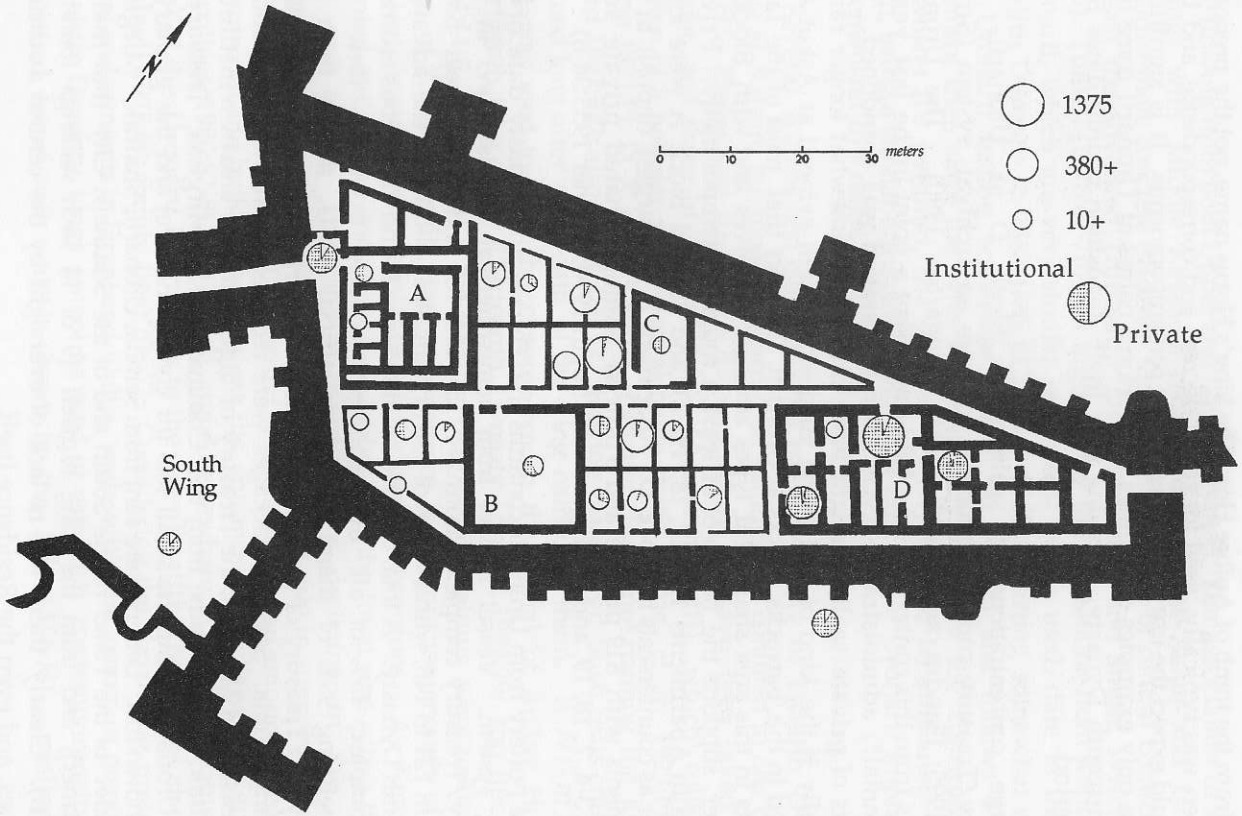

Figure 3.12 Distribution of Sealings at Uronarti.

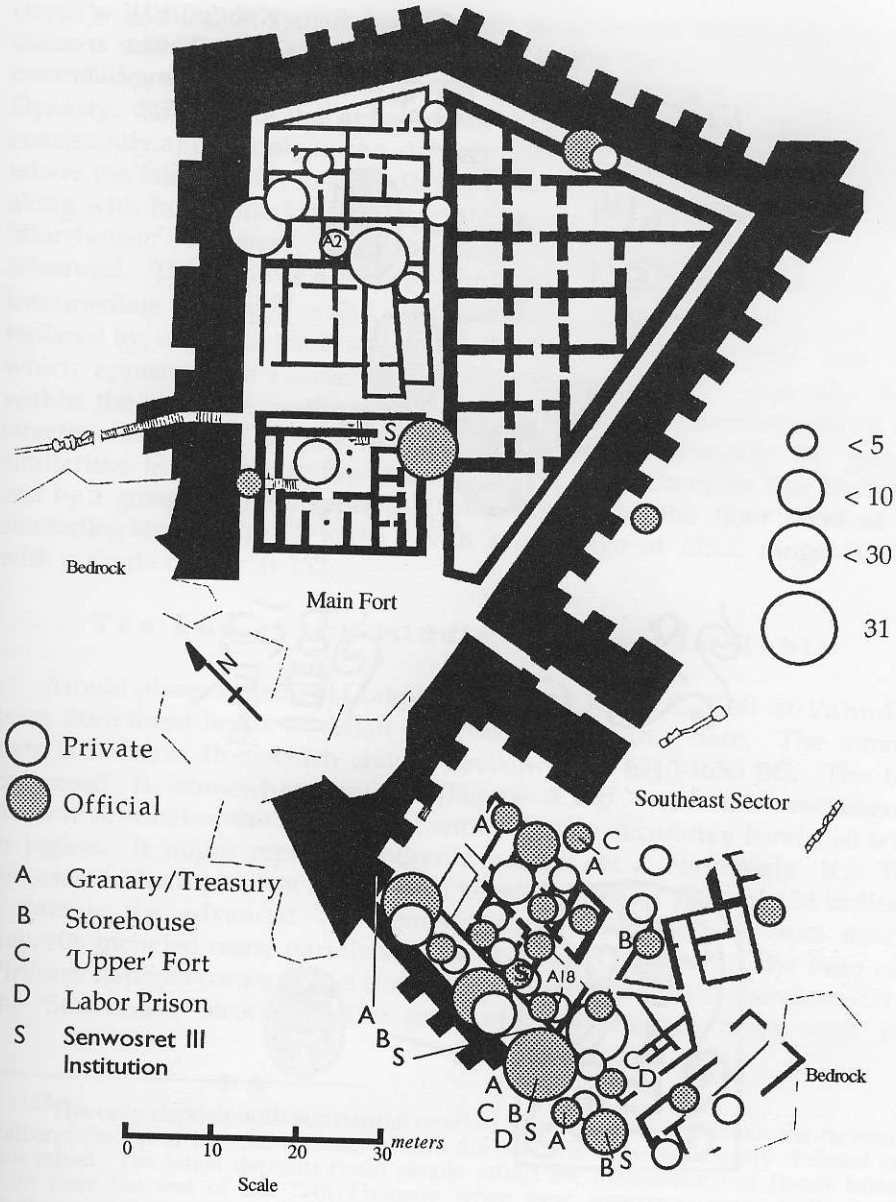

Figure 3.13 Distribution of Sealings at Askut.

Figure 3.12 Distribution of Sealings at Uronarti.

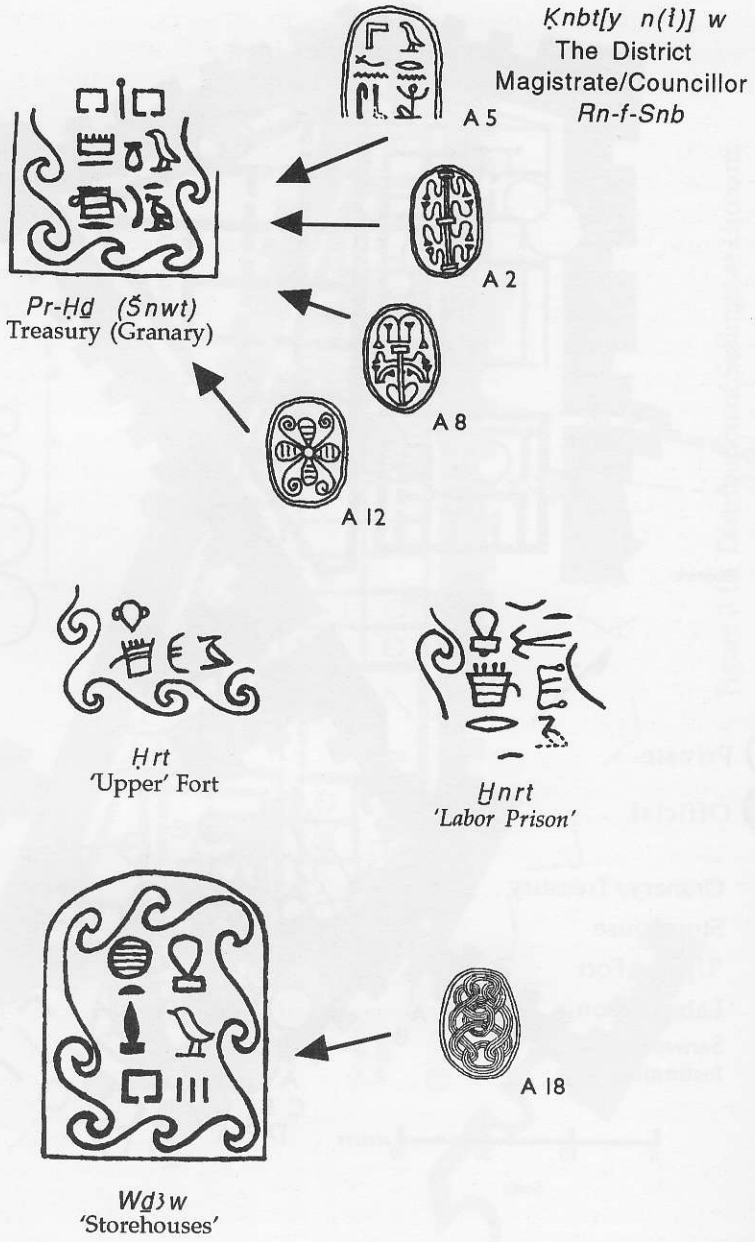

Figure 3.14 Countersealing and the Institutions at Askut.

(letter), and Buhen (small jar) appear in advanced Thirteenth Dynasty contexts within the 'Storehouse' complex in the Southeastern Sector. The control of goods at the fort may have changed in the early-mid Thirteenth Dynasty. Sealings of the departments of Granary, Treasury, *ḫnrt* and *ḥrt* consistently appear only in the deepest deposits in the Southeastern Sector, where the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty beer jar rims were found along with hemispherical bowls with indices below 145. The seal of the 'Storehouse,' however, was consistently found in deposits dating to the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty, possibly bordering on the Second Intermediate Period.[27] The administrative control of goods was thus replaced by, or perhaps subsumed under, a seal of the Storehouses. Seal A18, which appears as a counterseal on the Storehouses seal, was also found within the structure, confirming its association. The abandonment of this structure is dated to the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty by general similarities in the pottery found at floor level with Complex 7 at Dahshur, and by a group of 7 hemispherical bowls from below the floor level of the succeeding structure in SE Room 8 with an average of 135.2, range 117-145, with a single outlier at 152.

The End of the Middle Kingdom in Nubia

Arnold places the end of Complex 7 at about 1650 B.C. Tell el-Yahudiya ware from these levels at Askut is consistent with this date. The common form is Piriform 1b-c, which should run between c. 1710-1650 BC. The best preserved is somewhat unusual (Figure 3.15), with the rectangular decorative zones of the 1b style, but with only two decorative bands, as with 1c juglets. It might represent either a variant or a very early 1c. Two associated Hemispherical Bowls with vessel indices of 128 and 136 indicate a date in the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty, and pottery from nearby deposits included many parallels with Dahshur Complex 7. The base of a Piriform 1b juglet comes from a context representing the final abandonment of the 'Storehouse' structure. The group of hemispherical bowls with the

[27]The only deposit with substantial overlap in the seals was between the defensive wall and the top of the 'Storehouse,' where the deposits were apparently deflated and thus mixed. The latest deposits could simply reflect the maintenance of floors from a point near the end of the 13th Dynasty when new structures were built in the Southeastern Sector (see below). Another explanation of the overall pattern could be that trash disposal from the Main Fort changed to another area and thus sealings from the other institutions no longer appear in the Southeastern Sector. Thus only sealings deriving from activity in the 'Storehouse' itself would be deposited around the building. There are, however, no corresponding sealing deposits in the Main Fort or elsewhere that would indicate this.

lowest indices at Askut came from these deposits, running from 117-145 (Figure 3.3 at the *; mean 135, a single outlier was 152, 7 vessels).

Two more sherds of Piriform 1b, and an MBIIA red polished juglet neck (Figure 3.15) come from similar contexts. At least some of this pottery was apparently imported, and sherds of storage jars in a Palestinian fabric have also been identified.[28] This corresponds to Strata G-F at Tell el-Dab'a, equated by Bietak to Dahshur Complex 7 (Bietak 1984:480). Hemispherical bowl vessel indices from these strata commonly run from 120-40, very much the same as the later Askut groups. Another similarity is the dominance of the Thirteenth Dynasty 'kettle' mouthed beer jar (*cf.* Figure 3.7, 3.8 and Bietak 1991:Fig. 7) over the funnel shaped neck, occurring at Askut only in earlier strata (see above).

William Dever has recently challenged Bietak's dating of this material, placing Stratum G in the late Twelfth Dynasty and F in the earliest Thirteenth Dynasty. The fact that Tell el-Yahudiya ware clearly occurs at Askut in contexts well past the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty tends to support Bietak's position. Both his chronology and that of Askut rely heavily on the Dahshur ceramic sequence. Dever has also questioned this system, arguing that the dating of Complex 7 is uncertain, possibly falling as early as 1760 BC (Dever 1991:74, 76 and n. 7). The site of Complex 7 was used for cult activities until at least the reign of Amenemhet IV (c. 1798-1789 BC). A set of silos were then constructed over the abandoned cult chambers, and used for an unknown period of time. These were also eventually abandoned and allowed to decay (not before c. 1780-60 according to Arnold). Only after this series of events was the pottery of Complex 7 deposited. Allowing a reasonable amount of time for each phase, it is clear that there must be a gap between the end of Complex 6 in c. 1760 BC and the beginning of Complex 7. The presence of a mid Thirteenth Dynasty group at Askut implies that the gap was substantial, consistent with Arnold's suggested starting date of c. 1700 BC for Complex 7 (1982:39-40).

A late date for Tell el-Yahudiya ware and Complex 7 also agrees with Barry Kemp's re-analysis of the Harageh cemetery. He concluded that it must have lasted from about the reign of Senwosret II or shortly after until well into the Thirteenth Dynasty, perhaps approaching very closely the

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[28]John Holladay and Janine Bourriau, personal communication, 1992. Manfred Bietak confirmed this fact in a visit in 1993, and indicated that the Yahudiya ware corresponds to that of Stratum F at Tell el-Dab'a.

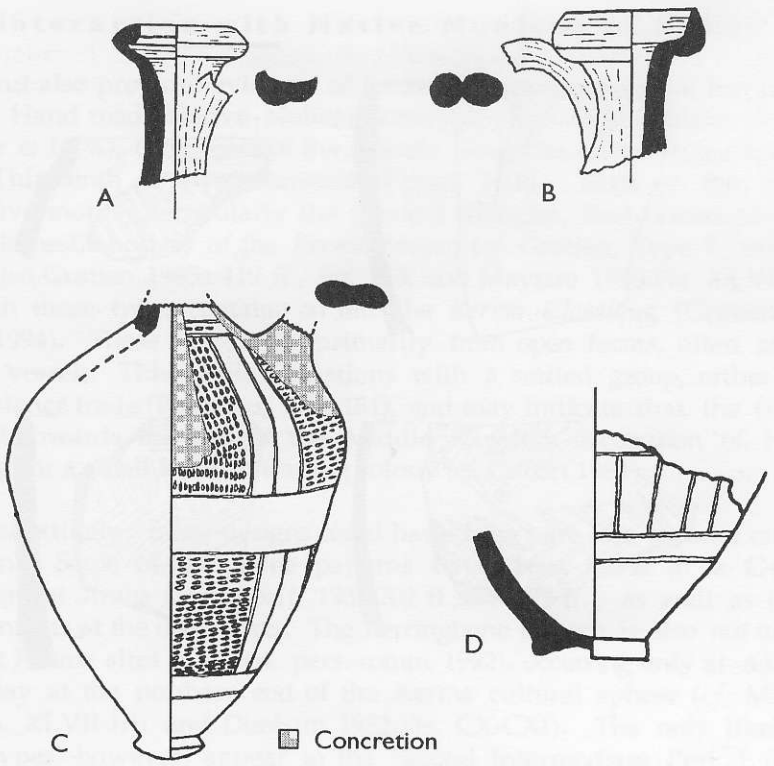

Figure 3.15 Tell el-Yahudiya and Palestinian Juglets from Askut.

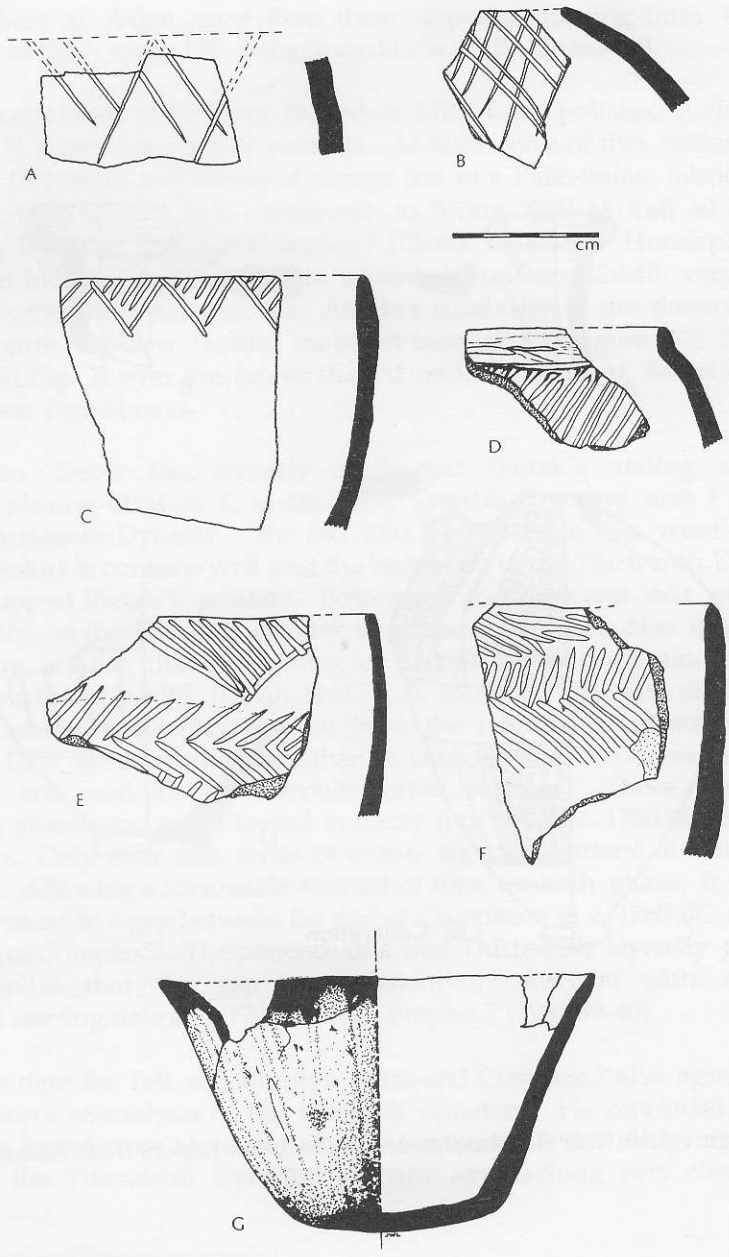

Figure 3.16 Native Nubian Pottery from Middle Kingdom Contexts at Askut.

beginning of the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1890-1660 BC). The examples of Tell el-Yahudiya (el-Lisht) juglets, which include examples of the Globular and Piriform 1b-c styles, all fall at the end of the distribution (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:39, 50, 54, 56, Figs. 14-5), thus solidly in the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably towards the end.

Interaction with Native Nubians at Askut

Askut also provides evidence of limited interaction with Native Nubian groups. Hand made Native Nubian pottery appears as a regular, if minor (usually c. 1-2%), component of the Middle Kingdom assemblage, from the early Thirteenth Dynasty onward (Figure 3.16). Most of the incised decorative motifs, particularly the pendent triangles, find closest parallels in the domestic pottery of the *Kerma Moyen* (*cf.* Gratien, Type 7, 1978:175, 243-4, also Gratien 1985a:419 ff., fig. 313; and Maystre 1980:Pls. XLVII-III), although these types continue on into the *Kerma Classique* (Gratien, per. comm. 1994). These sherds are primarily from open forms, often used as cooking vessels. This implies relations with a settled group, rather than long distance trade (Bourriau, 1991:131), and may indicate that the frontier softened towards the end of the Middle Kingdom occupation of Nubia, allowing for a small Kerman trading colony (*cf.* Curtin 1984).

Alternatively, these designs could have been part of a broader cultural tradition. Some of the same patterns have been found at a C-Group settlement at Aniba (Steindorff, 1935:202 ff., Tfl. 92 ff.), as well as in less clear contexts at the other forts. The herringbone pattern is also not usually found at Kerma sites (Gratien, pers. comm. 1992), occurring only at Akasha, which lay at the northern end of the Kerma cultural sphere (*cf.* Maystre 1980:Pls. XLVII-III; and Dunham 1982:Pls. CX-CXI). The only likely C-Group types, however, appear in the Second Intermediate Period (below Figure 4.10). None of the elaborate Polished Incised wares characteristic of this culture appear at Askut. One possible explanation for this is that C-Group were only used as servants and cooks, and not allowed to stay in the forts (Gratien pers. comm. 1992), although in a similar situation at Deir el-Ballas, fine ware, in this case Kerman, was found alongside the coarse cooking pottery (Bourriau in Lacovara 1990:16-7). Whatever the case, distinctively Kerma pottery does occur, including a nearly complete beaker of the *Kerma Classique I* phase from a secure early Thirteenth Dynasty context (Room 12, Figure 3.16). Due to the lack of excavation at contemporary C-Group settlements, it may never be possible to decide whether the presence

texts at Askut.

of the Kerman pottery was from long distance trade or a nearby trading settlement.[29]

Conclusions

As we have seen, the fort system underwent a subtle but fundamental restructuring at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. The imperial organization shifted from Territorial Equilibrium Imperialism to Equilibrium Colonialism as permanent settlers replaced rotating military garrisons. This pattern is seen throughout the fort system, but is documented with precision archaeologically for the first time at Askut. The main motivation for this change was economic, cutting Egyptian imperial costs by making the imperial infrastructure more self-sufficient, in effect creating a system of local staple finance to help underwrite the costs of wealth extraction. Continuity in the ceramic assemblages shows that the Egyptian settlers were present through the end of the Middle Kingdom, supporting the second hypothesis. Small amounts of Native Nubian pottery occur regularly in the Middle Kingdom deposits at Askut, attesting to a consistent but low level of interaction between the new colonists and their local neighbors. Sealings show that Lower Nubia remained under the control of the central authority well past the mid Thirteenth Dynasty. As we will see below, when the central administration finally fell under the pressure of Hyksos political ambitions at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the large community of Egyptian expatriates, who had regarded Nubia as their home for six or more generations, stayed on in Lower Nubia to serve the Ruler of Kush.

[29]Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain any detailed information from the excavations of Anthony Mills in the area around Askut, which might settle the question.

Chapter 4

Askut and the Second Intermediate Period

Towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty several structures were abandoned at Askut and new ones built with very different plans. Native Nubian pottery, including *Kerma Classique,* becomes a significant part of the overall ceramic assemblage, ranging up to about twenty percent. This pattern reflects an important change in the role of the community as Nubia came under the political control of the Ruler of Kush. There is, however, no indication that this event marked a change in the numbers or ethnic composition of the population. As noted above, H. S. Smith observed that New Kingdom sherds often appear at a greater depth than Middle Kingdom material at Buhen (Smith in Emery *et al.* 1979:44). A similar pattern appears in certain assemblages at Askut (Figure 4.1). Rather than indicating massive disturbance, a careful consideration of deposition according to the peripheral disposal and abandonment model described above provides evidence of continuing occupation. The 'Barracks' complex at Askut represents a classic example of 'de facto' abandonment at floor level, with secondary refuse above as fill. The gradual nature of this abandonment can be tracked through the distribution patterns of hemispherical bowls (above). The large number of sherds deposited above the floors, often in excess of 1000 per room, indicates continuing trash disposal after abandonment, and thus unbroken occupation at the site. Abandonment without continuing occupation should show rooms with whole or substantial fragments of vessels representing 'de facto refuse,' but few 'orphaned' sherds representing secondary disposal, a pattern which appears in the American Southwest in a similar architectural setting (Schiffer 1987:58 ff.). Sometime in the late Thirteenth Dynasty, the last rooms and streets were filled in. A similar pattern appears in the Southeastern Sector, with the abandonment and filling of the 'Storehouses,' but without the large amounts of secondary refuse seen in the 'Barracks' complex.

Askut, Tell el-Dab'a, and Kerma

As noted above, the terminal Middle Kingdom assemblages at Askut, and thus abandonment and re-building associated with them, can be dated to c. 1700-1650 B.C. by the presence of Piriform 1b-c Tell el-Yahudiya ware and

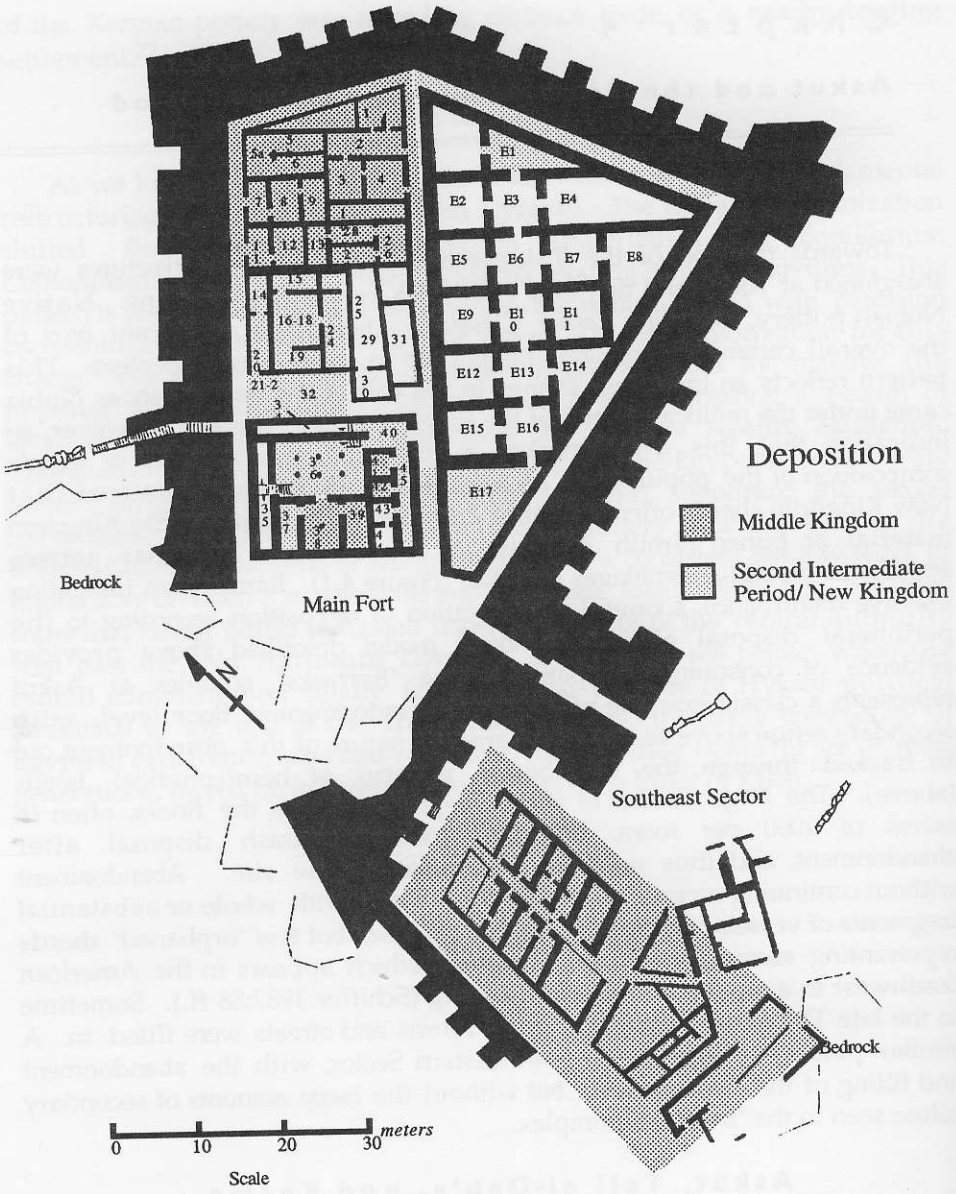

Figure 4.1 Distribution of Ceramics from Floor Level at Askut.

types of Dahshur Complex 7. This correlates with Strata G-F, and perhaps E/3, at Tell el-Dab'a. Considering the recent controversy over the dating of this material, a closer consideration of the chronology is desirable (Figure 4.3, see Dever 1985, 1991; Ward 1987). Unfortunately detailed drawings of the pottery from Tell el-Dab'a Strata H-E/2 have not yet been published. Illustrations of the pottery from Strata E/1-D/3 have been published, and show many features which depart from the standard Middle Kingdom assemblage, including a variety of vessel types, notably ring based bowls of a type which should not occur before the Second Intermediate Period (Bietak 1991:Fig. 10; Bourriau 1981:15-6, 22, 58). The apparent persistence of some late Thirteenth Dynasty types, like the burner with carinated rim, carinated bowl with incised wavy lines and applied 'nipples,' and 'funnel' necked beer jar, is not a problem, since Bourriau (1991:130) has observed that in Lower and Egypt Middle Kingdom types persisted throughout the Second Intermediate Period.[30] In any case, one would expect some overlap at the point of transition, as new styles replaced old, especially in Egypt and Nubia, where the ceramic repertoire changes gradually over time. Bietak (1991:41) also reports small numbers of ring based and carinated bowls, the latter presumably of Second Intermediate Period type, from Tell el-Dab'a Stratum E/2, so this assemblage in all likelihood spans the end of the Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period. The lowest hemispherical bowl vessel index from this level lies at about 114, placing the bulk of examples well below the range of Dahshur Complex 7, which does not continue beyond the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Tell el-Dab'a Stratum E-3 has a vessel index range which places it at the end of Dahshur Complex 7 and perhaps somewhat later, running from 122-105. Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F has a range from about 143-102, falling nicely within Dahshur Complex 7 at the high end, but well below it at the low end. It would be odd for vessels with indices of 143 and 102 to be found together, and thus one wonders if some intrusive later examples might be present, or if Bietak has included other vessel types or perhaps a local variant along with the normal hemispherical bowls.[31] This problem becomes even more apparent when dealing with Tell el Dab'a Strata G1-3,

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[30]Specifically at Memphis. The standard Second Intermediate Period corpus is actually based on southern Upper Egyptian sites, covering the area under the authority of the Seventeenth Dynasty. It is this assemblage which appears in Nubia.

[31]It is clear from published illustrations that proper hemispherical bowls are included by Bietak in his sample (Bietak 1991:Fig. 14), but not enough of the pottery from Strata H-F have been published to identify any possible variant forms which might explain the tendency for low vessel indices appearing too early in the sequence.

which range from 159-102, G/4 = d/1 from 181-108 (see Figure 4.2), and H = d/2 from 180-113. It is really inconceivable that vessels with indices of 181 and 102 could coexist. The distribution of the last two Strata are particularly suggestive, showing distinct clusters at either end, which Bietak was at a loss to explain (Bietak 1984:480). Room 4 at Askut reflects a similar pattern, with a single outlier at 112 (Figure 4.2, 3.8C). Although very reminiscent of the type, it is clearly not a typical hemispherical bowl. It could be that this vessel type or one similar was included in the Tell el-Dab'a sequences.

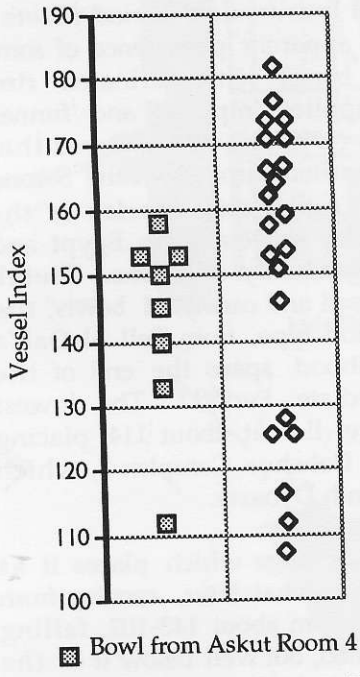

Figure 4.2: Hemispherical Bowl Distributions from Askut and Tell el-Dab'a.

If we eliminate the low clusters, then the distributions make more sense. Beginning in the mid 150's, the high end of Tell el-Dab'a Strata G1-3, which Bietak equates to Dahshur Complex 7 (1984:480), should be contemporary with the Askut mid Thirteenth Dynasty assemblage, where some of the Complex 7 types already occur.[32] The full Dahshur Complex 7 assemblage probably appears only with Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F, although a final assessment must await the publication of a comprehensive set of illustrations. The higher group from both Strata G4 and H begin at about 145, just where it should for the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty Dahshur Complex 6 assemblage. The Tell el-Dab'a Strata H-G4 high cluster also coincides nicely with the earlier assemblages from the Nubian fortresses, notably Askut and

[32]Although Bietak indicates that Complex 7 should date to the mid Thirteenth Dynasty, Arnold clearly places it in the late Thirteenth Dynasty, from about 1700, or somewhat earlier, to 1650 (1982:40). A starting date as early as c. 1715 is possible, accounting for the presence of Nehesy in Stratum F, which is completely within Complex 7. This is consistent with Kemp's analysis of the Harageh cemeteries, long regarded as the 'type-site' for Middle Kingdom pottery. He dates this assemblage, which is very similar to the Dahshur assemblage, to the period of Senwosret II through the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty in c. 1650 BC (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:56).

Uronarti (see discussion above). The predominance of 'funnel' necked beer jars in H indicates an earlier date, thus one might place it in the late Twelfth Dynasty and G in the early Thirteenth.

Assuming that Bietak has in fact reported accurately on the pottery from Tell el-Dab'a, Dever's attempts to push the earliest levels into the Twelfth Dynasty are not possible given the considerable developments in Egyptian ceramic typology over the past decade and a half (Dever 1985:74-7, Fig. 2; and for Egyptian pottery see esp. Kemp and Merrillees 1980; Arnold 1982, 1988; and Bourriau 1981b, 1991). According to Dever's dating, Tell el-Dab'a Strata G/1-4 would lie entirely within the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet G/1-3 had only 'kettle' mouthed beer jars and hemispherical bowl vessel indices not above 159. A date in the Thirteenth Dynasty is clearly indicated. Tell el-Dab'a Stratum G/4, with vessel indices not above 180, might conceivably overlap with the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, although even here the absence of 'funnel' necked beer jars tends to indicate a date in the earliest Thirteenth Dynasty. Dever would place Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F in the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty. This is also contradicted by the absence of hemispherical bowls above 145, a clear indication of the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty.

Figure 4.3: Revised Tell el-Dab'a Chronology.

Stratum	Date	Vessel Index
H	Late 12th Dynasty*	180-145
G/4	Early 13th Dynasty*	181-145
G/1-3	Mid 13th Dynasty	159-[≈135]
F	Adv. 13th Dynasty*	143-[≈116]
E/3	End 13th Dynasty	122
E/2	Early SIP/Hyksos*	114

*Agrees with Bietak 1991 (49-51)

Tell el-Dab'a Strata G/3-F show a marked expansion of the settlement. The presence of a heavily MBIIA-B influenced material culture is attested in the ceramics, with about 40% of the ceramic assemblage consisting of MB IIA types, up from about 20% in the previous strata. Other MBIIA features include characteristic bronzes and cultural practices such as donkey burials

at the entrance to tombs. Bietak interprets this pattern as representing an influx of settlers from Syro-Palestine, with a hybrid Egyptian-Palestinian cultural tradition, but still under the control of the Egyptian administration (Bietak 1991:38). A monumental MB type temple from Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F may have been built by *ʿ3-zḥ-Rʿ Nḥsy* (Nehesy), an early ruler of the Fourteenth Dynasty (c. 1710 B.C.). This stratum may mark the beginning of an independent petty kingdom at the site.[33] Strains resulting from this emigration and increasing independence would have adversely affected the central authority, draining resources away from Nubia towards the north, forcing the Egyptian garrison-settlements to become even more dependent upon local resources for their maintenance.

Bietak equates Tell el-Dab'a Strata E/2-3 and E/3-F to Kerma Tumulus K-X (1991:51-2). In order to justify his chronology, Dever makes an attempt to date it to the mid Thirteenth Dynasty, citing the presence of a statuette of Sobekhotep II (c. 1750 B.C.). Egyptologists and Nubiologists have long recognized, however, that the Middle Kingdom statuary from Kerma was actually imported in the Hyksos period (Säve-Söderbergh 1941:114; Helck 1976:101-4; Adams 1977:209; Trigger 1976:90-93). The presence of this statuette thus actually provides evidence of the Tumulus' Second Intermediate Period date. Dever also fails to take into account the most recent studies of the Kerma cemetery by William Y. Adams (1977), Peter Lacovara (1987), and David O'Connor (1984).[34] While Reisner's original sequence dating of the Kerma Tumuli is sound, it, like any seriation study, is open to the possibility that the beginning and ending of the sequence should be reversed. Reisner was misled by Twelfth Dynasty inscribed material to date what are in reality the latest Tumuli to this early period. This chronological framework also suited his notion of 'racial degeneration,' a now completely defunct theoretical framework popular in the late 19th and

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[33]This event need not, however, mark the end of royal authority in the Delta, causing the fall of the central authority (*cf.* Bietak 1991; Quirke 1991:126). The petty Asiatic kingdom could have maintained a tributary relationship with the center, which still retained nominal, if not quite as firm, control over all Egypt and Nubia. Askut certainly seems to have retained all the administrative trappings of earlier days past the start of the Fourteenth Dynasty.

[34]Note that delays in the publication of JARCE may have meant that O'Connor's article was unavailable for Dever's first article (1987) critiquing Bietak, as also with Lacovara 1987, which may not have appeared before submission of Dever's final manuscript. Lacovara also clearly did not have access to O'Connor's work, and thus they apparently reached similar conclusions independently. Adam's work should have been available to Dever, and his most recent article (1991) was written well after the appearance of both Lacovara's and O'Connor's studies.

early 20th centuries. Thus, according to Reisner, the largest Tumuli ought to be the earliest, as the burial place of Egyptian colonists, and the smaller the latest, as the last remnant of the Egyptian colony, who, sadly, had 'diluted' their 'superior' Egyptian bloodlines with 'inferior' native (= negroid) bloodlines (Lacovara 1987:51; Reisner 1923:557-8). We can now see this as a clearly racist argument, which tended to justify some of the colonialist policies of the era. To give credit to contemporary Egyptologists, Reisner's conclusions were quickly criticized, the purely Native Nubian character of the culture emphasized, and the Second Intermediate Period date of the largest Tumuli, including K-X, established (Figure 4.4; Junker 1932; Säve-Söderbergh 1941:110-16). It is now well accepted that Tumuli K-III, K-IV and K-X are actually the *latest* burials, with K-X in *Lacovara's Kerma Classique* II phase, as Kerman power was rising, and K-III and K-IV following in the *Kerma Classique* III, at the floruit of the Kerma civilization in the late Second Intermediate Period (Lacovara 1987:56-7). K-III marks the last great burial at Kerma, presumably that of the deceased Ruler of Kush mentioned in the second Kamose Stela. A diplomatic letter sent by the Hyksos king to the Ruler of Kush had been intercepted by the Thebans (Säve-Söderbergh 1953:Fig. 1). In it, the Hyksos ruler addresses his Kerman counterpart upon hearing of his accession to the throne:[35]

> [20] ʿ3wsrRʿ, Son of Re, Apophis greets the son of the Ruler of Kush. Why have you risen as king without letting me know? Do you [21] see what Egypt has done to me? The Ruler there, Kamose, given life, has penetrated into my territory...

This would place K-III at the very end of the Second Intermediate Period, between c. 1560-1554 BC, towards the end of the forty year reign of ʿ3wsrRʿ Apophis, but still within the short reign of Kamose (von Beckerath 1967:223-4).[36] K-IV should then be about a generation earlier, or c. 1590 BC. K-X would then date to about a generation before that, or c. 1620

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[35]The translation is my own but follows Säve-Söderbergh with some minor variations in phrasing.

[36]Depending on the exact date of the sack of Kerma, however, it is also possible that the ruler mentioned by Kamose was actually buried in KIII. The Egyptians under Kamose had already taken Lower Nubia, and Ahmose reached the island of Sai at least, and may have sacked Kerma itself. Even if the sack took place under Thutmose I, the loss of so much territory would have strained the Kerman ruler's access to resources, making the construction of a grand tumulus like KIII unlikely.

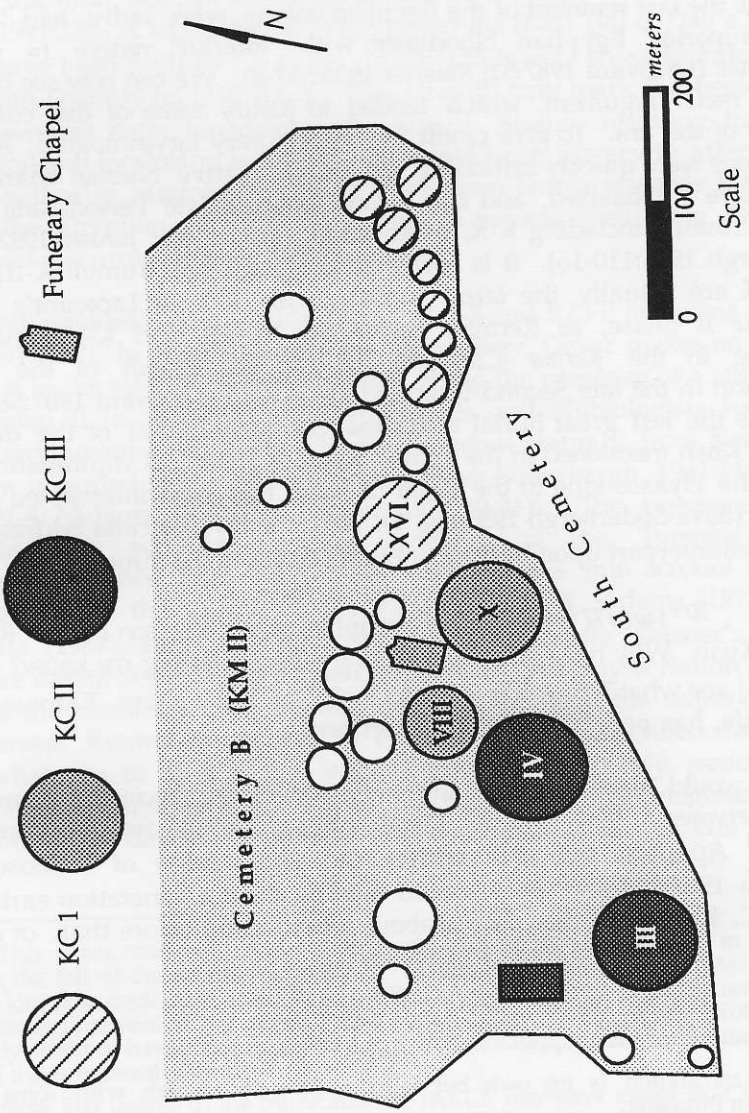


Figure 4.4 Cemetery B and the South Cemetery at Kerma (after Gratien 1978:Fig 5; Lacovara 1987:Fig. 1).

BC, about a generation after the start of the Second Intermediate Period. O'Connor has arrived at similar conclusions, placing K-X in the Second Intermediate Period (O'Connor 1984:73-7). Given somewhat longer reigns, or perhaps intervening short reigns which did not produce a major tumulus burial (*e.g.*, K-VIII is included by Lacovara in the same phase, 1987:56), it might be possible to place K-X somewhat earlier, but certainly not before the last years of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The long time span of the Tell el-Yahudiya ware pottery (Bietak 1991:51, n. 29) could also be explained by the fact that all of the pieces came from subsidiary (non-sacrificial) burials in the Tumulus. These interments could have taken place up to a generation before the royal burial itself took place, or c. 1650 BC, right at the transition between the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.

With this revised dating, not taken into account by Kaplan, who still used the old, reversed sequence, the Tell el-Yahudiya ware from K-X fits well into Bietak's chronological sequence. The tumulus has three examples in the Piriform 1c style, two of which verge on the Biconical, and derive from later levels at Tell el-Dab'a (Kaplan 1990:Figs. 42e, 43a, 30c). The first juglet finds parallels in levels E/3-F, while the second and third have parallels in levels E/2-3. Thus, according to Bietak's chronology, the three subsidiary burials of Tumulus K-X would represent a period running from the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty through the early Second Intermediate Period, consistent with the above discussion. The juglets from Askut are closer to the earliest burial, equivalent to Tell el-Dab'a Strata F, and perhaps E/3, somewhat before the completion of Tumulus K-X, but contemporary with the reign of its occupant or perhaps his immediate predecessor(s) in the early *Kerma Classique* II or late I phase.

The above discussions yield an important set of syncretisms:

Askut		Tell el-Dab'a		Kerma
Sealing System Abandoned.	⟷	Major Expansion	⟷	Big Tumuli, 'Kerma Classique'
Administrative Structures Converted for Private Use.		Full Hyksos		Peak in Egyptian Imports

By Tell el-Dab'a Stratum E/2 (c. 1640 BC, ibid.:51-2), Hyksos kings ruled openly in the Delta. Stephen Quirke has argued that the expansion of their authority into northern Upper Egypt, perhaps by military invasion, forced the fall of the Middle Kingdom capital at *Ỉṯ-tȝwy* (1991:127). Kemp's study of several sites at the entrance to the Faiyum (where *Ỉṯ-tȝwy* was located) shows that the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty corresponds to a

marked decline in population and prosperity (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:56). Control was now restricted to the area covered by the 'Head of the South' in the new Seventeenth Dynasty. With the central authority in disarray, the Egyptian settlements in Nubia were presumably left to fend for themselves. The Kerman polity, which by now was approaching or had perhaps reached the level of a state society, had ample resources available to exploit this power vacuum (O'Connor 1991). Indeed, the pressure of the growing Hyksos influence in the Delta from the start of the rival Fourteenth Dynasty in c. 1715 BC may have lead to the loss of the area somewhat earlier, although not before the late Thirteenth Dynasty judging from the continuation of administrative functions at Askut. Evidence from the cemeteries at Mirgissa and Buhen confirms this timing, showing that Kerman garrisons were established by at least the *Kerma Classique* II (equivalent to Tumulus K-X, see below Chapter 5).

The Second Intermediate Period Occupation at Askut

The ceramic evidence shows that Askut continued to be occupied throughout this process. The pottery provides an unbroken sequence from the late Thirteenth Dynasty assemblage discussed above. Changes in decoration and technology parallel those in southern Upper Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. The sandy Marl B fabric is introduced, along with another Upper Egyptian mixed clay similar to Marl D, but better identified as Silt D. Both of these fabrics, along with the continuing use of Marl A3-4, supplant the Lower Egyptian Marl C in storage jars, suggesting that goods were coming more from southern Upper Egypt than the Hyksos controlled north. Wheel finishing begins to replace the rough knife and reed trimming on the bases of bowls and other vessel forms, and a wheel turned ring base becomes popular. (Figure 4.5, 4.6; *cf.* Bourriau in Lacovara 1990:19-21; and Bourriau, personal comm. 1992). A polished red surface on plates, bowls, carinated jars and stands becomes more common. One of the most characteristic decorative motifs is the use of combed wavy lines along with applied ridges, often with holes in them, along the rim of carinated vessels, usually in a Marl B (Figure 4.5). The use of a white slip, often polished, on a Nile Silt B2 and D in imitation of the marl clays also becomes common (Figures 4.5 and 4.6).

Several vessel forms are characteristic of the early to late Second Intermediate Period (*cf.* Brunton 1930; Bourriau in Lacovara 1990:15-22, Figs. 4.1-6, and forthcoming). Small and carinated bowls with a distinctive profile and the decoration noted above gradually replace the old

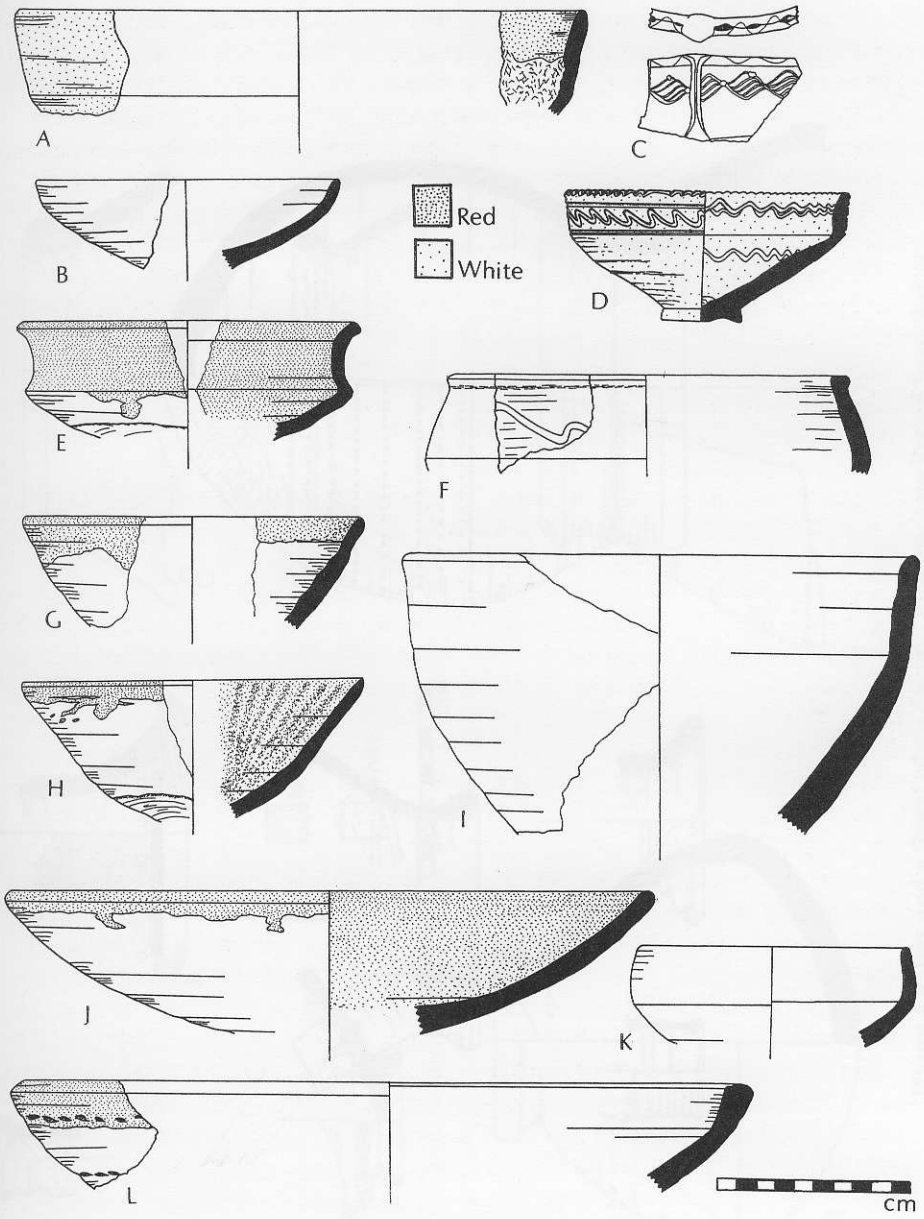
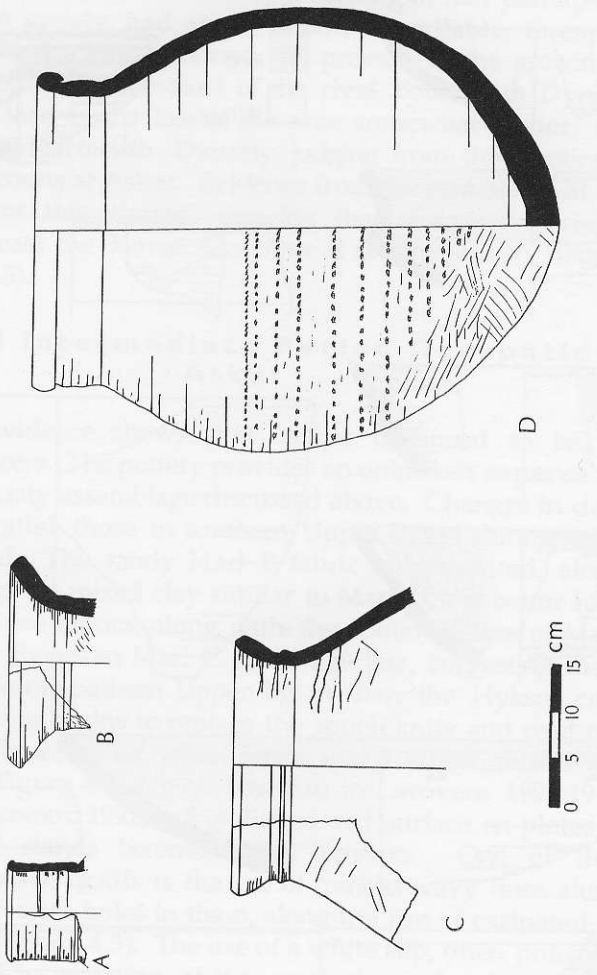


Figure 4.5 Cups and Bowls of the Second Intermediate Period from Askut.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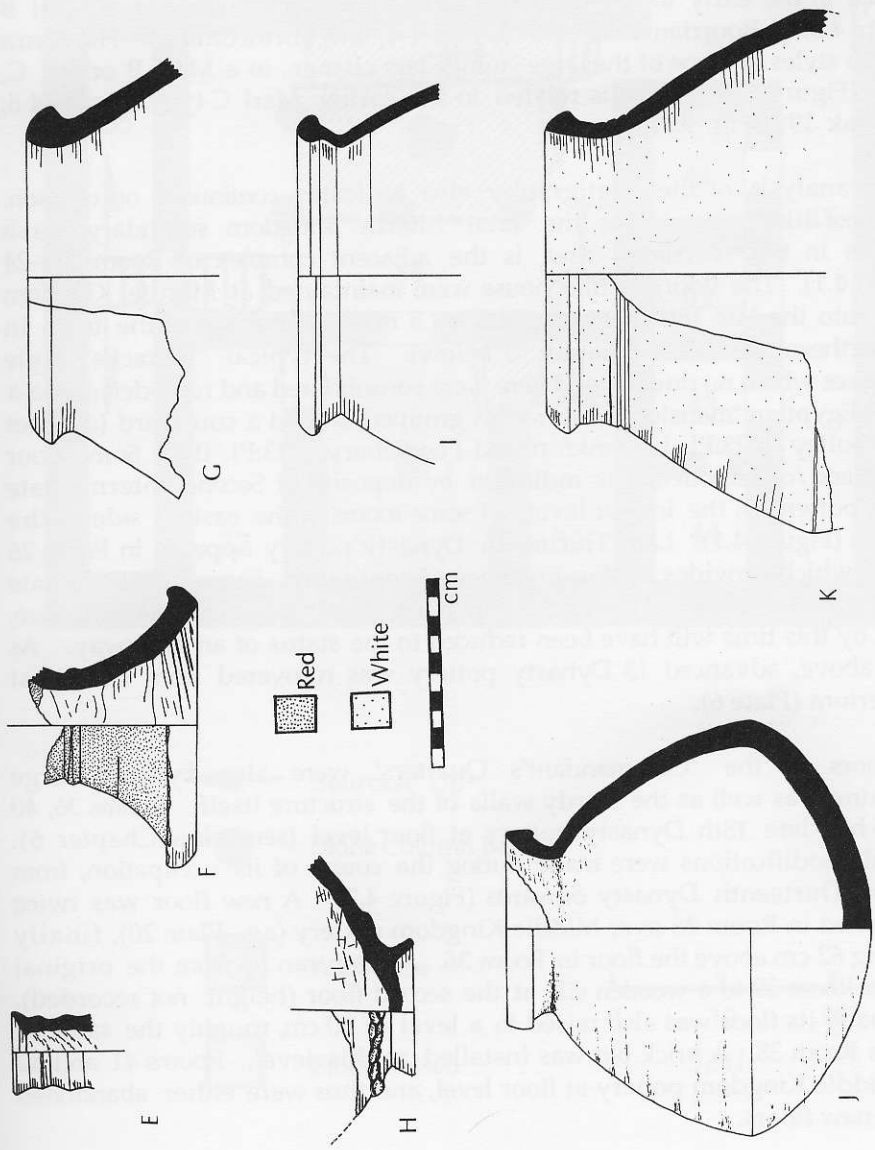


Figure 4.6 Jars and a Stand of the Second Intermediate Period from Askut.

Hemispherical Bowls and the other forms characteristic of the Middle Kingdom (Figure 4.5, with polished interiors, are particularly common). Carinated jars, often with a low, sharp profile, and a distinctive rim become popular in the early to late Second Intermediate Period, often in a Marl B (Figure 4.6, *cf.* Bourriau 1981b:29, 35, Figs 1-4, and Forthcoming). The forms and rim styles of some of the large storage jars change, in a Marl B or Silt C, and D (Figure 4.6,; the last is related to the earlier Marl C type, Figure 4.6; *cf.* Bietak 1991:Fig. 9:5).

An analysis of the stratigraphy also indicates continuous occupation. The most likely source for the final Middle Kingdom secondary trash deposits in the 'Barracks' area is the adjacent complex of Rooms 14-24 (Figure 4.1). The floors in this house were maintained at Middle Kingdom levels into the late 18th Dynasty, about 1.5 m below the top of the trash in the northern area (see Chapter 6 below). The typical 'barracks' style complexes which no doubt stood here were consolidated and remodeled into a typical Egyptian 'mansion,' with rooms grouped around a courtyard (*cf.* Peet and Woolley 1923:Pl. I; Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933:Pl. III). Some floor raising and/or remodeling is indicated by deposits of Second Intermediate Period pottery in the lowest levels of some rooms in the eastern side of the complex (Figure 4.1). Late Thirteenth Dynasty pottery appears in Room 26 and 31, which provides further evidence of continuity. Second Intermediate Period pottery was also found deep in Main Street opposite the structure, which by this time will have been reduced to the status of an alleyway. As noted above, advanced 13 Dynasty pottery was recovered from the West Pomoerium (Plate 6).

Floors in the 'Commandant's Quarters' were also by and large maintained, as well as the sturdy walls of the structure itself. Rooms 36, 40 and 45 had late 18th Dynasty pottery at floor level (see below Chapter 6). Several modifications were made during the course of its occupation, from the mid Thirteenth Dynasty onwards (Figure 4.7). A new floor was twice established in Room 38 over Middle Kingdom pottery (*e.g.*, Plate 20), finally reaching 62 cm above the floor in Room 36. A ramp ran up from the original floor in Room 39 to a wooden sill at the second floor (height not recorded). Eventually its floor was also raised to a level of 70 cm, roughly the same as that in Room 38. A brick bin was installed at this level. Rooms 41 and 42 had Middle Kingdom pottery at floor level, and thus were either abandoned or had new floors.

Several features were added to Room 36. Badawy felt that the massif abutting the northern wall, which supported a staircase, presumably

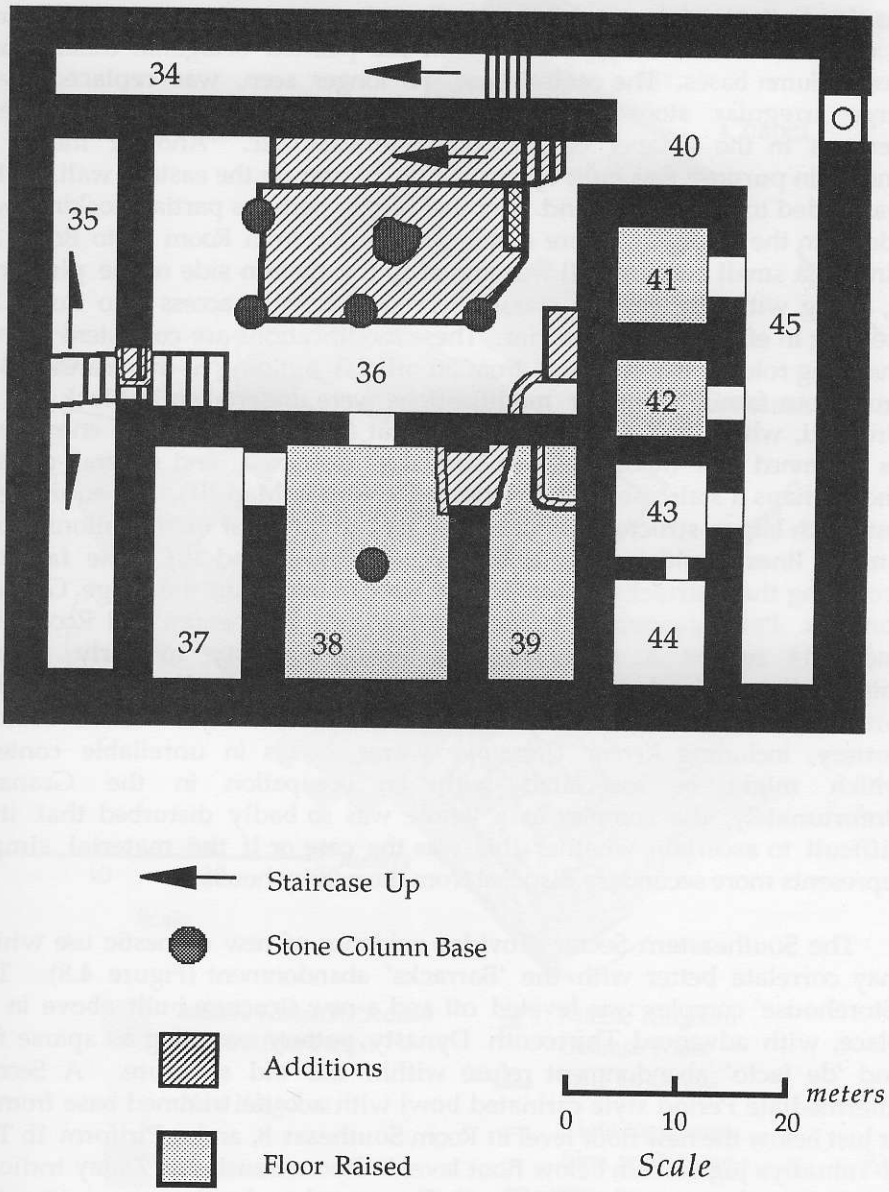


Figure 4.7 Modifications to the Commandant's Quarters at Askut.

leading to the roof, was an addition. The adjacent platform surely was, since it was built around the already extant red painted octagonal columns and stone column bases. The central base, no longer seen, was replaced by a large irregular stone. Presumably the old base was re-used elsewhere, perhaps in the Chapel or in Room Southeast 32c. Another massif of uncertain purpose was built up against the plaster on the eastern wall. A bin was added to its southern end. Another bin, or perhaps partial blocking, was added in the doorway where a staircase ran up from Room 36 to Room 35. Finally, a small curtain wall was added to the eastern side of the platform. It, along with the eastern massif, served to restrict access into Room 36, creating in effect a small corridor. These modifications are consistent with a changing role for the structure, from an official building to the mansion of a prosperous family. Similar modifications were undertaken in Block VII at Uronarti, which had a very similar layout (Badawy nd.). The entrance to its columned hall (Room 12) was similarly restricted, and several massifs and perhaps a staircase added (Dunham 1967:8-9, Map III). An equivalent, but much larger, structure at Buhen also had a number of modifications along similar lines (Smith, *et al.* 1979:49 ff., *cf.* Pls. 16 and 19). The families occupying the 'Barracks' complex may have moved into the large Granary complex. Pottery groups from the Northeastern Pomoerium and Rooms E-1 and E-14 suggest a very late Thirteenth Dynasty to early Second Intermediate Period date, while pottery from E-17 indicates deposition within the New Kingdom. A large amount of later style Native Nubian pottery, including *Kerma Classique* wares, occurs in unreliable contexts which might be associated with an occupation in the Granary. Unfortunately, the complex as a whole was so badly disturbed that it is difficult to ascertain whether this was the case or if the material simply represents more secondary disposal from the nearby houses.

The Southeastern Sector provides evidence of new domestic use which may correlate better with the 'Barracks' abandonment (Figure 4.8). The 'Storehouse' complex was leveled off and a new structure built above in its place, with advanced Thirteenth Dynasty pottery occurring as sparse fill and 'de facto' abandonment refuse within the old structure. A Second Intermediate Period style carinated bowl with a knife trimmed base from at or just below the new floor level in Room Southeast 8, and a Piriform 1b Tell el-Yahudiya juglet from below floor level in Room Southeast 7 may indicate a transitional or very late Thirteenth Dynasty date for the new construction (Figure 4.5, for the juglet *cf.* Figure 3.15D and Kaplan 1980:Fig. 28). The small amount of secondary deposition probably indicates that the structure was re-built immediately after abandonment, since no trash was allowed to accumulate as in the 'Barracks' complex.

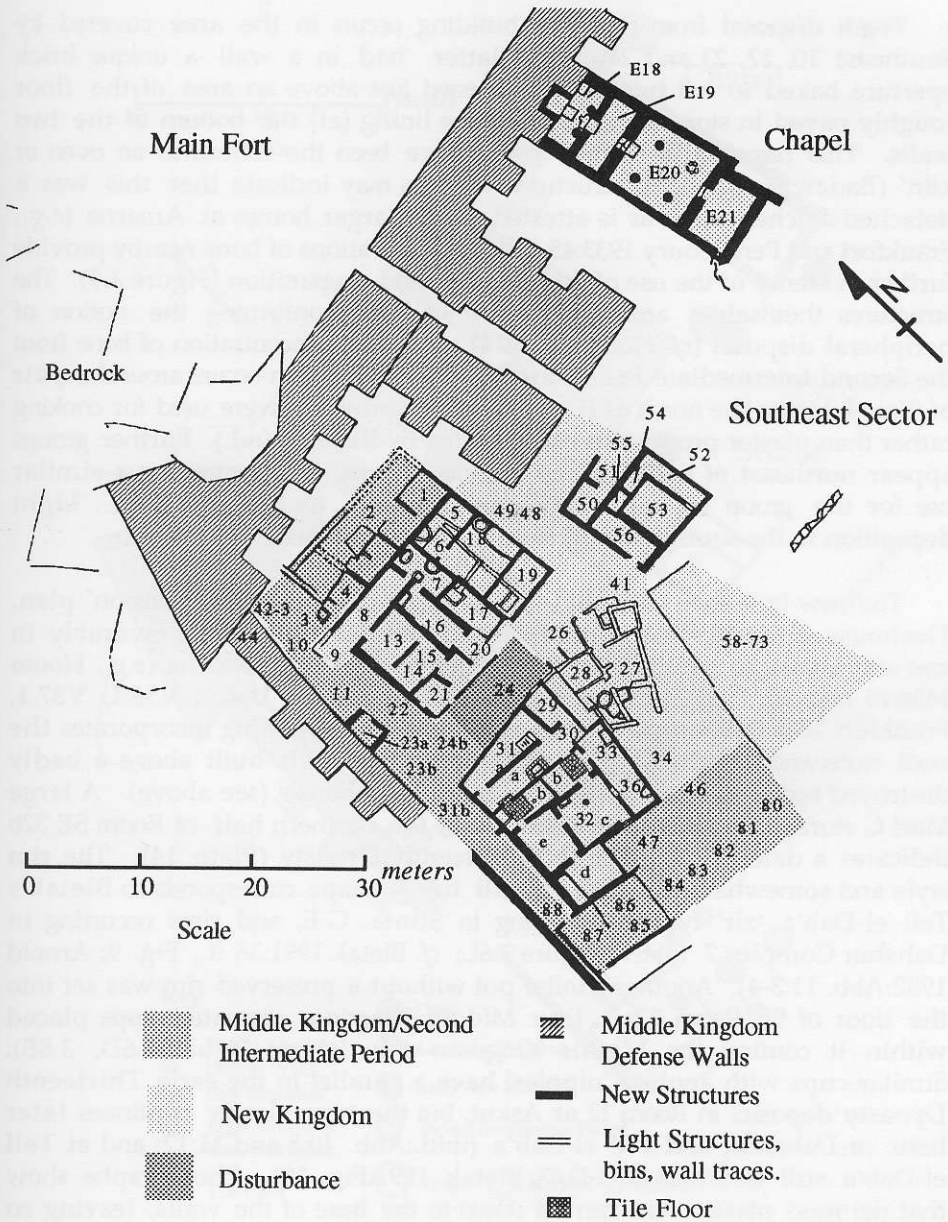


Figure 4.8 Ceramic Distributions in the Southeast Sector at Askut.

Trash disposal from this new building occurs in the area covered by Southeast 10, 22, 23 and 24b. The latter 'had in a wall a unique brick aperture baked to red brick. This opened just above an area of the floor roughly paved in stone and above a stone lining [at] the bottom of the two walls. This remarkable feature could have been the mouth to an oven or kiln' (Badawy nd.). Some structural remains may indicate that this was a detached kitchen area, as is attested in the larger homes at Amarna (*e.g.*, Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933:45, 75). Concentrations of bone nearby provide further evidence of the use of this area for food preparation (Figure 4.9). The structures themselves are largely free of bone, confirming the notion of peripheral disposal (*cf.* Hoffman 1974). Another concentration of bone from the Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom occurs around a pair of 'lime kilns' to the north of House A, which probably were used for cooking rather than plaster production as suggested by Badawy (nd.). Further groups appear northeast of the House of Meryka (Figure 4.9), suggesting a similar use for the group of light structures attached to the building. Light deposition to the southeast may simply represent household rubbish.

The new buildings were laid out in a typical domestic 'mansion' plan. The house of Meryka was substantial (Plates 11-13), comparing favorably in size and layout to moderate to large sized mansions at Amarna (*e.g.*, House M50.13 and 16, Peet and Woolley 1923:Pl. I; Houses U36.1, V36.1, V37.1, Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933:Pl. III). The final building incorporates the wall stubs and tile floors of an earlier structure, itself built above a badly destroyed building contemporary with the 'Storehouse' (see above). A large Marl C storage jar set into the tile floor of the northern half of Room SE 32b indicates a date in the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty (Plate 14). The rim style and somewhat elongated but still baggy shape corresponds to Bietak's Tell el-Dab'a 'zir' type 4, occurring in Strata G-E, and rims occurring in Dahshur Complex 7 (above Figure 3.6L; *cf.* Bietak 1991:36 ff., Fig. 9; Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:3-4). Another similar pot without a preserved rim was set into the floor of SE Room 32a. Four Middle Kingdom carinated cups placed within it confirm the Middle Kingdom date (above Figure 3.6D, 3.8E). Similar cups with applied 'nipples' have a parallel in the early Thirteenth Dynasty deposits in Room 12 at Askut, but the type clearly continues later here, at Dahshur, and Tell el-Dab'a (ibid.:Abb. 10:8 and 11:12; and at Tell el-Dab'a still in Strata E/1-D/3, Bietak 1991:Fig. 10). Photographs show that the mud plaster was carried down to the base of the walls, leaving no doubt that the early floors were actually used in the new building (Plate 15). This structure was apparently built in the mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty. Thus we see a gradual re-building program in the Southeastern Sector

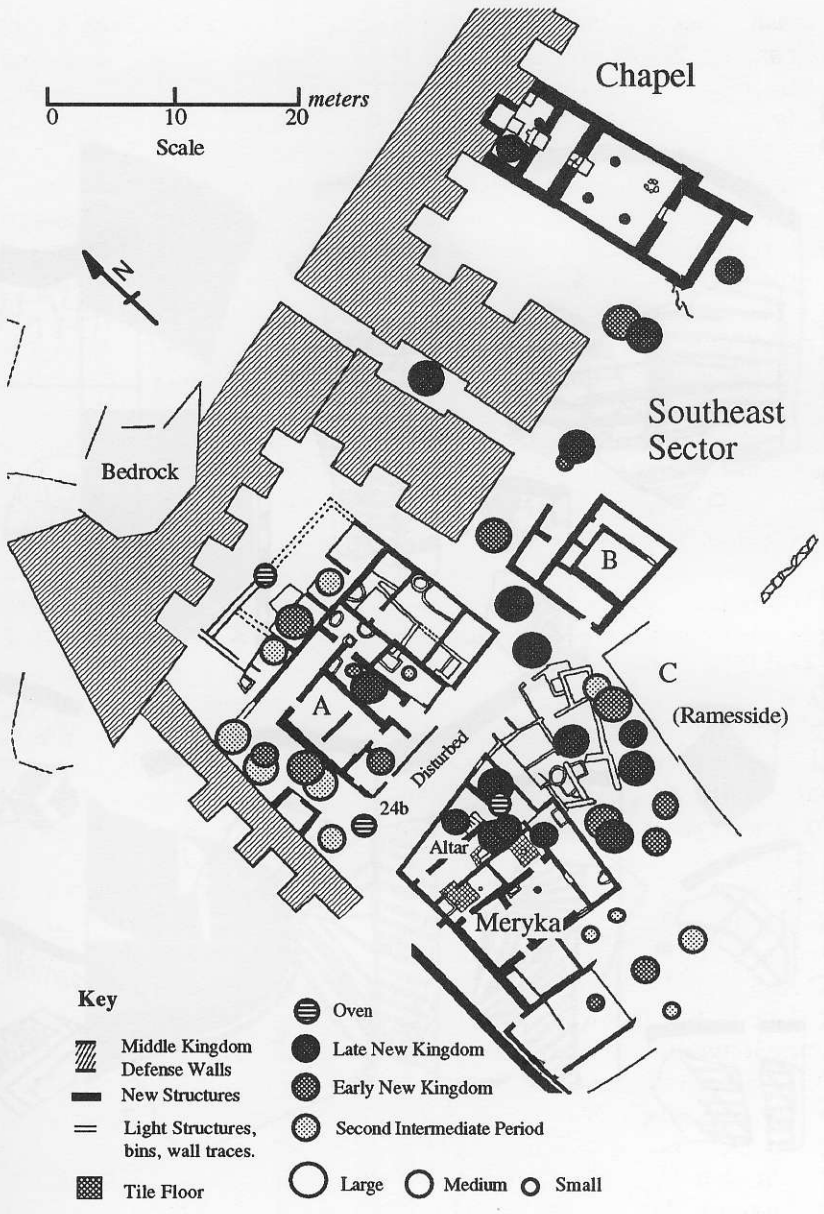
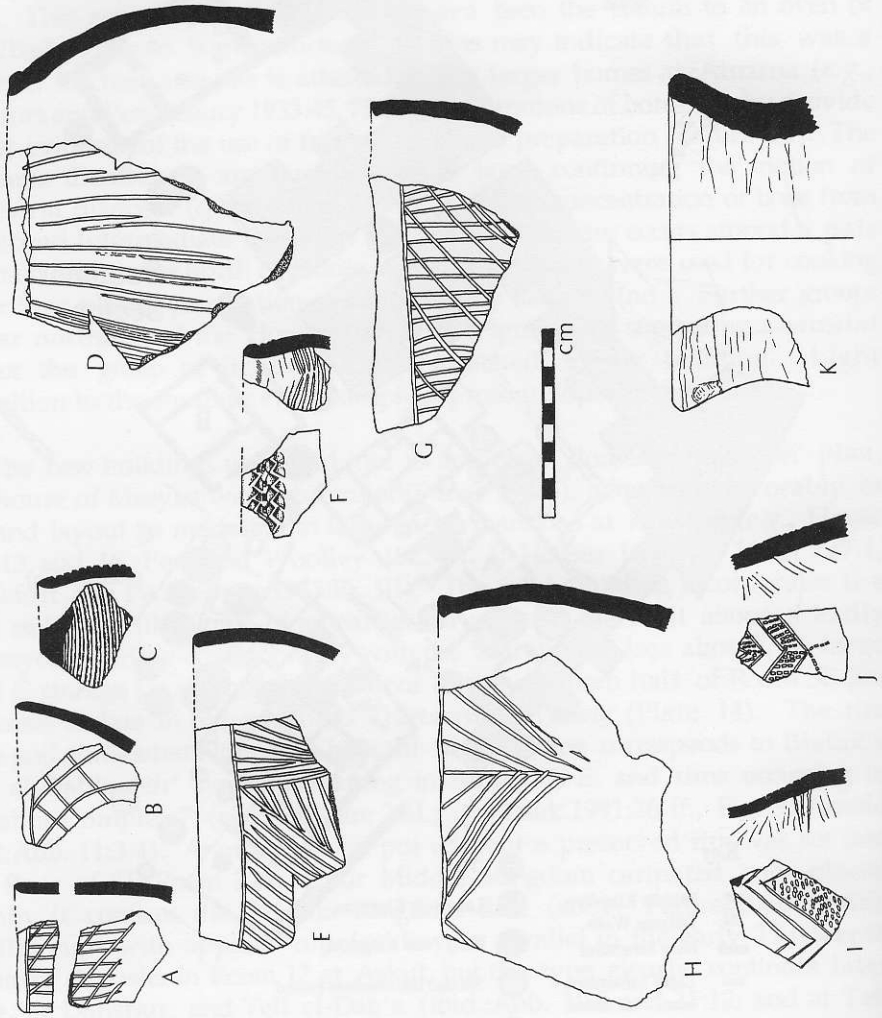


Figure 4.9 Distribution of Animal Bone in the Southeast Sector at Askut.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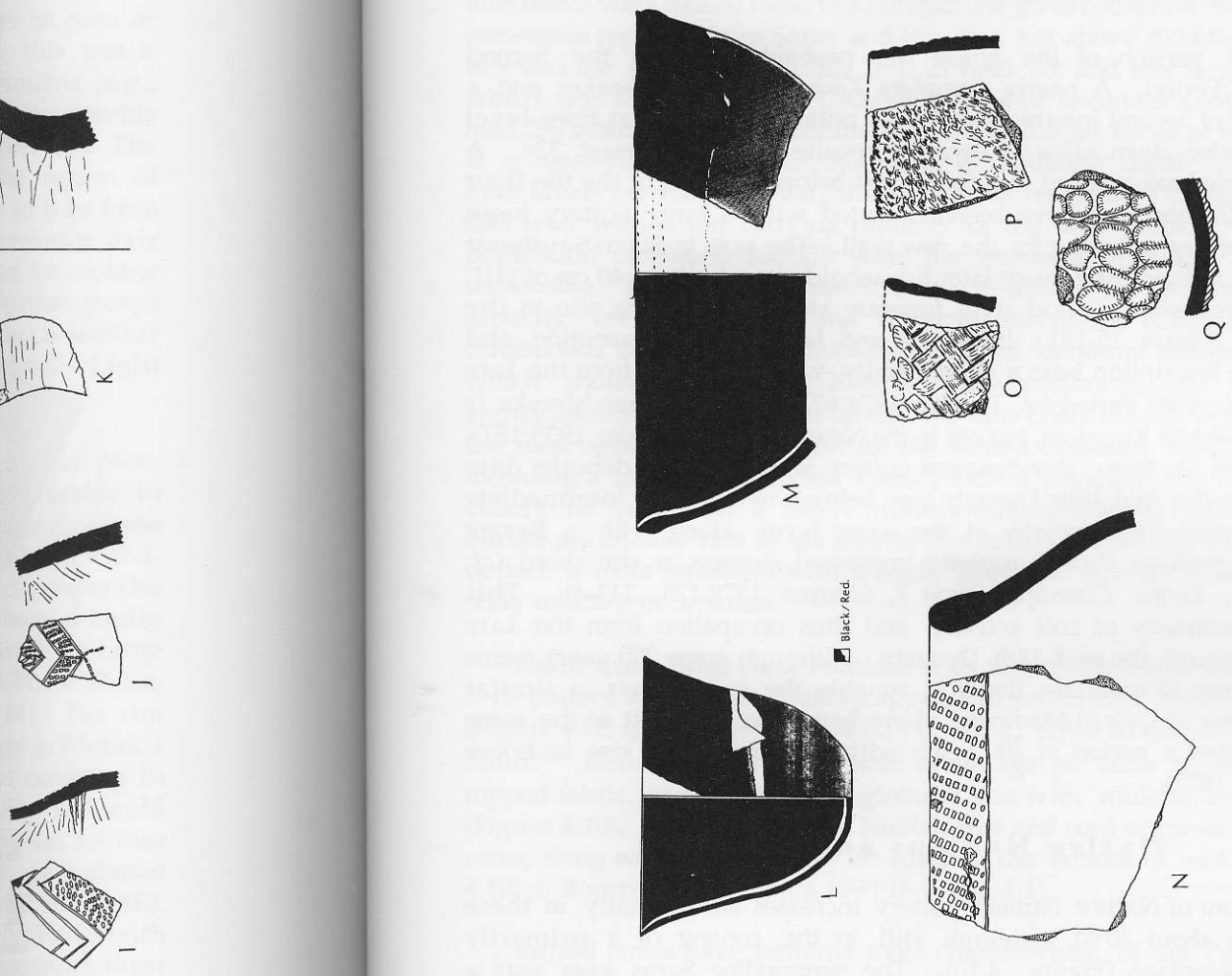

Figure 4.10 Native Nubian Pottery at Askut (A-K, Pan Grave/C-Group; K-Q *Kerma Classique* II-III).

paralleling the abandonment in the 'Barracks' area, with the first group of people moving into a new building here as early as the mid Thirteenth Dynasty, and the last moving into the new structure erected above the old 'Storehouses' at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The final version of the house was probably built in the Second Intermediate Period. A nearly complete *Kerma Classique* beaker and a small amount of Second Intermediate Period pottery was found at floor level in the otherwise clean alley/hallway opposite Room Southeast 32e. A *Kerma Classique* beaker sherd was found just below the level of the tile floor in Room SE 32b, and may have been associated with a large pottery basin which was used as a footing for the new wall. The pots in Room Southeast 32a served as a drain for a much later household altar, built on 40 cm of fill. A Second Intermediate Period style funerary stela was still *in situ* in the altar's niche (Plates 15-18). Its shape and layout, crude execution, and barely legible inscription bear a close affinity with examples from the late Second Intermediate Period (*cf.* Downes 1974:67-83).[37] The name Meryka is found in the Middle Kingdom, but not in the New Kingdom (Ranke 1935:161). Although both 'de facto' abandonment pottery and secondary deposits date principally to the mid 18th Dynasty (see below), two Second Intermediate Period pots were found nearby at the same level, along with a *Kerma Classique*, or perhaps Recent, roulette impressed storage jar rim sherd (*cf.* Figure 4.10N; *Kerma Classique* Type 7, Gratien 1978:175, 243-4). This suggests a continuity of cult activity and thus occupation from the late Thirteenth through the mid 18th Dynasty. Although some 250 years seems like a long time to maintain floors at roughly the same levels, a similar pattern appears at Deir el-Medineh, where houses were rebuilt on the same foundations over a period of 400 years with no appreciable rise in house floors (Dixon 1972).

Native Nubians and Askut

The amount of Native Nubian pottery increases substantially in these levels (up to about 20%), although still in the context of a primarily Egyptian assemblage (Figure 4.10). The surrounding Saras area was a bustling center of Kerma activity, containing the only substantial concentration of Kerma sites in Lower Nubia (Figure 2.5 above; Smith

[37]Both Badawy and Edward Wente initially identified it as a product of the Second Intermediate Period, but reluctantly placed it in the New Kingdom because of the associated pottery (Badawy nd.).

1991b:109-11). Since the occupation of Nubia by Kerma provides a secure time range from c. 1650 to 1550 BC, we can arrive at fairly reliable population estimates for the Kerma garrison/colony at Saras. The burial practices described by Mills (1967-8:204, Fig. 4) clearly indicate that these interments were indeed those of Kermans. He gives counts for three of the 11 cemeteries reported from Saras and the area just above Askut. Cemetery 11 M 9 was the smallest with 20, 11 L 28 held 60, and the largest, 11 Q 36, which was shared with 65 C-Group graves of uncertain contemporaneity, held 250 interments. A minimum of about 500 burials for all of the cemeteries is a reasonable estimate. Assuming a moderate death rate of 25-30 individuals per 1000 per year, the cemeteries represent a population of 167-200, well within the carrying capacity of the area (above). A combined population of around 200-250 with the residents of Askut added seems reasonable. This would represent about 30-40% of the 'maximum carrying capacity' for 'Villages' A and B calculated above (Chapter 2). This corresponds well to Fekri Hassan's notion of 'optimum carrying capacity,' which should range from 20-60% below maximum, and more closely approximates real population levels over time (1981:166-8). In contrast, even the most optimistic calculation for the Kerma Cemetery M-III at Mirgissa, including a much shorter time span, yields a population of under twenty, clearly no more than a token military-administrative liaison. Kerma burials are equally rare in the area to the north (Gratien 1978:78-116). This pattern is more consistent with a trade 'diaspora' (Curtin 1984) than a full scale military occupation.

Askut maintained close relations with this community. *Kerma Classique II-III* pottery of the finest quality appears in substantial quantities at Askut (Figure 4.10, *cf.* Gratien 1978:204 ff., Figs. 61-2), equal to that found at Kerma itself.[38] Beakers and various sizes of storage jar occur in the fine black topped fabric, as well as large globular jars with roulette impressed rims (Figure 4.10). The more generic Nubian mat and cord impressed wares also occur, along with applied clay to roughen the bottom of cook pots (Figure 4.10; *cf.* Bourriau in Lacovara 1990:16-8, Fig. 4.1).

Incised bowls have patterns more characteristic of the Pan Grave and possibly C-Group were introduced at this period, and continue on into the New Kingdom (Figure 4.10, *cf.* Brunton 1937:Pls. LXXXII-IV; Sadr 1987:Figs. 4, 5; Gratien 1985b:Figs. 11-3), reflecting more open contacts with these

[38]Personal observation by the author at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

groups as well. The Pan Grave culture is probably to be identified with the *Mḏ3w*, a semi-nomadic people of the Eastern Desert who were often used by the Egyptians as mercenaries. Their presence is well attested in Lower Nubia at this period, although only one cemetery has come to light near Askut, somewhat to the north at Gemai (Sadr 1987).

Although a regular component of the assemblage, Native Nubian pottery is rare in Middle Kingdom levels, usually accounting for only one or two percent of the total assemblage. The level of interaction with Native Nubians seen in the ceramic assemblage is much higher in the Second Intermediate Period, reflecting Askut's greater dependence on local resources, and new status as a settlement serving the needs of the Kerman Ruler of Kush. Native Nubian pottery ranges up to about twenty percent of the total assemblage, and often above ten percent. Some contexts have an even higher percentage, but in each case the sample size is very small, with less than a dozen sherds, and so may be unrepresentative.

There is no indication that the site was actually occupied by Kermans. The overall cultural assemblage is overwhelmingly Egyptian. The presence of other Native Nubian artifacts in addition to the pottery may, however, hint at closer interaction between the expatriates and the Kermans, Pan Grave, or C-Group (Figure 4.11). Native Nubian jewelry appears in small quantities, including shell beads, pendants, and bone bracelets. A Native Nubian style seal impression was found on the northern side of the house of Meryka. A small figurine in typical Nubian style found in a New Kingdom stratum near the shrine of Meryka may indicate even closer relations (Figure 14.11A; Plate 18). In his discussion of the piece, Wenig notes its similarity to those of the C-Group (1978:111, 116, 122-8). Since then, parallels have been found on Kerma sites, including the townsite of Kerma itself (Nora Ferraro in Bonnet 1990:133, fig. 117), and in the cemetery at Akasha (Maystre 1980:140, 188, figs. 28, 58). It is not at all like contemporary Egyptian and Pan Grave figurines (*cf.* Downes 1974:85-90). It apparently represents a pregnant, or at least steatopygous, woman.[39] Fertility symbols are a normal offering for an Egyptian shrine, especially a household shrine. The fact that a figurine in Native Nubian style is found in an otherwise Egyptian cultural context is intriguing. It shows a deeper level of contact than the simple presence of pottery, implying a familiarity

[39]Wenig (1978:123), after Badawy (1966:25), indicates it is ram (or ewe if pregnant!) headed, thus the only example of a composite Native Nubian figurine. In fact, it is completely human, the similarity to an animal being only superficial (Smith 1995).

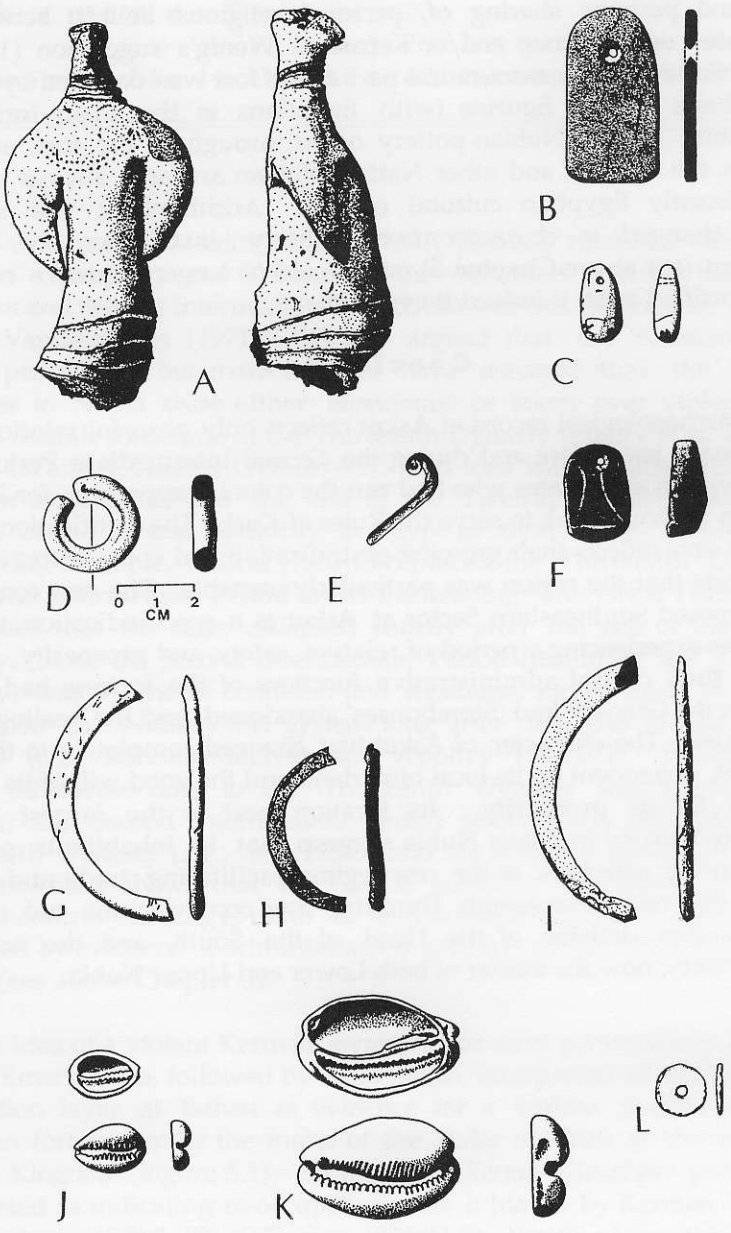

Figure 4.11 Native Nubian Artifacts from Askut.

with, and perhaps sharing of, personal religious beliefs between the expatriates and C-Group and/or Kermans. Wenig's suggestion (1978:123), that the Southeastern, extra-mural part of the fort was occupied by Nubians on the basis of this figurine (with Egyptians in the main fort) is not sustainable. Native Nubian pottery occurs throughout the fort, and these ceramics, the figurine, and other Native Nubian artifacts always occur in a predominantly Egyptian cultural context. Additionally, the site had clearly changed in character from military installation to fortified settlement (see above Chapter 3), and would no longer require a culturally secure fortified area, if indeed it ever did.

Conclusions

The archaeological record at Askut reflects only peaceful relations with the Kermans just before and during the Second Intermediate Period. The same Egyptian expatriates who had run the colonial apparatus for Pharaoh stayed on without break to serve the Ruler of Kush. The fortification of some C-Group sites reflects their growing centralization and complexity, and need not indicate that the region was particularly unstable. The new construction in the exposed Southeastern Sector at Askut is a good indication that the region was experiencing a period of relative safety and prosperity. By this time the final central administrative functions of the fortress had ceased, with both the Granary and 'Storehouses' abandoned, and the sealing system discontinued. The character of Askut had changed completely to that of a settlement, dependent on its local hinterland and the good will of its Kerman overlords for its prosperity. Its location next to the largest Kerman community founded in Lower Nubia suggests that its inhabitants played a key role in the activities of the new regime, facilitating trade and contacts between the new Seventeenth Dynasty, now occupying the old southern administrative division of the Head of the South, and the ascendant Kerman polity, now the master of both Lower and Upper Nubia.

Chapter 5

Lower Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period

The evidence from Askut indicates only peaceful relations between the Egyptian expatriates and Kermans at the transition between the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, but was this the case at the other forts? Vandersleyen (1971:56-61) has argued that the Kermans gained control peacefully, but most scholars have assumed that the Egyptian fortresses in Nubia were either abandoned or taken over violently in a Kerman assault sometime in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Emery *et al.* 1979:3, 92; Trigger 1976:84-5; Adams 1977:189-91). This idea was initially fueled by the mistaken assumption that the end of the Twelfth Dynasty marked the collapse of the central authority in Egypt as rival forces fought for the throne. For example, Wilson (1951:154) placed the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Second Intermediate Period under the heading 'The Great Humiliation,' and argued that the state collapsed shortly after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Since the Second Intermediate Period (including the Thirteenth Dynasty) was a time of confusion and weakness, Egypt could never have maintained the Nubian fort system long after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (*e.g.*, Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:103). Pottery which should otherwise date to the Thirteenth Dynasty was placed in the Twelfth, and Second Intermediate Period pottery was attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty (*e.g.*, *ibid.*:195-6; and see Bourriau 1991:130-1). Recent discussions have shown that the central authority did remain in at least nominal control of all Egypt into the late Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 1991), confirmed by evidence of administrative activity at Askut throughout this period (see above Chapter 3).

The idea of a violent Kerman invasion was most persuasively argued by Walter Emery, who, followed by H. S. Smith, interpreted an extensive fiery destruction layer at Buhen as evidence for a violent overthrow of the Egyptian fort system by the forces of the Ruler of Kush at the end of the Middle Kingdom (Figure 5.1). Strata with *Kerma Classique* pottery were interpreted as indicating re-occupation after a hiatus by Kerman 'squatters' (Emery *et al.*, 1979:3, 92; *cf.* Trigger 1976:84-5). Smith places this event at not earlier than c. 1700 B.C. and not later than c. 1610-1585 B.C., probably around c. 1680-40 B.C. (1976:80), which is consistent with a strong Thirteenth

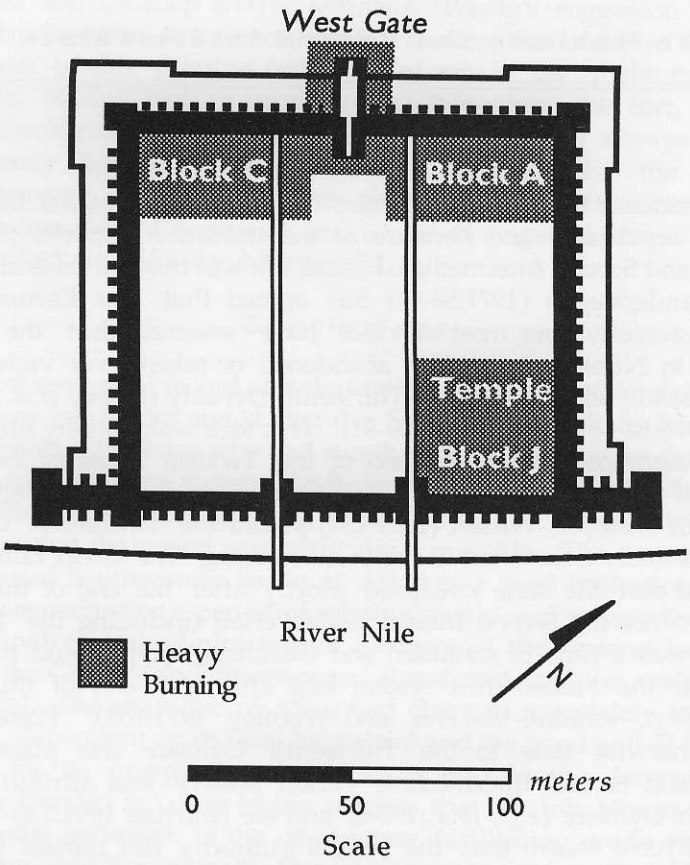

Figure 5.1 Burning at Buhen.

Dynasty. They saw signs of burning, neglect, and the presence of Kerman pottery at other forts as indicating a similar pattern throughout Lower Nubia. Adams (1977:189-91), while agreeing with the idea of a general abandonment and substantial hiatus in occupation at the forts, is skeptical of the invasion hypothesis. He has pointed out that the correlation of burning, even when extensive, with military action is difficult to prove. The fires could have been accidental or the result of deliberate destruction as the Egyptian garrisons left. He also argues that the fortifications were simply too massive and well designed for a Nubian assault to be successful as long as an organized defence could be mounted. The burning and damage at Buhen

occurs, however, at important defensive points, and is quite extensive, implying that the fort was sacked at some point in its history. Recent re-evaluations of the Kerman polity indicate that it had reached a high level of organization and development, and might very well have fielded an army capable of threatening even these powerful fortifications (O'Connor 1991).

The evidence for burning and abandonment at the other forts of Lower Nubia is less convincing. Askut shows every indication of continuity of occupation throughout this period, and no signs of violent assault. Only the River Stair was burnt, and even this event cannot be dated with any certainty. None of the forts south of the Second Cataract show any evidence of attack. This is odd, for we would expect this powerful chain of fortresses, designed especially to stop an invading force from the south in its tracks, to have borne the brunt of the first Kerman attack. Vercoutter has remarked on this point, and his analysis of the cemeteries at Mirgissa reveal strong evidence of continuity of burial, although he still argues for a hiatus in occupation (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1976:275, 303). There is apparently a consistent abandonment level running across the site (Gratien personal comm. 1992), although this only indicates that the inner fortress itself was abandoned and not the entire area. The fort of Semna also shows some evidence of continuity. A reassessment of the Second Intermediate Period occupation at each of these sites, Buhen, Mirgissa and Semna, can help determine whether Askut was the exception or part of an extensive expatriate community in Lower Nubia descended from the old Middle Kingdom garrisons.

Buhen

It is clear that Egyptians were serving the Ruler of Kush shortly after the Kermans gained control of Lower Nubia. Prior to the excavation of Askut, the best evidence came from funerary stelae. Some were just mercenaries, like Ha'ankhef, content to make some gold and return to Egypt (Gunn 1929; *cf.* Säve-Söderbergh 1949:57-8):

> I was a brave warrior,[40] an 'Enterer' of Edfu. I moved my wife, children and possessions from the south of Kush in thirteen days. I brought back gold, 26 [deben], and the maidservant Wesha-set-iy... I was thus rewarded for six years [of service in Kush.]

[40]The title *ʿḥɜwty ḳn* or 'brave warrior' indicates that Ha'ankhef was a professional, and probably elite soldier. In the New Kingdom the *ḳnw*, or 'Braves,' formed an elite body of shock troops (Faulkner 1953:40, 44).

The Egyptians serving the Ruler of Kush at Buhen, however, were clearly permanent residents. H. S. Smith has traced the members of one key family back to the late Thirteenth Dynasty garrison. Their stelae indicate clearly that they served the Ruler of Kush (Säve-Söderbergh 1949):

> The Nobleman Ka..., says: I was a valiant servant of the Ruler of Kush; I washed my feet in the waters of Kush among the retainers of the ruler Nedjeh, and I returned safe and sound to my family.
>
> The Commandant of Buhen, Sepedhor..., says: I was a valiant Commandant of Buhen, and never did any commandant do what I did; I built the temple of Horus, Lord of Buhen, to the satisfaction of the Ruler of Kush.

Both regarded Buhen as their home, and were buried there. Their enthusiastic support of the new order seems somewhat out of place considering the violent nature of the damage done to their home town. They might have survived the attack and pragmatically changed sides, or even have delivered the fort's defences into the hands of its Kerman attackers, and been well rewarded for their efforts by a grateful Ruler of Kush (as H. S. Smith suggests, 1976:80 ff.). While Ka and Sepedhor do apparently replace another family in the office of Commandant, this need not indicate that their father betrayed their compatriots. Their ascendancy might just as easily represent a political shift at a critical transition. A substantial period of abandonment is also difficult to reconcile with the presence of the same family in power who were an important part of the fort settlement before Kerman control. Did they flee back to Egypt only to return at the behest of the Kerman Ruler? This seems rather unlikely, and if all the forts were destroyed and/or abandoned, then they would have no place in Nubia to go. A much more plausible reconstruction, taking into account the evidence from Askut, is that the transition to Kerman rule was a peaceful process.

The evidence tying the burning and other damage at Buhen to the Kermans is not conclusive, and the nature of the sources at least allows for debate and reinterpretation. H. S. Smith notes that there were serious inadequacies inherent in the records of the excavation at Buhen from the moment Emery died, since he was the only person present throughout the entire course of work there. This problem was exacerbated by the salvage nature of the project, which often required more cursory techniques of excavation than Emery would have wanted, and resulted in a lack of continuity from season to season with the unusually high turnover in staff. As a result, most contexts lack sections, since individual rooms were

excavated as a whole without maintaining baulks. The recording of depth was inconsistent, which may have lead to the mixing of some stratified deposits (Emery, *et al.* 1979:vii, 44 ff., 93, and passim). Smith's goal was clearly to amplify Emery's conclusions and reconcile the evidence to them as best possible. He did, however, point out that there were many problems and contradictions in the available documentation, and acknowledges that the sources do not suffice to answer all questions. As a result, the argument for a Kerman sack of Buhen relies heavily on Emery's instincts about the site. However good Emery's archaeological acumen, one must concede that his conclusions remain highly subjective, and thus open to revision.

A key assumption of both Emery and Smith is that stratigraphy should follow the 'layer cake' model, with a comparatively orderly succession of strata progressing from later at the surface to earlier below. The peripheral disposal pattern described above at Askut, however, shows that the more complex model of 'spiral stratigraphy' is necessary to understand depositional processes at the site (Haines 1969; see above Chapters 3 and 4). Emery and Smith also considered that any light modifications to structures must be the result of a Kerman 'squatter' occupation. Yet at Askut the addition of bins and other light structures within and around buildings took place at every period. A reassessment of the data from Buhen in light of this evidence casts considerable doubt on the idea of a violent Kerman assault on the fort. The sack could just have easily taken place under Kamose (Vandersleyen 1971:59), a possibility which both Emery and Smith admit (Emery, *et al.* 1979:3; Smith 1976:81). Several key contexts were used to support their hypothesis, and each will be considered in turn below.

House E in Block C

Emery and Smith saw House E in Block C as providing clear evidence of the following sequence (Figure 5.2; Emery, *et al.* 1979:61-3): 1. Structure built and occupied in Middle Kingdom; 2. Destroyed by fire in the Kerman assault at start of Second Intermediate Period; 3. Occupied by Kerman 'squatters,' who added vaulting, bins and light structures supported by poles; 4. Destroyed again by Kamose's sack; 5. Re-built in the New Kingdom re-using the old wall stubs.

Critical to this theory is the assumption that the installed vaulting, bins, postholes, etc. were added *after* the building had been destroyed by

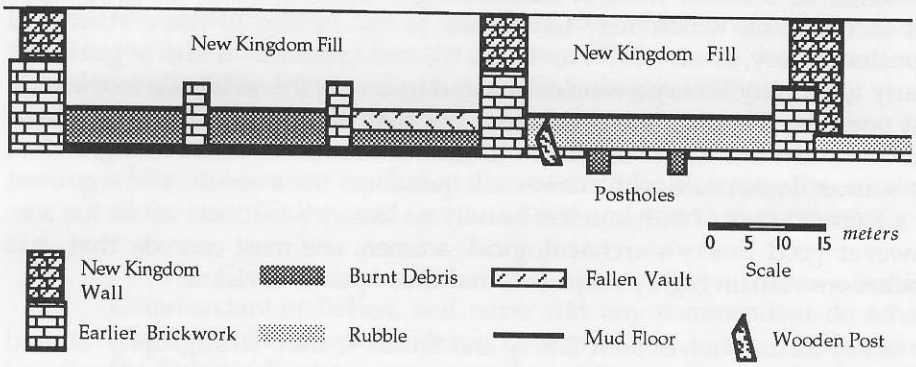

Figure 5.2 Block C, House E at Buhen (after Emery, *et al.* 1979:Fig. 35).

fire. Yet all these walls and postholes were built on or into the original Middle Kingdom floor of the building. It seems unlikely that the Kermans would go to the trouble of clearing the structure of what must have been a considerable heap of debris only to put in light modifications. It is far more likely that the changes were made while the structure was still standing, as was the case at Askut and in other parts of Buhen (see Block J below). Emery's evidence for the first burning episode is weak. He argues that since the Middle Kingdom walls were distorted by a heavy fire, and the additions were placed up against them, they must have been made after the destruction of the building. The additions were also burnt, however, and one wonders how he could distinguish between two episodes of burning in the absence of any associated debris from the first. In fact, the only closed context in the building, sealed by the collapse of the added vaulting, had deposits of *Kerma Classique* pottery on the floor. Other deposits, also of burnt debris, contained Kerman pottery, as was the case throughout the entire Block. The New Kingdom structures were built above the old Middle Kingdom walls, using them to some extent as footings, but leaving about 50 cm of debris, a pattern which is much more consistent with the reoccupation of a destroyed building.

The following sequence of events seems more likely in light of this discussion: 1. Built and occupied in Middle Kingdom; 2. Light modifications added in Dynasty 13 and/or the Second Intermediate Period, with final occupation by people using Kerman pottery; 3. Destroyed by Kamose's sack; 4. Re-built during the early Eighteenth Dynasty restorations of the fort.

Block J

Another key context was in Rooms 29-37 of Block J, where Emery and Smith propose the following sequence of events (Figure 5.3; Emery *et al.* 1979:77 ff.): 1. Construction in the Twelfth Dynasty; 2. Addition of vaulting in various rooms and a wooden floor in Room 35 during the Middle Kingdom; 3. Destruction by burning, destroying the wooden floor and the pots beneath, at the beginning of Second Intermediate Period; 4. Occupation by Kerman 'squatters' at the one meter level; 5. Filled in by debris from construction of the nearby Hatshepsut temple.

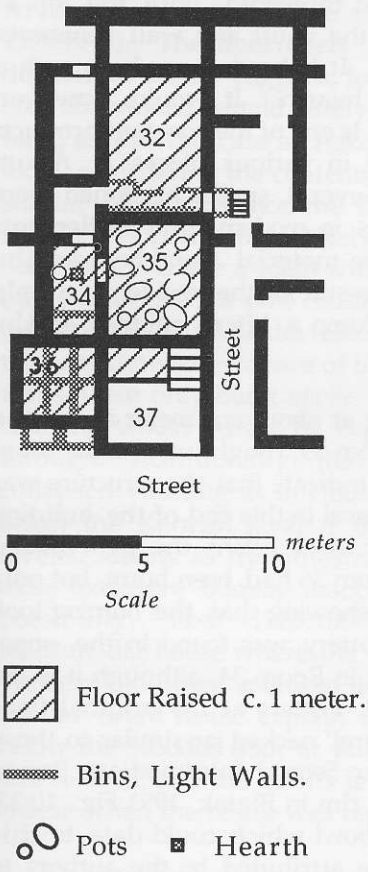

Figure 5.3: Block J Buhen (after Emery, *et al.* 1979:Fig. 42).

Janine Bourriau (1991:132-5) has proposed a re-evaluation of this sequence, arguing for a much later Kerman sack: 1. Construction in the Twelfth Dynasty; 2. Addition of vaulting in the course of the Middle Kingdom; 3. Addition of wooden floor in the early Second Intermediate Period; 4. First burning of the structure (the wooden floor) in the mid-late Second Intermediate Period; 5. Occupation by Kerman 'squatters' in the late Second Intermediate Period at the level of the old wooden floor; 6. Sack of the fort by Kamose and a second burning episode.

Although Bourriau makes a good point in emphasizing the continuity between the late Thirteenth Dynasty and early Second Intermediate Period occupations at Buhen and throughout Lower Nubia, her argument that the Kermans only took over after a period of independence by the descendants of the old garrisons cannot be supported. Evidence from cemeteries at both Buhen and Mirgissa shows that Kerman garrisons were in place by the *Kerma Classique* II phase, at the start of the Second Intermediate Period (see below). In any case, her reanalysis shows conclusively that the pottery sealed

under the wooden floor in Room 35 was not Middle Kingdom, as Emery identified it, but rather Second Intermediate Period. This provides a secure *terminus post quem* for the burning of this structure, and thus the other similar strata throughout the fort, well within the Second Intermediate Period.

Emery cites another feature as evidence of a late sack. When the vaulting was added to Rooms 34 and 35, the doorway between them was blocked. In this space he found a deposit of ashes, which he interpreted as a hearth. Since a hearth could only be in use when the vaulting was destroyed and the building open to the air, it supports the notion of a 'squatter' occupation. There were, however, no associated ceramics, and the ashy layer lies directly upon the Middle Kingdom threshold, with the top at about a meter below the preserved height of the vault and wall remnants, and 50 cm below the one meter 'Kerma' level. It is hard to see how such a space could have been used effectively as a hearth. It would, however, make a convenient spot for trash disposal. Ash is one of the constant products of settled life. Heavy deposits were found in various places at Askut, especially in abandoned rooms and streets. Several spaces at Buhen were similarly employed, and this pattern appears in modern rural settlements (*e.g.*, Emery, *et al.* 1979:86; Eigner 1984:34). The material found between the vaults at Buhen is far more likely to be the result of the residents simply taking advantage of a convenient spot to dump a bit of rubbish as the vaulting was constructed.

There was *Kerma Classique* pottery lying at about one meter above the sealed Second Intermediate Period pots in Room 35, roughly the same level as the wooden floor. This need not, however, indicate that the structure was ruined and occupied by 'squatters.' The floor level in this end of the building had already been raised up to the one meter level *before* the generalized burning. The walls above a series of bins in Room 36 had been burnt, but only from the tops of the bins, at about one meter, showing that the burning took place after the floor was raised. Kerman pottery was found in the upper debris. A hearth was placed at a similar level in Room 34, although it is not clear just where burning on the walls appeared. Pottery at the original floor level about a meter below includes a large 'barrel' necked jar similar to those found in Room 35 (*cf.* Figure 4.6M), two other Second Intermediate Period style jars (Type 49, *cf.* the distinctive ledged rim in Bietak 1991:Fig. 10:33; Bourriau forthcoming:Fig. 5:20), a carinated bowl which could date to this period (Type 161), two 'decanters' and a plate attributed by the authors to the New Kingdom, but which might just as easily be placed in the Second Intermediate Period (Types 53-4, 142, *cf.* Bourriau forthcoming:Fig. 6:2-4, 7,

Fig. 4:10, 18). In other rooms in the complex, the original floor level was apparently maintained. Kerman pottery is reported from several of these rooms, presumably at floor level. Similarly, *Kerma Classique* pottery found in association with bins built on c. 40 cm of debris in the street outside Room 36 need not indicate abandonment followed by 'squatters.' This kind of pattern is entirely consistent with minor modifications and accumulation of trash during the use of the structure. One would have expected a much greater accumulation of debris had the structure been destroyed.

The exact nature of the wooden floor in Room 35 is also unclear. Although Emery assumes that its fiery collapse destroyed and burnt some of the pots below, he makes no mention of a thick layer of charcoal and debris which would naturally be associated with such an event (Emery, *et al.* 1979:77-8). The floor itself need not be considered to have 'sealed' the deposit, as Emery suggests, followed by Bourriau. A deposit such as this, once abandoned, would surely have been buried with mud brick debris and sand, as was the case at Askut when floors were raised. This is even more likely considering the contents of the vessels, which consisted of cheese or a similar fatty substance, the smell of which would soon have penetrated a wooden floor. It is more likely that wood, a scarce commodity, would have been used to create a room with a cellar below, with access easily provided by a trap door. The pots could have been broken as the room was filled, and burnt marks could be the result of irregularities in firing (note that not all of the pots showed evidence of burning). It is significant in this regard that the walls were only burnt *above* the one meter 'Kerma' level. At least some charring would surely be expected below if the wooden floor had burnt through. Additionally, the fill above the pots did not consist of burnt collapsed vaulting as in House E of Block C, which should have appeared below the Kerman level if the structure was destroyed and reoccupied on leveled debris as hypothesized. An accidental fire sometime before the more extensive burning associated with the sack of the fort is another possibility. Roaf (1989:100-1) describes a modern example in the Tell Madhur dig house where the fire was extinguished by collapsing the roof. Timbers and other unbroken items of value were salvaged the next day. A similar event would explain why there was no evidence of heavy charring below the wooden floor at Buhen. The timbers would have been salvaged and re-used, and the debris leveled off above the broken pots and spoiled cheese when the house was repaired.

The presence of Kerman pottery at the one meter level in several rooms was thus probably the result of a raising of floor levels, rather than a reoccupation after the structure had been destroyed when the fort was

sacked. Additional Kerman pottery and brick debris in loose fill higher up could also have come from the excavation of the foundations of the Hatshepsut temple, which disturbed Second Intermediate Period contexts (Emery, *et al.* 1979:78-83). It is at this level that the evidence of massive burning occurs, and thus it is far more likely that the sack should be placed at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. A revised sequence of events can be summarized as follows: 1. Construction in the Middle Kingdom; 2. Addition of vaulting, probably in the Thirteenth Dynasty, but possibly as late as the early Second Intermediate Period; 3. Raising of the floor level in the southern part of the complex to about 1 m., or collapse of the roof to extinguish a fire, burying pottery dating to the early Second Intermediate Period in Rooms 34 and 35;[41] 4. Destruction of the structure by fire at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, contemporary with the use of *Kerma Classique* pottery; 5. Filled with rubble from the foundation excavation and construction of the nearby Hatshepsut temple.

The Middle Kingdom Temple

Another place where a Second Intermediate Period 'squatter' occupation was proposed is in a structure identified as the fort's original temple (Emery, *et al.* 1979:84-6). Although no artifacts were found to substantiate Emery's attribution, the plan is very suggestive, and doesn't really match the typical 'elite' complex seen elsewhere at Buhen and throughout the fort system. The large number of stelae and statuary found nearby in a somewhat ambiguous context may also point to the presence of *ex-votos* in a temple setting (Smith 1976:76). The structure was heavily damaged by fire, with burning down to the original floor. New floors were established at approximately 45 cm above that of the Middle Kingdom, with light structures, including several hearth/ovens and a large circular granary, were built partly over the wall stubs of the original structure. The association of pounders and other artifacts may indicate its use as a workshop of some sort. *Kerma Classique* pottery was found with Middle Kingdom pottery in the fill (Figure 5.4a), and with New Kingdom pottery at and above the new floor (Figure 5.4b).[42] Since the walls had been heavily burnt down to the original floors, the

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[41] This may or may not have taken place after a wooden floor in Room 35 burnt and collapsed. Note that Emery never specifies whether the remains of wooden joists were actually burnt.

[42] Note that the rather haphazard recording of pottery at Buhen brings some uncertainty to the general reliability of the proportions presented in Figures 5a and 5b, which should therefore be regarded as representing trends rather than exact percentages.

excavators concluded that the debris with Kerman pottery indicated a 'squatter' occupation (Emery, *et al.* 1979:84-7).

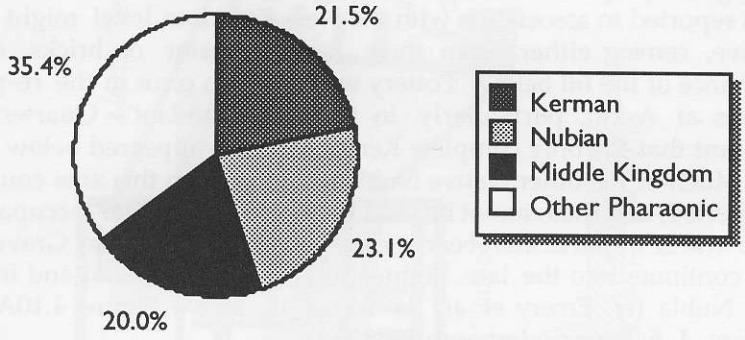

Figure 5.4a Pottery below 45 cm from the Middle Kingdom Temple at Buhen.

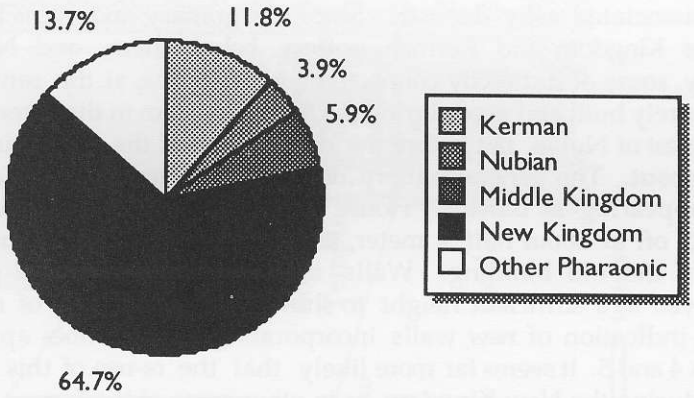

Figure 5.4b Pottery above 45 cm from the Middle Kingdom Temple at Buhen.

The stratigraphy in this complex is, however, far from clear. Pottery from the level at and above 45 cm was consistently dominated by New Kingdom types (Figure 5.4b), including an early Eighteenth Dynasty amphora (*cf.* Hope 1989:93-4), and numerous examples of round bottomed bread molds, which appear at the earliest in the reign of Thutmose I, replacing the old squared bottomed type by the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III at Askut and elsewhere (Jacquet-Gordon 1981:19-

21; at Askut see Figure 6.5A above). One problem, however, with the relative quantities of pottery presented in Figures 5.4a and 5.4b is that apparently only vessels of Pharaonic pottery, but *both* sherds *and* vessels of Kerman and other Nubian pottery are reported, potentially artificially inflating the proportions of the latter. Thus, the small amounts of Kerman sherds reported in association with the New Kingdom level might easily be intrusive, coming either from their use in plaster or bricks, or in the disturbance of the fill below. Pottery was noted to occur in the re-plastering of rooms at Askut, particularly in the 'Commandant's Quarters.' It is significant that the only complete Kerman vessels appeared below the 45 cm level. Much of the other Native Nubian pottery from this area could date to either period, and thus cannot be used to support a 'squatter' occupation. The incised wares in particular bear a close resemblance to Pan Grave pottery, which continues into the late Eighteenth Dynasty at Askut and in southern Lower Nubia (*cf.* Emery *et al.* 1979:Fig. 47; above Figure 4.10A-H; Sadr 1987:Figs. 4, 5; Säve-Söderbergh 1989:18).

The numerous bread molds are surely associated with the granary built over Room 6 and the oven in Room 5 and elsewhere in the complex, with their associated ashy deposits. Since the granary and ovens had groups of Middle Kingdom and Kerman pottery below them, and New Kingdom pottery, some of it directly connected with their use, at the same level, they were surely built and used during the New Kingdom in the interval after the reconquest of Nubia, but before the construction of the new South Temple by Hatshepsut. The general pattern of re-use seen here is also very similar to that appearing in Block C, House E, where rubble and burnt debris were leveled off at about half a meter, and a new structure built using the wall stubs of the old building. Walls in the old temple were generally not preserved to a sufficient height to show similar evidence of reconstruction, but an indication of new walls incorporating the old does appear between Rooms 4 and 5. It seems far more likely that the re-use of this complex took place during the New Kingdom, as in other areas of the fort.

Another argument for 'squatters' is that Egyptians would never have re-used a sacred area for such mundane purposes. Thus the Kermans must be responsible. Yet the stelae of the Egyptian families who administered Buhen for the Ruler of Kush record many pious acts, including the construction of a new temple. Emery and Smith also both conceded that the structures beneath the Hatshepsut Temple were indeed used in the New Kingdom before the new temple was built. The new temple boasted of by Sepedhor and perhaps his father Sobekemhab II was probably identical to the North Temple (Figure 5.5), which reached its final state in the reign of

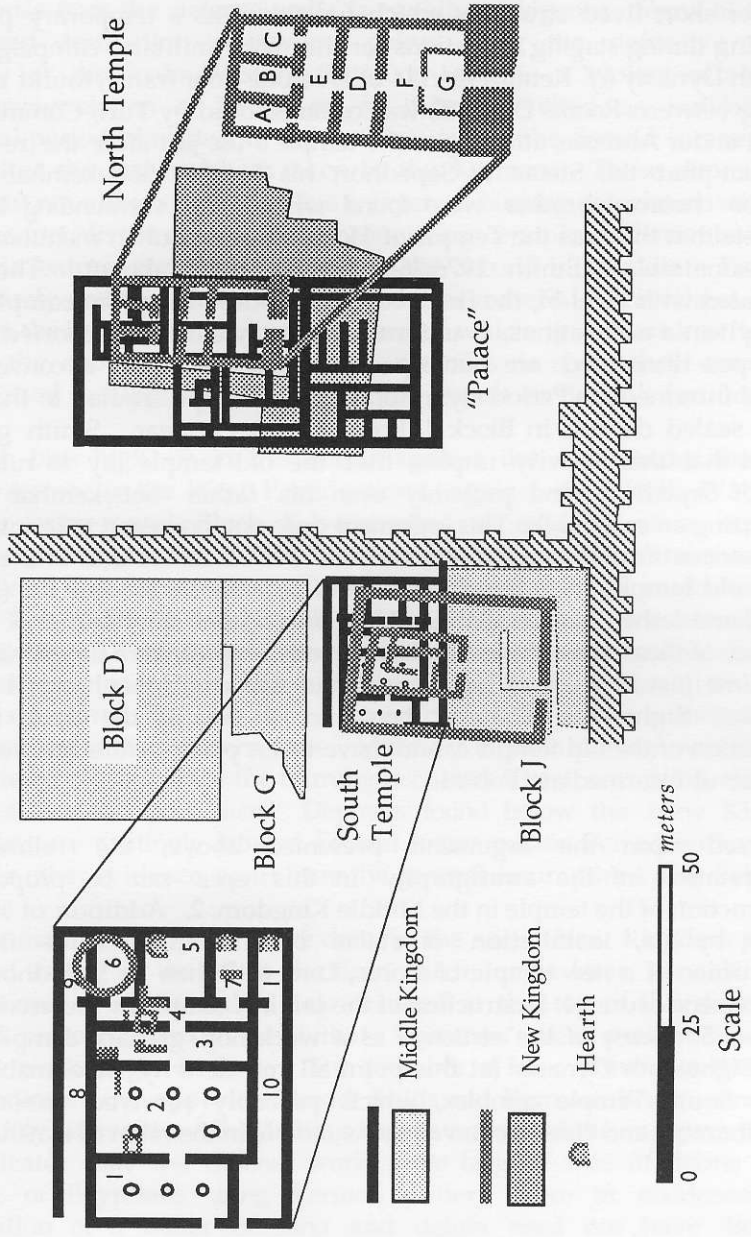

Figure 5.5 The Temples of Buhen.

Amenhotep II with the addition of stone elements and painted decoration. It was built over the site of a Middle Kingdom administrative complex similar to other short lived structures which functioned as a temporary palace for the King during staging operations for the major military campaigns of the Twelfth Dynasty (*cf.* Kemp 1986:134-6). A stone door frame, found re-used as paving between Rooms D and E, was commissioned by Turi, Commandant of Buhen under Ahmose, attesting to the temple's use just after the re-conquest. The fact that the Stelae of Sepedhor, his brother Sobekemhab III, and another unnamed brother were found within the surrounding buildings, suggests that this was the Temple of Horus, Lord of Buhen mentioned on the very same stelae (Smith 1976:76-7; see the quote above). The pottery associated with level M, the first above the Middle Kingdom complex in the Pennsylvania excavations, is unfortunately only cursorily reported. Most of the types illustrated are not especially diagnostic, but a convex necked Second Intermediate Period style storage jar of a type similar to those found in the sealed deposit in Block J, Room 35, does appear. Smith goes on to suggest that this activity implies that the old temple lay in ruins in the time of Sepedhor, and probably even his father Sobekemhab II, thus supporting an early sack. This argument does not, however, take into account the presence of other Second Intermediate Period monuments in the vicinity of the old temple, including the stelae of Sepedhor's brother Ka (see quote above) and father Sobekemhab II, along with a stone door frame of Ka. The presence of these monuments imply that both temples were functioning at the same time, just as those of Hatshepsut and Ahmose/Amenhotep II did from the later Eighteenth Dynasty onward. If this is the case, then the destruction of the old temple cannot have taken place before the very end of the Second Intermediate Period.

Based upon the arguments presented above, the following re-interpretation of the stratigraphy in this area can be proposed: 1. Construction of the temple in the Middle Kingdom; 2. Addition of stone door frames by Ka, installation of stelae by himself and his father; 3. Construction of a new temple of Horus, Lord of Buhen by Sepedhor outside the inner enclosure; 4. Destruction of the original temple in the reconquest by Kamose; 5. Reuse of the structure as a workshop/granary complex in the early Eighteenth Dynasty (at this point all cult activity presumably moved to the South Temple complex, which probably survived unscathed); 6. Abandonment and construction of a new temple in the reign of Hatshepsut.

The Defense Walls

Evidence from the defense walls is equally ambiguous. Signs of heavy burning and destruction at several points along the defensive works, especially at the main Western Gate, do indicate a violent attack. A general accumulation of 70-120 cm of debris is cited as indicating a substantial period of neglect in the fortifications in the Second Intermediate Period, after the fort had been taken by the Kermans. These deposits are usually, but not always, found above a layer of burning associated with the sack of the fort. In the absence of any convincing ceramic evidence, however, dating this feature, and thus the sack, to the Second Intermediate Period is based entirely on the assumption that the burnt material here relates to the burning in the interior of the fort, the date of which is at least cast in some doubt by the above discussion. Where ceramics do occur, they can just as easily be used to support a late date for the assault on Buhen's fortifications.

Rough bins high up in the debris against the wall under the New Kingdom terrace in the West Fortifications, against the North Wall, and under the extra-mural Block K were cited as evidence of a 'squatter' occupation (Emery, *et al.* 1979:28-32). Since no diagnostic ceramics or other artifacts were found in association with them, however, they could have just as easily been built by the New Kingdom garrison at a time between the damage to the walls and their renovation. It must be emphasized that one cannot assume *a priori* that Native Nubians were the only ones to build bins and light structures. There is also no direct ceramic evidence to indicate the date of burning at the Western Gate. Middle Kingdom pottery was found in the associated pit, but since the burning occurred after it was filled, this only supplies a *terminus post quem.* Deposits found below the New Kingdom restorations are routinely labeled Second Intermediate Period without any ceramic or other evidence, apart from the general assumptions noted above.

Other evidence supports a late date for the sack. New Kingdom pottery was found as fill in the West Barbican ditch, under later New Kingdom modifications. Nubian sherds only occurred at the top of the deposits in disturbed contexts, hardly proof that 'squatters' were present after the defensive works began to decay. The presence of later pottery in the ditch rather indicates the opposite. Bread molds and Kerman sherds were found immediately above the Middle Kingdom pavement of the rampart terrace. This indicates that the defense works were largely free of debris while Kermans, or Egyptians using Kerman pottery were in residence. An accumulation of a meter of sand and debris need not have taken a particularly long period of time. Some of it surely was the immediate result

of damage from assaults on the walls, while more might have been deposited as streets and buildings were cleared in the early stages of restoration.

This reconstruction also solves the problem of the Buhen horse, which was found at the base of the Middle Kingdom defense walls, under burnt debris related to the fort's sack (Figure 5.6), and thus dated by the excavators to the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[43]. As such, it would date the appearance of the horse in areas under Egyptian control substantially earlier than previously attested (D. M. Dixon in Emery, *et al.* 1979:191). Although referred to as a 'horse burial' by Emery, he apparently did not mean to imply that it was interned in any formal sense. It must, however, have been buried, either purposefully (perhaps to avoid the stench of decomposition?) or inadvertently, soon after its death, since dogs, hyenas or other scavengers would soon have stripped the carcass and broken up the skeleton, which was in a good state of preservation and completely articulated. Clutton-Brock argues that the horse's stratigraphic position rules out any dispute as to its date, but in reality it depends entirely on the date of the fort's sack. A date as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty is highly unlikely. Horses are otherwise unattested in the Middle Kingdom, and chariot warfare is no where mentioned or depicted. Yet the Buhen horse had been broken to a bit, implying that it was part of a chariot team. It must have come from the north through Syro-Palestine, since it is related to the same group introduced into the Near East during the later Second Millennium (Juliet Clutton-Brock in Emery, *et al.* 1979:191-5). Horses only appear at Tell el-Dab'a at the start of the Hyksos Period with Stratum E/2=b/1, c. 1640/1620 BC (Bietak 1991:41). Even if they did occur somewhat earlier, the Nubian frontier at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty would be a highly unlikely place to find an exotic animal only newly introduced into Egypt. A horse would, however, be *expected* to appear in an army of the late Seventeenth Dynasty, as chariot warfare became the norm. It was old, and might equally well have died of natural causes or in combat, and been placed or buried at the base of the wall before most of the debris had accumulated.

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[43]A radiocarbon date from the burnt debris above the horse only provides a date for the wood burnt, probably from a timber parapet or other works on the defense walls. The corrected date of 2070 ± 160 BC indicates a period roughly contemporary with the construction of the defenses in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The true date of the horse thus rests on the date assigned to the burning from other evidence (Richard Burleigh in Emery, et al. 1979:196).

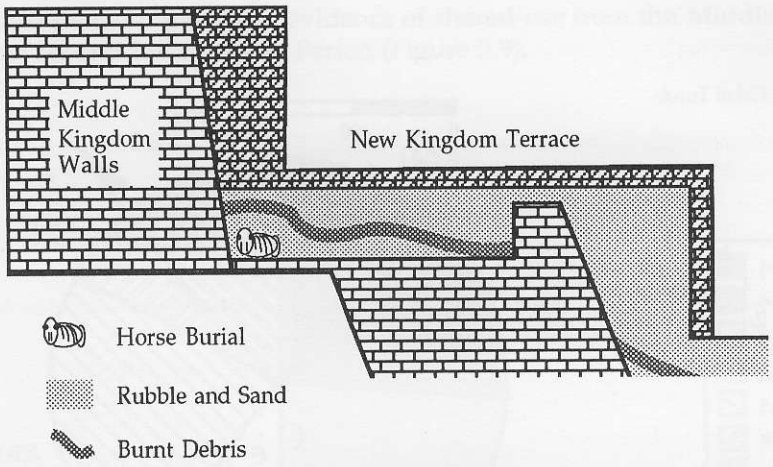


Figure 5.6 The Buhen Horse and Defensive Works (after Emery, *et al.* 1979:Plate 9).

Cemeteries

The three major cemeteries at Buhen, excavated by the University of Pennsylvania expedition, support the notion of continuity from the Middle Kingdom into the Second Intermediate Period (Figure 5.7; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911). As noted above, the excavator's chronological conclusions were seriously flawed. Although the reporting is somewhat sketchy, it is possible to re-date the tombs based on the presence of diagnostic pottery or small finds. Middle Kingdom diagnostics included scarabs with the typical motifs found at Uronarti and Kahun, pottery such as beer jars, globular jars and hemispherical bowls (types SV, SXIII, SXXVIII), and Tell el-Yahudiya juglets of Middle Kingdom types (*i.e.*, Piriform 1). Second Intermediate Period diagnostics included *Kerma Classique* pottery (SLVIII, SLIX), Tell el-Yahudiya juglets of Second Intermediate Period types (*i.e.*, Piriform 2, Biconical, etc.), low waisted carinated jars and jars with combed decoration (types SVI and SIX), scarabs with typically Hyksos motifs, and the presence of distinctly Native Nubian features such as torques and flexed burials. New Kingdom diagnostics included amphorae (types SI), 'teardrop' shaped jars (SVII, SXV), single handled jugs and small amphorae (SXXXVI-XL, SXLV-VI), Syro-Palestinian imports (SLXVI), polished bottles (SLIII), scarabs with New Kingdom motifs, and scarabs and other objects with royal names. Diagnostic of the later New Kingdom (roughly Amenhotep III on into the Ramesside Period) were certain characteristic pottery vessels, like the bag shaped

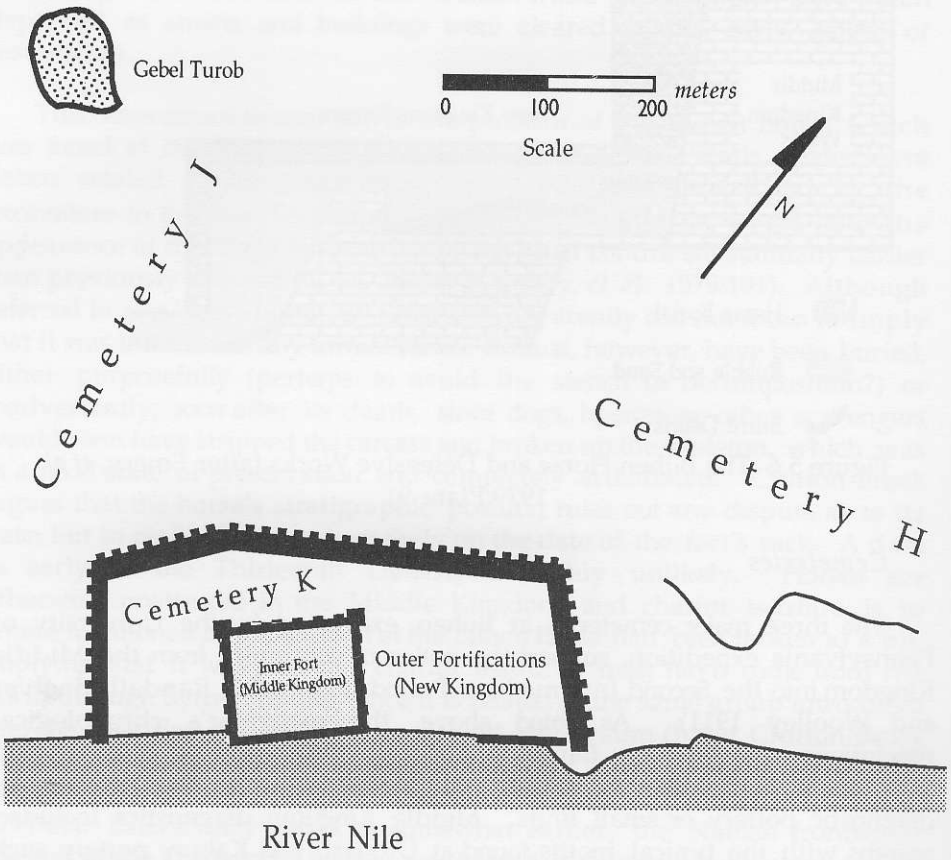


Figure 5.7 The Cemeteries at Buhen (after MacIver and Woolley 1911:Pl. G).

convex necked amphora, funnel necked storage jar, Mycenaean imports, and Pilgrim flasks (types SII, SIII, SXLI-II, SLVI), and scarabs and other objects with royal names.

The overall distribution (Figure 5.8) shows a solid block of Second Intermediate Period burials, with roughly equal numbers showing some overlap with the Middle Kingdom or New Kingdom. This is consistent with the funerary stelae, of which about a third of the datable examples came solidly from the late Second Intermediate Period, with a large number from the Thirteenth Dynasty overlapping with early Second Intermediate Period (Figure 3.1, above). If we look at the distribution of tombs by cemetery, we

can see that all three show evidence of shared use from the Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period (Figure 5.9).

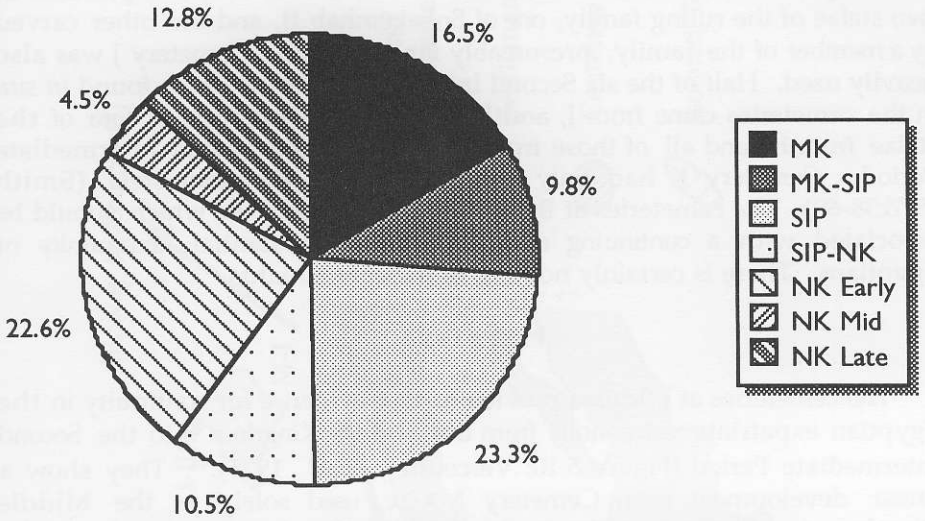


Figure 5.8: Proportion of Burials by Period at Buhen.

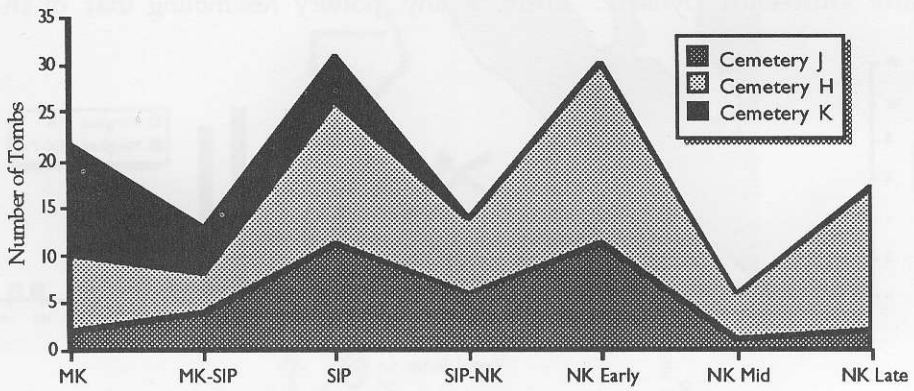


Figure 5.9: Frequency of Burials by Cemetery at Buhen.

Cemetery K, located in the outer fort and sealed by the New Kingdom renovations, drops off in the Second Intermediate Period. The use of Cemetery H and J expands, and both continue into the early Eighteenth Dynasty, showing substantial numbers of tombs with some overlap.

Although re-use is always a possibility, this pattern suggests that family burials continued to take place at both of the transitional periods, either in the same tomb or in crypts newly constructed nearby. The importance of Cemetery H in the Second Intermediate Period is shown by the presence of two stelae of the ruling family, one of Sobekemhab II, and the other carved by a member of the family, presumably for a relation. Cemetery J was also heavily used. Half of the six Second Intermediate Period stelae found *in situ* in the cemeteries came from J, and half from H. Three out of four of the stelae from H, and all of those from J, came from the Second Intermediate Period. Cemetery K had only a single Middle Kingdom stela (Smith 1976:38-60). The cemeteries at Buhen reflect the heavy use which should be associated with a continuing occupation by a substantial community of Egyptians. There is certainly nothing to indicate a hiatus.

Mirgissa

The cemeteries at Mirgissa provide further evidence for continuity in the Egyptian expatriate community from the Middle Kingdom into the Second Intermediate Period (Figure 5.10; Vercoutter, *et al.* 1975).[44] They show a linear development from Cemetery MX-Tc, used solely in the Middle Kingdom, to MX, used partly in the Middle Kingdom but mostly in the Second Intermediate Period, to MX-Td, employed entirely in the New Kingdom. Pottery from cemetery MX-Tc corresponds to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty. Little, if any, pottery resembling that of the

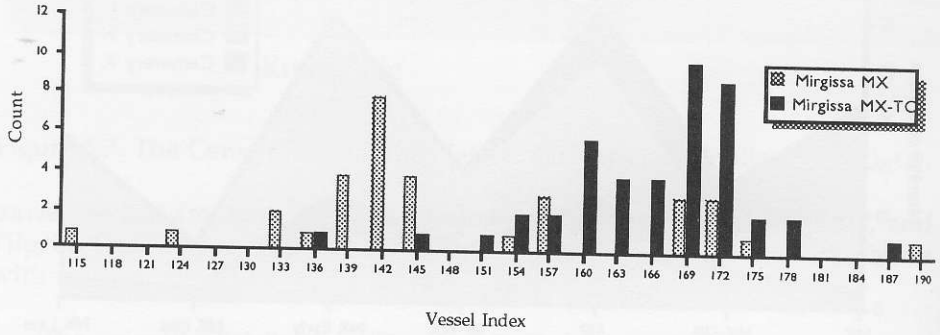


Figure 5.11: Hemispherical bowls from Mirgissa.

[44]The Upper Fort has been published in preliminary reports, which lack sufficient detail to assess its occupational history during the Second Intermediate Period.

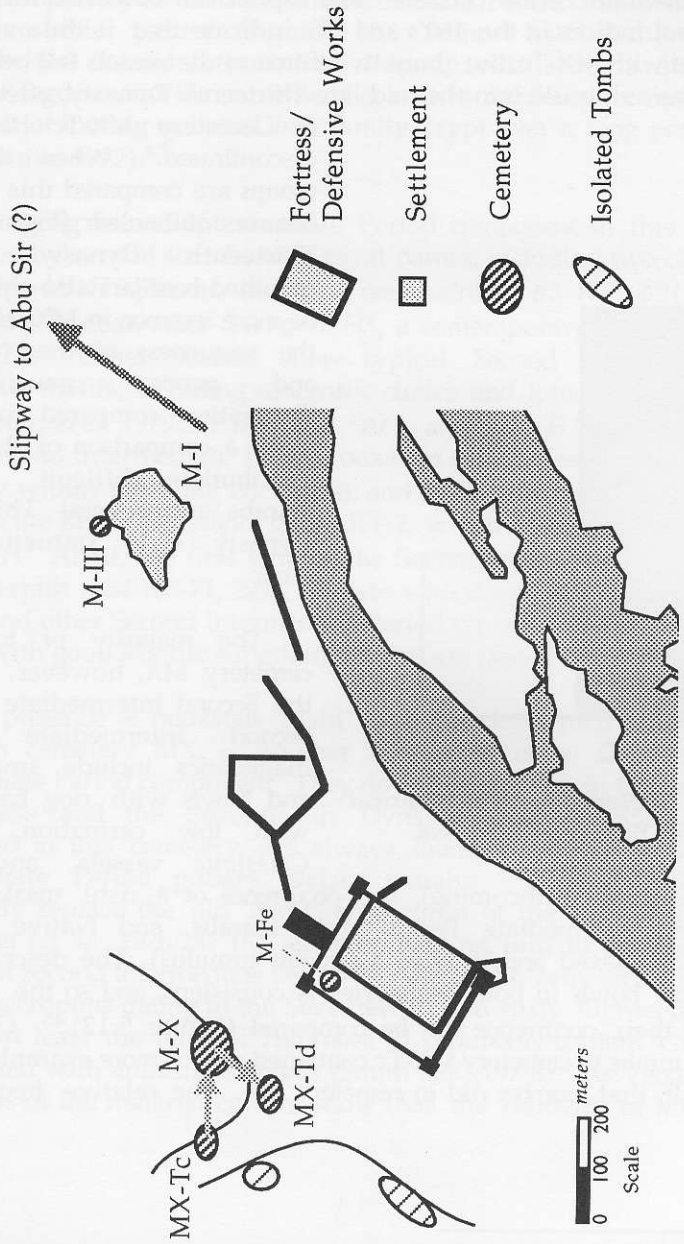


Figure 5.10 Mirgissa Fort & Cemeteries (after Vercoutter, *et al.* 1975:Fig. 1).

Second Intermediate Period occurs.[45] Hemispherical bowls from cemetery MX with vessel indices in the 160's and 70's indicate that it did overlap in use somewhat with MX-Tc, but about two thirds of the vessels fall below 145, indicating continuing use into the mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty, after burials in Cemetery MX-Tc had been discontinued. When the two groups are compared this pattern becomes quite clear (Figure 5.11). Thirteenth Dynasty 'kettle' mouthed beer jars also appear to be more common in MX, although the vagueness of the typology and general paucity of illustration compared to MX-Tc make a comparison of the exact distributions difficult. A few scarabs and several Thirteenth Dynasty style statuettes also occur.

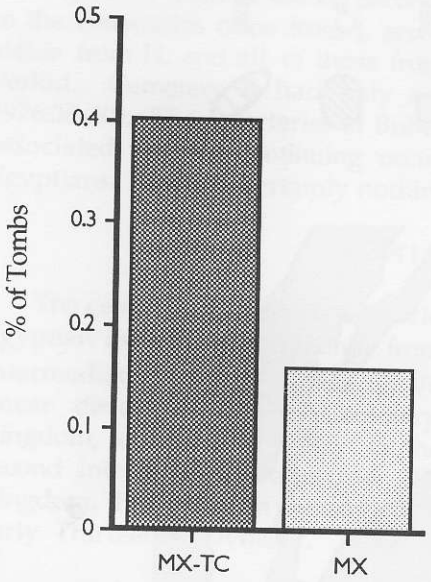


Figure 5.12: Presence of Hemispherical Bowls in Burials at Mirgissa.

The majority of tombs in cemetery MX, however, date to the Second Intermediate Period. Second Intermediate Period diagnostics include small cups and bowls with ring bases, jars with low carination, *Kerma Classique* vessels, and other forms (*cf.* Bourriau forthcoming), the occurrence of a rishi mask, dugout coffin, Second Intermediate Period style scarabs, and Native Nubian characteristics (flexed and/or with a circular tumulus). The description of hemispherical bowls in both cemeteries is consistent, and so the relative frequency of their occurrence can be compared (Figure 5.12).[46] Over two thirds of the tombs in cemetery MX-Tc contained one or more example, while less than half that number did in cemetery MX. The relative frequency of

[45]A single ring based bowl occurs in tomb TC-7, and is presumably an early example of this type.

[46]This is not possible for any other diagnostic vessel types.

tombs with pottery of the Second Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom reveals a similar pattern (Figure 5.13). Almost half of the tombs can be placed in the Second Intermediate Period, with about a quarter in the Middle Kingdom and the same number with a combined assemblage, either the result of looting or burial in a family crypt over a long period (for the latter, Smith 1992).[47]

The strong Second Intermediate Period component in this cemetery is confirmed by several scarabs with royal names, including two of the Hyksos king *M3ʿt-ỉb-Rʿ* Sheshi, including one inscribed *s3-Rʿ ššỉ ʿnḫ-ḏt*, as well as the Theban ruler *Sw3ḏ-n-Rʿ*, a contemporary of Sheshi (c. 1626-1607 B.C.). Other scarabs show typical Second Intermediate Period decorative motifs, including concentric circles and lotus and Hathor motifs (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1979:277 ff.). The *ʿnrʿ* and *rdỉ-Rʿ* type, characteristic of the Second Intermediate Period, occurs in cemeteries MX, M-Fe (a small cemetery within the outer enclosure), and M-III (Kerma). A *rdỉ-Rʿ* scarab occurs in the *Kerma Classique* grave KT-2, which also contained a scarab of *Nb-ḫpr-Rʿ* Antef, the first king of the Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1652-1647, von Beckerath 1964:165-71, 224). Scarabs with deeply cut animal and human figures and other Second Intermediate Period types also appear. In contrast, scarabs with good Middle Kingdom designs are rare.

The presence of numerous 'Rishi' style masks, which outnumber plain masks in cemetery MX, is another indication of a substantial Second Intermediate Period component. They do not occur at all in Cemetery MX-Tc. Both these and the Seventeenth Dynasty 'dugout' style coffin, also introduced in this cemetery, are always found in association with Second Intermediate Period pottery and/or scarabs. 'Dugout' coffins do not completely replace the old 'chest' type coffin of the Middle Kingdom, as Vercoutter (*et al.* 1976:287 ff.) assumes, leading him to underestimate the number of Second Intermediate Period burials in the cemetery. Tombs in the Theban necropolis dating to the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty through at least the reign of Thutmose III commonly contain 'chest' coffins, often mixed with anthropoid types (Smith 1992:197-8). As Vercoutter notes, all aspects of the material culture show that the residents of Mirgissa were

[47]About one fifth of the tombs either had no or non-diagnostic grave goods, or could not be dated because of the lack of precision in the ceramic typology.

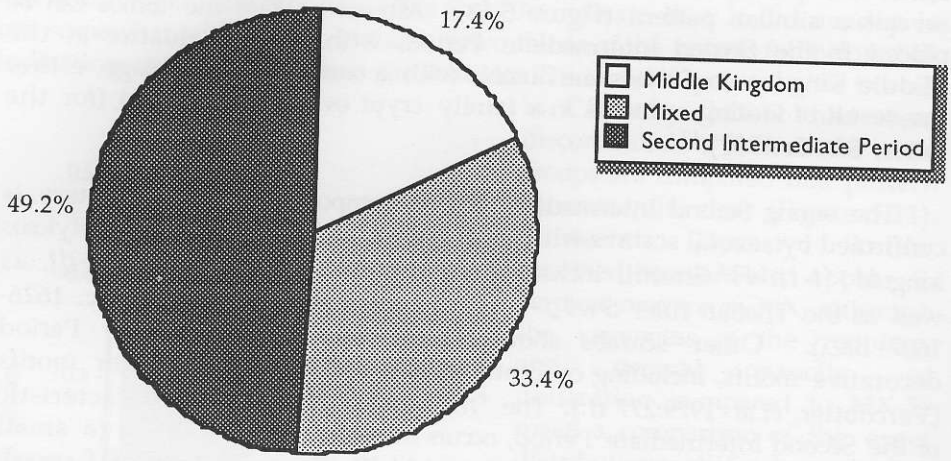


Figure 5.13: Frequency of Burials of Different Periods in Cemetery MX.

in close contact with Upper Egypt from the Thirteenth through the Seventeenth Dynasty. Coffins would have been no exception, and would be expected to include the use of both 'dugout' and 'chest' types. Thus while the presence of 'dugout' coffins can be used to support a date in the Second Intermediate Period, their absence or occurrence with 'chest' types need not indicate an earlier date.

The ceramics, scarabs, coffins and statuary provide strong evidence that the cemeteries were used continually from the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty on into the Second Intermediate Period. It is also clear that Kermans were present at the same time as the Egyptian occupants of Cemetery MX. As Vercoutter has observed, the Kerman pottery from their cemetery (M-III) covers a long period (Vercoutter *et al.* 1970:297). The terminal *Kerma Classique* III period is well represented, with beakers and storage jars. Beakers in the earlier *Kerma Classique* II or perhaps even late I style also occur, indicating that they were present at the start of the Second Intermediate Period. This is consistent with the scarab of *Nb-ḫpr-Rʿ* Antef (c. 1652-1647) from KT-2. Tell el-Yahudiya juglets of the Piriform 1c and early Biconical styles date to this period, as would a globular juglet found with Second Intermediate Period pottery in Cemetery MX-125 (*cf.* Bietak 1989:Abb. 2). In MX-3 a Piriform 1c (or early Biconical) juglet and a *Kerma Classique* II style beaker were found together. Both of these types occur in Tumulus K-X at Kerma, which dates to the *Kerma Classique* II

period and thus the early Second Intermediate Period (Lacovara 1987:56-7, Fig. 2, see above). Other *Kerma Classique* pottery appears in Cemetery MX-41, 86, 104, and 114 (with a flexed burial). Apart from a handful of scattered Kerman or other Native Nubian burials,[48] the interments in cemetery MX reflect a completely Egyptian burial system, contrasting greatly with the purely Kerman burials in Cemetery M-III.

In his synthetic analysis of the cemeteries at Mirgissa, Vercoutter makes a strong case for continuity, and one is hard pressed to find any gaps in the sequence of artifacts associated with burials. In spite of this, he still argues for a hiatus in occupation, and thus burial, at Mirgissa towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1970:20-3, 181-4). In the absence of any obvious gap in material culture, Vercoutter uses the presence of widespread looting and re-use in cemeteries as evidence of a period of abandonment. Looting alone, however, need not indicate a long period of instability or abandonment. Even at the height of Egyptian internal and external power in the Eighteenth Dynasty, burials in the carefully policed Valley of the Kings were looted not long after the interments were made (*i.e.*, the tombs of Mahirper, Yuya and Thuya, and Tutankhamen, see Reeves 1990a). A single year of unsettled conditions at Thebes resulted in widespread looting even in the great mortuary temples on the west bank. Although somewhat past the height of power for Thebes and the New Kingdom, the central and local authorities quickly reasserted firm control, as the proceedings of the ensuing investigations show. The worst damage was not done by foreign invaders, or even by a general uprising, but by the priests, guards and workmen charged with the safety and upkeep of the monuments. Even in the best of times, Egyptian cemeteries, with their hidden wealth, have been the target of enterprising thieves. The change to Kerman rule might easily have resulted in some problems as the system readjusted. This, combined with contemporaneous tomb robbing, could easily account for the looting within the cemeteries, and subsequent re-use of older tombs which lay open. Indeed, some tombs show clearly that looting went on during the course of the Second Intermediate Period itself. MX-114 had three strata of successive interments, all of which had burials dating to the Second Intermediate Period.

[48] Either flexed and/or with a round tumulus superstructure, tombs 82, 91, 141-3, and individual burials in tombs 114 and 117. The latter particularly may provide some evidence for intermarriage between the expatriates and the local population.

In proposing a hiatus, Vercoutter naturally follows Emery's ideas about Buhen, discussed above. Vercoutter similarly concludes that the fortress had been occupied by Kerman or other Nubian pastoralists after a hiatus from about 1720-1650 B.C. when the walls and buildings had fallen into ruin. This hypothesis does not take into account the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period burials in Cemetery M-X, which he apparently thought should date to the later Thirteenth Dynasty. Given the evidence for a substantial Egyptian population with a small Kerma liason during the Second Intermediate Period, it is clear that the occupation at Mirgissa consisted of more than a few pastoral squatters. The final assessment of the occupation within the inner fortress at Mirgissa must await the final publication of this area. Even if it was abandoned and used by pastoralists, many areas in the outer enclosure and surrounding areas remained unexcavated due to the lack of time and resources.

Semna

There are also indications at Semna of a Second Intermediate Period occupation. Preservation across most of the fort was not good, but the area near and especially beneath the Taharqa Temple did have stratified deposits running from the Middle to New Kingdom (Figure 5.14; Dunham and Janssen 1960:Plans V and XI-XV). The lowest level 'c,' which Reisner dated to the Twelfth Dynasty for much the same reasons as the Pennsylvania Expedition to Buhen, had a sharply carinated bowl like that found at Askut in Room Southeast 8 (*cf.* ibid.:Fig. 9:28.2.40; Bourriau forthcoming; Figure 4.5E above), suggesting, as at Askut, a date at the very end of the Thirteenth Dynasty if not the early Second Intermediate Period for the abandonment of the associated structures. A transitional layer 'b' included several *Kerma Classique* Beakers (Dunham and Janssen 1960:Fig. 9:28.1.443-5, and a small low carinated jar (ibid.:Fig. 26:28.2.11). There is not enough Kerman material to indicate a Kerman occupation, so presumably it indicates interaction with the two Kerman settlements and two cemeteries located south of Semna South (Figure 5.14). Types which could date either to the Second Intermediate Period or the early New Kingdom, like carinated and ring based bowls, were common in layer 'b.' Scarabs were also consistent with a Second Intermediate Period date (ibid.:Fig. 6). A number of Second Intermediate Period scarabs were found in other areas of the site, including *rdi-Rʿ* and other Hyksos motifs, and the Sixteenth Dynasty King *ʿ3m* (Aam, see Dunham and Janssen 1960:Pl. 120; von Beckerath 1964:138). Diagnostic New Kingdom pottery appeared in several contexts within the 'b' level. They included a single handled jug and pilgrim flask (ibid.:Fig.

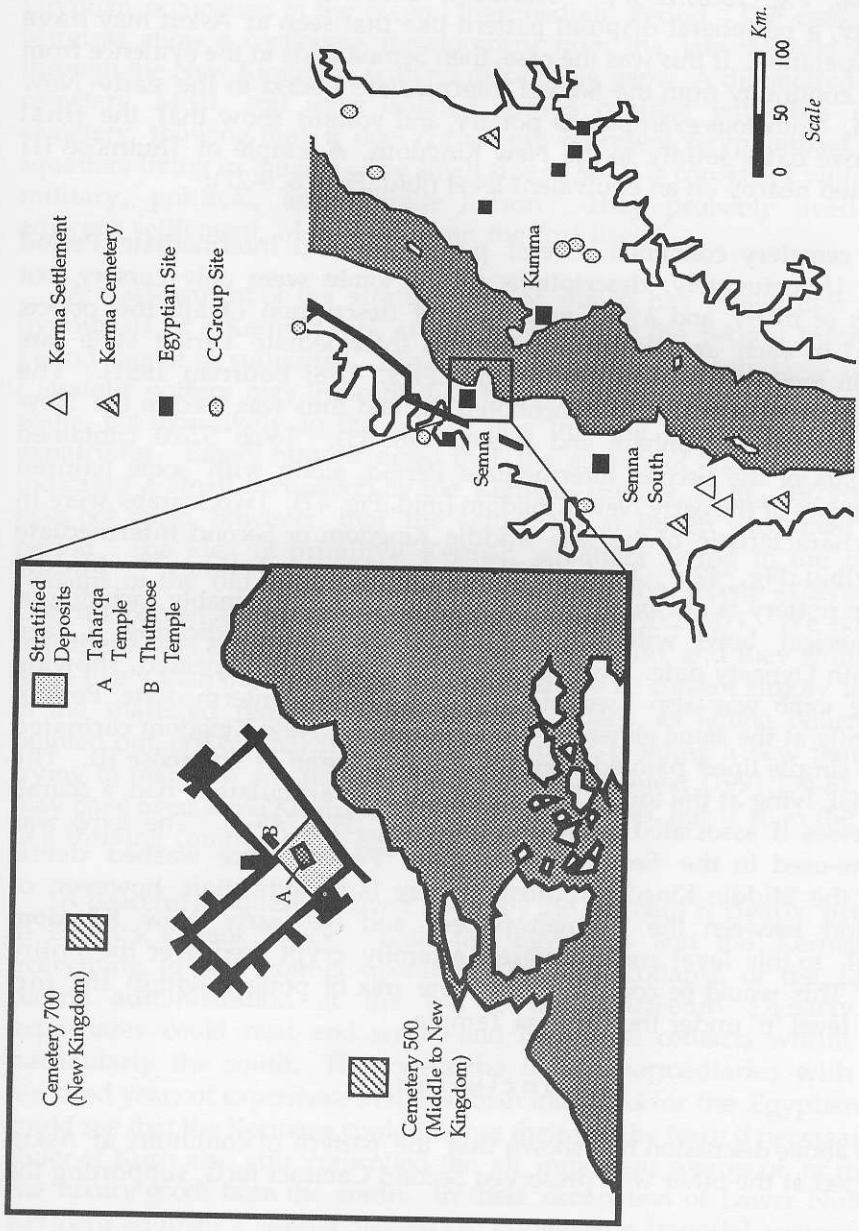


Figure 5.14 Semna Fort and its Environs (after Mills 1967-8:Fig. 1; Dunham and Janssen 1960:Plans II-III).

16:28.1.338, Fig. 15:28.1.357). Although intrusive cellars are always a possibility, a peripheral disposal pattern like that seen at Askut may have been in operation. If this was the case, then Semna adds to the evidence from Askut of continuity from the Second Intermediate Period to the early New Kingdom. Numerous examples of pottery and scarabs show that the final layer above dates solidly to the New Kingdom. A temple of Thutmose III was located nearby on an equivalent level (ibid.:Figs. 6, 9-27).

The cemetery contained several possible Second Intermediate Period burials. Unfortunately, descriptions of the tombs were only cursory, but drawings of many, and a list with a brief description of all the objects contained in each are available. Second Intermediate Period style jars appear in tombs S.524, and 532 (*cf.* ibid.:Figs. 47-8; Bourriau 1981). The former contained a scarab of Amenhotep III, and thus was used in the New Kingdom as well (Dunham and Janssen 1960:85). Tomb S.520 contained several jars of the Second Intermediate Period, along with some painted carinated jars of the early New Kingdom (ibid.:Fig. 41). Two scarabs were in a style characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period (ibid.:Fig. 42). Tomb S.523 was used several times.[49] Middle Kingdom pottery is attributed to the lowest level, presumably including a hemispherical bowl with a vessel index of 131.5, indicating a late Thirteenth Dynasty date. Five *Kerma Classique* beakers appeared, showing that the tomb was also used in the in the Second Intermediate Period. Apparently at the same general level was an early New Kingdom carinated jar with simple lined painted decoration and a scarab of Thutmose III. The last burial, lying at the top of the debris and still articulated, had a scarab of Ramesses II associated with it (ibid.:82-4, Figs. 45-6). The tomb was likely re-used in the Second Intermediate Period, since washed debris covered the Middle Kingdom pottery. There is no indication, however, of separation between the Kerman pottery and the early New Kingdom material, so this level could represent a family crypt used over the entire period. This would be consistent with the mix of pottery within the fort itself in level 'b' under the Taharqa Temple.

Conclusions

The above discussion has shown that the pattern of continuity at Askut is reflected at the other well preserved Second Cataract forts, supporting the

[49]Unfortunately, the objects were not grouped by their position in the tomb, so it is not possible to reconstruct each assemblage in its entirety.

second hypothesis. Both the settlement and cemetery at Semna reflect an Egyptian occupation in the Second Intermediate Period. The cemeteries at Mirgissa show a continuous development from the late Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom, with no discernible gaps. A distinctive Kerman cemetery, M-III, and some isolated graves contrast with the Egyptian cemetery, showing that it does not simply represent Egyptianized Kerman squatters living in the fort. The small size of M-III is consistent with a token military, political, and/or trade liaison. They probably lived in the adjacent settlement, M-I, rather than the fort itself.

A reassessment of the stratigraphy at Buhen has shown that Emery's hypothesis of a Kerman sack at the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period cannot be supported. The amount and some concentrations of *Kerma Classique* pottery may indicate that there were Kermans living inside the walls, but most likely in the context of a thriving community of Egyptian expatriates. Emery himself noted that the amount of Nubian pottery only indicated a small occupation by the Kermans (Emery, et al., 1979:3). This does not mean, however, that the settlement at Buhen was small at this period. The idea of primitive Kerman 'squatters' living in the burnt out remains of the old buildings does not jibe with the recent excavations of Charles Bonnet at the Kerman capital (Bonnet 1990:29-67). We now know that theirs was a highly developed urban civilization, and they would be no more likely than the New Kingdom Egyptians to be content simply to 'squat' in the shattered remains of the fortress. Indeed, as Janine Bourriau has pointed out, one can hardly imagine Sepedhor building a new temple and trying to maintain an elite lifestyle in such a context (1991:134-5). There may have been some Kermans living inside the walls, but if so in the context of a thriving community of Egyptian expatriates.

A peaceful conquest of Lower Nubia by the Kermans is clearly preferable to Emery's violent attack. Both the Egyptians and the Kermans had everything to gain from co-operation after the collapse of the Egyptian central administration at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The expatriates could read and write, and had close contacts within Egypt, particularly the south. They were the ideal intermediaries with over a hundred years of experience in the Nubian trade. As for the Egyptians, they could see that the Kermans could impose their rule by force if necessary. The Ruler of Kush also still controlled the all important sources of, or routes to, the luxury goods from the south. In their occupation of Lower Nubia, the Kermans adopted a similar hegemonic Equilibrium Imperial system to that of the Egyptians in the Levant during the New Kingdom. Substantial settlements were established only at Saras, effectively the border between

its old and new territories, and perhaps near Faras-Ikkur at the mouth of the Wadi Allaqi, the main route to the rich gold fields of the Eastern Desert. Token garrisons/liaisons were placed at the other sites, leaving the main operation of the imperial infrastructure to the co-opted Egyptian expatriates.

Chapter 6

Askut and the New Kingdom

If the Kermans did not take Lower Nubia by force, as the above discussion suggests, then the Egyptians, lead by Kamose, must have sacked Buhen when they reasserted control over the region. The Egyptian army, with its years of practice in siege warfare, honed in the ongoing Hyksos wars, would have been well equipped to reduce the fortifications around Buhen, perhaps the seat of Egyptian expatriate/Kerman rule. This reconstruction also makes sense geographically. Once through the rapids of the First Cataract, an Egyptian invasion could proceed in a single swift and decisive campaign past the widely spaced fortresses of Lower Nubia (Figure 6.1). The Second Cataract, however, would block all progress south, and Buhen, the strongest fortress yet encountered, would have provided a natural rallying point for the dispersed Kerman forces. A building inscription dated to Year 3 of Kamose indicates that the Egyptians were in firm control at Buhen by that date. The actual invasion into Nubia must have taken place even earlier, since that same year marked his major campaign against the Hyksos, which reached as far as Avaris itself, although he was unable to take the city. A new colonial administration was quickly established with the appointment of the first Viceroy (lit.: 'King's Son'), Teti, and a new Commandant for Buhen, Turi, who was to become Viceroy under Amenhotep I (Smith 1976:206; Simpson 1963:34). The early New Kingdom Pharaohs vigorously pursued a policy of conquest in Upper Nubia (Trigger 1976:103 ff.; Adams 1977:217 ff.; Morkot 1987; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991). The important Kerma center at Sai Island was apparently taken in the reign of Ahmose. Thutmose I sacked Kerma itself, and campaigned past the Fourth Cataract to Kurgus, placing a boundary stela there which was renewed by Thutmose III.

The Transition to the Eighteenth Dynasty

The fate of the Egyptian expatriates during this critical transition is not clear. Smith (1976:85) argues that they were either captured and executed or fled southwards with their Kerman overlords. The historical record for these individuals is silent after the reconquest. We hear no more of the offspring of Ka and Sepedhor, who were supplanted at Buhen by new

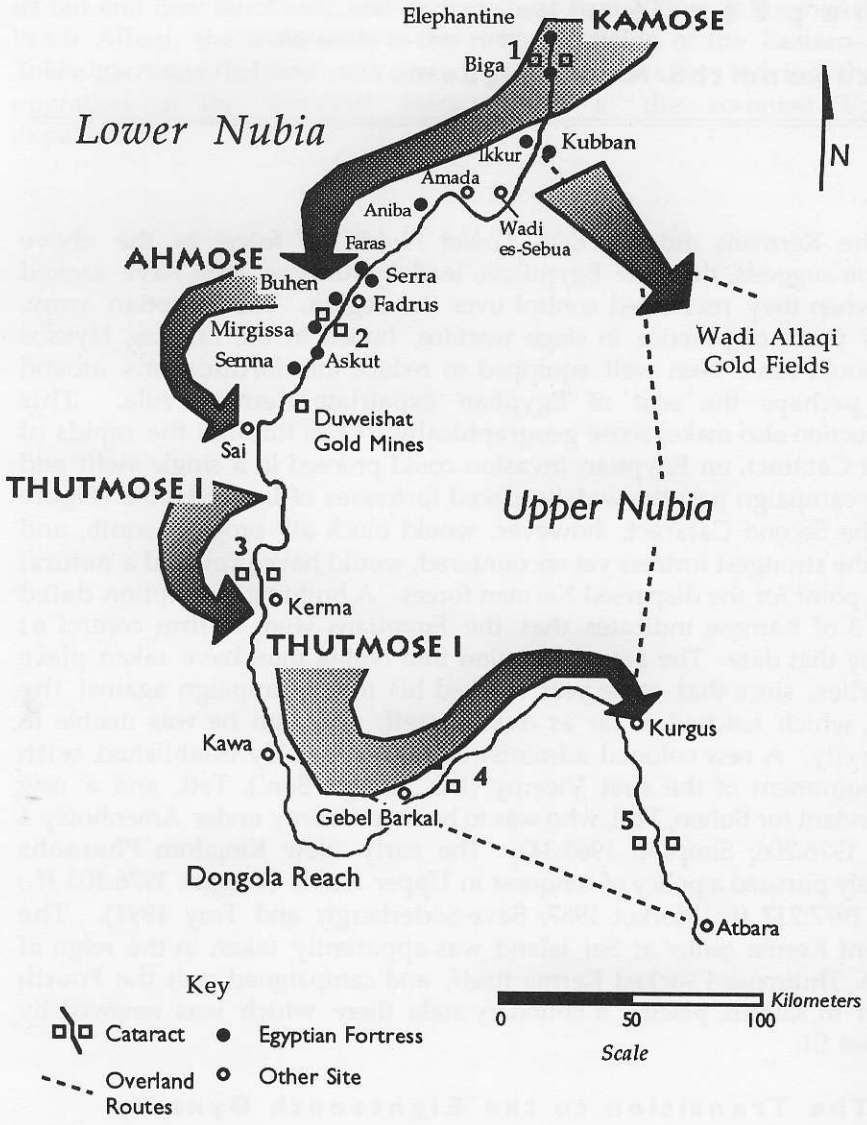


Figure 6.1 The Reconquest of Lower Nubia.

officials like Turi. There is a real archaeological discontinuity at Buhen, with extensive re-building over a wide area. Mirgissa also shows a major building layer at this time, although its exact nature and date are not clear from the descriptions published thus far (Vercoutter, et al. 1970:20-3, 181-4). These changes could simply be the result of renovations as the new regime took over, and we need not conclude with H. S. Smith that all of the expatriates were executed or carried off as prisoners for supporting an enemy of Egypt. The lack of textual evidence is also not conclusive, considering the comparatively small number of individuals who could afford stelae, and the often ambiguous nature of the genealogical data derived from them. The archaeological record is also ambiguous. Some renovations to the ageing walls and buildings at all of the forts would only be natural under a new administration. Some individuals at Buhen may have been killed in the fighting or punished for their collaboration, and surely many residents suffered hardship during and immediately after its capture. There is, however, no reason why most of the expatriates could not, as Trigger suggests (1976:104), have simply changed their allegiance after the Kermans had been overwhelmed. Culturally Egyptian, they had maintained their contacts with Upper Egypt during the years of peaceful trade which characterized most of the Second Intermediate Period. At the same time, they had developed a close relationship and knowledge of the local C-Group and Pan Grave peoples, as well as the Kerman enemy. Such individuals would have been very useful to a new colonial administration.

Direct archaeological evidence from the other forts for the survival of the expatriates is lacking, but, as noted above in Chapter 4, the general pattern of trash disposal at Askut, especially in the Southeastern Sector, does provide a strong indication of continuity of occupation into the New Kingdom (Figure 6.2). Accumulations of refuse at floor level around the buildings contained Second Intermediate Period pottery, while pottery from both secondary disposal and 'de facto' abandonment debris on the floors within dated to the mid Eighteenth Dynasty (Plates 10-13). The house of Meryka provides the best evidence. Pottery from adjacent areas reflect trash disposal from the house during the Second Intermediate Period (see Chapter 4 above). Accumulations of trash in Room Southeast 47, which was perhaps an enclosed yard or work area, during the Second Intermediate Period eventually required a step down into Room Southeast 32c, which had Eighteenth Dynasty pottery at floor level. Vessels found in association with the household altar in Room Southeast 32a, with its Second Intermediate Period funerary stela, reflect long and continuous cult activity. The storage jar and bowls from the altar drain were put in place during the mid to late Thirteenth Dynasty, perhaps indicating that the earliest version dates to

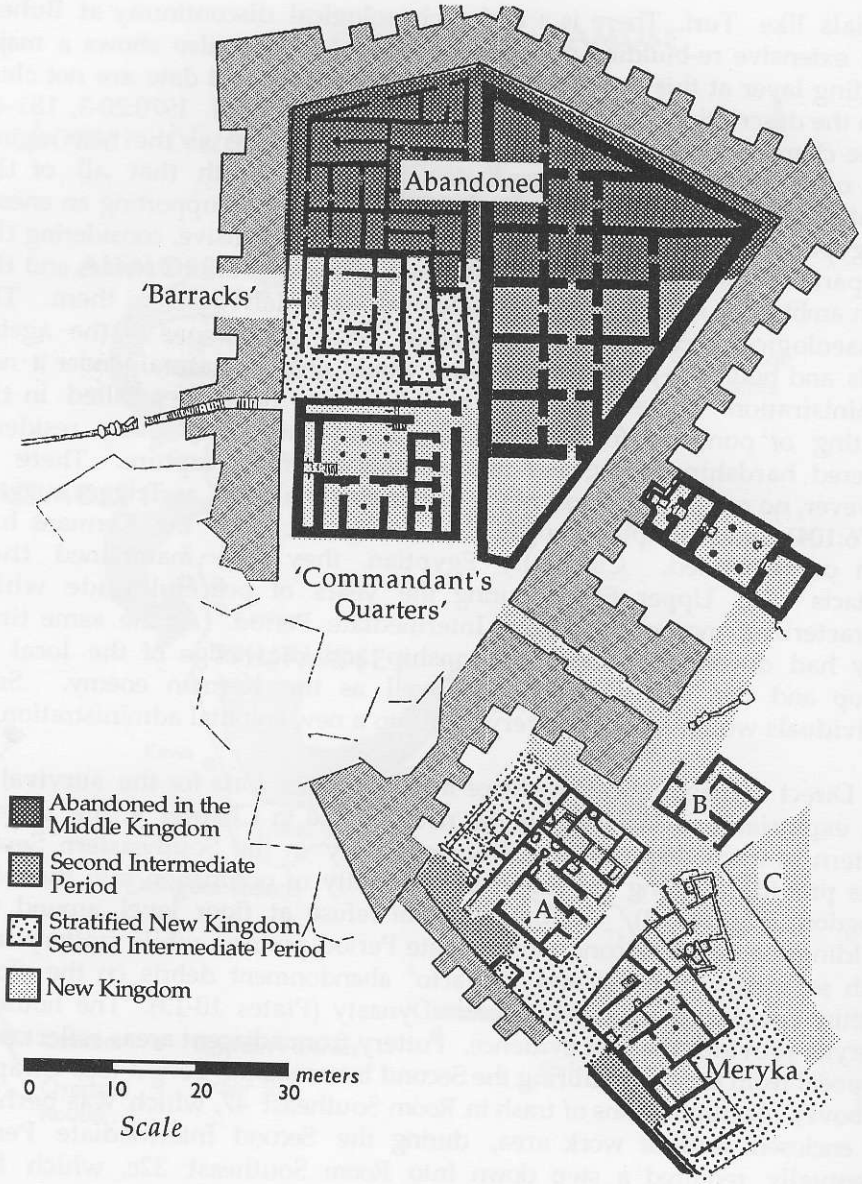


Figure 6.2 Askut in the New Kingdom.

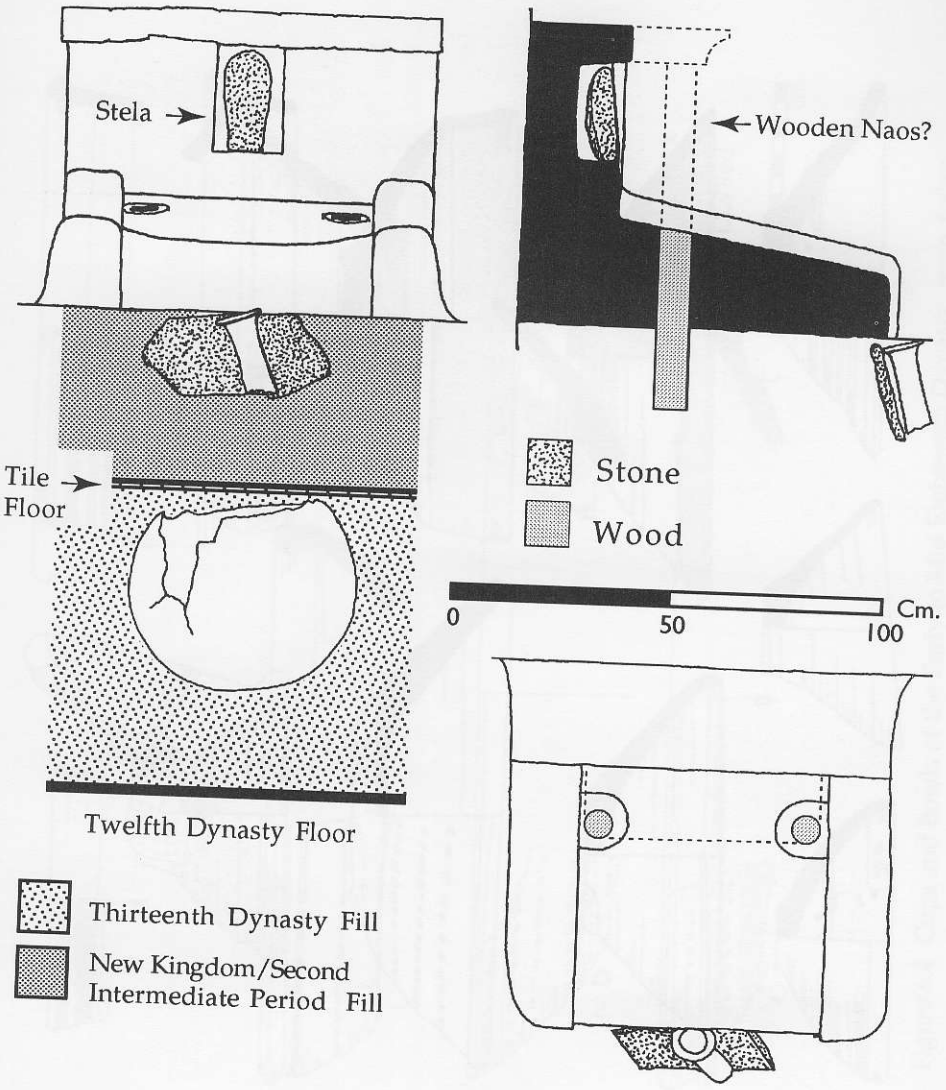
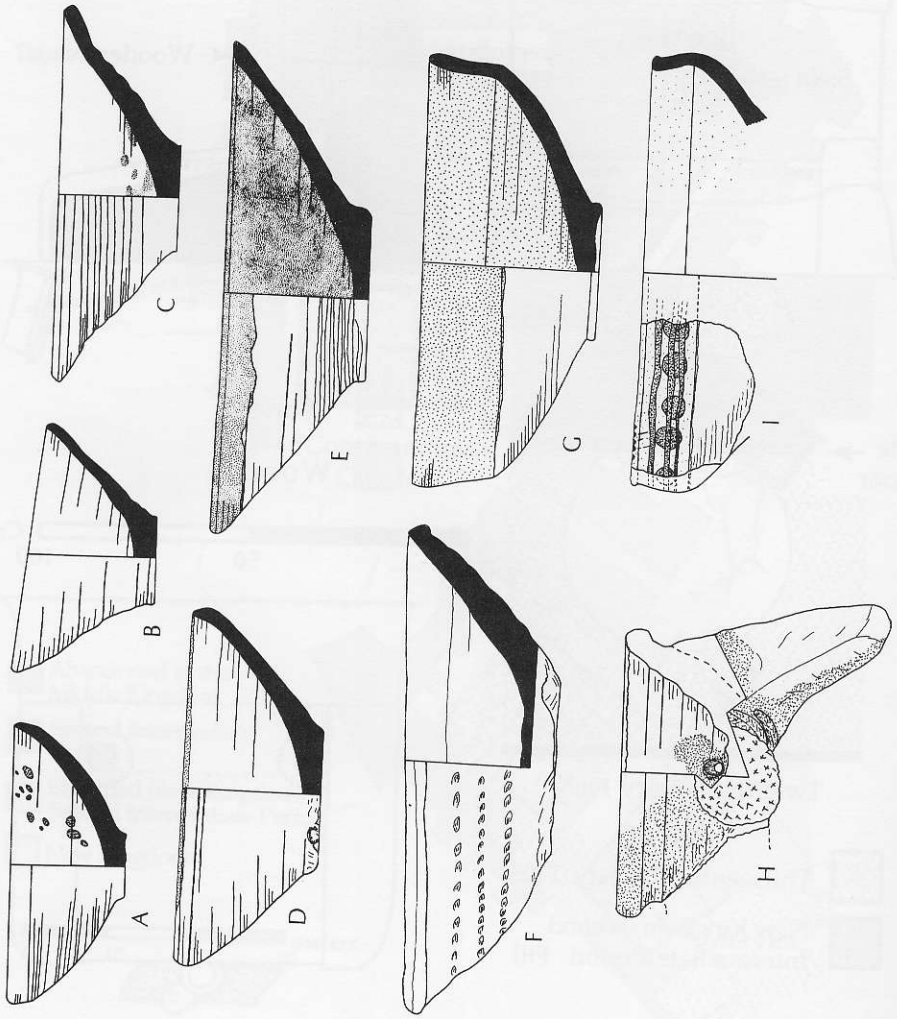


Figure 6.3 The Altar in Room Southeast 32a (Plates 15-17).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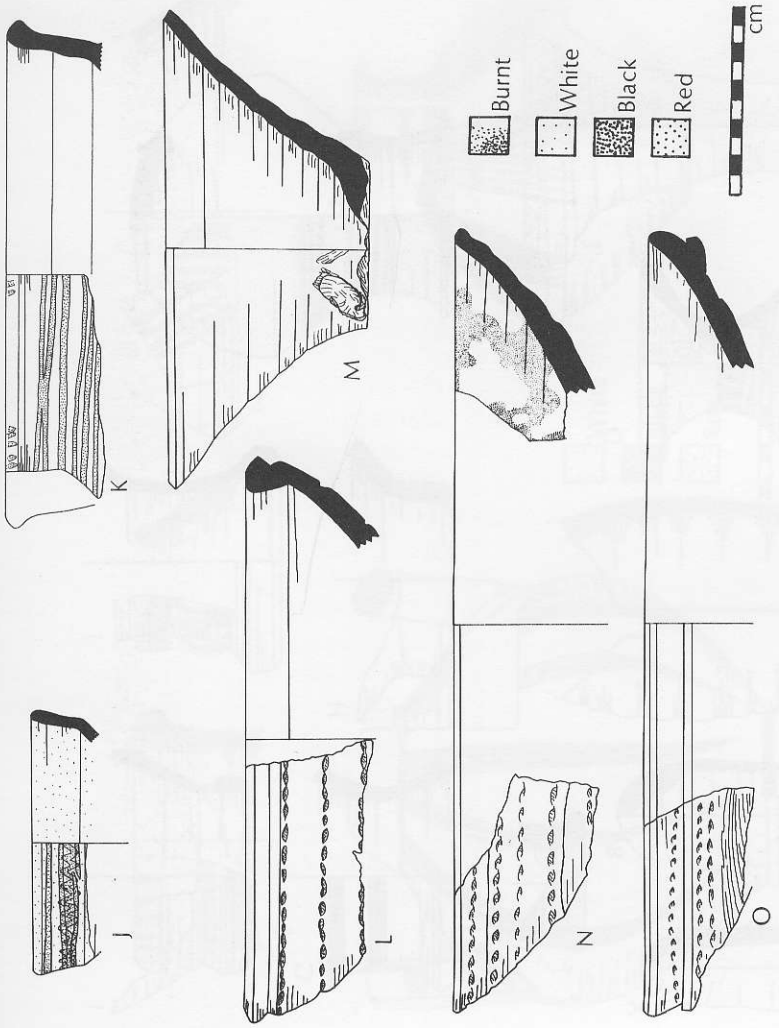
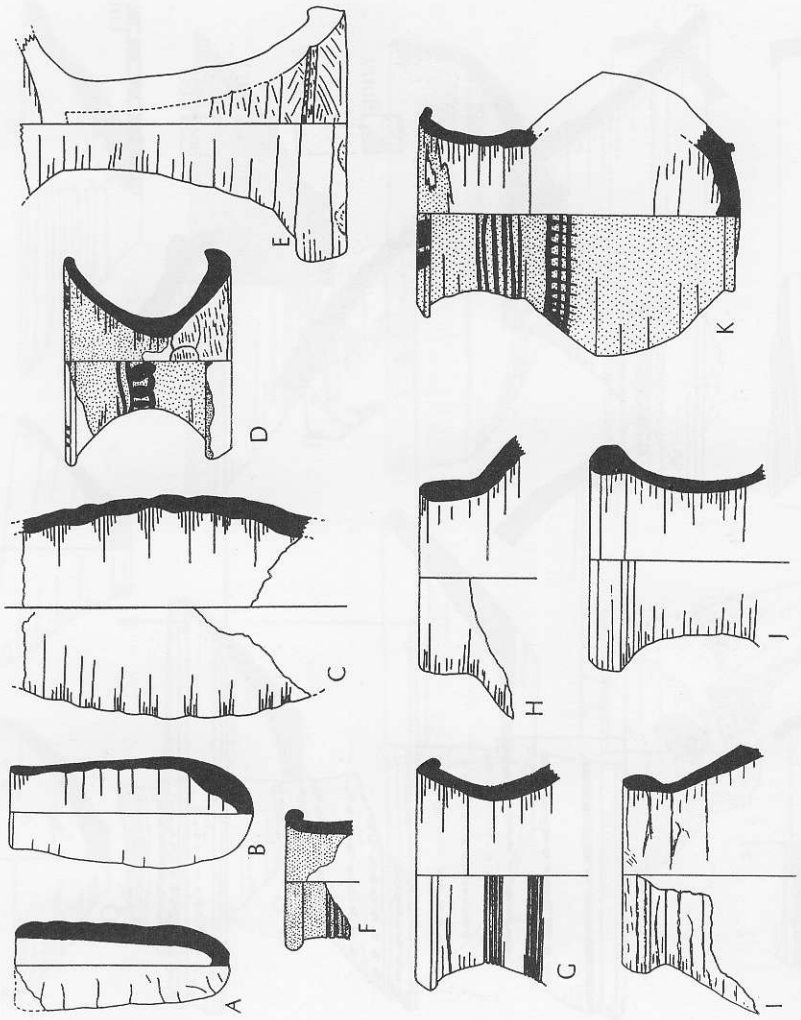


Figure 6.4 Cups and Bowls of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty from Askut.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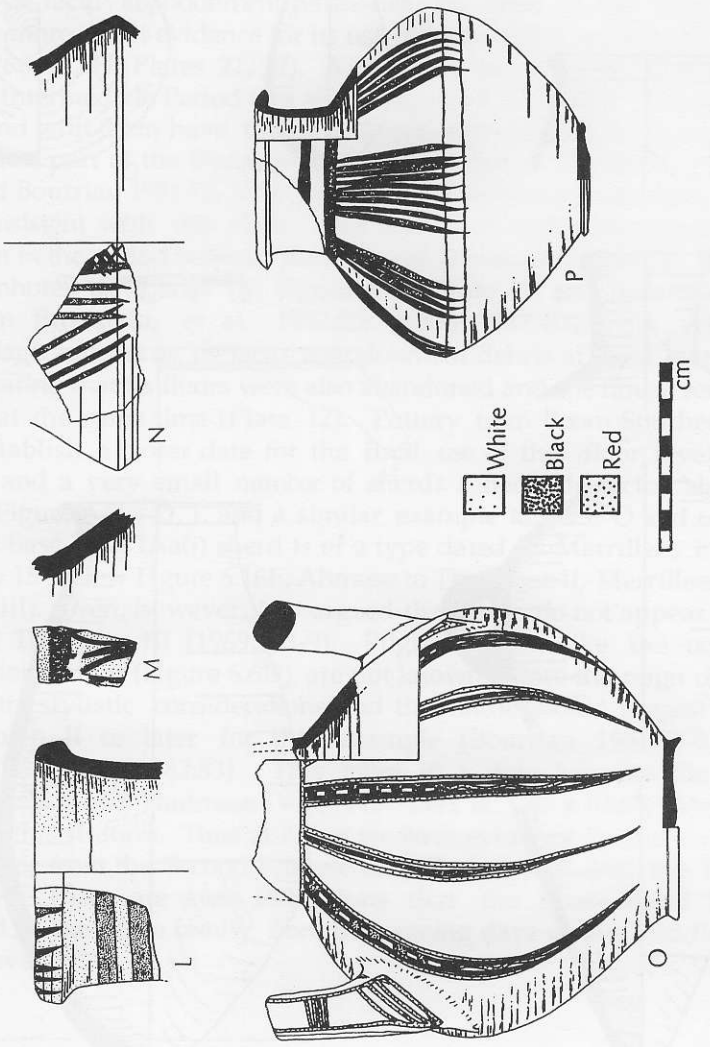

Figure 6.5 Jars and Miscellaneous Forms of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty from Askut.

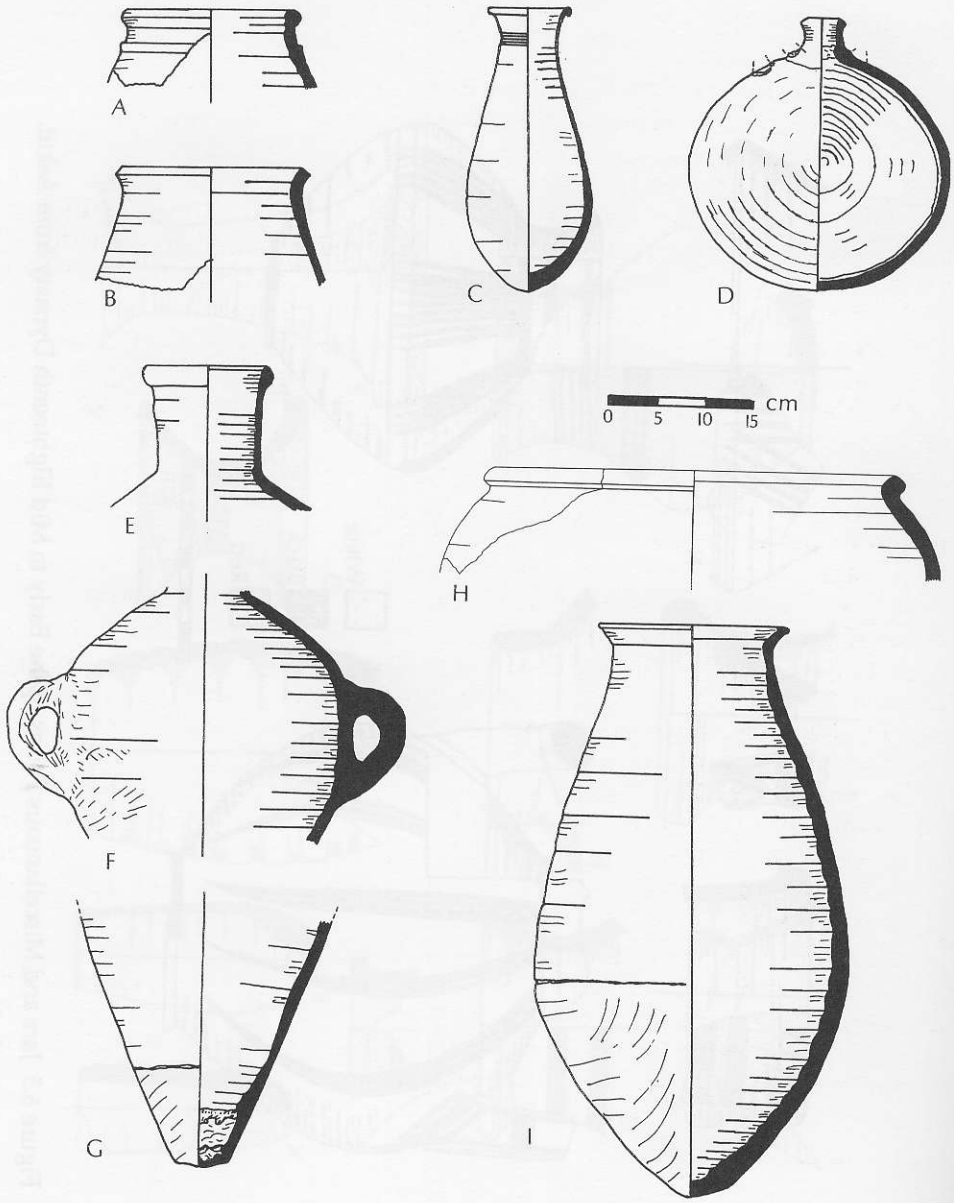

Figure 6.6 Large Vessels of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty from Askut.

the Middle Kingdom.[50]

The altar itself was built on 40 cm of fill (Figure 6.3; Plate 16). Vessels left as 'de facto' abandonment refuse near the altar at the new floor level provide more direct evidence for its use (Figure 6.4B, C, H, I, L, N, O; 6.5D, E, H, O, P; 6.6A, H; Plates 21, 22). A carinated jar and bowl date to the late Second Intermediate Period (see above Figures 4.5D, 4.6H). Other carinated jars found with them have the simple monochrome designs characteristic of the earliest part of the Dynasty through the reign of Thutmose III (*cf.* Figure 6.5P and Bourriau 1981:72, 135). Line and dot patterns on carinated bowls are also consistent with this date. Red and black bichrome painted jars are common in the period between the reigns of Thutmose III and IV, but not that of Amenhotep III or later (*cf.* Figure 6.5O, Plate 22, and Bourriau 1981:77-9; idem. in Brovarski, et al. 1982:80; Hope 1987:109). A very similar assemblage appears as 'de facto' abandonment debris at floor level in House A, indicating that its floors were also abandoned and the house remodeled or rebuilt at the same time (Plate 12). Pottery from Room Southeast 32c can help establish a closer date for the final use of this floor level. Several vessels and a very small number of sherds reflect 'de facto' abandonment refuse (Figure 6.6C, D, I, and a similar example to 6.4 I, O and 6.5O, P). A Cypriot Base Ring IAa(i) sherd is of a type dated by Merrillees to the early Dynasty 18 (below Figure 6.16E, Ahmose to Thutmose II, Merrillees 1968:111, 147, Pl. III). Oren, however, has argued that they do not appear before the reign of Thutmose III (1969:143-9). Pilgrim flasks, like the one found in association with it (Figure 6.6D), are not known before the reign of Thutmose III. Both stylistic considerations and the fabric would suggest a date of Amenhotep II or later for this example (Bourriau 1981:75-6, idem. in Brovarski, et al. 1982:83). This gives us a date between the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV (c. 1427-1391 BC) as a likely *terminus ante quem* for this stratum. Thus at Askut we have evidence for the veneration of an ancestor from the Second Intermediate Period well into the Eighteenth Dynasty. There are even indications that the house could have been occupied by the same family from the waning days of the Middle Kingdom (see above).

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[50]Because of the shrine and tile floors, Badawy (1965:131; 1966:25) interpreted this entire complex as a cult center, with rooms for ritual purifications and libations. The layout of the building, however, is clearly domestic in character, similar to moderate to large sized mansions at Amarna. Nothing in the associated finds would suggest anything more than a household shrine, the earliest example of a type well known from the later New Kingdom in houses at Deir el-Medineh and Amarna (*cf.* Badawy 1968:65-8, 94).

The Acculturation of Lower Nubia

The acculturation of the native C-Group and Pan Grave peoples could be implemented with greater ease and efficiency through these communities of expatriate Egyptians. Indeed, they paved the way for this new policy, providing a convenient infrastructure for exploitation, and helping the C-Group to become familiar with Egyptian ways and develop a taste for Egyptian material culture during the late Second Intermediate Period. Säve-Söderbergh observed that individuals like Sepedhor, through their position as key advisers to the Nubian elite, might have served as agents in the process of Egyptianization (1949:57). It is clear from the above discussions that the role of the expatriates was even more important and extensive than this. These Egyptians were not a small coterie of officials come to serve a foreign ruler in a foreign land, but rather a substantial settled population, with ties going back to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty. Their presence and continuing importance acted as a powerful force for change, especially among the Nubian elites, who had much to gain from the trade between Egypt and Nubia.

Postgate (1992:220-1) describes a similar pattern in Mesopotamia, where the Ur III trading colonies continued to operate after the collapse of the Dynasty, meeting the needs of local kings who did not have the resources to support their own trading missions. The same groups continued to serve the resurgent central authority with the ascendancy of Babylon under Hammurapi. The Assyrians used the remnant of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies in the same way during the Middle Assyrian period. The colonists had retained their Assyrian cultural affinity and social organization in spite of their adoption of certain features of the local material culture (Veenhof 1977:110-12). When the resurgent Middle Assyrian regime regained control over Western Anatolia, the descendants of the old family firms provided an ideal infrastructure to support the new imperial system (Postgate 1977:116-8).

The extensive surveys and excavations occasioned by the enlargement of the dam at Aswan in 1908-10, again in 1929-34, and finally with the construction of the High Dam in the 1960s, have provided a wealth of data on the nature of settlement in Lower Nubia (Adams 1977:71-90). The acculturation of the C-Group began in the IIb phase, contemporary with the early Second Intermediate Period, and appears strongly in the III phase, contemporary with the late Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty (Säve-Söderbergh 1969, 1989:4, 9-11, 23, 1991:8; Bietak 1968:105-117, 150-57; 1986:121-2). Tombs show greater Egyptian influences,

first in an increasing amount of Egyptian or Egyptianizing grave goods, followed by rectangular superstructures and extended burials. Some completely Egyptian graves which date to this period may belong to members of the C-Group who had already become acculturated. Their settlements also reflect these changes. The use of mud brick and square or rectangular plans contrasts with the earlier use of stone and perishable materials in single or clustered round rooms (Figure 6.6). Smaller open settlements developed into larger, fortified complexes, perhaps centers for local Chieftains. Bietak notes that the C-Group in the north quickly assimilated to Egyptian New Kingdom culture. Only in the south were native traditions maintained as late as the reign of Thutmose III (Bietak 1987:122).

Although Trigger (1976:79), followed by Säve-Söderbergh (1989:12), concludes that the C-Group did not undergo much stratification in the Second Intermediate Period, O'Connor (1991), citing both cemeteries and settlement patterns, has argued persuasively for an increase in complexity. The cemetery at Aniba shows the most dramatic evidence of social stratification. Several large tumulus burials appear in the C-Group IIb phase, contemporary with the beginnings of acculturation, and are clustered together in restricted areas of the cemetery. O'Connor offers, however, little positive evidence to support his argument that the C-Group had reached a high level of complexity at an earlier date, but without the kind of socio-economic indicators seen at Aniba (see above Chapter 2). The work of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, just above the Second Cataract on the east bank between Buhen and Serra, known as Tehkhet during the New Kingdom (see Figure 6.1), has shown that the C-Group is replaced in the IIb phase by a Transitional group heavily influenced by Pan Grave and Kerma elements. Säve-Söderbergh (1989:10-11) initially concluded that the C-Group in this area may already have been Egyptianized by the end of the Second Intermediate Period, while Nubian traditions were conserved by the Transitional group. While this may in part be true, the large cemetery of Fadrus fails to provide evidence of a substantial enough Second Intermediate Period component, and Säve-Söderbergh (1991:8-9) had to abandon the idea of an early acculturation. Interaction with the Transitional Group is attested at Askut in the persistence of native Nubian pottery through the late Eighteenth Dynasty, but as always in the context of a predominantly Egyptian assemblage. Some C-Group style sherds appear, but the bulk of native pottery shows the closest affinity to that of the Pan Grave culture, with perhaps some Kerma influence (Figure 4.10). This pottery contrasts with the late C-Group settlement assemblage, seen at the 'forts' of Wadi es-Sebua and Amada (Gratien 1985b; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1909).

This material is thus consistent with the presence of the Transitional group within the Principality of Tehkhet in the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:8).

The conclusion that the presence of Second Intermediate Period pottery and scarabs could not be used to support *any* burials dating before the Eighteenth Dynasty at Fadrus is too cautious. Unfortunately, it is not possible, given the looseness of the ceramic shape classification, to reconstruct individual tomb groups with enough precision to settle the question with certainty. Enough pottery is, however, illustrated to indicate the strong likelihood of a small Second Intermediate Period component. All of the pottery from Tomb 3 which is illustrated, for example, is consistent with this date. Tomb 8 contained a scarab of the Hyksos Chancellor Ha'r, along with a carinated pot in Second Intermediate Period style. Other tomb groups are more ambiguous, but at least indicate a group of transitional burials of the very early Eighteenth Dynasty. Tomb 84 had a *Kerma Classique* beaker, along with Second Intermediate Period style pottery, although a long funnel necked bottle would be more consistent with an early Eighteenth Dynasty date. Tombs 47 and 87 had a series of Second Intermediate Period style scarabs (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:Figs. 28-30). The former also had two scarabs which may refer to the prenomen of Ahmose, *Nb-pḥty-Rʿ* (*ibid.*:92, Fig. 22) This reading is, however, far from certain. The first example could just as easily be read as the normal royal titulary *nṯr nfr nb tȝwy*, and the second has only the *pḥ* sign very crudely written. Normally scarabs of this king spell out his name more completely (*cf.* Hornung and Staehelin 1976:230-1).

One of the reasons for ruling out a Second Intermediate Period date was presumably the presence of scarabs of Amenhotep I close to the beginning of the seriation. Some pottery types which should indicate an Eighteenth Dynasty date, like amphorae, also occur in a handful of tombs from the beginning of the sequence. The excavators have, however, relied too heavily on their computerized Correspondence Analysis (a kind of Factor Analysis, see Sinclair and Troy 1991; Säve - Söderbergh 1991:221 ff.). Although the statistics used are certainly reliable enough to provide a good overall picture of the development of the cemetery, they provide no supporting statistical tests to determine the precision of the one of four generated axes. They cite only the general consistency of a few temporal indicators, especially scarabs and additionally, but not as explicitly, pottery and other diagnostic finds to confirm the accuracy of the chosen axis (Figure 6.7). While this concurrence does imply that the general associations are reasonably reliable, it cannot be

used to establish with absolute certainty the exact order of the burials, nor can it eliminate the possibility of Second Intermediate Period burials, especially in Phase 1a.

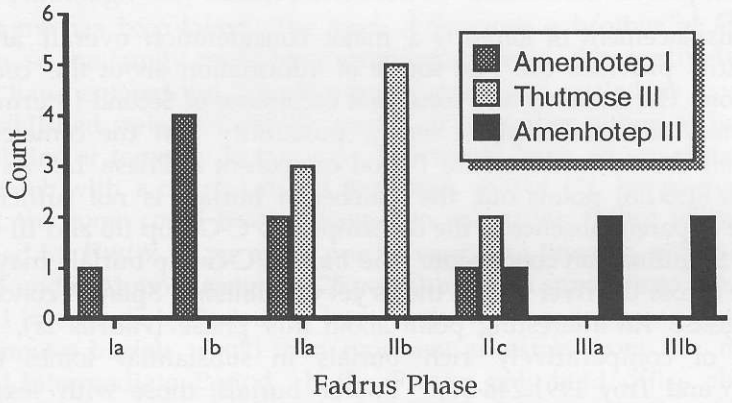


Figure 6.7: Distribution of Scarabs at Fadrus.

Holthoer's discussion of pottery chronology (1977 and in Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:17-49), while very useful, is driven by his abstract shape classification and the statistical analysis rather than being incorporated into it in the same way as royal name scarabs. In particular, he has failed in the final publication to take into account the significant strides which have been made in establishing the chronology of specific types from the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom (e.g., Bourriau 1981a, 1981b; Hope 1987, 1989; and both Bourriau and Hope in Brovarski, et al. 1982). The categories BO (Bottles), CS1 (Shortnecked Carinated Vessels), CV1-2 (Ordinary Carinated Vessels), GJ1 (Globular Jars), and JO1-3 (Ovoid Jars) include a wide range of different shapes from various periods within the late Second Intermediate Period and the Eighteenth Dynasty (Holthoer 1977:Pls. 29-38). The separate coding of decorative motifs will have helped compensate for this problem, but it is clear that a small number of tombs could have been pulled out of order by the association of shapes which date to different periods in a single type category. In particular, the distribution of some types is consistent with the presence of a few late Second Intermediate Period burials in Phase Ia. The carinated jars, CS1, appear only at the beginning of the seriation and in the oldest part of the cemetery, dropping off sharply with Phase Ib and with only one example in IIa. This pattern is even more pronounced with undecorated examples, which are more likely to be Second Intermediate Period, with eleven in Phase Ia and only

one in Ib. The storage jar type NJ5, with one example in Phase Ia, looks very much like a Second Intermediate Period type (*contra* Holthoer in Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:26). The decanter with incised rim, the typically Second Intermediate Period type WD3, also has one example in Phase Ia.

Any misplacement of tombs is a minor consideration overall and the cemetery still provides the best source of information about the course of acculturation. The amounts and consistent occurrence of Second Intermediate Period pottery and scarabs allow for the possibility that the cemetery did have a small Second Intermediate Period component in Phase 1a. As Säve-Söderbergh (1991:8) points out, the number of burials is not sufficient to explain the apparent absence of the contemporary C-Group IIb and III phases within the Scandinavian concession. The bulk of C-Group burials may have been made across the river within the as yet unpublished Spanish concession, as he suggests. An interesting point about this phase (Fadrus Ia), is the dominance of comparatively rich burials in substantial tombs (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:248-51). 'Poorer' burials, those with less than three pots, account for only 36% of the total. This pattern might indicate both that the C-Group elites were the first to acculturate, taking advantage of the more open economic and social environment of the Second Intermediate Period and/or early Eighteenth Dynasty, and that they still maintained a fairly egalitarian social structure with a reasonably diffuse distribution of wealth.

Four tombs at Serra East may represent the burials of the Princes of Tehkhet in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and perhaps late Second Intermediate Period, roughly equivalent to Fadrus Ia-b. Williams (1991:74, Fig. 3, 1993) notes that they provide a transition from native tumulus to Egyptian pyramid superstructures. If all of these tombs date to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as Williams indicates, then the Princes adopted Egyptian burial patterns much later than some of the local elites, even if Fadrus begins in the 18th Dynasty. The genealogy of the family suggests full Egyptianization of the Princes towards the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:204-7). The brothers Djehutyhotep and Amenemhet, who built their tombs just south of Serra at Debeira East and West, served as Prince in the long co-regency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (53 years total). Their father, who had the Nubian name *Rwiw*, probably occupied one of the Egyptian style tombs at Serra, perhaps the one with a Pyramid-chapel similar to those of his sons. He would have served as Prince during the reigns of Thutmose I and II (25 years), although Djehutyhotep could have begun his tenure towards the end of this period and

still have held office under Hatshepsut as his tomb indicates. Given a long lifespan, *Rwiw* might also have served during the reign of Amenhotep I (21 years). His father *D3i-wi-ʿ*, also called Teti, was perhaps buried at Aswan, although only stelae, purchased by Golenisheff on Elephantine, and *not* a tomb has been found. The tomb of Senmose, a brother of *Rwiw*, is at Aswan, so the family could have originated there. Alternatively, Senmose might have entered the Egyptian bureaucracy and settled in Aswan, where he established stelae for the veneration of his father either at home or in a local shrine or temple. In this case Teti would have occupied the Egyptian style tomb with a courtyard and mud brick chapel (?), but no pyramid. Of course, the tomb could have belonged to an earlier Prince whose line was replaced by *Rwiw*. If we again posit a very long lifespan, either might have served under Ahmose (reigning 25 years), and at a stretch into the end of the Second Intermediate Period, at least under Kamose (reigning 5 years). The two tumulus burials would then represent ancestors from the mid to late Second Intermediate Period. If the Princes only held office about twenty years each, however, one or both tumulus burials might fall within the early Eighteenth Dynasty, during the reigns of Amenhotep I and Ahmose, as the lack of Second Intermediate Period diagnostic pottery implies (Williams 1992:156). The tumulus A18, in particular, had an assemblage of pottery which would point to a mid Eighteenth Dynasty date, although this may indicate re-use or intrusive disturbance from later activity given the highly fragmentary state of the assemblage (Williams 1993:156, 161 ff., Fig. 117). In support of the latter, pottery from the vault and courtyard (?) tomb A3 included a Middle Kingdom bread mold and crater (hole-mouth jar, *cf.* Figure 3.9G and Williams 1993:Fig. 105k).

Whatever the case for the Princes, increasing stratification and/or a widening of the Egyptianization process occurs with the consolidation of New Kingdom rule. In the Fadrus Ib phase, the number of 'poor' burials jumps to 58%. By the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (Fadrus IIa), the number had increased to 70%, although in the succeeding Fadrus IIb and c (to the reign of Thutmose IV) the total dropped to 53% and 63%, respectively. This corresponds to the period when the local Princes of Tehkhet Djehutyhotep and Amenemhet built rock cut and elaborate pyramid tombs in the Theban style (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:190-211), another indication of an increased concentration of wealth in the hands of the highest elite.

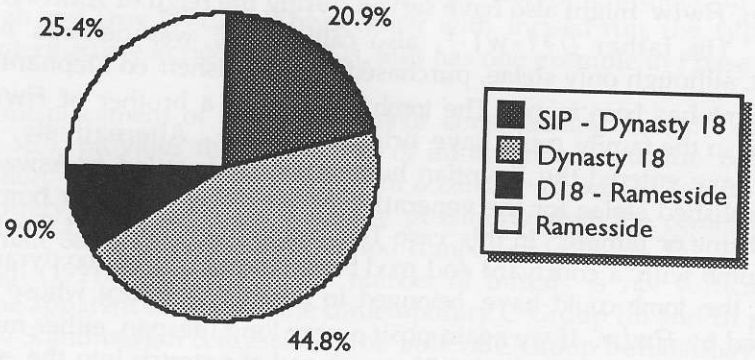


Figure 6.8: Tombs at Buhen.

This trend culminates in Fadrus III (reign of Amenhotep III to Horemheb?), where 91% of the tombs fall into the 'poor' category. The ratio of 'wealthy' to 'poor' in this case may have been exaggerated somewhat if the elite began to move towards the traditional Egyptian centers, either Serra or Buhen in this case. Amenemhet set up several monuments at the latter. A Prince of Tehkhet still existed in the reign of Ramesses II (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:204), and perhaps was buried at Serra, but Buhen is possible since the piece was found in the ballast of a boat and the provenance depended on the recollection of the captain. The cemeteries at Buhen do show a substantial number of Ramesside Period tombs, although the number is lower than the Eighteenth Dynasty (Figure 6.8, and Chapter 5 above). This pattern need not indicate a decrease in population (see below). Instead it probably reflects the increase in stratification seen at Fadrus. This movement towards central areas may represent the final stage in the acculturation process, with the general abandonment of rural cemeteries by the end of the Dynasty or shortly thereafter. Settlement probably concentrated around the major Egyptian centers in this period, with the bulk of the population impoverished and incorporated into nearby agrarian estates run by the elite (Trigger 1976:134-7). The Transitional native Nubian cemeteries also apparently disappear at this time, indicating that the last of the cultural 'hold-outs' had either gone away or become Egyptianized.

Askut and Nubia in the Later New Kingdom

A similar pattern appears throughout Lower Nubia during the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The number of tombs gradually decreases until the

Ramesside Period, when it becomes difficult to identify many tombs outside of the major settlements. Adams (1964:103-9) has interpreted this trend as a major decline in population, with small settlements continuing only at the sites needed for the maintenance of trade routes, mineral exploitation, and the production of monuments. Lower Nile levels have been suggested as an explanation, with the narrow floodplains unwatered and thus unusable. According to Adams, after the Eighteenth Dynasty only 'small numbers of Egyptians remained on frontier duty for another two centuries, building monuments to proclaim the glory and sovereignty of their pharaoh over a deserted land.' By the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, Lower Nubia had been completely abandoned. Säve-Söderbergh (1968; 1991, also Trigger 1976:131-7) has provided a convincing counter argument against the notion of abandonment, stressing instead acculturation and the gradual impoverishment of the majority of the population which inevitably followed, making it impossible to date their graves due to the lack of funerary offerings. One key piece of evidence that Adams did not have is the knowledge, resulting from French surveys, that Upper Nubia, the most likely place for people abandoning Lower Nubia to go, did not see an influx of C-Group or other peoples during this period (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:8).

Barry Kemp (1978:39-43, also Morkot 1987:38-9) provides the most thorough critique of the depopulation theory by tracing the maintenance of agricultural estates, the presence of bureaucrats, and the activity of various rulers through the end of the Twentieth Dynasty in the historical record. Part of the decline in burials can be attributed to changing patterns in grave goods, with a much more restricted funerary assemblage which is less likely to be identified in the archaeological record (*cf.* Smith 1992). A similar decrease in the number of burials datable to the later New Kingdom also occurs in Egypt itself. Another factor which must be taken into account is the Egyptian predilection for multiple burial in family vaults (*cf. ibid.*, Williams 1993). Since the typical C-Group interment involved a single individual, and the Egyptian family crypts were often badly looted, preventing an accurate count of bodies, the number of Nubian vs. Egyptian burials would be exaggerated in a simple tomb count. Additionally, poor New Kingdom single burials or even whole cemeteries might easily be overlooked during the pressure of the Salvage Campaign, which naturally focused on sites yielding numerous artifacts. As noted above, burials do continue at Buhen in the Ramesside Period, and the same pattern appears at Aniba (*e.g.*, Steindorff 1935; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911). The fact that few burials can be attributed to the Twentieth Dynasty specifically may be the result of a lack of precise inscriptions and the difficulties in

dating Ramesside pottery with any precision (Hope 1989:47-8; Bourriau 1981:72-3). Williams (1993:141-45) notes that a large number of burials can at least be dated generally to the later New Kingdom, especially at the likely centers of Kuban and Aniba. Kemp argues that Lower Nubia in the Ramesside Period contained an impoverished agricultural population along with a small, affluent elite, paralleling the social organization of Egypt itself.

The archaeological record at Askut supports Kemp's position. The settlement flourished throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty, with access to luxury goods like glass vessels, pottery imported from the Levant, Cyprus and the Aegean, and large amounts of pottery from Egypt in the Marl A, B and D fabrics. There is no evidence at all for a decline in population. The larger houses are about equivalent to a moderately large dwelling in the roughly contemporary suburbs of Amarna (Figure 6.9). The House of Meryka in particular, at almost 400 square meters (including the southeastern extension), is nearly as big as the largest mansions, falling well into the high end of the size distribution at Amarna (see Figures 6.9, 6.11 and below 6.13; Kemp 1989:Fig. 101; and Crocker 1985). Another indication of status is the household shrine discussed above. Fragments of a stone cavetto cornice were found just to the north of the house, perhaps indicating a doorway framed in stone, as with the wealthier residents at Amarna (Peet and Woolley 1923:37; Crocker 1985). A possible ceramic window for a clerestory was also found, although from the context it could be associated with another structure (Figure 6.12). It could also have been part of a Middle Kingdom 'soul house,' but it deviates in a number of ways from the usual portico. The sides were not attached to a courtyard wall, as would be expected, and the 'columns' (or grille if it is a window) are not normally squared as with the Askut example (*cf.* Petrie 1907). The best parallel to the shape and general size comes from stone window grilles at Amarna (*cf.* Peet and Woolley 1923:Pl. VI). The presence of white plaster on the back and in between the 'grille' is suggestive of a white plastered wall, as in the House of Meryka and elsewhere at Askut.

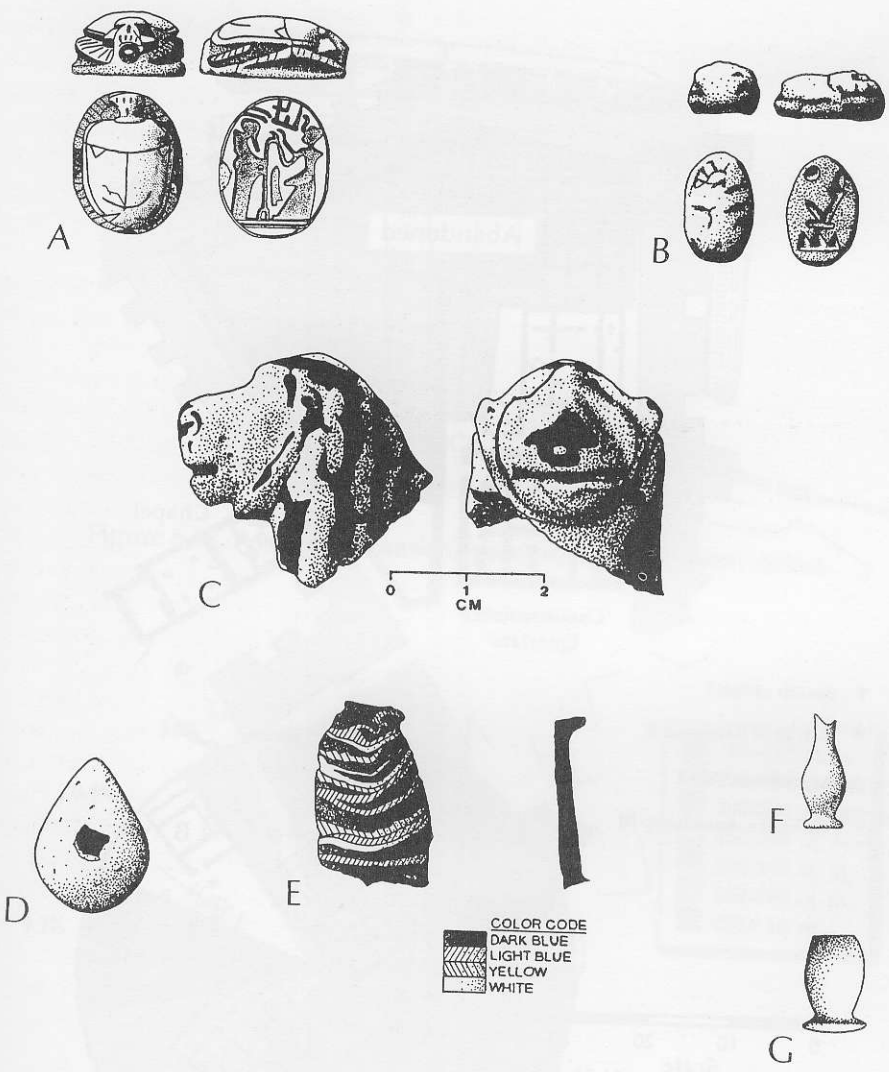


Figure 6.10 Scarabs, Jewelry, Faience and Glass from the New Kingdom at Askut (A, Scarab of Ramesses II (*wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ*) adoring Ptah; B, Crude Scarab of Seti I (*mn-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ*); Head of a Lion or Lioness in Blue Faience with Black Highlights; D, Blue Faience Imitation Persea Fruit; E, Variegated Glass Cosmetic Vessel Shard; F, Carnelian and Jasper Cornflower Pendants.

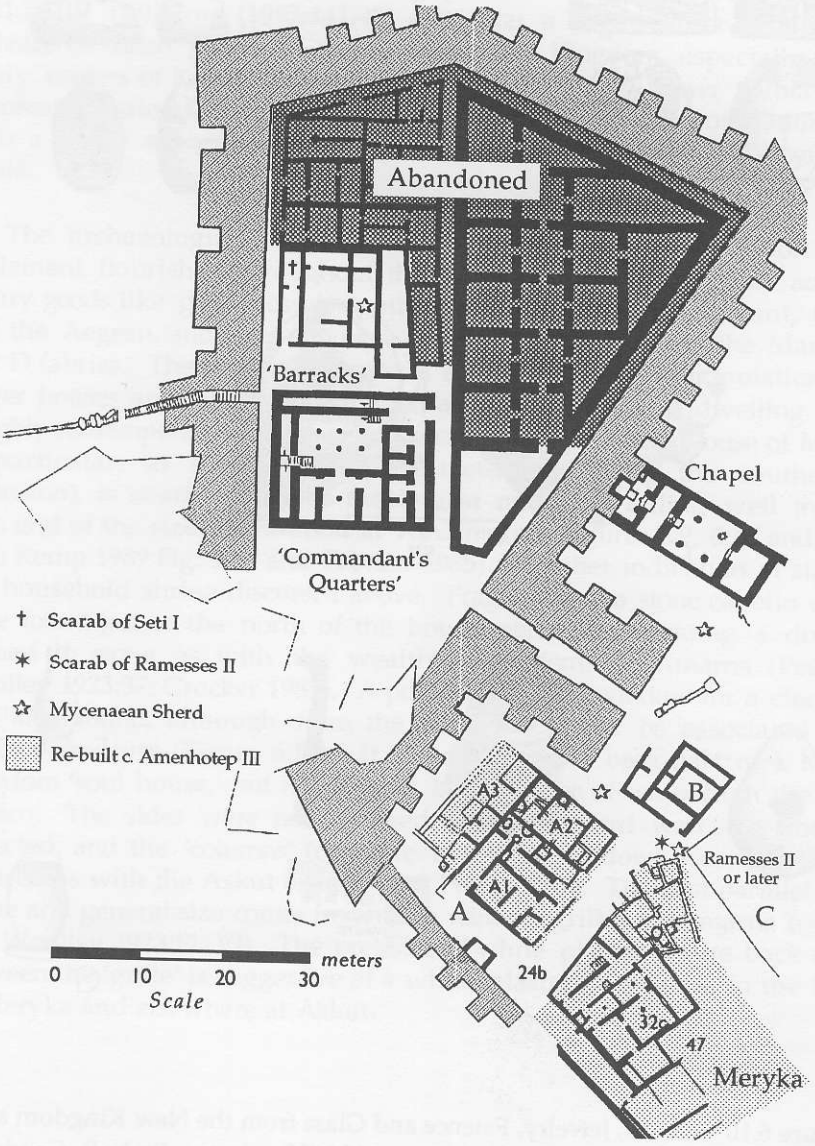


Figure 6.11 Askut in the Later New Kingdom.

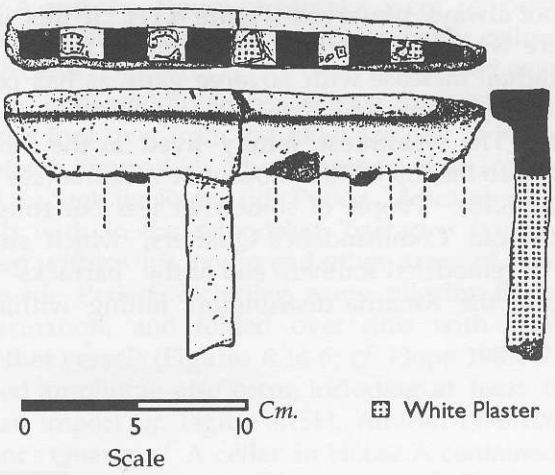


Figure 6.12 Possible Ceramic Clerestory Window from Askut.

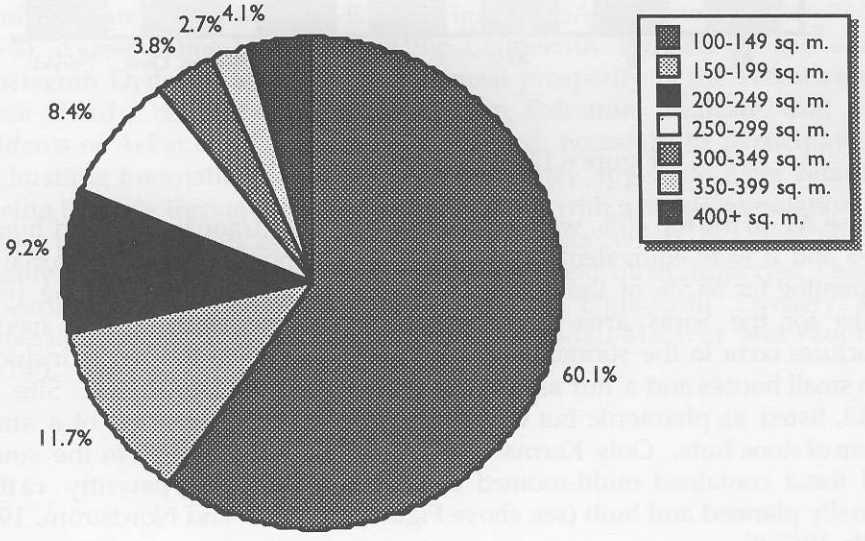


Figure 6.9: House Size at Amarna (area in Square Meters, from Crocker 1985).

House A probably represents several attached dwellings, although doorways were not always preserved (Figure 6.11). If this interpretation is correct, then there was some social stratification at Askut. A plot of house sizes shows a gradual increase with no large gaps, as has been observed for the New Kingdom at Amarna and Thebes (Kemp 1988:Fig. 101; Crocker 1985; and Smith 1991). The wealthiest family lived in the House of Meryka, which would fall into the top 6.8% of houses at Amarna (see Figure 6.11 and *cf.* Figure 6.9 and 6.13). People of somewhat less but roughly equivalent status lived in the old 'Commandant's Quarters,' which still falls within the top 10.6%. The remodeled southern end of the 'barracks' complex is still at the high end of the Amarna distribution, falling within the top 19%.

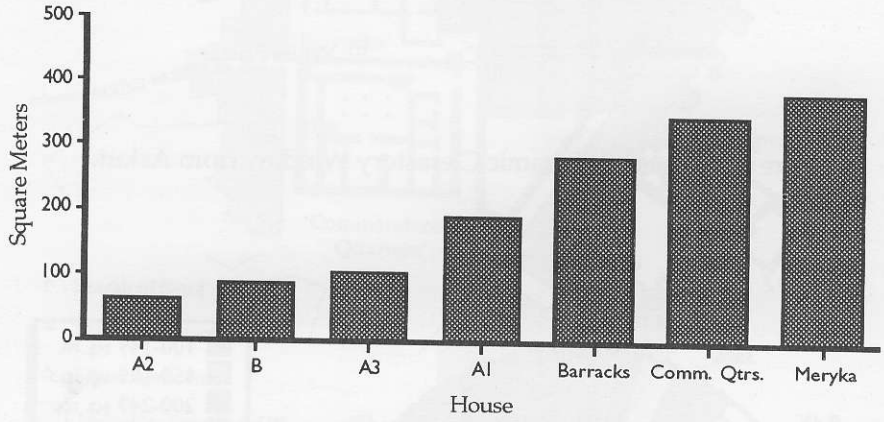
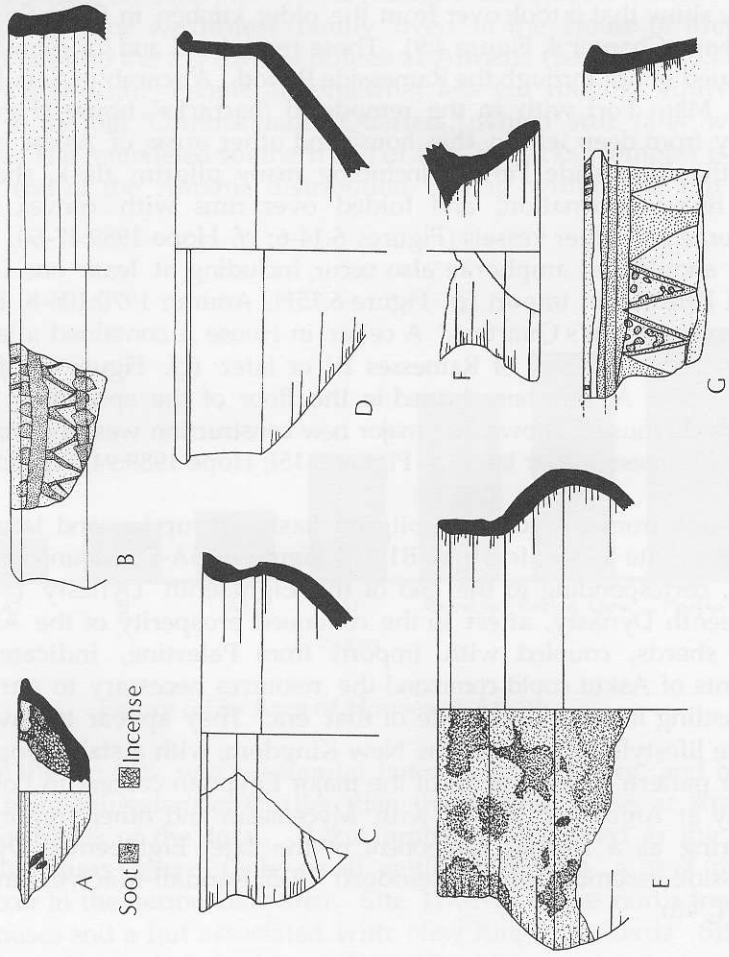


Figure 6.13: Area of Houses at Askut.

House A1, in the top 40%, was substantial but not extraordinary, and houses A2-3 and B were equivalent or smaller than the poorest houses at Amarna, accounting for 65.5% of the total. Askut probably functioned as the local center for the Saras area. Only small settlements with a few modest structures occur in the surrounding area. Site 11-M-15 to the north included two small houses and a hut associated with New Kingdom sherds. Site 11-M-13, listed as pharaonic but without a specific date, consisted of a small group of stone huts. Only Kerma settlements were documented to the south, and these contained multi-roomed structures, although apparently rather casually planned and built (see above Figure 2.5; Mills and Nordström, 1966; Mills 1967-8).

Both House A and the House of Meryka were remodeled in the mid Eighteenth Dynasty, with the floors and presumably ceilings raised about one meter in both cases (Figure 6.11). An oven was placed near the abandoned household shrine, and accumulations of bone from contemporary contexts nearby show that it took over from the older kitchen in Room Southeast 24b (see above Chapter 4, Figure 4.9). These remodeled and/or rebuilt structures continued in use through the Ramesside Period. A scarab of Seti I was found in the Main Fort with in the remodeled 'barracks' house (Figure 6.10B). Pottery from deep within this house and other areas of Askut is consistent with the Ramesside Period, including many pilgrim flask sherds, bowls with heavy carination, and folded over rims with convex necks from amphorae and other vessels (Figures 6.14-6; *cf.* Hope 1989:47-60, Figs. 1-20). Sharp shouldered amphorae also occur, including at least one Late Bronze Age II Palestinian import (*cf.* Figure 6.15H, Amiran 1970:106-8, Pl. 43) from the 'Commandant's Quarters.' A cellar in House A contained a jar of a type dating from the reign of Ramesses IV or later (*cf.* Figure 6.15J; Hölscher 1939:Pl. 56). An amphora buried in the floor of the sprawling and poorly preserved House C shows that major new construction was undertaken in the reign of Ramesses II or later (*cf.* Figure 6.15I; Hope 1989:94, Fig. 3:2).

Sherds from a Mycenaean pilgrim flask, stirrup jar, and large piriform jar of the Late Helladic IIIA2-B1 (*cf.* Figure 6.16A-D; Mountjoy 1986:77-81, 106-8), corresponding to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, attest to the continued prosperity of the Askut elites. These sherds, coupled with imports from Palestine, indicate that the residents of Askut could command the resources necessary to participate in the bustling international trade of that era. They appear to have retained an elite lifestyle throughout the New Kingdom, with a stable population. A similar pattern appears at all of the major Egyptian centers in Lower Nubia, notably at Aniba and Buhen, with Mycenaean and other imported vessels appearing as a regular component of the late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside assemblages (*cf.* Steindorff 1935; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911:Pl. 48).


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Soot
Incense

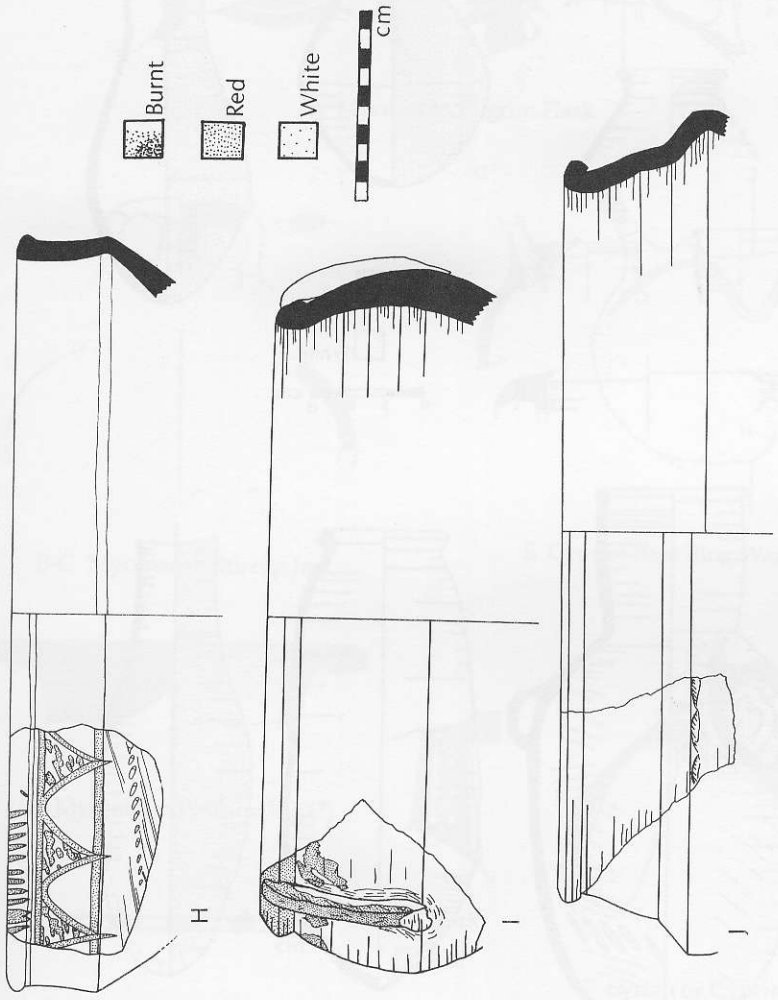


Figure 6.14 Cups and Bowls of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside Period from Askut.

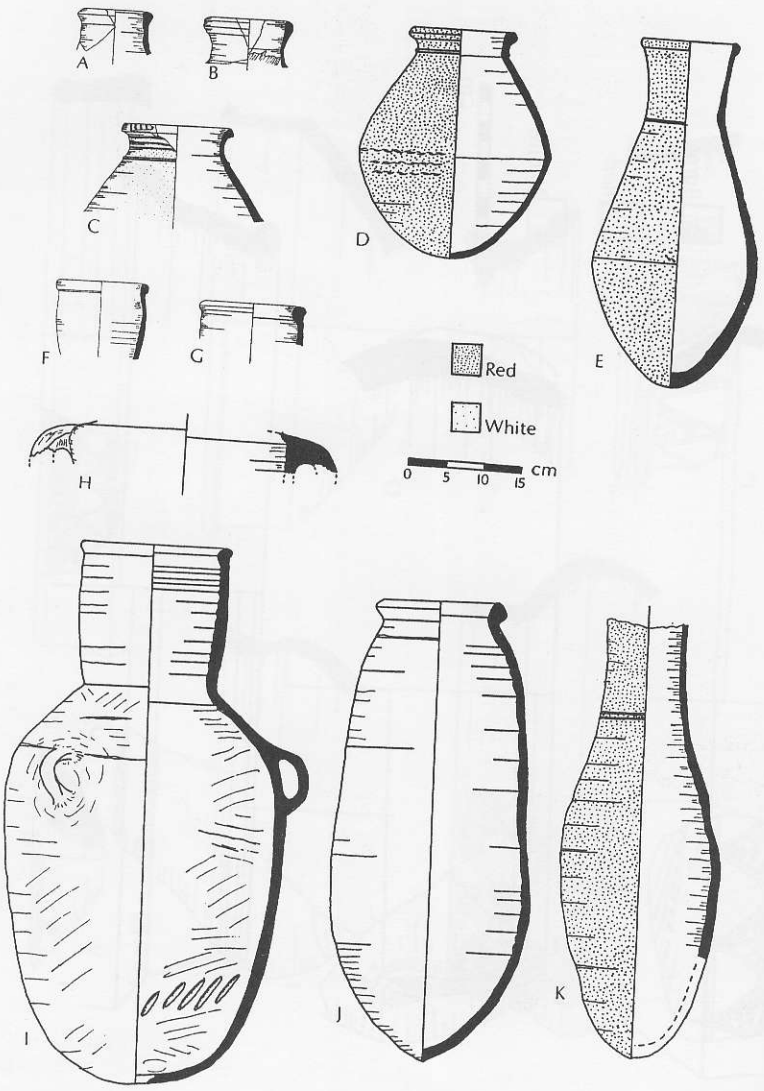


Figure 6.15 Jars of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside Period at Askut.

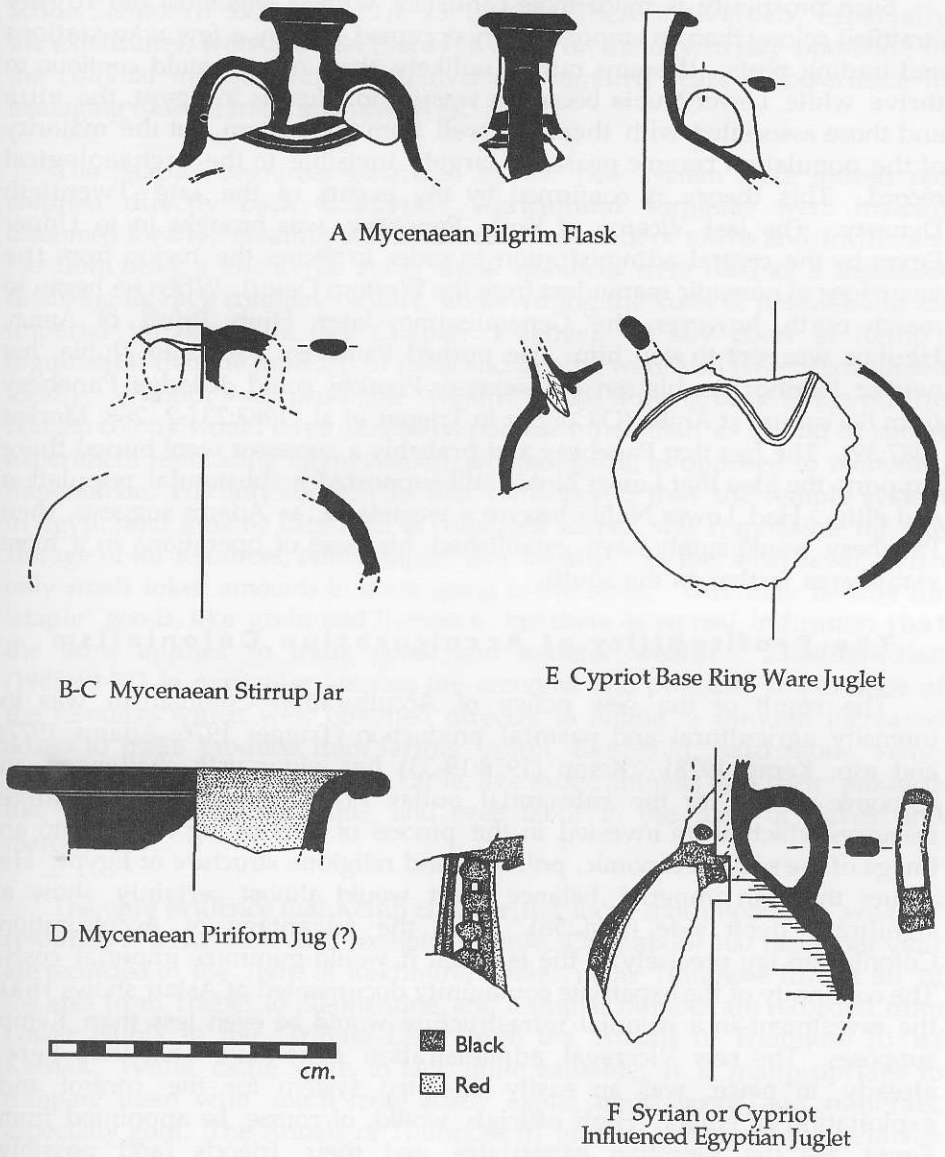


Figure 6.16 Imported and Foreign Influenced Pottery from Askut.

Such prosperity is much more consistent with a vigorous and highly stratified colony than an empty country occupied only by a few way-stations and trading posts. It seems rather unlikely that Askut would continue to thrive while Lower Nubia became a wasteland. Just as in Egypt, the elite and those associated with them did well from the system, but the majority of the population became peasants, largely invisible to the archaeological record. This theory is confirmed by the events of the late Twentieth Dynasty. The last Viceroy of Kush, Panehesy, was brought in to Upper Egypt by the central administration in order to secure the region from the incursions of nomadic marauders from the Western Desert. When he began to march north, however, the Generalissimo, later High Priest of Amun, Herihor was sent to stop him. He pushed Panehesy back into Nubia, but neither Herihor nor his son and successor Piankhi could dislodge Panehesy from his capital at Aniba (O'Connor in Trigger et al. 1983:231-2, 268; Morkot 1987:39). The fact that Panehesy and probably a successor were buried there supports the idea that Lower Nubia still supported a substantial population and elite. Had Lower Nubia become a wasteland, as Adams suggests, then Panehesy would surely have established his base of operations in a more viable area farther to the south.

The Profitability of Acculturation Colonialism

The result of the new policy of Acculturation Colonialism was to intensify agricultural and pastoral production (Trigger 1976; Adams 1977; and esp. Kemp 1978). Kemp (1978:19-33) has vigorously challenged an economic motive for the substantial outlay of fiscal and administrative resources which were invested in the process of remodeling Nubia into an image of the social, economic, political and religious structure of Egypt. He argues that 'an imperial balance sheet would almost certainly show a significant debit side (*ibid.*:56).' Yet the advantage of Acculturation Colonialism lay precisely in the fact that it would minimize imperial costs. The continuity of the expatriate community documented at Askut shows that the investment in a colonial infrastructure would be even less than Kemp supposes. The new Viceregal administration must have seen that here, already in place, was an easily co-opted system for the control and exploitation of Nubia. High officials would, of course, be appointed from Egypt, but the Egyptian expatriates and their friends (and possibly relations) among the native rulers throughout all of Lower Nubia would have been key supporters and advisers of the new regime. Thus at Aniba in the early Eighteenth Dynasty we already see a Nubian named *Rwlw* in the position of Deputy to the Viceroy (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:9; Tomb

S66 in Steindorff 1935:187-8, Tfl. 25, Bl. 27). These individuals, especially the expatriates, were the best placed to carry on the day to day operation of the colonial infrastructure, with over two hundred years of experience in managing Nubian trade and resources.

The 'staple' resources generated by the new system were indeed not shipped directly back to Egypt. Agricultural surpluses were instead consumed locally, creating a self-sufficient network of towns and fortresses. Far from being a loss to the state, these resources were used as a means of financing Egypt's colonial venture, underwriting the costs of maintaining an imperial infrastructure (see Chapter 1 above). A key point in Kemp's argument is that the products of trade and mining were also largely consumed locally. Without such profitable 'wealth' goods flowing back to Egypt, the Nubian colony would have served no purpose other than as a kind of social experiment replicating Egypt abroad, an ideological, as opposed to economic, imperialism. His only support for this contention is that the temple system in Egypt, and thus by extension in colonized Nubia, was responsible for the storage of all resources, both 'staple' and 'wealth,' at the local level, with only small token amounts in taxes going to the state. This may be true for 'staple' goods, like grain and livestock, but there is no real indication that the same applies to trade goods and mineral wealth. Zibelius-Chen (1988:69-71) in particular stresses the economic and political importance of the resources which were obtained directly in Nubia or through increased access to trade products from farther south, like gold, hard stone, semi-precious stones, woods, incense, cattle, live exotic animals and their products like ivory and panther skins, and even labor in the form of slaves and mercenaries.

The only evidence that Kemp cites for the local consumption of 'wealth' resources is in the state 'tax' receipts of cattle. Only about 100 head per year are recorded in the Tomb of Rekhmire, Vizier under Thutmose III, for all of the area from Thebes to Elephantine, and a similar number are recorded from Lower Nubia in the 'Tribute Lists' from the Annals of Thutmose III at Karnak. While cattle were, in fact, quite valuable, it is inappropriate to compare them with much more costly exotic trade goods and minerals, especially gold. The Annals of Thutmose III give us an idea of the relative economic value of both gold and cattle sent from Nubia as *bȝkwt* to the Temple of Amun at Thebes, allowing us to assess the validity of Kemp's argument. The text is badly damaged in many places, but reliable figures for several years between Years 31-42 are available (Sethe and Helck 1906-58:695-734; Säve-Söderbergh 1941:206-25). Yields range from 2374 to 3144

deben[51] of gold for Wawat (Lower Nubia), and from 70 to greater than 300 *deben* for Kush (Upper Nubia). Over the same period from 89 to 114 cattle were sent from Wawat. More cattle are recorded in the 'tribute' from Kush, ranging from 275 to 419 head. Averaging these figures helps to account for yearly fluctuations, giving figures of 2729 *deben* of gold and 99 cattle per year from Wawat, and more than 164 *deben* and 336 cattle per year from Kush. We can compare the relative value of these two resources by calculating their worth in copper *deben*, the most common standard for the New Kingdom (Janssen 1975:165-76). The ratio of gold to copper apparently changed during the course of the New Kingdom. In the Ramesside Period, which provides the best evidence for prices, the ratio was thirty to one, but there is evidence to support a ratio of fifty to one during the Eighteenth Dynasty. The value of cattle might vary depending on the age, sex, and quality of the individual. The minimum value was from 20 to 50 *deben*, probably for young and poorer quality animals. The higher priced group ranged from 100 to 150 *deben*, and were all bulls where sex was indicated.

Taking these factors into consideration, we can arrive at minimum and maximum values as follows:

Deben of Gold	2729		164+	
***Deben* of Copper**	**81,870** @ 30:1	**136,450** @ 50:1	**4,920** @ 30:1	**8,200** @ 50:1
Number of Cattle	99 from Lower Nubia		336 from Upper Nubia	
***Deben* of Copper**	**4,950** @ 50:1	**14,850** @ 150:1	**16,800** @ 50:1	**50,400** @ 150:1
Totals	**86,820**	**151,300**	**21,720+**	**58,600+**

The yearly value of gold clearly outstripped the value of cattle from the same period in Lower Nubia, by at least five to one, at best by almost thirty to one. The value of cattle from Upper Nubia did come closer to that of the gold fields of Wawat, but even so was at best just above half the value assuming only the finest bulls and the lower thirty to one copper to gold ratio. The value of cattle far outstripped the value of gold from Upper Nubia.

[51]A unit of weight for gold, silver and copper, about 91 grams (Janssen 1975).

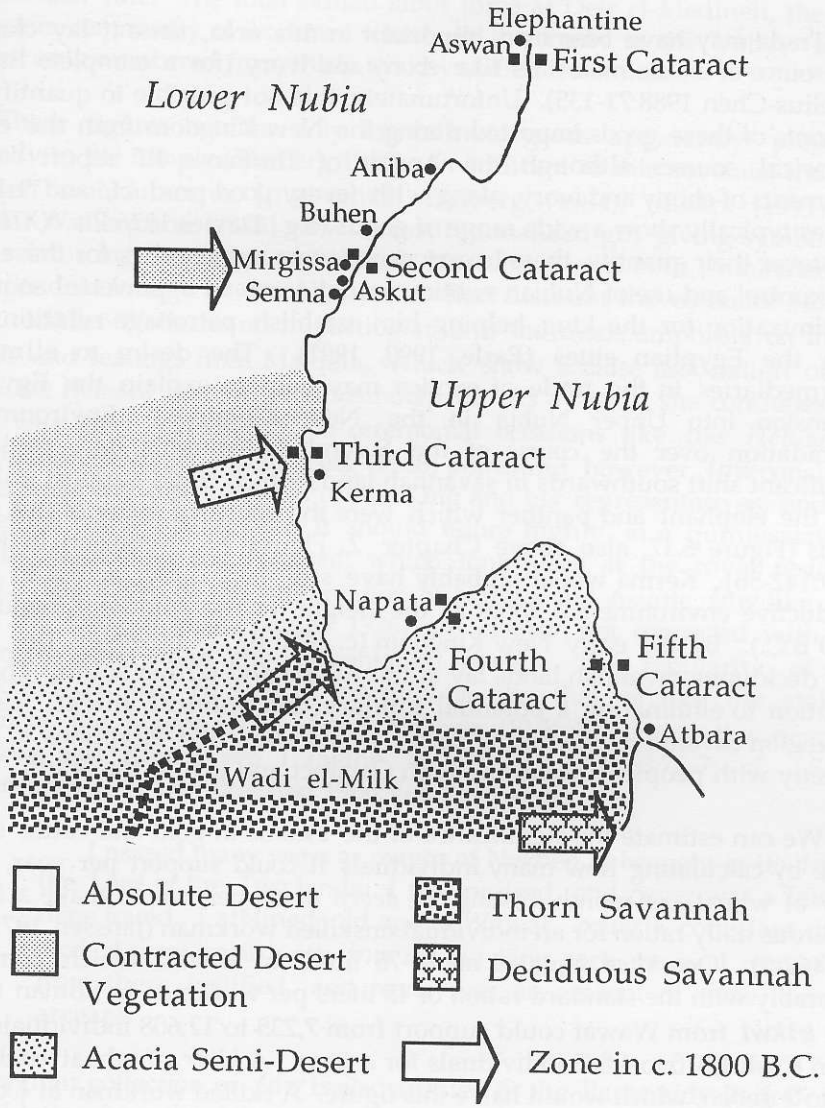


Figure 6.17: Extent of Environmental Zones c. 1450 B.C. (as Projected from Neumann in Kuper 1989:Abb. 3, 79).

Trade may have been more important in this area, since it lay closer to the source of exotic materials like ebony and ivory (for a complete list see Zibelius-Chen 1988:71-135). Unfortunately, it is not possible to quantify the amounts of these goods imported during the New Kingdom from the extant historical sources, although the Annals of Thutmose III report regular shipments of ebony and ivory, along with 'every good product,' and 'tribute' scenes typically show a wide range of goods (e.g., Davies 1926:Pls. XXIII ff.). Whatever their quantity, these luxury goods were not just toys for the elites. The control and use of Nubian exotica would serve as a powerful source of legitimization for the king, helping him establish patronage relationships with the Egyptian elites (Earle 1990, 1991). The desire to eliminate intermediaries in the trade of exotica may help to explain the Egyptian expansion into Upper Nubia in the New Kingdom. Environmental degradation over the course of the Second Millennium B.C. caused a significant shift southwards in savannah lands which could support animals like the elephant and panther which were the source of many of the trade goods (Figure 6.17, also above Chapter 2, Figure 2.6, Neumann in Kuper 1989:142-56). Kerma would probably have still had direct access to these productive environmental zones at the height of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1800 B.C.). By the early New Kingdom (c. 1450 B.C.), however, the thorn and deciduous savannah lands lay at the Atbara and farther south. Thus, in addition to eliminating a potential military and political threat, securing the region covered by the Kerma polity would allow the Egyptians to trade directly with peoples around the Fifth Cataract and just to the South.

We can estimate the significance of the income in gold and cattle to the state by calculating how many individuals it could support per year. One *khar* of wheat per month, costing one *deben* of copper, would make a fairly generous daily ration for an individual unskilled workman (Janssen 1975:112-22, 462-3). One *khar* equaled about 75 liters of wheat, which compares favorably with the standard ration of 45 liters per workman in Roman times. The *bꜣkwt* from Wawat could support from 7,235 to 12,608 individuals, that from Kush 1,810 to 4,883 individuals for a year. A *khar* of wheat could cost up to 2 deben, which would halve this figure. A skilled workman at Deir el-Medineh without a family to support received 2 *khar* in wheat and barley per month, while a highly skilled craftsman/stonemason was given five and a half *khar* of wheat and barley as a monthly wage, enough to support a family of ten and still leave a surplus. A comparatively large skilled work force could thus have been supported by the gold and cattle from all of Nubia, 4,522.5 to 8,745.5 individuals at the 2 *khar* rate, or 1,644.5 to 3,180 at

the 5.5 *khar* rate. The total skilled labor force at Deir el-Medineh, the New Kingdom community of workmen who built the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, only numbered from thirty to sixty skilled workmen.

These figures account only for *bꜣkwt*, goods apparently presented directly to the temple (Bleiberg 1988). In addition to this revenue, the king himself would receive *ỉnw*, which Bleiberg (1984), Morkot (1991) and Müller-Wollermann (1983) view as institutionalized gift giving symbolizing and reinforcing the king's status with his subjects and both dominated and independent foreign lands. All three in effect discount the economic value of *ỉnw*. Müller-Wollermann in particular lays too much emphasis on the jar labels and sealings from Malqata, which show a close association of *ỉnw* with the *Heb-sed* Festival of Amenhotep III. As a result, she concludes that *ỉnw* was given irregularly on ceremonial occasions like the *Heb-sed* or Coronation Festivals. As Bleiberg (1988) points out, however, *ỉnw* consists of funds under the direct control of the King and his representatives, and it is therefore not surprising that it should figure highly in a quintessentially royal occasion like the *Heb-sed*, which took place at the royal residence itself. The scenes of the presentation of Nubian and Asiatic *ỉnw* like that from the tomb of Huy (Davies 1926) are clearly not connected with any ceremony other than the presentation itself. The regularity of *ỉnw* collection can also be seen in inscriptions like that of like the stela of Hormeni, the Mayor (*ḥꜣty-ʿ*) of Nekhen (El-Kab) during the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep I (Sethe and Helck 1906-58:76-7; *cf.* Säve-Söderbergh 1941:178; Breasted 1906:Vol. 2, §§ 47-8):

> I passed many years as mayor of Nekhen. I brought in its *ỉnw* to the Lord of the Two lands. I was praised, and never was a fault of mine found. I attained old age in Wawat, being a confidant of my lord. I went north with *ỉnw* for the king each year. I came forth from there justified, and never was an amount of mine found in arrears.

The regular collection of *ỉnw* is also attested in the Ramesside Period. In a model letter from the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Viceroy Paser writes to a Garrison Commander, who was probably a native Prince (Gardiner 1937:118-20; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:211):[52]

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[52]My translation differs somewhat from that given by Gardiner in Davies 1926:28.

> When my letter reaches you, prepare the *ỉnw* in every respect (a long list of products follows)... Exceed your taxes (*ḫtrw*) every year... Take care! Think about the day when the *ỉnw* is sent, and you are brought into the presence (of the king) under the Window (of Appearances), the Nobles to either side in front of his Majesty, the Princes and the Envoys of every foreign land standing, looking at the *ỉnw*.

The connection between *ỉnw* and *ḫtrw* in this text is repeated in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb, High Priest of Amun at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III (for the tomb, Davies 1933; but for the texts associated with these badly damaged scenes see Sethe and Helck 1906-58:931):

> *śsp nb n ḫȝst dȝr m-ʿb nb n kś ḫst m ḫtr r tnw rnpt ỉn sḏȝwty bỉty ḥm-nṯr tpy Ỉmn MnḫprRʿsnb, mȝʿ-ḫrw.*
>
> Receiving the gold of the conquered lands together with the gold of wretched Kush as a *ḫtr* for every year by the Sealbearer, High Priest of [Amun], Menkheperresoneb, t. v.

> *śsp ỉnw n ḫȝswt rsyt m-ʿb ỉnw n pwnt ỉn sḏȝwty bỉty ḥm-nṯr tpy Ỉmn MnḫprRʿsnb, mȝʿ-ḫrw.*
>
> Receiving the *ỉnw* of the [southern] lands [together with the *ỉnw* of the] land of [Punt by the Nobleman, Mayor,] Sealbearer, [High Priest of Amun,] Menkheperresoneb.

The texts cited above show that *ỉnw* was collected on a regular basis, and not as haphazardly or periodically as Müller-Wollermann suggests. Certain minimum levels were expected, with the implication that any collector of *ỉnw* whose amounts were insufficient would be reprimanded or punished. Thus, while the presentation of *ỉnw* served an important symbolic role in reinforcing the relationship between the king and Egyptian and foreign elites (*cf.*, Earle 1991), it would also produce a regular income when applied within Egypt or to a conquered territory like Nubia (*cf.* Boochs 1984).

These resources went directly into the royal treasury, and were used to support state personnel, artisans and building projects, and donations to the temples (in addition to their income in *bȝkwt*, Bleiberg 1984). Several large donations of gold were given to the Temple of Amun at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, including amounts of 613, 36,692, and 13,841 *deben*,

far outstripping the yearly *bꜣkwt* from Nubia (Sethe and Helck 1906-58:526, 630; Säve-Söderbergh 1941:211). Although they may represent some portion of several years' income from a variety of sources, much of this gold could have come from the large amounts of *ỉnw* received by the king from Nubia, attested in 'tribute' scenes like that of Tutankhamen's Viceroy Huy (Davies 1926). In any case, the bulk of the gold and other resources from Nubia were clearly not consumed internally by Nubian temples and officials, but were remitted either to the king in the form of *ỉnw* or to the larger temple redistributive system, ultimately controlled by the king, as *bꜣkwt*.

Conclusions

Askut shows that the Egyptian expatriates who served the Ruler of Kush in the Second Intermediate Period survived the transition to New Kingdom rule, changing their allegiance back to Pharaoh even as they had switched their allegiance to Kerma at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The presence of the expatriate population represented a significant change in the local infrastructure, which, as Alcock's model suggests, led to a dramatic shift in imperial policy when the Egyptians re-established control over the region. The rapid acculturation of the Nubian elite was almost certainly due to the native Nubian's close contacts with the expatriates, who were now regarded more as neighbors and collaborators than oppressors or competitors. By the opening of the New Kingdom, the C-Group were already well on their way to Egyptianization, and some individuals may have already been acculturated. With the help of the still existing expatriate infrastructure, native leaders were co-opted, and the society molded into an image of Egypt's, with a wealthy elite ruling over an impoverished peasantry.

The system of Acculturation Colonialism was far from being a drain on the Egyptian central administration. The reorganization of native culture into a stratified society along the lines of Egypt provided an agricultural base (staple finance) to support the fortresses, entrepôts, garrisons and staff necessary to facilitate the exploitation of mineral resources, especially gold, and police and regulate the flow of exotic trade goods from the south (wealth finance). This is consistent with both D'Altroy's and Alcock's emphasis on the economic forces driving imperial policy. The income in gold and cattle alone from Nubia was clearly enough to provide a real economic return. Gold in particular was important not only in reinforcing the king's position in displays of wealth and as a reward to key bureaucrats, but also played a major role in foreign policy in the Near East, cementing Egypt's

relationship to its vassals in the Levant and with the great powers of the day in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. These qualities gave gold a value which transcended its worth in *deben* of copper. When combined with the tangible and intangible value of the secure flow of exotic trade goods from the south, Nubia clearly represented an important source of wealth and prestige to the central government, providing ample return for any investments in staff or construction needed to establish and maintain the colonial system.

Chapter 7

The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism

The model for Egyptian Imperialism outlined in Chapter 1 adopted the economic approach of D'Altroy (1992) and Alcock (1989). D'Altroy stressed a Territorial-Hegemonic system with imperial decisions based on the economics of resource extraction. Alcock identified two key variables affecting the nature of imperial systems, the goals of the imperial power and the level of organization of the native polity. The fort system of the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom acculturation system were clearly geared towards the efficient extraction of local resourses and the smooth flow of luxury goods from the south. Kemp's (1978:31-3) model provides a rival explanation which was also considered above. He sees the acculturation policy of the New Kingdom as an ideological imperialism. The key point in his argument lies in his assertion that Egyptian imperialism was inherently 'unprofitable.' He concludes that the costs of setting up and maintaining the imperial system, of building and staffing all the temples and fortresses, outweighed the goods, either staple or wealth, flowing to the state from Nubia, producing a substantial loss overall. Acculturation itself, the extension of the Egyptian culture and bureaucracy abroad, must have been the primary goal of Egyptian imperialism, reflecting a kind of 'scribal vision.' The existence of a wealth and staple finance system provides a mechanism for understanding how Acculturation Colonialism could be 'profitable.' The discussion in the previous chapter has shown that the imperial system did indeed provide a considerable return for any investments by the state. The New Kingdom Acculturation Colonialism policy was adopted for economic, not ideological reasons, serving as a means of financing the imperial infrastructure for the exploitation of wealth resources, like gold and exotic trade goods.

Nubia as Economic Imperialism

We can thus accept the first hypothesis of Chapter 1, that the nature of Egyptian imperialism was inherently economic. Having established this, we can now return to Alcock's model. In the case of Nubia, the resources exploited in both the Middle and New Kingdom were the same (Zibelius-Chen 1988:69-157), and thus would require a similar system of fortresses and

entrepôts, although the means of supporting them differed considerably. The nature of the local infrastructure should therefore provide an explanation for the differing strategies of exploitation. The second hypothesis suggested that the mechanism for the change in policy from the Middle Kingdom Equilibrium Imperialism/Colonialism strategy to one of Acculturation Colonialism in the New Kingdom lay in the fundamental changes in the local organization brought on by the presence of expatriate Egyptians and their interaction with the already acculturating native Nubians. This model was tested against an important new archaeological source, the excavations of the late Alexander Badawy at the fortress of Askut. In order to validate the hypothesis, Askut had to show evidence of a culturally Egyptian population with significant native contacts having continuity from the Middle Kingdom to the late Second Intermediate Period and into the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

An analysis of the stratigraphy at Askut has shown that the community of expatriate Egyptians in the New Kingdom can be traced back not only to the Second Intermediate Period, but also to the families of Egyptians who first settled in Nubia at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, replacing the earlier military garrisons (Chapter 3). This initial shift from Equilibrium Imperialism to Colonialism was presumably made in order to increase the efficiency of the system by making it more self-sufficient, and may have been motivated by the drain on state resources brought about by the growing influence of Syro-Palestinian 'Amorites' in the Delta. Native Nubian ceramics are rare, but do occur regularly in quantities of about two percent of the total assemblage during the Thirteenth Dynasty. Early contact with the south in the *Kerma Classique I* can be seen in some of this material, although the cooking vessels which indicate relations with a settled group could alternatively come from local C-Group settlements. It is tempting, however, to hypothesize the existence of a small trading colony or delegation(s) in this area during the Thirteenth Dynasty, but until the Kerma and C-Group sites around Askut have been published this theory cannot be addressed. Control and trade from Egypt was maintained until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, seen in the operation of a sealing system and with the presence of ceramics in the characteristic Upper Egyptian Marl A and Lower Egyptian Marl C fabrics.

Occupation at Askut (Chapter 4) and in the other forts (Chapter 5), continued without break into the Second Intermediate Period. The change to Kerman control can be dated to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty through the presence of Tell el-Yahudiya ware at Askut, Kerma and Tell el-Dab'a. The last vestiges of the Middle Kingdom administrative system, reflected in

sealings and architecture, disappeared at Askut by the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. These strata correlate with levels F-E/2 at Tell el-Dab'a, which reflect the buildup of Syro-Palestinian MB II cultural features and a marked expansion of the site culminating in the transition to the Hyksos period. At the same time at Kerma the first really large Tumuli, K-XVI and K-X were constructed, ushering in the most prosperous and highly centralized period in its history. Similar Pottery, from the *Kerma Classique* I-II phases, dates the first Kerma burials at Mirgissa and Buhen. Second Intermediate Period levels at Askut show a dramatic increase in Nubian pottery, which now accounts for up to twenty percent of the assemblage. Kerma pottery forms a significant part of this material, along with types showing Pan Grave influences. A number of small finds indicate more intimate relations, perhaps including intermarriage. The presence of flexed burials and some tumulus graves in Cemetery M-X at Mirgissa provides some support for this notion. These burials may also represent the relaxation of the cultural barriers which characterized the relationship between the Egyptians and C-Group in the Middle Kingdom. Some Nubians may have drifted in to the expatriate settlements, while others began to mimic Egyptian ways, perhaps seen in the Fadrus Ia phase (Chapter 6). Whatever the case, the Egyptian expatriate communities developed close ties with the natives during this period.

The same levels at Askut have substantial quantities of pottery in the distinctive Marl A3-4 and B fabrics imported from Upper Egypt. This pattern contradicts the notion that the Hyksos bypassed the Egyptian Seventeenth Dynasty in trade with Kerma (cf. Bourriau 1991). The Kerman approach to Nubia was driven by a similar dynamic to that of Egypt. They might well have pushed out the Egyptian garrisons, as Emery and Smith argue, but the above discussion has shown that they did not, instead co-opting the extant infrastructure for their own purposes (Chapters 4 and 5). This fits neatly into Alcock's model. Rather than engaging in a costly campaign with an expensive outlay for military garrisons, etc., at the end, they co-opted the already existing infrastructure, which was designed exactly to meet their imperial needs, namely continued access to Egyptian imports and perhaps the exploitation of the Wadi Allaqi gold fields. In doing this, they dramatically reduced their potential costs, placing only small garrisons and diplomatic missions at key points, rather like the Egyptian approach to Syro-Palestine in the New Kingdom. Otherwise the system was run by the expatriates, whose close contacts with Thebes must have been very useful to their new overlords.

Askut also shows that the expatriates survived the transition to Egyptian rule in the New Kingdom. Again there were strong economic advantages in co-opting an already extant system. Officials at the local level could be drawn from the expatriates. Relatively minor re-structuring could be accomplished by further acculturating the native population through co-opting their leaders, who were already showing signs of acculturation. This was not the drain on state finances that Kemp supposes. With Nubia reorganized into an estate system along the lines of Egypt itself, maintenance of the imperial infrastructure was largely self-sufficient. As D'Altroy and Earle (1985) have pointed out, the intensification of bulky staple resources like grain and cattle could be used as a way of financing state projects, in this case mining and trade. As shown above in Chapter 6, wealth resources like gold and trade goods were not consumed locally like the staple resources. Most of them were remitted to the state as *ỉnw*, which went directly to the royal treasury, or *bȝkwt*, which was used to support temple foundations whose stored wealth was ultimately at the disposal of the state.

Administrative Reality: Nubia as a Part of Egypt

Several scholars have stressed the importance of ideology in determining the nature of imperialism and other cultural features (*eg.*, Hodder 1986; Conrad and Demarest 1984). This study has focused on the day to day operation of Egyptian imperialism in Nubia, dealing more with the economics of empire than its ideological underpinnings. The fundamentally economic character of Egyptian imperialism supports D'Altroy's (1992) argument that ideology serves only a secondary role in shaping imperial strategy. He also cautions against an overemphasis of ideology in prehistoric civlizations, where documentation of belief systems is often poor. Egypt's wealth of textual and iconographical evidence, however, leaves us very well informed regarding the ideology of their empire, a fact which Kemp (1978) fails to exploit fully in his interpretation. The ideological goals of Egyptian imperialism were largely tied to the legitimization of the king, elites and central authority, not day to day administration.

D'Altroy also cautions against accepting the ideology of the imperial power uncritically, noting that there can be a wide variance between such statements and the reality of relations between the dominant and subject societies. Zibelius-Chen (1988), while recognizing the economic importance of Nubian resources, treats Egyptian Imperialism almost entirely from the point of view of Egyptian interests and ideological statements. She rightly

indicates that ideologically, Egypt's approach to Nubia did not change from the Middle to the New Kingdom. This model contradicts the one presented above, because, according to Zibelius-Chen, any changes are simply an inevitable result of the progress of the occupation or specific historical circumstances. Another important feature of these texts is that Nubia was always regarded as separate from Egypt. According to Zibelius-Chen, the Semna boundary stela and other similar texts do not indicate an extension of the borders of Egypt itself, but rather its political boundaries of external power and influence. In her view, Nubia was never integrated into the government of Egypt, but was administered through the separate institution of the Viceroy ('King's Son of Kush'). She equates ideology to administrative intent, reflecting the motivations behind Egypt's expansion into Nubia.

This theory is not borne out by the actual administration of Nubia. As Kemp (1978:18 f.) has pointed out, 'through their massive repetition, one can perhaps too readily come to accept the formal texts and scenes of the king as universal conqueror as an early form of a theory or doctrine of imperialism.' If we, as Kemp suggests, look beyond these formulaic statements, we can see that on a bureaucratic level, Nubia was indeed treated as another part of Egypt. In the Middle Kingdom, the fort system was firmly integrated into the Department of the 'Head of the South,' which controlled the area from Cusae (Asyut) to the Second Cataract (see Smith 1990 and above Chapter 2). The boundary inscriptions of the Middle and New Kingdom seem to reflect a real expansion of Egyptian territory (Vandersleyen 1971:53 ff.). Kamose even speaks of Nubia as part of 'this Egypt' (Gardiner 1916a):

> I would like to know what (use) is my strength with a Prince (*wr*) in Avaris and another in Kush, and I sit united with an Asiatic and a Nubian, each man with his slice of this Egypt, sharing the land with me?

This may have been mere hyperbole as Zibelius-Chen (1988:203) suggests, used as a *casus belli*, but it could very well refer to Egypt's old boundary, established by Senwosret III (Vandersleyen 1971:53 f.). The expatriates may have played a role here as well. Egypt had, in effect, never abandoned Lower Nubia. The discussions above have shown that large numbers of Egyptians remained there, maintaining their ties with Upper Egypt. They had been resident since the Middle Kingdom, establishing a cultural continuity which provided a strong justification for Kamose's claims to the region. The inscription of Kamose, although it does in many ways reflect the

state ideology, is closer to an administrative document. Thus when confronted with the reality of the situation, Lower Nubia was, at least administratively and culturally, a part of Egypt, and thus a legitimate political goal. This view contrasts with that of Syro-Palestine, which was never thought of as part of 'this Egypt.'

In the New Kingdom, when the office of the Viceroy did provide a more separate mechanism for rule in Nubia, the local bureaucracy maintained a close connection with Thebes, the old administrative center for the 'Head of the South.' The Eighteenth Dynasty Viceroys Turi (Amenhotep I), Seni (Thutmose I), Nehi (Thutmose III/Hatshepsut), Merymose (Amenhotep III) and Huy (Tutankhamen) were all buried at Thebes, as were the Ramesside Viceroys Setau (Ramesses II) and Anhotep (Ramesside, Habachi 1959:61; Davies 1926; Porter and Moss 1960:369-72, 380-1, 436, 461), although this fact in itself need not indicate that they actually lived there. Habachi (1959:60 ff.) has documented the close connections between the earliest Viceroys and Thebes. The Viceroy Seni was also the Mayor (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*) of Thebes and Overseer of the Granary of Amun. Several of the Viceroys or members of their immediate family bore titles associated with local temples, and several pieces of statuary attributed to them are from temples in the Theban area.

Of particular relevance to this question is a scene in which Huy, whose formal name was Amenemhet, is shown coming out of the palace, having been rewarded with 'gold upon his neck and arms again and again (Davies 1926:Pl. XXIX),' and is received by his household. Over the door of the house is written (*ibid.*:Pl. XXXIX, 11):

> Coming forth by the people of the King's Son in order to welcome him on his return after receiving the praises of the Lord of the Two Lands. The house of the King's Son of Kush, the Royal Scribe, Amenemhet, repeating life.

The context of the scene shows clearly that the house is located in Thebes (ibid.:Pls. XXIII, XXIX), implying that apart from periodic tours of inspection and assembling the tribute, Nubia was ultimately administered from the capital, as was the case in the Middle Kingdom. Huy was also given authority in Upper Egypt (ibid.:Pl. VI):[53]

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[53]Note that this translation differs somewhat from that offered by Gardiner in Davies 1926:11.

> Going forth praised from the palace, l.p.h., having been appointed in the presence of the Perfect God to be King's Son, Overseer of the Southern Lands; Khent-hen-nefer[54] and Upper Egypt (*t3-šm3w*) being entrusted to him and combined under his supervision, in order to administer it for the Lord of the Two Lands, like[wise] all the people of his Majesty.

Another passage establishes the exact limits of his authority (see below), from Nekhen (el-Kab) to Karoy (Kurgus[55]).

There are indications that the Viceroy also controlled the first two nomes of Upper Egypt in the reign of Thutmose III. A damaged inscription of the Viceroy Nehi indicates that his authority began at Nekhen (el-Kab - Säve-Söderbergh 1941:178-80; Reisner 1920:30-1). Säve-Söderbergh found this hard to reconcile with scenes from contemporaneous tomb of the Vizier Rekhmire, which lists goods coming from Elephantine to Cusae (Asyut). Reisner (1920:78), however, did not consider this to be an obstacle, and although the exact reading of the inscription is somewhat doubtful, the mention of the 'land beginning from Nekhen' is quite clear (Sethe and Helck 1906-58:988; cf. Dunham and Janssen 1960:Pl. 34; Lepsius 1842-5:Bl. 56):

11 [ḥsi.t nswt nṯr] pn nfr rdi.t=f mḥ-ib n(i) ib=f [r s3 nswt imy-r] ḫ3swt rsyt 12[r ḫntyw-t3 or š?] nw t3 pn š3ʿ m nḫn[56] [ḥsb b3kw=sn r ṯ]nw 13 [sp]

> [Being praised by] this perfect [king] of gods, who gives the trust of his heart [to the King's Son, Overseer of the] Southern Lands, [to the Southerners or tenants?] of this land beginning from Nekhen, [reckoning their *b3kw* every time.]

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[54]Perhaps a general term for Lower Nubia (Vercoutter 1959:132; contra Gardiner in Davies 1926:11, who suggests Upper Nubia as its location).

[55]The exact location is uncertain, but since the boundary stela of Thutmose I is located here it is likely that this region marked the southern extension of Egypt's formal control. Vercoutter (1959:135), following Säve-Söderbergh (1941:156), felt that it must also include the Fourth Cataract itself, since Gebel Barkal is mentioned in a similar vignette which is part of the same scene in Huy's tomb. In this case, Karoy would refer to a substantial region, running from the Gebel Barkal to Kurgus, controlling access to gold mines of the eastern desert, since, as Vercoutter points out, this area is mentioned in the reign of Amenhotep III as a source of gold.

[56]The nome standard is somewhat indistinct in Lepsius's copy, but is clearly identifiable in Dunham and Janssen 1960:Pl. 34.

Part of the distinction could lay in the source of the revenues, in this case presumably *ḫtrw*, or 'imposts,' 'taxes,' which might have been through custom or ritual delivered directly to the Vizier. The tomb also depicts the reception of *ỉnw* from Nubia itself, albeit with much less specificity, so it may simply reflect the fact that the Vizier's authority was broader, including the domain of the Viceroy as well as all of Upper Egypt down to Cusae (Helck 1958; van den Boorn 1988). The fact that the Viceroy does not appear in this scene, even though one is known to have existed, supports this idea. An individual's tomb, after all, was a very personal monument, and need not reflect bureaucratic realities in detail, but instead would tend to emphasize the owner's role to the potential neglect of others of lesser importance.

Reisner (1920:78) also suggests that the Viceroy's authority extended to Nekhen from the reign of Ahmose, based on the stela of Hormeni, Mayor (*ḫ3ty-ʿ*) of Nekhen, who regularly collected tribute from Wawat, implying that Nekhen and Wawat were part of the same administrative district. Against this, Säve-Söderbergh (1941:178-80) has pointed out that in the reign of Thutmose I, Paheri, the Mayor of Nekhen and Esna, was in charge of the gold mines to the east of Edfu (also see Vercoutter 1959:130-133, Map 2), and also had authority over the harvests of the 'Southern Region' (*ʿ-rsy*) from el-Kab to Dendara (Tylor and Griffith 1894). Paheri's duties need not, however, conflict with either the Viceroy or the Vizier, each of whom would represent a higher level of authority. As a Mayor (*ḫ3ty-ʿ*) and Overseer of the Fields of the Southern Region (*ỉmy-r 3ḫwt ʿ-rsy*), Paheri would have to report directly to either the Vizier or the Viceroy, whichever had authority over their area (van den Boorn 1988:108-9, 156; Helck 1958:220 ff.; Kemp 1978:29 ff.).

Whatever the case, the Viceroy without doubt controlled the southernmost part of Upper Egypt from the later Eighteenth Dynasty onward, showing that from an administrative point of view, Nubia was not regarded as a separate territory, but was incorporated into the overall structure of the state. Bleiberg's (1988) study of *b3kwt* provides additional support for this idea. He notes that the levy of *b3kwt* extends throughout Egypt and into Nubia, but not by and large into the Levant. This pattern reflects the integration of Nubia into the state economy, the Levant remaining outside of the system of temple redistribution (*ibid.*:165; also Müller-Wollermann 1983:90). This distinction is confirmed by the fact that local princes in Syro-Palestine were allowed a great deal of autonomy, as long as they continued to bow to the authority of the king and give *ỉnw*.

Egyptian authority was enforced through strategically placed garrisons and military administrators, and there was no serious attempt to impose an Egyptian way of life (Kemp 1978:44 ff.; Frandsen 1979). In contrast, the Nubian civil, religious and economic systems were modeled directly on those of Egypt.

The extraction of gold also shows strong links to the central administration. Säve-Söderbergh suggests that the Upper Egyptian nomes were included within the Viceroy's purvue in order to consolidate gold mining operations in Egypt and Nubia (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:6). Local Treasury officials at Aniba, the seat of the Deputy of Wawat,[57] bore titles like 'Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands in Aniba,' or '... in *Tȝ-Stỉ* (Vercoutter 1959:148).' The lack of separate treasury departments for Wawat and Kush shows their close connection to the Treasury department back in Egypt, which oversaw the receipt and distribution of both *ỉnw* and *bȝkwt* (Bleiberg 1984, 1988).[58] The office of the Viceroy itself was apparently also closely linked to this branch of the state bureaucracy. Although he was appointed directly by the king, Huy receives his authority from the king through the Overseer of the Treasury (Davies 1926:Plate VI):

swȝḏ ỉȝt n sȝ nsw n(ỉ) kš Ḥwy [šȝʿ-m] nḫn r ḳry

Handing over the office to the King's Son of Kush Huy from Nekhen to Karoy.

This scene also provides another indication that the Viceroy was ultimately under the authority of the Vizier, who is shown receiving for the king the *ỉnw* from all of the foreign lands (James 1984:69-71; Davies 1943:17-30, Pls. XVI-XXIII).[59] Huy only presents the tribute to the king, or presumably the Vizier if the king were not present.

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[57]Nubia, like Egypt, was divided into two administrative districts, one for Wawat (Lower) and the other for Kush (Upper Nubia), each administered by a Deputy (Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1979).

[58]The collection of *bȝkwt* within Egypt, however, seems to have been administered by temple officials (Bleiberg 1988).

[59]Although note that the High Priest of Amun Menkheperresoneb is shown in a similar set of scenes (see Davies 1933 and above Chapter 6). On the other hand, these scenes may reflect goods destined for the use of or storage in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, or even simply reflect that Menkheperresoneb was a key participant in the ceremony, which was otherwise presided over by the Viceroy and perhaps the Vizier.

Royal Ideology: Nubia as a Foreign Enemy

There is thus an inherent conflict between ideological portrayals of Nubia as a foreign territory, and the actual administration of Nubia, which even in the Middle Kingdom incorporated it into the bureaucratic framework of Egypt (*cf.* D'Altroy 1992). We can understand the broader implications of this contradiction through Loprieno's (1988) distinction between *Topos* and *Mimesis* in Egyptian literature. *Topos* refers to an idealized view of the world, which serves a rhetorical, but not necessarily literal, end. *Mimesis* on the other hand reflects more the reality of the situation at hand, although ultimately filtered through Egyptian cultural perceptions. The role of foreigners in the Egyptian *Ausländer-Topos* was in opposition to *mꜣꜥ.t*, 'order, harmony, rightness.' Assmann (1990:174-236) stresses that *mꜣꜥ.t* was not a static quality, but rather always existed in opposition to *ỉsft*, 'disorder, chaos,' which constantly tried to upset the heavenly and earthly order. The sun god Re appointed the king as the upholder of *mꜣꜥ.t* on earth. Without the king and his constant struggle with *mꜣꜥ.t*, the whole world would fall into chaos and decay, and would no longer be habitable:

Re ➠ King ➠ *Mꜣꜥ.t* ➠ Orderly, Habitable World

One of the most potent forces of *ỉsft* were the traditional foreign enemies of Egypt. They were depicted as strangers, and generalized as an ethnic group with negative qualities (Loprieno 1988:22-34). They were not really people (*rmṯ*), and were often compared with animals, their speech unintelligible, like the jabbering of baboons. In texts reflecting the Egyptian *Ausländer-Mimesis*, a more realistic portrayal occurs. Foreigners are treated as individuals, not a stereotype. They are identified by name, and can speak Egyptian like a 'real' person, and thus are incorporated into the Egyptian cultural framework. The fact that they are foreigners does not preclude the possibility that they can act in a positive way.

Topos and *Mimesis* are reflected in pictorial representations of Nubians. These distinctions are particularly apparent in the New Kingdom, where *topical* depictions of foreigners as stereotypes reflect the state ideology, but *mimetical* representations show them as real people within an Egyptian cultural framework. Several monuments from the time of Tutankhamen can serve to illustrate this pattern (Figure 7.1).

Topical representation of a Nubian Prisoner from a Chariot of Tutankhamen (after Reeves 1990b:171)

Topical representation of three Princes, including Hekanefer Prince of Miam, doing obesience to Huy, Viceroy under Tutankhamen, with *Mimetical* representation of their sons below (from Huy's tomb at Thebes, after Davies 1926:Pl. XXVI)

Mimetical representation of Hekanefer Prince of Miam from the entrance to his tomb (after Simpson 1963:Fig. 7)

Figure 7.1 The *Topos* and *Mimesis* of Nubians in the time of Tutankhamen.

Topos	→	Transitional	→	Mimesis
Tutankhamen Chariot Nubians as Foreign Enemy of *mꜣʿ.t*		Tomb of Huy Nubians bring Tribute both as Nubian and Egyptian		Tomb of Hekanefer Nubians as Egyptians

Objects from Tutankhamen's tomb, notably the bound prisoners decorating one of his chariots and other objects, and the elaborate battle scene on the painted box from the Antechamber (Littauer and Crouwel 1985:Pls. XX f.; Carter and Mace 1923:Pls. LII-LIV), reflects the orthodoxy of his *topical* role as subduer of the traditional enemies of Egypt, who threaten *mꜣʿ.t*, the eternal order of things. The king is 'the Perfect God who appears in [*mꜣʿ.t*] and who smites the nobles (*wrw*) of all the foreign lands, who carries off millions and chops down thousands, (all) brought together beneath his sandals' (Littauer and Crouwel 1985:Pl. LXVI). This kind of symbolism was exploited at every opportunity. Sandals from the tomb had representations of captive prisoners on the soles in a literal extrapolation of the text just quoted (Reeves 1990:155). Thus the king would symbolically and magically tread upon his foreign enemies wherever he walked. His walking staff had figures of a Syria-Palestinian and a Nubian on the base (Carter and Mace 1923:Pls. LXIX-XX), so that the king would drag his enemies in the dust behind him. His footstool had similar representations, as did the approach to the royal throne dias, the 'window of appearances' where loyal followers were rewarded in state ceremonies, and on the base of royal statues, which often listed conquered cities (Ritner 1993). Whenever the king made a public appearance, his own accouterments and surroundings emphasized his role as defender of *Ma'at* and enemy of *Isfet*, namely the *topical* foreign enemies of Egypt.

The depiction of Nubians in the tomb of Huy lies somewhere between *Topos* and *Mimesis*, similar to the position of the acculturated Nubian mercenaries settled at Gebelein in the First Intermediate Period (Loprieno 1988:35-40). The Nubian chiefs are depicted with some of the *topical* trappings of Nubia and with *topical* Nubian racial features as with Tutankhamen, but are often surrounded by family members shown almost entirely as Egyptians. Huy treats at least one of them as an individual, naming their leader, Hekanefer, Prince (*wr*) of Miam (Aniba). The tomb of that same native Prince at Toshka East reflects *Mimesis*. Nowhere can we detect the intrusion of *Topos* in its decoration. The tomb of Djehutyhotep, Prince of Tehkhet (the area around Fadrus and Serra) in the reign of Thutmose III, is better preserved, including several scenes depicting him

completely as an Egyptian. Were it not for his genealogy, we might suppose that he had been appointed from Egypt, so completely Egyptian is his tomb and the depiction of him in it. The same applies to the other tombs and statuary of Egyptianized Princes from these two areas (Simpson 1963; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991).

The 'Tribute' scene of Huy may also reflect the *Ausländer-Topos* in another dimension, that of performance in the ceremony of 'viewing the *ỉnw*'. *Topos* required that the Nubians bearing the 'Tribute' of Wawat and Kush look something like the stereotypical southern foreigner, with the typical ethnic costume. Beneath the native trappings, however, they wear the dress of the Egyptian elite, reflecting the fact that by this period their society was completely Egyptianized (see Chapter 6 above). The subsidiary princelings, whom *Topos* apparently did not require to wear foreign costumes, are shown in almost completely Egyptian outfits. The great presentations of *ỉnw* recorded in the tomb of Huy and elsewhere must have made an impressive display of royal power and authority. Bleiberg (1984:164-5) notes that individuals who did not have any particular connection with the collection of *ỉnw* mention having taken part in the ceremony. He argues that such scenes therefore probably commemorate an important event in the tomb owner's lifetime. By including members of the elite who were not necessarily connected with the administration of Nubia or the Levant, the king and the central authority would gain added prestige within an important segment of Egyptian society. These carefully organized events showed that the king could command people from a far off land wearing exotic costumes and bearing exotic and valuable gifts, like gold, ivory, ebony, panther skins, even live giraffes and panthers.

The ideological and administrative approach to Nubia reflect widely different goals. The portrayal of Nubia in the *Topos* of state ideology was closely tied to the legitimization of the king and in reinforcing his authority both at home and abroad. *Topos* tranformed the reality of Egyptian-Nubian relations to suit political purposes (*cf.* D'Altroy 1992). In recognizing this tension between the historical and archaeological/economic records, we can gain a greater insight into the nature of the Egyptian state, and the broader implications of the role which Nubia played in it. The purpose behind the ideological statements was driven by factors largely unrelated to the day to day exploitation of resources from Nubia. On a cosmological level, they reinforced the role of the king in the maintenance of *mȝʿ.t*. This concept provided a powerful integrating force in Egyptian society and government, legitimizing the king's authority over the entire nation (Assmann 1990:51-4,

200 ff., 237 ff.). The depiction of the king as the subduer of foreign lands established an ideological footing for Egypt's external relationships, emphasizing how the king brought order from chaos and vigorously subdued *ỉsft*, personified by the 'rebellious' and inherently 'chaotic' foreigners who might threaten Egypt and thus *mɜʿ.t*. On a more practical level, the continuing depiction of Nubia as a conquered foreign territory must also have reinforced the king's position, and thus that of the central authority and elite, at home and abroad. Thus Nubia's value to the state ideology was as both a rebellious and periodically pacified, conquered foreign land, not as an extension of Egypt itself.

The *Mimesis* of Egyptian foreign policy was designed to maximize the extraction of mineral resources and flow of trade goods through an imperial relationship, incorporating Nubia into the Egyptian administrative systems because it was to their economic advantage to do so. Nubia in the New Kingdom was made over into an image of Egypt itself, not to serve some ideological need to replicate Egypt abroad, but rather as the most efficient means of exploiting the dramatic changes in the infrastructure which occurred during the Second Intermediate Period, documented for the first time in detail archaeologically at Askut. They could, with relative ease, co-opt the already extant Egyptian colonists, along with the fast acculturating native rulers. They naturally chose the best system available, that of Egypt itself, in order to make a self-sufficient colony. The extraction of wealth and trade in valuable staple and wealth goods fueled unprecedented economic prosperity in Egypt and led to the rapid expansion of the elite scribal class, culminating in the elaborate bureaucracy of the New Kingdom. Royal control over the exotic wealth produced by Nubia served as a powerful marker of royal status and as political currency to ensure elite loyalty and to reward participation by elites and commoners in the centralized state (*cf.* Earle 1991; 1992). Using ideology on the one hand and socio-economic systems on the other, they created one of the world's earliest and most successful expressions of Imperialism, using their Nubian colony to create prosperity at home, and reinforce the position of the state both at home and abroad.

Appendix One

Radiocarbon Dates from Askut

Several ^{14}C dates were run by Rainer Berger, Reiner Protsch and Mireille Beck (in Badawy nd., and Berger, personal communication) at the U.C.L.A. Radiocarbon Laboratory on samples from Askut in 1969 (UCLA #1386) and 1970 (UCLA #1656). Individual samples were measured repeatedly to ensure accuracy, and statistical accuracy was calculated to one standard deviation. Radiocarbon Years were calculated using a half-life of 5568 years. These dates are calibrated below using the new European Oak high precision ^{14}C calibration curve of Pearson and Stuiver (1986), the internationally accepted standard. Calibrated ranges were calculated at 1σ and 2σ. As Baillie and Pilcher (1983:56-60) have pointed out, dates calculated to only 1σ are inherently unreliable, with only a 65% chance that the actual date lies within the range. In other words, we would expect that at least two of the seven Askut dates would lie outside the calibrated range. Moreover, they have shown that even the order of such dates is unreliable, producing misleading relative dates for known age samples. Calibration to 2σ is preferable, with 95% confidence that the date lies within the range. Ranges calculated to 2σ have therefore been used for the purposes of interpretation (see Harkness 1983:29), although 1σ ranges have still been considered where the archaeological evidence provides some guide. The full information for each date is presented in the table at the end. A comparison of the accuracy of different laboratories has shown that routine radiocarbon dates show systematic biases depending on the error range (Pearson and Stuiver 1986:840-1). The Askut dates with an error of $\pm$ 80 or greater should be accurate, but the error range of $\pm$ 60 for #1386C should be doubled to $\pm$ 120 for greater accuracy. This correction, incidentally, brings this date more in line with the archaeological evidence. At $\pm$ 60, even the 2σ calibration was far too early (see Chapter 2 above).

As would be expected, the ^{14}C dates have ranges which are too wide to provide a great deal of independent information. They do, however, act as an important check on the more precise dates provided by the analysis of ceramics and stratigraphy. Dates for the Middle Kingdom are in accord with the analysis presented above in Chapters 2 and 3:

1656C	North Wall, North Poemorium	2200-1750 (1σ 2040-1885)
1386C	Room 29, 1.3 meters	2455-1740

The date of a beam from the main defense wall (1656C) is consistent even at 1σ with the hypothesized founding date of c. 1850 B.C. in the reign of Senwosret III. The date from Room 29 is reasonably consistent with the mid Thirteenth Dynasty age for the lowest levels derived from the ceramic analysis. Two other dates are somewhat later (see Chapters 4 and 6):

1386D	'Granary,' 30 centimeters	1740-1375, 1345-1320 (1σ 1670-1300)
1386E	East of Room Southeast 83 50 centimeters	1640-1300 (1σ 1523-1406)

The date from the 'Granary' complex shows that it had been at least partly abandoned by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, perhaps as early as the late Thirteenth Dynasty. The 1σ range narrows this a bit to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, which would perhaps be more consistent with the ceramic evidence, which suggests abandonment over a period from the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty through the early New Kingdom. The ceramic evidence from Room Southeast 83 suggests a very early Eighteenth Dynasty date, consistent with the 1σ range, although a Second Intermediate Period date, consistent with the early part of the 2σ range, cannot be ruled out.

Several dates fall squarely within the New Kingdom (see Chapter 6):

1656B	Room Southeast 31b, 1.0 meters	1520-1130 (1σ 1440-1265)
1656A	Room Southeast 59, 50 centimeters	1505-1030 (1σ 1410-1210, 1180-1165)
1386B	Infant Burial, East Poemorium	1260-770

The first date (1656B) is consistent with the remodeling at the one meter level in the House of Meryka. The 1σ range is certainly more accurate at the early end, since the ceramic assemblage included examples of clearly Ramesside types. The New Kingdom date of House C is confirmed by the second date. Again a somewhat later date is suggested by the ceramics, end of the Eighteenth Dynasty to early Ramesside Period, which would be consistent with the 1σ range. A date in the later Ramesside Period, consistent with the later end of both ranges, is also possible for this rather

shallow depth. While both of these dates allow for the possibility of a Ramesside occupation, the last date confirms it. The 1σ range would place the death of the stillborn child at the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty, but the date's reliability cannot be confirmed by archaeological evidence, since the associated pottery is not particularly diagnostic. The late end is somewhat exaggerated by a flattening of the calibration curve in the Iron Age (Baillie and Pilcher 1983:60-3), and can be ruled out from the archaeological evidence, which shows considerable remains from the Ramesside Period, but little if any until the Meroitic Period.

Radiocarbon Dates from Askut

UCLA #	^{14}C Years	Calibrated 1σ	Calibrated 2σ
1386B	2760 ± 120	1078-1063 1050-800	1260-770
1386C	3670 ± 60	2140-1970	(≈ 1σ) 2275-2245 2205-1895
1386D	3250 ± 90	1670-1430	1740-1375 1345-1320
1386E	3180 ± 80	1523-1406	1640-1300
1656A	3030 ± 80	1410-1210 1180-1165	1505-1030
1656B	3090 ± 80	1440-1265	1520-1130
1656C	3610 ± 80	2130-2070 2040-1885	2200-1750

		Calibrated 3σ	Calibrated 4σ (≈ 2σ)
1386C	3670 ± 60	2300-1870 1840-1820 1800-1780	2455-1740

* Dates use the calibration table provided by Pearson and Stuiver (1986:Table 2) and are thus more accurate. The rest are calibrated according to the instructions provided by Pearson and Stuiver (1986:841) using their Figure 1, with a corresponding lack of precision due to the size of the curve.

Appendix Two

Pottery Fabrics at Askut[60]

The organization of the fabrics follows the Vienna system (Nordström 1985), which, by and large, seems to work fairly well for the Askut material. The characterizations were carried out with a hand lens at 10x's magnification. A series of thin sections concentrating on the Marls is under way which will serve to describe the types more precisely, and identify any substantial deviations from the system. Foreign and native Nubian fabrics are not considered here. Specific fabric identifications for the pottery illustrated above are given in Appendix 3 below.

Nile Silts

The full range of Nile Silt Fabrics appear, including B1, B2, C and D. To some extent the categories of B1-C represent a continuum based on the amount and size of chaff present. As in Egypt, they were by far the most common material used (*e.g.*, Hope 1989:4).

Nile Silt B1 is a very fine fabric with sand and small amounts of fine chaff (up to 2 mm., rarely if ever larger). It is most characteristic of the Middle Kingdom, particularly the hemispherical bowls, but also appears in a variety of small bowls, stands and jars. It is typically brown (7.5 YR 5/4) in color and often without zoning.

Nile Silt B2 is a medium fabric with sand and moderate amounts of small chaff, 2 to 5 mm., with occasional larger pieces. It appears rarely with hemispherical bowls, normally in a wide variety of small to medium sized bowls, plates, stands and jars. It is the typical fine silt in the New Kingdom. It usually varies from a reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6 to 5YR 7/8-6/8) to red (2.5 YR 5/8), with weak red to reddish brown zoning (10R 5/4 to

[60]I greatly appreciate the help of Dorothea Arnold and most recently Janine Bourriau in the characterization of the Askut fabrics. The identifications are based principally on a discussion between myself and Ms. Bourriau, who had the opportunity to examine the sherds in June 1992. I remain responsible for the descriptions and final identifications.

2.5 YR 5/4). The latter, well fired variety seems to be more common in the New Kingdom. Poorly fired examples exhibit grey-black zoning.

Nile Silt C is a coarse chaff tempered fabric with sand and copious amounts of large chaff, 5 mm. and above. It is used occasionally for medium and even small, jars, plates, and stands, but most often for large to very large plates, stands and jars, especially the water/beer jar, large coarse platters, and cook pots. In the Middle Kingdom, its color is typically in the reddish yellow range of the B2, often with grey-black zoning. In the New Kingdom better fired examples have the reddish yellow to red coloring.

Nile Silt D is a fine, hard fabric with significant amounts of crushed fine-coarse limestone and sand, but very little, if any, straw. It appears in large storage vessels, perhaps replacing those normally found in a Marl C during the late Middle Kingdom, as well as other vessels in the New Kingdom. It typically varies from red to reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6 to 2.5 YR 5/6), with grey to strong brown zoning (10 YR 5/1 to 7.5 YR 5/6). It is very similar to Hope's mixed silt and marl type Marl A4.2 (1989:4-5), and is the same as the Marl D like fabric at Deir el-Ballas described by Bourriau (in Lacovara 1990:21).

Nile Silt with Limestone is a distinctive variant of Nile Silt D with small amounts of large (usually 1-2 mm, up to 5 mm) crushed limestone added in what would otherwise be a Nile Silt B2 and C. It is particularly common in the later Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period. Although remiscent of Nile D, it nonetheless seems to be distinct from it.

Nile Silt E appears only with Middle Kingdom cook pots which closely resemble the Palestinian 'hole mouth' jar in both shape and technology, with a brushed on white slip which is often obscured by the soot (Figure 3.7G; *cf.* Cole 1984:63 f., Fig. 18, Pls. 24-5, the 'upright rim' type also occurs more rarely at Askut, ibid.:65 f., Fig. 17, Pl. 26). The fabric, clearly a Nile Silt, contains abundant quantities of rounded sand, mostly from 0.5 to 1.0 mm. The amount of sand often appears to exceed 50% of the fabric. Such an abundance of rounded silicates would normally cause instability during firing, but under the right conditions it can add to the durability of the vessel. Other cooking vessels, including imitations in the 'hole mouth' shape, were of Nile Silt C, which makes much more sense, as the openness of the fabric would allow for expansion and contraction as the pot was repeatedly heated and cooled (Rice 1987:96-7, 105; Rye 1981:26-7, 34-5).

Variants no doubt also exist, but have not been identified. Of particular interest would be the possibility of distinguishing between locally produced and imported Nile Silts. Pottery production is attested at both Mirgissa and Serra during the Middle Kingdom (Vercoutter, *et al.*, 1970:Figs. 23-4; Williams 1987), and at Askut at all periods.[61] The fabric of the 'Gilded' ware might provide a control over local clays, since it only appears in Nubia.

Marls

The marls are particularly significant because, unlike the silts, they must have been imported, the Marl A and B family from Upper Egypt, Marl C and D from Lower Egypt (Bourriau 1991:129-30). Marls generally make up only a small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage.

Marl A3 and *A4* dominate the Marl A group, and are particularly common during the Middle Kingdom. Marl A4 is similar to A3 in both inclusions and color, but is coarser, and it can be difficult to distinguish between the two. It, and/or a very coarse A3, appears from the Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom, mostly in large bowls and small (very fine Marl A3 only) to medium and large storage jars, including amphorae. The A3-4 fabrics have a moderate content of rounded sand and abundant angular limestone, which appears either as a solid white inclusion or as a void, depending on the degree of firing. The color typically ranges from white (5Y 8/1) with reddish yellow zoning (5YR 7/6) to white to pale yellow (5Y 8/2-3 to 5Y 7/3) with no discernible zoning. This is related to kiln placement, and should not be used to indicate separate fabric types (Nicholson and Patterson 1989:80, Fig. 8). *Marl A2* has also been tentatively identified in the collection, but thus far only in whole vessels which naturally could not be subjected to fresh breaks for description.

Marl B is similar to the A's, but can be easily distinguished by the large quantity of fine-medium rounded sand, mostly at 0.5 mm. or less, but occasionally up to about 1 mm. Color is very similar to the A3-4. It ranges from pale olive (5Y 6/3) with pale yellow zoning (2.5Y 7/4), to white (5Y 8/1) with pale to reddish yellow or light red (2.5Y 8/3 to 5YR 7/6 or 2.5YR 6/6) zoning. It appears from the Second Intermediate Period, when it begins

[61]Badawy was somewhat overenthusiastic in attributing any oven like structure with sherds and burning associated as a kiln (eg. 1964:51). In fact, most of these are simply ovens, and nothing resembling a pottery kiln occurs at Askut at any period.

to rival the Marl A3 and A3-4 fabric. It appears commonly in carinated bowls, as well as medium and large storage vessels.

Marl C is a dense, hard fabric, with fine sand and medium to coarse white and red inclusions, up to 5 mm. in length. Thin fragments of unmixed marl clay are particularly diagnostic, in one 'fish plate' sometimes exceeding 10 mm. in length and present with great abundance. It typically has a white surface (5Y 8/2) with a yellowish red background (2.5YR 5/6) showing through. The fracture is often distinctly zoned with a grey to black core. It is used for large to medium storage jars and 'fish plates' during the Middle Kingdom.[62]

Marl D is another dense fabric with numerous white calcareous inclusions and sand. It is usually brown to reddish grey (7.5YR 5/2 to 5YR 5/2) with a pale yellow (5Y 8/3) coating, sometimes burnished, which often flakes away from the surface. It has appeared thus far only in amphorae of the New Kingdom.

[62]In contrast to examples from Deir el-Ballas and Memphis, the variety with convex interior do show consistent wear patterns suggesting that they were abraded during use, perhaps in grinding or mashing some sort of soft material.

Appendix Three

Key to the Figures of Objects from Askut

This appendix provides descriptions and parallels for each figure illustrating objects from Askut. For ceramic fabrics see Appendix 2 above. For each object an accession lot number is given which refers to a specific context group, usually identified by room and depth within that room (for room numbers see above Figures 4.1 and 4.8). Finishing of the ceramics is indicated in the following manner. Long, heavy lines parallel to the rim indicate wheel marks, while short, light lines indicate the rough surface produced by simple smoothing. An absence of smoothing lines indicates a compacted surface, but surfaces polished to a high luster are noted under the individual entries below. Lines which are at an angle to the rim generally indicate a roughened surface produced by scraping or less regular smoothing. Unless otherwise indicated, the Egyptian ceramics were produced on the wheel and the native Nubian pottery by hand. The British School of Archaeology in Egypt ceramic corpus is still the only comprehensive source available, and three key sites are used below for parallels, being abbreviated as follows: *Harageh* = Engelbach 1923:Pls. XXXIV-XLI; *Qau* = Brunton 1930:Pls. XII-XVII; *Rifeh* = Petrie 1907:Pls. XXVII D-L.

Figure 3.5:[63] Middle Kingdom Cups and Bowls (types found in contexts throughout the period).

A: Nile Silt B1, Hemispherical Bowl, Vessel Index of 169, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (see above Chapters 2 and 3). 1724, Southeast Room 26, 1.7 meters.

B: Nile Silt B2, Tulip Cup, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:11). 1527, Southeast Room 24b, 1.4 meters.

C: Nile Silt B2, Decanter/Drop Vase, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 20 and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:1). 700, Room 12, 30 to 60 centimeters.

[63]Note that Dahshur Complex 6 dates to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, while Complex 7 dates to the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty (see Arnold 1982 and Chapters 2 and 3 above).

D: Nile Silt B1-2, Carinated Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 10K, P, and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:4). 1527, Southeast Room 24b, 1.4 meters.

E: Nile Silt B1, Carinated Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 10M and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:2). 1769, Room Southeast 32a, within the pot beneath the altar.

F: Nile Silt C, Small Dish, the burning inside shows that it was used as a lamp, which is common in this type at Askut, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 5L. 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

G: Nile Silt B1, Small Bowl, *cf. Harageh* Type 12 and Dahshur Complex 4 (equivalent to Complex 6, Arnold 1982:Abb. 9:6, which is not as thin walled). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

H: Nile Silt C, Bowl, heavy burning on the exterior only indicates its use as a cooking pot, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 12 and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:6).

I, J: Nile Silt C, Incense Burner, burning and traces of incense inside are typical of this type, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 90 E2, L, R (note that the shallow footed Type 90C-E also occurs) and at Dahshur (Arnold 1982:Abb. 14:29). I = 728, Room 12, 60 to 90 centimeters; J = 624, Room 27, 1.1 meters.

K: Nile Silt C, Large Shallow Bowl, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 2E-F and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:1). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

L: Nile Silt B2, Small Flaring Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 5M-N and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:1). 982, Room 27, 80 centimeters.

M: Nile Silt C, Large Bowl, *cf.*, the footed bowls/incense burners of *Harageh* Type 90 N, O, X and Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:2, 10:3). 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

Figure 3.6: Middle Kingdom Jars and Miscellaneous Types (found in contexts throughout the Middle Kingdom).

A: Marl C, Bag-shaped Jar, *cf.*, Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:8, 10, 12; Abb. 11:7). At Tell el-Dab'a, however, it is characteristic of the late Twelfth Dynasty and is apparently replaced by another type in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Bietak 1991:Fig. 8). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

B: Nile Silt C, 'Kettle' Neck to Beer Jar with incised decoration, *cf.*, Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 7:7, Abb. 10:10). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

C: Nile Silt C, 'Kettle' Mouthed Beer Jar, see B above. The shape is very similar to the late Thirteenth Dynasty type from Tell el-Dab'a

(Bietak 1981:Fig. 7). It was apparently hand made, although beer jars at Askut were typically thrown. 435, Room 4, 75 centimeters.

D: Nile Silt C, Shoulder to a Beer (?) Jar with incised decoration, *cf.*, Mirgissa Cemetery M-X Type C1 (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1975:Fig. 95) and Semna transitional layer 'b' (see above Chapter 5, Dunham and Janssen 1960:Fig. 18). Similar wavy lined decoration appears at Dahshur in Complex 7 on a different kind of jar (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:14). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

E: Nile Silt C, Bread Mold, hand made on a wooden (?) form, lined multiple layers of a very fine silt, *cf.*, Jacquet-Gordon Middle Kingdom Type C (1981:Fig. 4:8-14). 1503, Room Southeast 1b, 1.3 meters.

F: Nile Silt C + Limestone, Pointed Jar, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 13. This type is more common than the BSAE cemetery corpus would suggest, indicating that it had a specialized domestic function not essential to the food storage and consumption function of domestic pottery presented as grave goods (*cf.*, Bourriau 1981a:60-3). What that function might be, however, is unknown, although they clearly did not function as 'crucibles' (Rose 1984). 386, Room 7, 90 centimeters.

G: Nile Silt B2, Pointed Jar, lower body polished, see F above. This variant with a rounded shoulder and extreme restriction is apparently introduced in the Thirteenth Dynasty, and gradually replaces the sharp shouldered kind, so that by the New Kingdom, only this type remains. 1792, Room Southeast 13, 80 centimeters.

H: Nile Silt C, Funnel-necked Jar, probably originally polished to a high sheen which has since weathered to a well compacted surface, *cf. Harageh* Type 38M. 1764, Room Southeast 24, 2.6 meters (floor).

I: Nile Silt B2, Funnel-necked Globular Jar, red coating with polished exterior, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 36 and Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:6; 11:6, 9). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

J: Marl C, 'Zir,' neck attached separately to body, *cf.*, Tell el-Dab'a Types 3 (late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty) and 4 (Thirteenth and early Hyksos Period, Bietak 1991:Fig. 9). The rim may indicate an earlier date, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:7). 1528, Room 23b, 50-80 centimeters.

K: Nile Silt C, Funnel-necked Bag-shaped Jar, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 36L2 and Dahshur Complex 6 and general Types 37-9 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:3-4; 14:37-9). It is hand made, although this type, along with most of the Middle Kingdom pottery at Askut, is usually thrown. It could be a native Nubian imitation of an Egyptian pot (*cf.* Bonnet 1990:199, #210), but the use of potmarks appearing on wheel made examples at Askut perhaps argues against this. 2004, Room 38, 1.35 meters (at or near floor level).

to rival the Marl A3 and A3-4 fabric. It appears commonly in carinated bowls, as well as medium and large storage vessels.

Marl C is a dense, hard fabric, with fine sand and medium to coarse white and red inclusions, up to 5 mm. in length. Thin fragments of unmixed marl clay are particularly diagnostic, in one 'fish plate' sometimes exceeding 10 mm. in length and present with great abundance. It typically has a white surface (5Y 8/2) with a yellowish red background (2.5YR 5/6) showing through. The fracture is often distinctly zoned with a grey to black core. It is used for large to medium storage jars and 'fish plates' during the Middle Kingdom.[62]

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[62]In contrast to examples from Deir el-Ballas and Memphis, the variety with convex interior do show consistent wear patterns suggesting that they were abraded during use, perhaps in grinding or mashing some sort of soft material.

Appendix Three

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Figure 3.5:[63] Middle Kingdom Cups and Bowls (types found in contexts throughout the period).

A: Nile Silt B1, Hemispherical Bowl, Vessel Index of 169, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (see above Chapters 2 and 3). 1724, Southeast Room 26, 1.7 meters.

B: Nile Silt B2, Tulip Cup, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:11). 1527, Southeast Room 24b, 1.4 meters.

C: Nile Silt B2, Decanter/Drop Vase, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 20 and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:1). 700, Room 12, 30 to 60 centimeters.

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[63]Note that Dahshur Complex 6 dates to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty, while Complex 7 dates to the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty (see Arnold 1982 and Chapters 2 and 3 above).

D: Nile Silt B1-2, Carinated Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 10K, P, and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:4). 1527, Southeast Room 24b, 1.4 meters.

E: Nile Silt B1, Carinated Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 10M and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:2). 1769, Room Southeast 32a, within the pot beneath the altar.

F: Nile Silt C, Small Dish, the burning inside shows that it was used as a lamp, which is common in this type at Askut, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 5L. 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

G: Nile Silt B1, Small Bowl, *cf. Harageh* Type 12 and Dahshur Complex 4 (equivalent to Complex 6, Arnold 1982:Abb. 9:6, which is not as thin walled). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

H: Nile Silt C, Bowl, heavy burning on the exterior only indicates its use as a cooking pot, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 12 and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:6).

I, J: Nile Silt C, Incense Burner, burning and traces of incense inside are typical of this type, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 90 E2, L, R (note that the shallow footed Type 90C-E also occurs) and at Dahshur (Arnold 1982:Abb. 14:29). I = 728, Room 12, 60 to 90 centimeters; J = 624, Room 27, 1.1 meters.

K: Nile Silt C, Large Shallow Bowl, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 2E-F and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:1). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

L: Nile Silt B2, Small Flaring Cup, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 5M-N and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:1). 982, Room 27, 80 centimeters.

M: Nile Silt C, Large Bowl, *cf.*, the footed bowls/incense burners of *Harageh* Type 90 N, O, X and Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:2, 10:3). 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

Figure 3.6: Middle Kingdom Jars and Miscellaneous Types (found in contexts throughout the Middle Kingdom).

A: Marl C, Bag-shaped Jar, *cf.*, Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:8, 10, 12; Abb. 11:7). At Tell el-Dab'a, however, it is characteristic of the late Twelfth Dynasty and is apparently replaced by another type in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Bietak 1991:Fig. 8). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

B: Nile Silt C, 'Kettle' Neck to Beer Jar with incised decoration, *cf.*, Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 7:7, Abb. 10:10). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

C: Nile Silt C, 'Kettle' Mouthed Beer Jar, see B above. The shape is very similar to the late Thirteenth Dynasty type from Tell el-Dab'a

(Bietak 1981:Fig. 7). It was apparently hand made, although beer jars at Askut were typically thrown. 435, Room 4, 75 centimeters.

D: Nile Silt C, Shoulder to a Beer (?) Jar with incised decoration, *cf.*, Mirgissa Cemetery M-X Type C1 (Vercoutter, *et al.* 1975:Fig. 95) and Semna transitional layer 'b' (see above Chapter 5, Dunham and Janssen 1960:Fig. 18). Similar wavy lined decoration appears at Dahshur in Complex 7 on a different kind of jar (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:14). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

E: Nile Silt C, Bread Mold, hand made on a wooden (?) form, lined multiple layers of a very fine silt, *cf.*, Jacquet-Gordon Middle Kingdom Type C (1981:Fig. 4:8-14). 1503, Room Southeast 1b, 1.3 meters.

F: Nile Silt C + Limestone, Pointed Jar, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 13. This type is more common than the BSAE cemetery corpus would suggest, indicating that it had a specialized domestic function not essential to the food storage and consumption function of domestic pottery presented as grave goods (*cf.*, Bourriau 1981a:60-3). What that function might be, however, is unknown, although they clearly did not function as 'crucibles' (Rose 1984). 386, Room 7, 90 centimeters.

G: Nile Silt B2, Pointed Jar, lower body polished, see F above. This variant with a rounded shoulder and extreme restriction is apparently introduced in the Thirteenth Dynasty, and gradually replaces the sharp shouldered kind, so that by the New Kingdom, only this type remains. 1792, Room Southeast 13, 80 centimeters.

H: Nile Silt C, Funnel-necked Jar, probably originally polished to a high sheen which has since weathered to a well compacted surface, *cf.* *Harageh* Type 38M. 1764, Room Southeast 24, 2.6 meters (floor).

I: Nile Silt B2, Funnel-necked Globular Jar, red coating with polished exterior, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 36 and Dahshur Complexes 6 and 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:6; 11:6, 9). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

J: Marl C, 'Zir,' neck attached separately to body, *cf.*, Tell el-Dab'a Types 3 (late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty) and 4 (Thirteenth and early Hyksos Period, Bietak 1991:Fig. 9). The rim may indicate an earlier date, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:7). 1528, Room 23b, 50-80 centimeters.

K: Nile Silt C, Funnel-necked Bag-shaped Jar, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 36L2 and Dahshur Complex 6 and general Types 37-9 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:3-4; 14:37-9). It is hand made, although this type, along with most of the Middle Kingdom pottery at Askut, is usually thrown. It could be a native Nubian imitation of an Egyptian pot (*cf.* Bonnet 1990:199, #210), but the use of potmarks appearing on wheel made examples at Askut perhaps argues against this. 2004, Room 38, 1.35 meters (at or near floor level).

L: Marl C, 'Zir,' *cf.*, Tell el-Dab'a Type 4 (Thirteenth Dynasty and early Hyksos Period, Bietak 1991:Fig. 9) and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:3-4). Vessel made in four parts, base, lower body and upper body by hand, rim wheel thrown/finished. 1757, set in the tile floor (2.0 meters) in the northern part of Room Southeast 32b.

M: Nile Silt B1, 'Child's Feeding Cup,' exterior painted red, *cf.* an unprovenanced example at the Fitzwilliam Museum (Bourriau 1981a:69, #126). 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

N: Nile Silt B2, Lid, 'gilded' coating, *cf.*, Uronarti (Dunham 1967:191, 30-2-192). This is another type which appears rarely if at all in a funerary context. Both N and M here have probably been misidentified at other sites as goblets or incense burners, the excavators taking the knob to be a small foot (*cf,* Buhen Types 135-6, Emery, *et al.* 1979:171, Pl. 67, which in this case may be correctly identified as chalices of marl clay). The Askut examples clearly could not stand on their knobs without other support. 323, Room 4, 40-60 centimeters.

O: Nile Silt B2, Lid, interior and exterior roughly polished, see N above for references and comments, although an exact parallel could not be found. 780, Room 9, North End, 1.3 meters (at or near floor level).

P: Nile Silt B2, Wavy Vase, exterior coated red, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 49T-V. 628, Room 27, 1.1 meters (a floor).

Q: Nile Silt B1, Stand, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 88B and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:17). This type is particularly diagnostic of the Middle Kingdom, and is about the right size to support a Hemispherical Bowl. 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

R: Nile Silt B2, Stand, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 88G and Dahshur Type 45 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 14). This type and larger, often lower, stands of a similar rough construction and finish are particularly common, and continue through the New Kingdom. Note that stands generally make up about one third of the Middle Kingdom assemblage at Askut. 1751, Room Southeast 16, 2.4 meters (lowest floor level).

S: Nile Silt C, Stand, coated white, *cf.*, *Harageh* Type 88 R, T2 and Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 7:20). This type, with its distinctive flaring unmodeled rim, is also restricted to the Middle Kingdom. The fabric is a very coarse chaff tempered silt somewhat unexpected in a small stand. 1714, Room Southeast 19, 2.0 meters.

T: Nile Silt B1, Stand, cut-out decoration, perhaps in imitation of metal stands, *cf.*, Type 210 at Buhen (Emery, *et al.* 1979:177, Pl. 70). 1714, Room Southeast 19, 2.0 meters.

Figure 3.7: Pottery of the Late Twelfth to Mid Thirteenth Dynasty.

A: Nile Silt B1, Hemispherical Bowl, see above Figure 3.5A.

B: Nile Silt B1, Restricted Funnel-necked Cup/Bowl, exterior red coated, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 6:Abb. 6:21). 985, Room 6, Bin, 1.0 meters.

C: Nile Silt B1, Restricted Cup/Bowl, exterior red coated, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:2). 629, Room 27, 1.1 meters (a floor level).

D: Nile Silt B1, Carinated Cup, incised with red painted design, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:4). 490, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

E: Nile Silt B1, Carinated Cup, two applied knobs, perhaps related to the nipples on Hathor or milk vases, *cf.* Dahshur Complex 7, but at Askut without the incising (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:8; 11:2). This decorative motif seems to occur somewhat earlier at Askut than Dahshur, since another example occurs in the early Thirteenth Dynasty deposit in Room 12. 1769, within the pot serving as a drain to the Altar in Room Southeast 32a.

F: Nile Silt C, 'Funnel-necked' Beer Jar, see the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 above. This type is diagnostic for the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty. 1479, Room Southeast 84, 50 centimeters.

G: Sandy Nile Silt, 'Hole-mouthed' Jar., traces of a white coating painted on with a brush, but now blackened and heavily burnt on the outside, indicating use as a cooking pot, as is typical of this type at Askut, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 6:10), compare with the later version shown in Figure 3.8H here and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:6). 471, Room 5a, 1.1 meters.

H: Marl C, Large Spouted Basin, body perhaps hand or mold made and attached to wheel thrown/finished rim, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 6 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 8:1). 1728, Room Southeast 36, 1.8 meters.

Figure 3.8: Cups and Bowl of the Mid to Late Thirteenth Dynasty.

A: Nile Silt B1, Hemispherical Bowl, red painted rim, Vessel Index of 136, falling in Dahshur Complex 7 (see above Chapters 2 and 3). 895, West Pomoerium, south end, 40 centimeters.

B: Nile Silt B2, Decanter/Drop Vase, incised below rim. This kind of decoration, sometimes combined with wavy lines, is diagnostic of the later Thirteenth Dynasty on into the Second Intermediate Period at Askut, *cf.*, the popularity of incising at Tell el-Dab'a Strata E/1-D/3 (Bietak 1991:Fig. 10), and a later example, very close to a style found

at Askut, at Balas (Lacovara 1990:Figure 4.4:15). 1713, Room Southeast 49A, 1.4 meters.

C, **Nile Silt B1, Hemispherical Bowl,** red painted rim and incised decoration, Vessel Index of 112. This type appears to be a variant of the Hemispherical Bowl, with a much lower vessel index than the mid Thirteenth Dynasty context would indicate. Vessels similar to this one may account for the unusually low indices reported from Tell el-Dab'a (see Chapter 4 above). For the decoration see B above. 435, Room 4, 75 centimeters.

D: **Nile Silt B2, Carinated (?) Cup,** with applied 'nipples' and incising, *cf.*, a very close parallel from Dahshur Complex 7 and Tell el-Dab'a Strata E/1-D/3 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:8; Bietak 1991:Figure 10). 518, Room 4, 60 centimeters.

E: **Nile Silt B2, Small Bowl with Incurving Rim,** red painted and incised rim, interior badly pitted, *cf.*, Bourriau's (Forthcoming) early Second Intermediate Period Typology, although this type appears fairly frequently in contexts from the mid Thirteenth Dynasty onwards at Askut. 298, Room 4, second layer (exact depth uncertain).

F: **Nile Silt B2, Large Carinated Bowl,** pinched rim and incised decoration, *cf.*, Bourriau's (Forthcoming) early Second Intermediate Period Typology. 427, East Pomoerium, 20 centimeters.

G: **Nile Silt B2, Incense Burner,** white paint on and under the rim, burnt spots on the interior. The carinated modeled rim contrasts with the earlier type shown in Figure 3.5I, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 7, Tell el-Dab'a Strata E/1-D/3 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:15; Bietak 1991:Fig. 10). 1071, Street between the 'Barracks' and Granary, 40-92 centimeters (floor).

H: **Nile Silt B2, "Hole-mouthed" Jar,** note the difference in the rim from Figure 3.7G above, *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:6). 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

I: **Nile Silt C, Large Carinated Bowl,** incised decoration and applied ridges with pinched rim highlighted with white paint, heavily burnt on the exterior indicating use as a cooking pot, *cf.*, Bourriau's (Forthcoming) early Second Intermediate Period Typology and Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 10:7). 1485, Room Southeast 17, 50 to 100 centimeters.

J: **Marl A3-4, Carinated Bowl,** *cf.*, Dahshur Complex 7 (Arnold 1982:Abb. 11:1). 1662, Between Southeast Rooms 19 and 26, 1.8 meters.

Figure 3.15: Tell el-Yahudiya and Palestinian Juglets (for specific references and discussion see above Chapter 3).

A: Fabric Uncertain, probably from a piriform juglet equivalent to Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F (Manfred Bietak, personal communication 1993, *cf.* Bietak 1988:Abb. 8; Kaplan 1980:Fig. 23 ff).

B: Fabric Uncertain, Piriform 1b-c, *cf.*, Bietak 1988:Abb. 1-2; Kaplan 1980:Fig. 28 ff. Equivalent to Tell el-Dab'a Stratum F and probably Palestinian (Manfred Bietak, personal communication 1993).

C: Palestinian Fabric, MBIIA Juglet, *cf.*, Amiran 1970:Pl. 33:6-7.

D: Palestinian Fabric with abundant Limestone, Piriform 1b-c, *cf.* Bietak 1988:Abb. 8; Kaplan 1980:Fig. 28b.

Figure 3.16: Native Nubian Pottery from Middle Kingdom Contexts.

Although the parallels for vessels A-F are from the *Kerma Moyen* period, this kind of domestic pottery continues into the *Kerma Classique* (Brigitte Gratien, personal communication 1994). Other diagnostics, *e.g.* G below, would indicate a date in the *Kerma Classique* I phase, contemporary to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The attribution of all this pottery to the Kerma culture is probable, but not certain (see discussion in Chapter 4 above). The cross hatching is also found with Pan Grave and C-Group, but the pendent triangles are particularly characteristic of the Kerma culture. Both motifs are found only at the northern site of Akasha, so the use of the herringbone motif may reflect regionalism within the Kerma culture. The connection between the Egyptian expatriates at Askut and elsewhere with Akasha would only be natural since it was the nearest large Kerma center.

Note that Fabric IIb is a dung tempered and IIe a chaff tempered Nile Silt clay (Nordström 1972).

A: Fabric IIB, Incised Bowl, with pendent triangles, *cf.*, the Kerman cemetery at Akasha (Maystre 1980:Pl. XLVIII:3). 1480, Room Southeast 19, 1.8 meters.

B: Fabric IIB, Incised Restricted Bowl, with cross-hatching, *cf.*, the *Kerma Moyen* cemeteries at Kerma (Dunham 1982:Pls. 235-6, type CXI; a good parallel for the form, but with pendent triangles instead of hatching appears in Bonnet 1990:198, #206). 1480, Room Southeast 19, 1.8 meters.

C: Fabric IIB, Incised Bowl, with pendent triangles, exterior heavily burnt, interior abraded (from cleaning?), indicating use as a cooking pot, *cf. Kerma Moyen* (Gratien 1985a:419-20, type MI). 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

D: Fabric IIB, Incised Restricted Bowl, with hatching, interior and exterior polished, *cf. Kerma Moyen* (Dunham 1982:236, type CXII). 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

E: Fabric IIE, Incised Blacktopped Bowl, with pendent triangles plus a herringbone pattern. This combination is unattested elsewhere, but both motifs are known separately in the *Kerma Moyen* repertoire, although the herringbone pattern is known only in the north at Akasha (see below). 323, Room 4, 40-60 centimeters.

F: Fabric IIE, Incised Bowl, with herringbone pattern and very sooty with deposits of charred material on surface, indicating use as a cooking pot, *cf.* the Kerma cemetery at Akasha (Maystre 1980:Pl. XLVIII). 405, Room 4, 70 centimeters.

G: Fabric IIE, *Kerma Clasique I* Beaker, exterior and interior polished, although the surface of the interior is now badly denuded, *cf.* early *Kerma Classique* at Akasha (Maystre 1980:Pl. XLV:15, XLIII:3-4; note that Beakers do not appear before the *Kerma Classique I*, Lacovara 1987).

Figure 4.5: Cups and Bowls of the Second Intermediate Period.

A: Nile Silt B2, Carinated Bowl, red polished interior and exterior, interior badly denuded, *cf., Qau* Type 6. 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

B: Nile Silt B2, Cup, *cf., Qau* Type 4T. This type replaces the ubiquitous Middle Kingdom Hemispherical Bowl. Other examples often have a polished red coated interior. 1544, Area between Southeast Girdle Wall to Room Southeast 32, 30 to 60 centimeters.

C: Marl B, Carinated Bowl, applied ridges (often pierced as if to hold something, or perhaps as a vestigial 'dummy' pot), pinched rim and combed incised pattern, *cf. Qau* Type 9. This kind of bowl is very typical of the Second Intermediate Period (*eg.,* Bourriau 1981a:58). 1392, Area Southeast 41, 1.0 meters.

D: Nile Silt B2, Carinated Bowl, white coating, presumably in imitation of a marl clay, notched rim and incised decoration, *cf. Qau* Type 9D (also Bourriau, forthcoming, late Second Intermediate Period). 1572, near Altar in Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

E: Nile Silt B2, Carinated Bowl, red coating and polished surface on interior and exterior to point of carination, *cf., Qau* Type 6 F, M. The base

was trimmed with a knife rather than finished on the wheel as with D above. The heavy carination seen on this piece is characteristic of the Hyksos in Egypt and the Levant (*cf.*, Bietak 1991:Fig. 10; Cole 1984:P. 16; Bourriau forthcoming, late Second Intermediate Period). 1752, Room Southeast 8, 1.0 meters.

F: Nile Silt B2 with Limestone, Restricted Carinated Bowl, interior and exterior crudely polished, *cf. Qau* Type 9 M, N (also Bourriau forthcoming, early Second Intermediate Period). 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

G: Nile Silt B2, Bowl, red painted rim, *cf. Qau* Type 4. Compare G-L with the typical Middle Kingdom bowls shown above. 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

H: Nile Silt B2, Bowl, interior coated red and polished perpendicular to rim, exterior painted red at rim, base trimmed with a knife, *cf., Qau* Type 4, also at Balas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.3:23). 1484, Room Southeast 47, 1.7 meters.

I: Nile Silt B2, Large Carinated Bowl, interior and exterior polished, no good parallel was found other than the general tendency towards carinated forms in the Second Intermediate Period as seen in the references cited above. The association of this type at Askut is clear. 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

J: Nile Silt C with Limestone, Large Bowl, red coated and polished interior, exterior red at the rim, *cf.* Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.2:6). 1716, Room Southeast 17, 1.8 meters.

K: Nile Silt C, Small Restricted Carinated Bowl, *cf., Qau* Types 9 and 13, although the Askut example is much smaller. 1447, Room Southeast 47, 1.4 meters.

L: Nile Silt C, Large bowl, red painted rim, *cf.*, Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.1:14, 4.3:17). 1527, Room Southeast 24b, 1.4 meters.

Figure 4.6: Jars and a Stand of the Second Intermediate Period.

A: Marl B, Large Jar, *cf., Qau* Type 28H and Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.3:18; also Bourriau forthcoming, early to late Second Intermediate Period. 1480, Room Southeast 19, 1.8 meters.

B: Marl B, Funnel-necked Large Jar, *cf., Qau* Type 35M and better parallels from Ballas and Tell el-Dab'a (Lacovara 1990:Figure 4.5:11; Bietak 1991:Figure 10). 2137, Street Opposite Room 45, 80 centimeters.

C: Nile Silt D, Large Funnel-necked Jar, *cf.*, Tell el-Dab'a 'Zir' Type 5, Second Part of Hyksos Period, and Ballas (Bietak 1991:Fig. 9; Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.5:14). 1630, Room Southeast 47b, 50 centimeters.

D: Nile Silt C, Large Widemouthed Barrel-necked Jar, *cf.*, *Qau* Type 75D (also Bourriau forthcoming, early Second Intermediate Period, and see Bourriau 1991). 1516, Room Southeast 24a, 1.7 meters.

E: Nile Silt B2, Wavy-necked Bottle, *cf. Qau* Type 61, although Bourriau (forthcoming) offers some better parallels from the early to late Second Intermediate Period. 1793, Between the Southeast Girdle Wall and Room Southeast 32e, 2.0 meters.

F: Nile Silt B2, Biconical Stand, central modeled rib, red coated interior and exterior, polished exterior, *cf. Qau* Types 86, 87 B-D, N, note the ribbing in 86D and G. This type continues into the New Kingdom. 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

G: Nile Silt C, Carinated or Globular Jar, *cf.*, Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.4:3). This rim style continues into the New Kingdom on carinated jars. 1510, Room Southeast 31b, 1.0 meters.

H: Marl B, Footed Base, probably to a large bowl, with applied decoration, *cf. Qau* Types 9R-T (without applied decoration) and similar appliqué on rims and necks at Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Figure 4.3:10, 4.5:2-3). The interior is badly pitted and denuded. Between Southeast Rooms 19a and 26, 1.7 meters.

I: Marl B, Carinated Jar, *cf.*, *Qau* Type 55 D, F, H, 57 D, H, M (also Bourriau 1981b and forthcoming, early to late Second Intermediate Period). 1481, Room Southeast 22, 70 centimeters.

J: Marl B, Carinated Jar, see I above. A jar with this profile and low carination should date to the late Second Intermediate Period, although a very early Eighteenth Dynasty date cannot be ruled out (Janine Bourriau personal communication 1992). 1567, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

K: Nile Silt C, Carinated Jar, white coating inside and out, incising at base of neck, *cf.*, *Qau* Type 46 D, G, and Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.4:9-14). 1728, Room Southeast 36, 1.8 meters.

Figure 4.10: Native Nubian Pottery (found in Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom Contexts).

A: Fabric IIB, Pan Grave, incised cross lined pattern, *cf.*, Sadr Type cc (1987:Fig. 5). 1449, East of Room Southeast 83, 50 centimeters.

B: Fabric IIB, Pan Grave, see A above. 2037, Room 45, 1.4 meters (Floor).

C: Fabric IIE, C-Group, black topped with incised lines, *cf.*, Wadi es-Sebua (Gratien 1985b:Figs. 11-12). 1493, Room Southeast 25, 50 centimeters.

D: **Fabric IIE with Limestone, Pan Grave,** incised lines, *cf.*, Sadr Mokram Group (1987:Fig. 5). This type seems particularly common in the Eighteenth Dynasty. 1535, Room Southeast 32a, 70 to 110 centimeters.

E: **Fabric IIE, Pan Grave,** incised alternating triangle pattern, *cf.*, Sadr Type dd (1987:Fig. 4). This type is very diagnostic for the Pan Grave. 1510, Room Southeast 31b, 1.0 meters.

F: **Fabric IIB, C-Group,** impressed wedge pattern, *cf.*, the 'fort' at Amada (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1909:Pl. 10a). This type could also conceivably be Kerman. 1066, Room 23, below 30 centimeters.

G: **Fabric IIE, Pan Grave,** see A, above. 1528, Room Southeast 23b, 50 to 80 centimeters.

H: **Fabric IIE with Limestone, C-Group,** incised pendent triangles, *cf.*, Wadi es-Sebua (Gratien 1985b:Fig. 13). 2036, Room 40, 1.4 meters (floor).

I: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** roulette impressed and incised design, *cf.*, *Kerma Moyen* (Dunham 1982:Pl. 223, type CXXI), at Akasha (Maystre 1980:Pl. LXVII, XLIX-L) and Sai (Gratien 1985a:Fig. 317, type MV). 1544, Between Room Southeast 32 and Southeast Girdle Wall, 30 to 60 centimeters.

J: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** see I above. 1256, East of Entrance, 30 centimeters.

K: **Fabric IIE, C-Group,** rather crudely hand made, *cf.*, Adindan (Williams 1983:Pls. 65, 70). 1528, Room Southeast 23b, 50 to 80 centimeters.

L: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** highly polished black topped decoration, a typical *Kerma Classique* III Beaker (Lacovara 1987). 1161, Room Southeast 2, 30 to 110 centimeters.

M: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** highly polished black topped bowl, *cf.*, *Kerma Classique* (Maystre 1980:XLVI:12-14; Gratien 1985a:Figs. 320-1, type CIII). 1543, Between Room Southeast 32 and Southeast Girdle Wall, 60 to 130 centimeters.

N: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** exterior polished, rim decorated with rows of roulette impressions, *cf.*, *Kerma Classique* (Gratien 1978:175, 243-4, type 7). 1572, Room Southeast 32a, near Altar, 1.6 meters (floor).

O: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** mat impressed, *cf.* Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.1). 2003, Room 36, 60 to 100 centimeters.

P: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** cord impressed, *cf.* Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.1). 1510, Room Southeast 31b, 1.0 meters.

Q: **Fabric IIB, Kerman,** applied clay to roughen the bottom of a cooking pot, *cf.*, *Kerma Classique* at Sai (Gratien 1985:Fig. 320a, type CIII). 2037, Room 45, 1.4 meters (Floor).

Figure 4.11: Native Nubian Artifacts (from all periods).

A: Nile Silt C, C-Group or Kerman Fertility Figurine, red coating, for the C-Group, see Wenig 1978:111, 116, 122-8; at Kerma, Nora Ferraro in Bonnet 1990:133, fig. 117, and at Akasha (Maystre 1980:140, 188, figs. 28, 58. See discussion above Chapter 4, Plate 18. 1541, Room Southeast 32a, 1.5 meters (near Altar).

B: Stone (Schist?) Pendant, perhaps Kerman (*cf.*, Dunham 1982:Pl. XXXVIIIc). 1571, Room Southeast 32e, 70 to 180 centimeters.

C: Ivory Pendant, probably Kerman (*cf.*, Gratien 1985a:Fig. 285, type J8). 550, Room 8, 1.1 meters (floor).

D: Shell Hair Clasp, C-Group or Pan Grave (*cf.*, Brunton 1937:Pl. LXXIV-V:3246; Williams 1983:Pl. 109R; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:Pl. 48k). 485, Room 26, 1.25 meters.

E: Copper Torque Fragment (End), probably Pan Grave (*cf.*, Brunton 1937:Pl. LXXIV-V:3120, 3170). 942, Room 4, 30 centimeters.

F: Stone (Burnt Steatite?) Pendant, see B above, also *cf.*, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:Pl. 47 l-u. 1131, Southeast Sector, 20 centimeters.

G: Bone Bracelet, perhaps C-Group, *cf.*, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991:Pl. 51b-h for the general shape, bone is reported for oval pennanular drop bracelets at Adindan (Williams 1983:83). 1306, Chapel, Surface.

H: Turtle Shell Bracelet, Pan Grave (*cf.*, Brunton 1937:Pl. LXXIV; Wainwright 1920:Pl. XII, also of turtle shell). 1306, Chapel, Surface.

I: Turtle shell Bracelet, see H above. 1615, Room Southeast 28, 1.0 meters.

J: Cowrie Shell Bead, C-Group (*cf.*, Williams 1983:95, Pl. 118, who indicates that they are of Egyptian manufacture, but note that Wainwright (1907:19) cites them as typical of the C-Group). 1306, Chapel, Surface.

K: Cowrie Shell Bead, see J above. 1749, Room Southeast 8, 1.8 meters.

L: Ostrich Eggshell Bead, Ostrich Eggs were widely used for beads throughout Nubia, and appear with all three cultural groups (Williams 1983:91; Wainwright 1920:19). 1454, Third Recess, Southeast Girdle, 2.0 meters.

Figure 6.4: Cups and Bowls of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty.[64]

A: Nile Silt B2, Cup, ring base finished on the wheel, 'red splash' decoration on the interior (other examples are often coated red and polished inside), *cf., Rifeh* Types 20-6, Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.2:15), and Holthoer Type CC3 (1977:Pl. 25), where the 'splash' motif is common. This type replaces the Hemispherical Bowl as one of the most frequent and diagnostic types of the New Kingdom. 1491, Room Southeast 22, 70 centimeters.

B: Nile Silt C, Flaring Cup, *cf., Rifeh* Types 9-11, 19, 220. 1572, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

C: Nile Silt B2, Deep Plate, evidence of burning in the center may indicate its use as a lamp or incense burner, *cf., Rifeh* Type 16, 17, Ballas and Tell el-Dab'a (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.2:14; Bietak 1991:Fig. 10). 1535, Room Southeast 32a, 70 to 110 centimeters.

D: Nile Silt B2, Bowl, red painted rim, *cf. Rifeh* Type 25, for a close parallel Holthoer Type CU4 (1977:Plate 26, esp. 185/572:3). 1572, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

E: Nile Silt B2, Deep Plate, red coated and polished interior, red rim, base apparently finished off with a reed brush, *cf., Rifeh* Type 227, Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.2:13) and Holthoer Type PL3 (1977:Pl. 27, esp. 400/10:15). 1507, Room Southeast 32, 50 centimeters.

F: Nile Silt C, Bowl, *cf., Rifeh* Type 2, and later at Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 1L). 1368, Room Southeast 7, Bin.

G: Nile Silt B2 + Limestone, Carinated Bowl, red coated and polished interior and exterior down to the point of carination, ring base is wheel finished, *cf., Rifeh* Types 28, 212, 218, and Holthoer Type CC3 (1977:Pl 24, esp. 64/3:22c). 1672, Room Southeast 30a, 1.1 meters.

H: Nile Silt C, 'Firedog,' exterior sooty, but only one patch of soot in interior near hole. This pattern would be consistent with its use set upside-down to support a pot above coals as suggested by David Aston (1989). 1572, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

I: Nile Silt B2, Restricted Carinated Bowl, white coated and polished interior and exterior to the point of carination, line and dot motif painted in black along with rim ticks, *cf.* Holthoer Type CC3

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[64]Note that for *Rifeh,* Types 1-200 = to Thutmose I; 201-335 = Hatshepsut/Thutmose III; and 336-91 = Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV. Holthoer's (1977) typology dates from the Second Intermediate Period through the reign of Amenhotep III (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, and see discussion of Fadrus Cemetery above Chapter 6).

(1977:Plate 24, esp. 201/0:6). 1572, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

J: Nile Silt B2, Carinated Cup, white coated (very thin) and polished inside and out, red line and wavy line painted motif, *cf.*, Holthoer Type CC3 (1977:Pl. 24, esp. 185/599:21). 1570, Room Southeast 32b, 70 to 170 centimeters.

K: Nile Silt C, Carinated Bowl, interior and exterior polished, painted red lined motif and rim ticks, *cf.* Holthoer Type CC5 for shape and CC3 for decoration (1977:Pl. 24, esp. 185/87:3 and 31/0:2), also possibly a different and somewhat later type found at Malqata with the same form and decorative motif as the Askut example (Hope 1989:Fig. 8b-e). 1171, Room Southeast 7, Surface to 80 centimeters.

L: Nile Silt B2, Restricted Carinated Bowl, *cf.*, a very close parallel from Ballas (Lacovara 1990:4.1:14). 1572, near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.6 meters (floor).

M: Nile Silt B2 (Coarse), 'Flowerpot,' *cf.*, Holthoer Type FP2 (1977:Pl.18, esp. Q/344, the context would suggest a date in the reign of Thutmose III, see Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991). 1586, Room Southeast 33, 30 to 120 centimeters.

N: Nile Silt C, Large Bowl, pattern of burning in the interior is consistent with its use as a lamp, *cf. Rifeh* Type 201. 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

O: Nile Silt B2, Large Ledged Bowl, *cf.*, Holthoer Type CU6 (1971:Pl. 26). This type is perhaps only introduced in the mid Eighteenth Dynasty (its earliest appearance at Askut), since it is found frequently at both Malqata and Amarna (Hope 1989:Fig. 1n; Peet and Woolley 1923:Pl. 47:IX/242; Holthoer 1977:119). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

Figure 6.5: Jars and Miscellaneous Forms of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty.

A: Nile Silt C, Bread Mold, *cf.*, Jacquet-Gordon Type D (1981:19, Fig. 5). The small size is found from the reign of Amenhotep II and perhaps before, and may indicate its use in ritual food offerings rather than in a ration system as in the Middle Kingdom. They do seem to cluster around the Chapel. They also lack the fine silt lining of their Middle Kingdom counterparts, perhaps their size made extraction of the bread easier. 1172, Room Southeast 8, 1.0 meters.

B: Nile Silt B2, 'Decanter/Drop Vase,' *cf.*, Holthoer Type WD (1977:Pl. 41, esp. 185/0:1). This type is often shown in tomb scenes showing servants pouring liquid into the cups of revellers. The small size

here suggests an additive rather than wine itself. 1062, Room 40, below 30 centimeters.

C: **Nile Silt C, Beerbottle (?),** *cf.*, Holthoer Type BB2 (1977:Pl. 18). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

D: **Nile Silt B2, Biconical Stand,** red coated and polished, black painted line and dot motif with rim ticks, *cf.*, Holthoer Type TR1 (Pl. 15). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

E: **Nile Silt B2, Incense Burner,** *cf.*, Holthoer Type BU4 (Pl. 23, note that the rim style illustrated by Holthoer is the typical one found at Askut). 1572, Room Southeast 32a near Altar, 1.6 meters (floor).

F: **Nile Silt B2, Bottle,** interior and exterior red coated and polished with incised lines on neck, *cf.*, Holthoer Type BO1 (1977:Pl. 29). 1535, Room Southeast 32a, 70 to 110 centimeters.

G: **Marl B, Funnel Necked Bag-shaped Jar,** incised decoration below neck, this seems to be an early type, *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 187, Tell el-Dab'a Strata E/1-D/3 (Bietak 1991:Fig. 10). 2136, Street Opposite Room 45, 1.1 meters.

H: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 93, 111, 322 and Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 3a). 1572, Room Southeast 32a near Altar, 1.6 meters (floor).

I: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** *cf. Rifeh* Type 378, Ballas, and Malqata (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.4:12; Hope 1989:Fig. 5j, 8g, h). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

J: **Marl D, Amphora (?),** *cf.*, Hope Type 1c (1989:Fig. 5:6, reign of Amenhotep II), alternatively a jar of Holthoer's Type NJ (1977:Pl. 39). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

K: **Nile Silt B2 (very sandy), Broadnecked Carinated Jar,** red coated and pattern burnished exterior, black painted line and box motif with rim ticks, ring base finished by hand, this type of base is diagnostic for the New Kingdom, *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 159 (for form), Holthoer Type CV1 (for form and decoration, 1977:Pl. 31, esp. 185/593:5, also Pls. 34 and 36 for decorative motif). 510, Room South of 14, 1.5 meters (floor).

L: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** white coated with red painted lined motif and rim ticks, *cf.*, Holthoer Type JO1 (1977:Pl. 36, esp. 185/561:4). 1428, Room Southeast 11, 50 centimeters.

M: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** white coated exterior with black line and petal motif, *cf.*, Holthoer Type AT1 (1977:Pl. 22) and Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 3h, 4a, note the similar treatment of the petals in Hope's Ramesside typology, 1989:Pl. 2a). 1248, Entrance Passage, 50 centimeters.

N: **Marl B, Carinated Jar,** polished exterior, black painted cross lined and cross hatched motif, *cf.*, Holthoer Type CS1 and CV1 (1977:Pls. 30-

2). The angle of carination may indicate an early date (Bourriau 1981b). 1004, Room E-3, 50 centimeters.

O: **Marl A2 (?), Strap-handled Jar,** polished exterior, bichrome red and black painted line and 'ladder' motif, *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 413, Holthoer Type AH1 (1977:Pl. 23, but for decoration JU1, Pls. 20-1). This pot probably dates to Thutmose IV to Amenhotep II (see above Chapter 6, Plate 22). 1564, group near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.60 meters (floor).

P: **Marl B (? poss. A2), Carinated Jar,** patterned burnished with black lined painted motif, *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 158, Holthoer Type CV1 (1977:Pl. 31, esp. 185/137:5, -/322:6, -/561:2). 1566, group near Altar, Room Southeast 32a, 1.60 meters (floor).

Figure 6.6: Large Vessels of the Early to Mid Eighteenth Dynasty.

A: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** with ledge below rim, *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 90, 92, 181, Holthoer Types AO2, BL, JO1-2 (1977:Pls. 22, 29, 37-8), Tell el-Dab'a, and a similar Ramesside type (Bietak 1991:Fig. 10; Hope 1989:Fig. 9j). 1572, Room Southeast 32a near Altar, 1.6 meters (floor).

B: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** *cf.*, Holthoer Type ST1 (1977 Pl. 16) and Ballas (Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.5:12). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

C: **Marl B, Teardrop Jar,** incised lined motif at neck, this type is common in the Eighteenth Dynasty *cf.*, *Rifeh* Types 68-84, Holthoer JO1 (1977:Pls. 36-7, esp. variant A). 1586, Room Southeast 33, 30 to 120 centimeters.

D: **Nile Silt D, Pilgrim Flask,** *cf.*, *Rifeh* Type 391 (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV, see above Chapter 6 for further references). 1602, Room Southeast 32c, 1.7 meters.

E-G: **Amphorae,** these sherds are typical of the style from Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III, and perhaps as early as Thutmose III, with low handles, tall neck and pointed base (Hope 1989:93, Figs. 1-2).

E: **Marl A3, Amphora,** the break has been smoothed, indicating re-use, probably as a pot stand, *cf.*, Hope (1989:Fig. 1:4, 3; 2:1). 2075, Room 24a, 1.4 meters.

F: **Marl D, Amphora,** *cf.*, Hope (1989:Fig. 1:4). 1382, Room Southeast 16, 60 centimeters.

G: **Marl D, Amphora,** base is mold made, a typical feature of the later Eighteenth Dynasty, *cf.*, Malqata (Hope 1989:Pl. 11a). 1478, Room Southeast 47, 90 centimeters.

H: Nile Silt C, Widemouthed Jar, *cf., Rifeh* Type 364, Ballas (but smaller, Lacovara 1990:Fig. 4.4:3-4) and later in the Ramesside corpus (Hope 1989:Fig. 6d). 1531, Room Southeast 32a, 30 centimeters.

I: Marl B, 'Zir,' *cf., Rifeh* Type 182, 331, Holthoer Type ST1 (1977:Pl. 16), Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 10c). 1602, Room Southeast 32c, 1.7 meters.

Figure 6.10: Scarabs, Jewelry, Faience and Glass from the New Kingdom.

A: Green Glazed Steatite Scarab of Ramesses II, *cf.,* Brovarski *et al.* 1982:252, #355. 1330, North of Area Southeast 41, 20 centimeters.

B: Blue Faience Scarab of Seti I, crudely made in a mold, the body is blue-green and the base blue. 316, South part of Room 14.

C: Blue Faience with Black Highlights, Figurine of a Lion or Lion-headed Deity, perhaps Sekhmet. 1689, Room Southeast 32b, 2.0 meters (Floor).

D: Blue Faience Model Persea Fruit, similar examples were found in the Mirgissa Hathor Chapel (Vercoutter, et al. 1970:349, Fig. 47:128). 1786, Room Southeast 32a, below Altar, 2.4 meters. Perhaps it fell down the altar drain.

E: Variegated Glass Cosmetic Vessel, *cf.,* Brovarski *et al.* 1982:164, 166, #178, 184, both from the late Eighteenth Dynasty. 1667, Room 40A, 1.0 meters.

F: Carnelian, Corn Flower Pendant Bead, the cornflower was probably introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty from Syria, *cf.,* Brovarski *et al.* 1982:238, #314. 1396, Northeast Corner of Southeast Sector, 30 centimeters.

G: Jasper, Corn Flower Pendant Bead, see F above. 1193, Room Southeast 19, Surface to 20 centimeters.

Figure 6.12: Ceramic Window, Nile Silt C, painted red, perhaps in imitation of wood, traces of gypsum plaster at top, sides and back, *cf.,* Peet and Woolley 1923:Pl. VI:4.

Figure 6.14: Cups and Bowls of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside Period (*Ramesside* = Hope 1989:47-88).

A: Nile Silt B2, Incense Burner, white coated, soot and resinous incense residues inside, *cf., Ramesside* Fig. 9d, 20f, g., types with a more exaggerated ledge-inner lip also appear at Askut. 1307, Room E-18 (Chapel), Surface to 70 centimeters.

B: Nile Silt C, Restricted Carinated Jar, white coated with painted red line, dot and petal (?) motif and rim ticks, *cf.,* for shape Holthoer

Type CC5 (1977:Pl. 24, esp. 185/87:3, also BA1, but not oval, Pl. 23), *Ramesside* Fig. 13q-s, 12f. 97, Northern Upper Fort, within Christian Superstructure.

C: **Marl B, Restricted Carinated Bowl,** *cf., Ramesside* Fig. 12e, Malqata (Hope 1979:Fig. 8a-c). This kind of carination is particularly diagnostic of this period. 1517, Room Southeast 32b, 30 centimeters.

D: **Nile Silt B2, Carinated Bowl,** polished interior and exterior to the point of carination, *cf., Ramesside* Fig. 3a-c, 15a, Holthoer Type CC6 (1977:Pl. 24). 1535, Room Southeast 32a, 70 to 110 centimeters.

E: **Nile Silt B2 (coarse), Restricted Bowl,** heavy burning and charred material on surface indicates use as a cooking pot, *cf.*, Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 1r, 3f). 2076, Room 11, 80 centimeters.

F: **Marl B, Footed Bowl,** *cf., Ramesside* Figs. 4a, 7h, i, 13j. 1640, Room Southeast 36, 50 centimeters.

G: **Nile Silt C, Restricted Carinated Bowl,** white coated and polished inside and out with red painted petal motif and dark red rim ticks on a light red painted rim, see B above for parallels. The decoration is normally found on jars, *cf.*, Holthoer Type ST3 (1977:Pl. 17). 1633, Room Southeast 37, Surface.

H: **Nile Silt C, Restricted Carinated Bowl,** polished interior and exterior down to the point of carination with red painted petal motif and rim ticks, see B and G above for parallels. 1586, Room Southeast 33, 30-120 centimeters

I: **Nile Silt B2, Restricted Bowl,** rim and applied ridges highlighted with red paint, *cf., Ramesside* Figs. 11i, 12s, 13q-s. 1517, Room Southeast 32b, 30 centimeters.

J: **Nile Silt B2 (coarse), Restricted Carinated Bowl,** this heavy ledged carination is particularly diagnostic of the Ramesside Period, *cf., Ramesside* Figs. 3e, 12r. 1435, North of Room 41a, 60 centimeters.

Figure 6.15: Jars of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside Period.

A: **Nile Silt B2, Jar,** no satisfactory parallel could be found, but this type, with a rather convex neck somewhat reminiscent of F below, appears at Askut consistently in later New Kingdom contexts (mid Eighteenth Dynasty on). 1572, Room Southeast 32a near Altar, 1.6 meters (floor).

B: **Marl B, Jar,** slightly grooved rim, *cf.*, Amarna Type 14 (Rose 1984:10.1, the rim is similar to an amphora also from the reign of Akhenaton Hope 1989:Fig. 5:8). 2076, Room 25, 90 centimeters.

C: **Nile Silt B2, Carinated Jar** (see D for complete shape), white coated exterior with red painted line motif and modeled ridge, this type

also appears earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty, *cf.*, *Rifeh* 181, Holthoer Type GJ1 and NJ1 (1977:Pls. 34, 39), somewhat similar to Amarna Type 14 (Rose 1984:10.1, see Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933:Pl. LII, Type XIV:1 for a close parallel), for the decoration on a similar form, *cf.*, Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 8g, h). 1066, Room 23, below 30 centimeters.

D: **Nile Silt C, Carinated Jar,** red coated polished exterior with modeled ridge, see C above for parallels. 1606, Room E-18 (Chapel), 1.5 meters (floor).

E: **Nile Silt C, Funnel Necked Jar,** red coated and polished exterior, *cf.*, Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 3g). 1369, Room Southeast 7, Bin.

F: **Marl B, Amphora (?),** this convex neck with a rolled rim is diagnostic of the Ramesside Period, and could be from an amphora or a jar like *Ramesside* Fig. 9 l. 2160, Room Southeast 48, 1.1 meters.

G: **Marl D, Amphora,** *cf.*, Hope (1989:Fig. 2:7, 3:1-3), and I below. 1517, Room Southeast 32b, 30 centimeters.

H: **Palestinian Fabric, Amphora,** sharp shouldered amphorae were introduced in the LBIIB and spread to Egypt around the Amarna Period (Hope 1989:94; *cf.*, Amiran 1970:Pl. 43:8-12). 2036, Room 40, 1.4 meters (floor).

I: **Marl D, Wide Mouthed Amphora,** reign of Ramesses II or later (*cf.* Hope 1989:94, Fig. 3:2). 1521, Room Southeast 72, 30 centimeters (set into floor).

J: **Marl (?), Jar,** a very late type,*cf.*, an example from the reign of Ramesses IV (Hölscher 1939:Pl. 56). 1370, Room Southeast 7, Bin.

K: **Nile Silt C, Long necked Jar,** exterior red coated and polished, incised line at shoulder, *cf.*, Malqata (Hope 1989:Fig. 6a). 1342, Room Southeast 6, Northwest Bin, 30 centimeters.

Figure 6.16: Imported Pottery from the Aegean (A-D) and Cyprus (E), and a Syrian or Cypriot influenced Egyptian Juglet (F).

A: **Mycenaean Pilgrim Flask,** red painted decoration, polished, late Eighteenth Dynasty through early Ramesside Period, LH IIIA2-B1, Mountjoy 1986:77-81).

B: **Mycenaean Piriform Jar,** red painted decoration, polished, see A above for reference.

C, D: **Mycenaean Stirrup Jar,** traces of red painted decoration, see A above for reference.

E: **Cypriot Base Ring Ware Juglet,** early Eighteenth Dynasty, Merrillees Type IAa(i) (1968:111, 147, Pl. III).

F: Marl A3, Imitation Cypriot or Syrian Juglet, the fabric is very fine but does appear to be Egyptian, the decoration is also a common Egyptian motif (*cf.*, Figures 6.4-5 above), for a likely prototype, *cf.*, Amiran 1970:Pls. 46, 48.

References

Abbreviations:

BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
CRIPEL	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo.
MEEF	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund.
MEES	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society.
SJE	Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia

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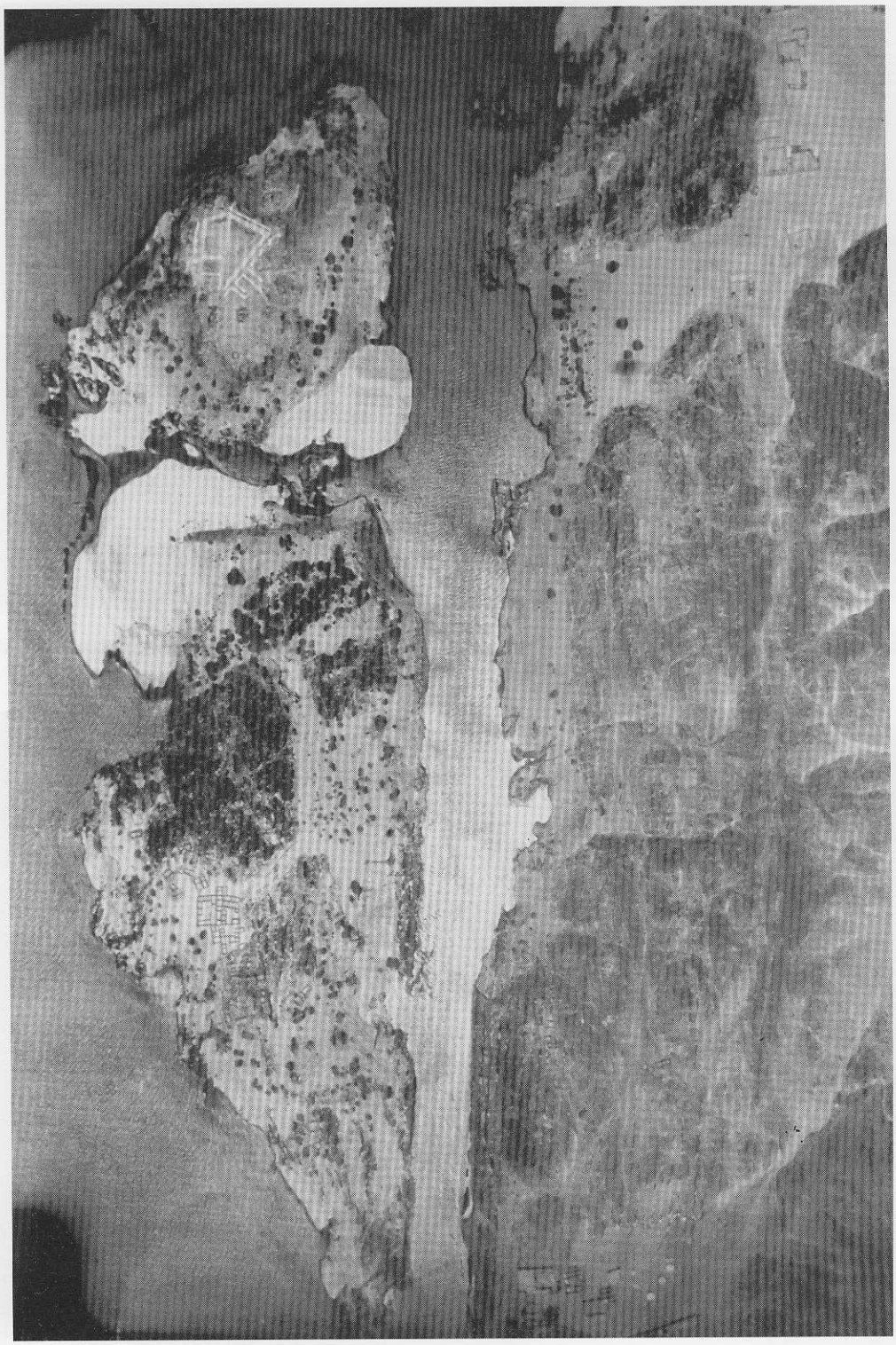
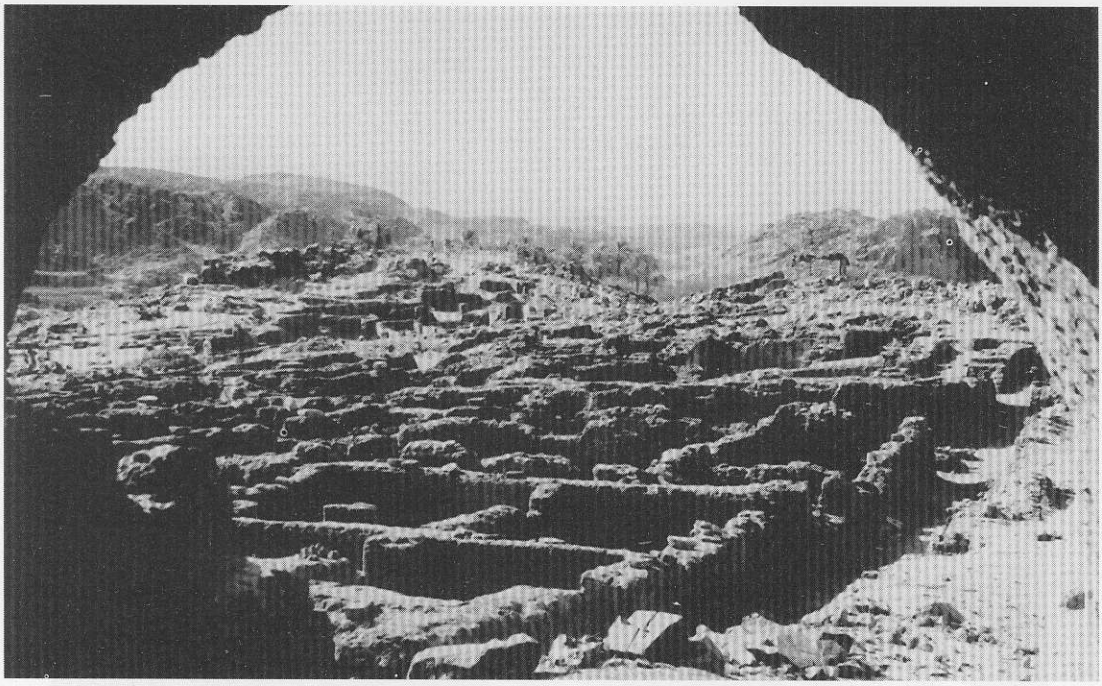
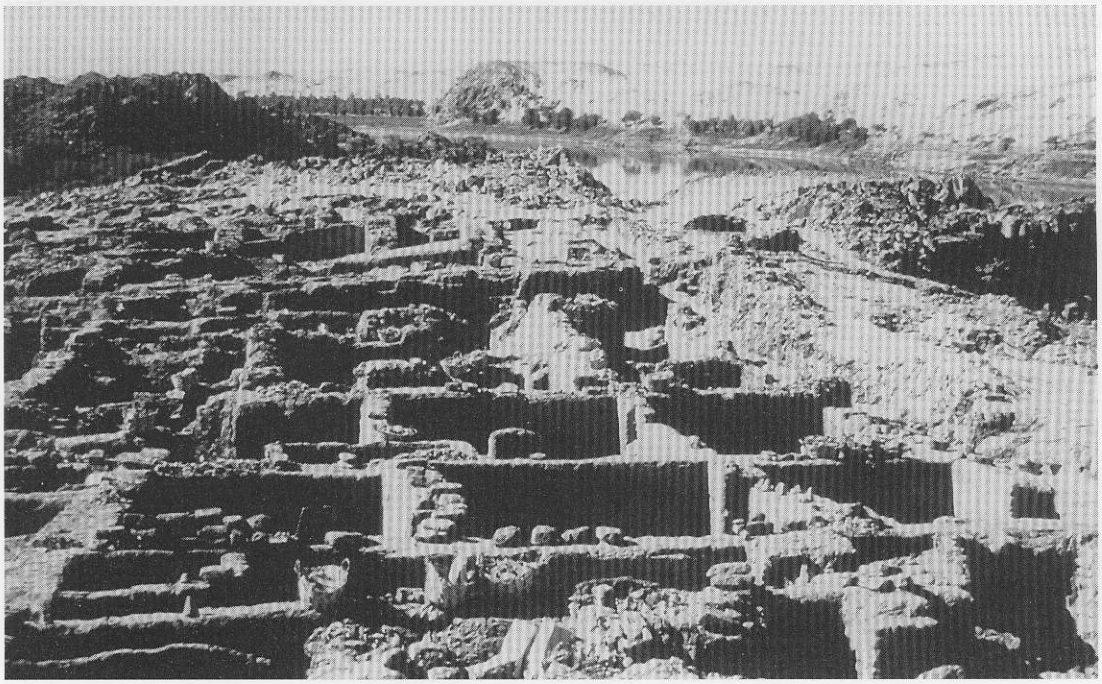


1. Aerial photograph of Askut and Kagenarti Islands. The enclosure wall of the Main Fortress is indicated on Askut.

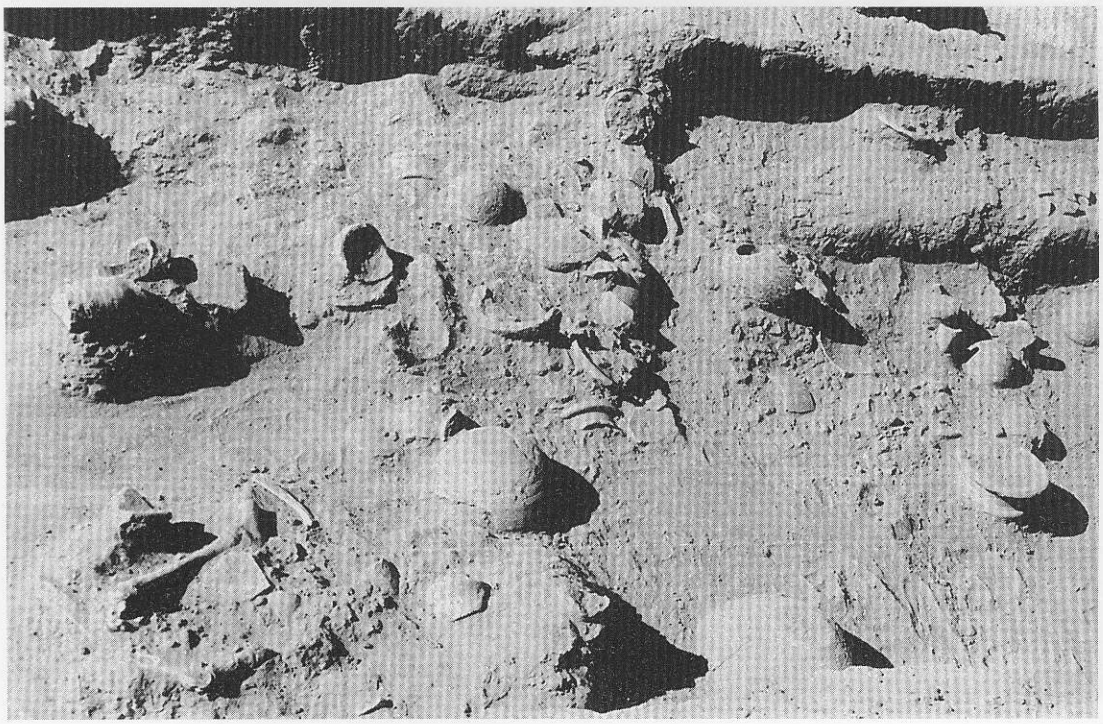


2. The Main fort at Askut looking towards the Southeastern Sector at the end of excavation. Rooms 7 and 8, 11 and 12 are in the foreground.

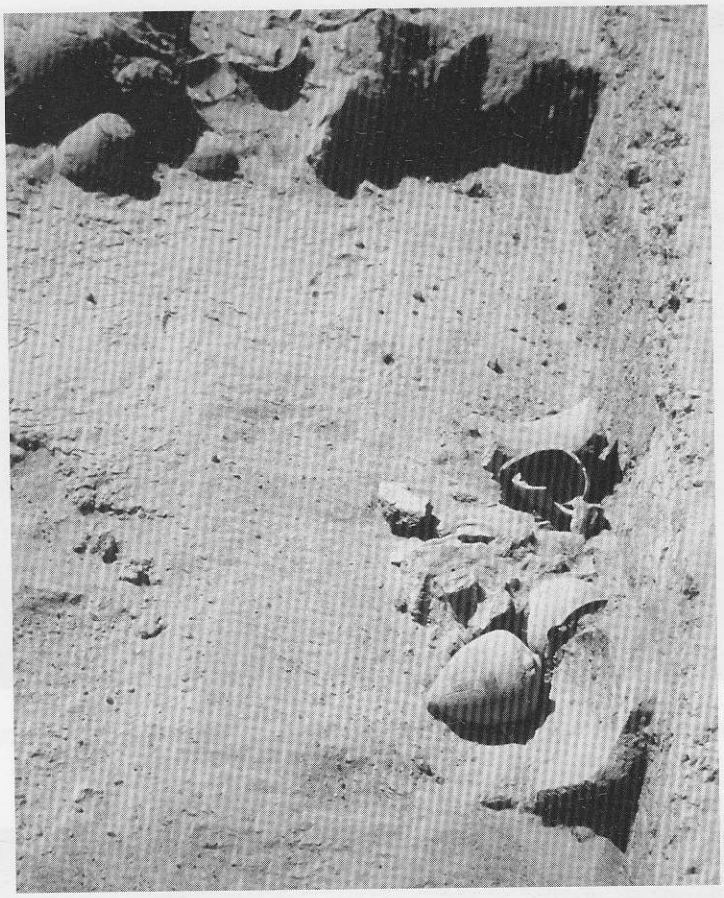
3. Overview of the eastern half of the Main Fortress showing the Granary complex. The unexcavated Southeast Sector is in the background.



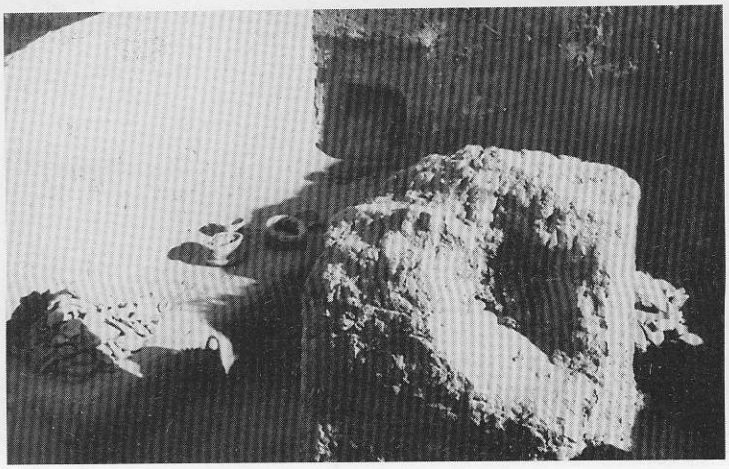
4. Overview of the western half of the Main Fortress with the 'Barracks' complex in the foreground. The walls are standing to about 1.5 meters height.



5. Deposit of Middle Kingdom pottery and trash *in situ* in Room 2.

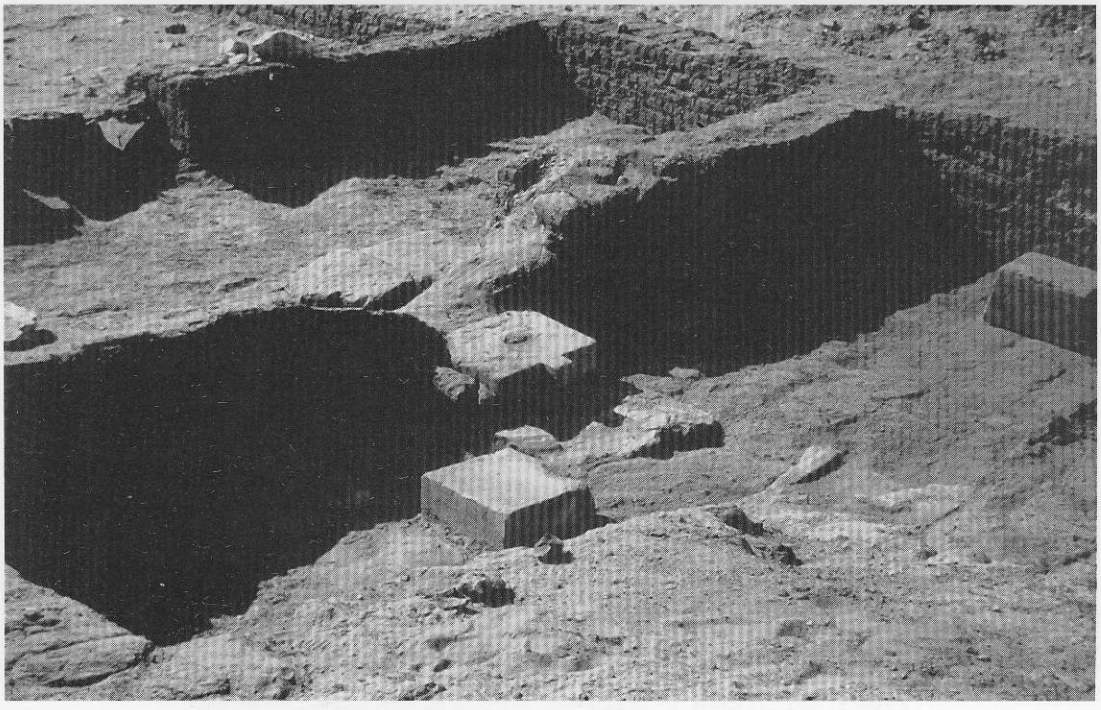


6. Tell el-Yahudiya Juglet (Figure 3.15C) *in situ* with associated advanced 13th Dynasty pottery in the street outside Room 11.



7. Framed niche and mastaba of the Middle Kingdom household shrine in Room 12.

8. Overview of the New Kingdom Chapel.



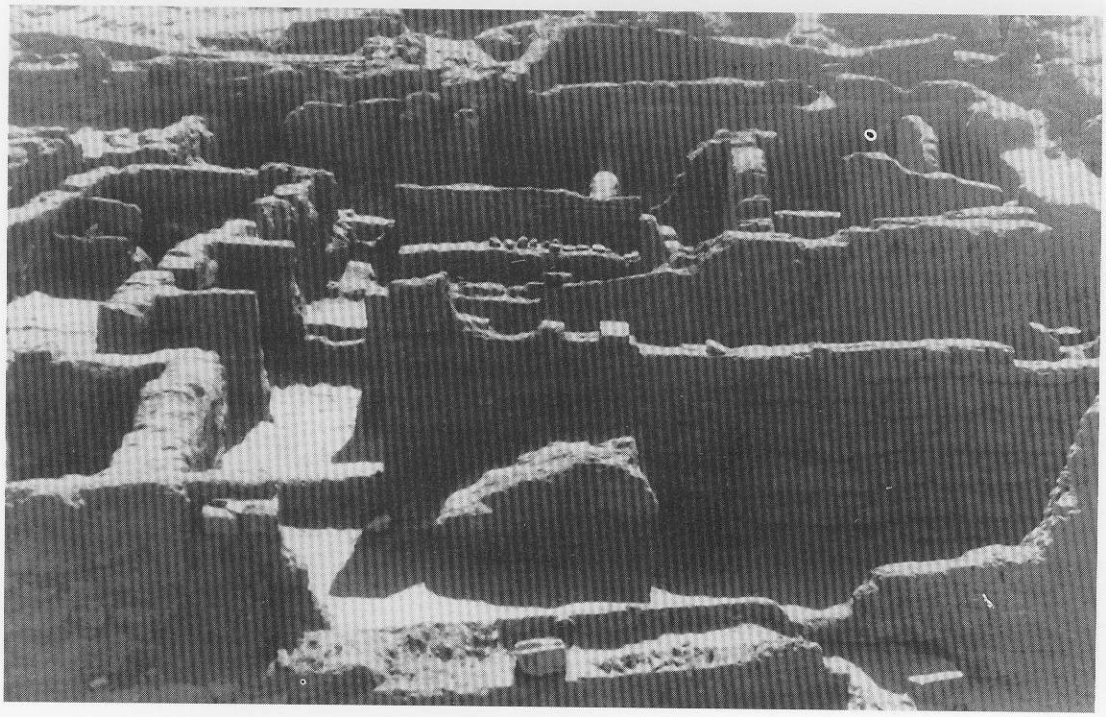
9. Chapel sanctuary with offering basins and slab.

10. The Southeastern Sector at Askut with the Chapel in the foreground.

11. Southeast Sector looking from the House of Meryka north towards the Main Fort, note the generally poor preservation of the defensive wall in the background.

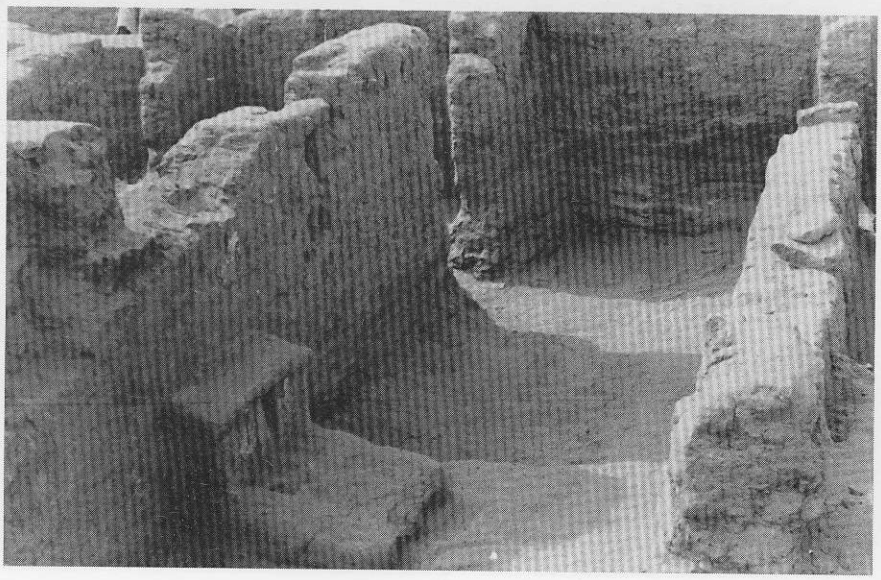
enerally poor

12. Deposit of New Kingdom Pottery in Room SE 14 illustrating 'de facto' abandonment debris.



13. The House of Meryka, Room 31a with worn staircase in the foreground. Note the holes for ceiling beams at middle right in Room SE 32a with walls preserved to 2.0 meters in height.

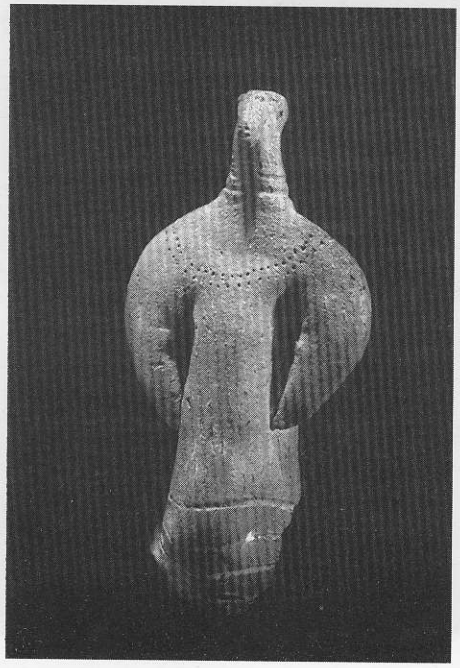
14. View of the tile floor with inset jar in the north end of Room SE 32b. Room SE 32c lies in the background with painted dado above earlier wall used as a foundation.



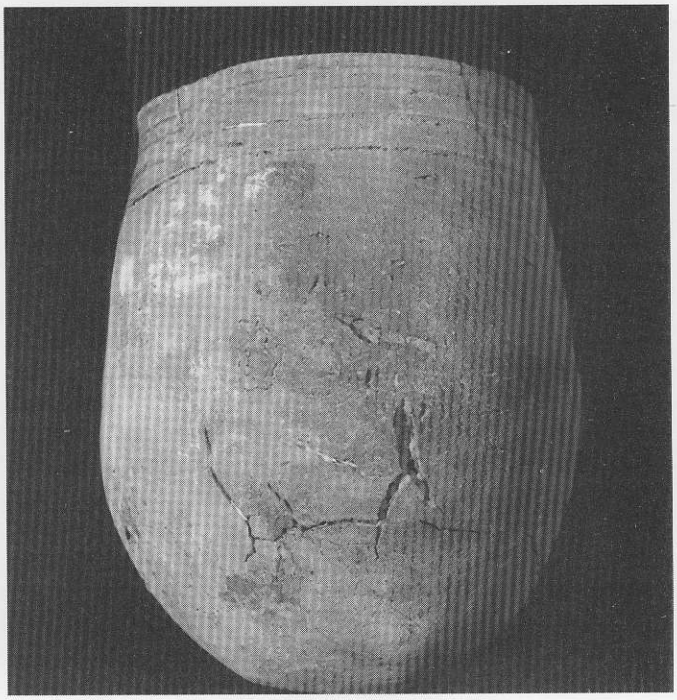
15. Household Shrine in Room SE 32a. Note the plaster running down to the level of the tile floor in the south end of the room.

16. Household Shrine in Room SE 32a showing the stela still *in situ*. Several superimposed floor levels can be seen in the upper part, and the tile floor in the lower part of the stratigraphic cut.

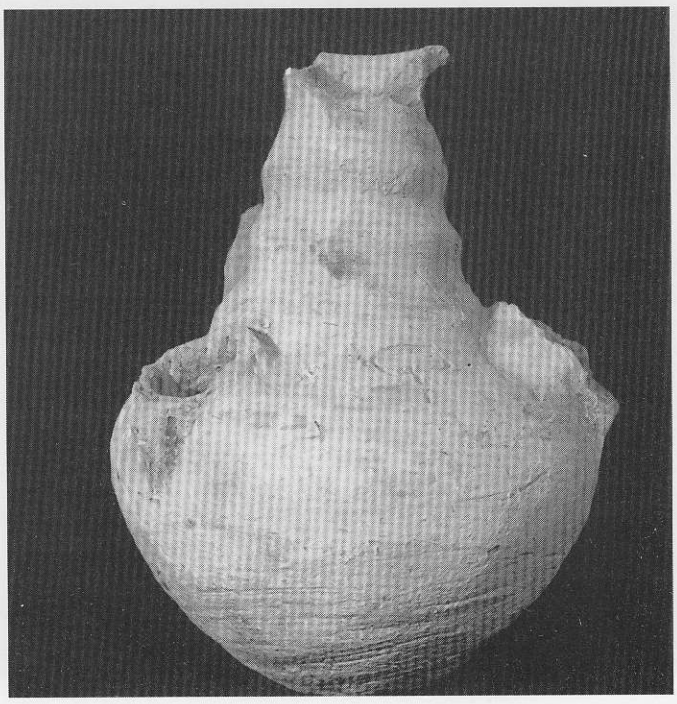
17. Second Intermediate Period Stela of Meryka from the Shrine in Room SE 32a.



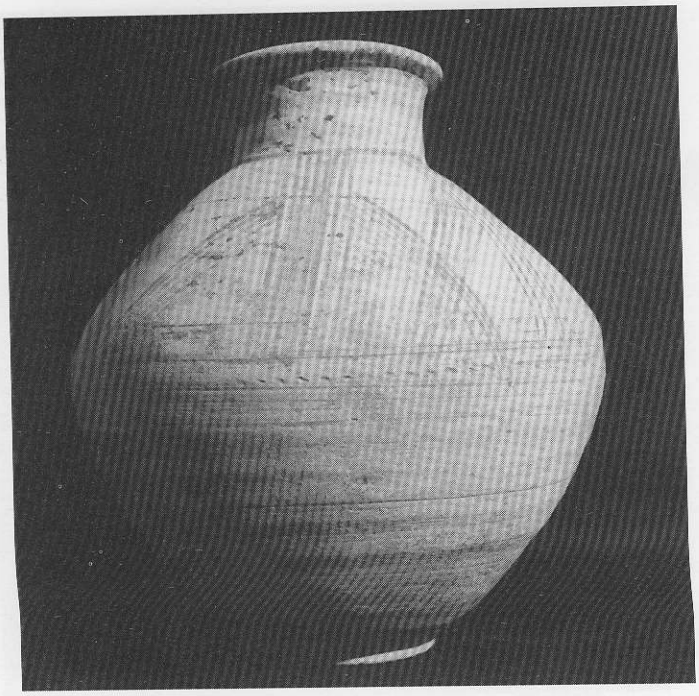
18. Nubian Figurine from near the Altar in Room SE 32a.



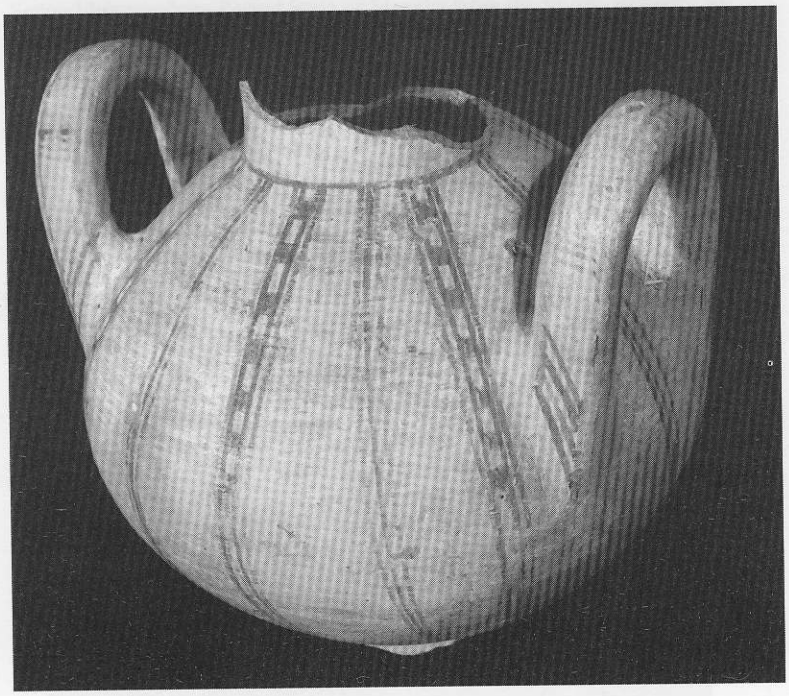
19. Mid to Late 13th Dynasty cup from Askut.



20. Middle Kingdom three spouted jar for flowers from Room 38 in the Commandant's Quarters.



21. Early to Mid 18th Dynasty monochrome painted jar found with *de facto* abandonment deposit near the Altar in Room SE 32a.



22. Mid 18th Dynasty two handled bichrome painted jar found with *de facto* abandonment deposit near the Altar in Room SE 32a.