

**Qustul incense burner** (Protodynastic, A-Group, 3300-3100 B.C.) and **roll out drawing of Qustul incense burner** (Source : The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, and cf. Bruce WILLIAMS, *The Qustul Incense Burner and the Case for a Nubian Origin of Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, in *Egypt in Africa*, Theodore CELENKO Editor, Indianapolis Museum of Art, USA, 1996, pp. 95-97)

# □ A Prospectus For Exploring The Historical Essence of Ancient Nubia\*

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**Abstract** : *Important digging ups have been carried on in the regions localised in South Egypt and in Nubia such as for example the «Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier», under the leadership of Keith C. SEELE of Chicago University (The Oriental Institute, 1986). The material brought to light in particular those concerning the funeral habits, allows the author to characterise the ancient cultures of Nubia and to appreciate their relationship with those of Egypt.*

**Résumé** : *Pour l'exploration de l'essence historique de la Nubie Ancienne. — Des fouilles importantes ont été menées dans les régions situées au sud de l'Égypte et en Nubie comme par exemple «Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier», menées par Keith C. SEELE de l'Université de Chicago (The Oriental Institute, 1986). Le matériel mis au jour, en particulier celui relatif aux pratiques funéraires, permet à l'auteur de caractériser les cultures anciennes de la Nubie et d'apprécier leurs relations avec celles de l'Égypte.*

## 1. Introduction

Recurring events in the archaeology of funerary monuments in northeastern Africa support the thesis that a religious tradition was shared by the major peoples of the Nile Valley and adjacent regions in ancient times. The tradition was not unified or codified but included polarities that were reflected in the relationships between the various peoples<sup>1</sup>. The tradition was detailed enough to reproduce a complex of interrelated phenomena at widely separated times and places and in different cultures. Although some aspects were not unique to Nubia or even Africa, the combination of them in the complex was unique, a circumstance that is convincingly explained only by the existence of a shared religious tradition<sup>2</sup>.

Elements of the tradition often either combined with, were supplanted by, or even replaced, Egyptian motifs in a way that indicates considerable reciprocity existed in the relationship between Egypt and countries to the south. Since evidence for the complex occurred in every archaeological phase from the Neolithic to the Christian period, brevity demands that many problems remain unresolved and important threads remain untracked. The following discussion is intended to formulate a problem and identify areas for further study.

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Funerary practices are particularly well known in Nubia and Egypt and they are the source of the most complete and clear recurrence of cultural motifs. For this reason, and because they were so important in northeastern Africa, mortuary complexes are the foundation of this inquiry. Both in Egypt and in Nubia, important burials were regularly marked by monumental installations which occur alone or in compact groups in conspicuous locations. The monuments served as centres of cults which played an important part in social life<sup>3</sup>. The coincidence of location, monumentality, and often design indicates that these complexes shared a fundamental purpose rooted in the belief that the dead had a role to play in the living world which was affected or invoked by material offerings and prayers. Since this cultic activity was an essential part of Egypt's relation to her own dead, and because Egyptian images appear frequently in Nubia, a second complex to be considered is evidence for pharaonic culture, with its easily-recognised images and conventions.

The significance of the funerary tradition is reflected in the development of certain parts of the monument-complex: the superstructure marked the location of the monument. The cult offered a means of connecting the living with the dead. The substructure and the burial indicated the type of future existence expected for the deceased.

## 2. Superstructure

The predominant superstructure constructed for burials in Nubia was the tumulus. Sometimes this was a simple mound, as in the Noubadian royal tumuli of fourth and fifth century Ballana and Qustul<sup>4</sup>. More often, the tumulus was marked by a ring at the perimeter which ranged from a band of pebbles<sup>5</sup>, rubble<sup>6</sup>, or even slabs (Fig 1)<sup>7</sup>, to relatively tall dry-stone walls<sup>8</sup>. In a few cases, the tumulus was stepped, or even conical (Fig 2)<sup>9</sup>, and in late Kerma times, great tumuli were paved with mud and surmounted by white (quartz?) stone peaks<sup>10</sup>.

The tumulus was also known in early Egypt. At Tarkhan, in Naqada IIIa-b, grave mounds were covered with plaster of white gypsum; somewhat later, small mastabas with tiny chapels on the south (head) end were built over tombs of approximately the same type<sup>11</sup>. A private cemetery at Saqqara also contained a simple ring tumulus of stones<sup>12</sup>.

The traditions of building tumuli in Nubia intersected with the Egyptian tradition of building pyramids in three transitional phases. In the early New Kingdom, a series of four chamber-tombs built at Serra East, probably for local rulers of Teh-khet<sup>13</sup>, included two low tumuli constructed on the Kerma/Pan Grave pattern, with leaning slab circles and one with a pavement (Fig 3). At least one of the later two tombs was a pyramid, leading directly to the pyramid structure of Amenemhat's tomb at Debeira<sup>14</sup> and ultimately to the pyramid cemeteries that continued to the end of the New Kingdom<sup>15</sup>.

For some time after the fall of the New Kingdom, no archaeological remains are documented, but after the hiatus the earliest superstructures built at el-Kurru were ring tumuli, sometimes surrounded with dressed stone<sup>16</sup>. After the conquest of Egypt, royal superstructures were pyramids<sup>17</sup>, patterned after New Kingdom pyramids in Nubia. The custom of building pyramids characterised the central tradition of Kush for a millennium. Elaborations showed that the builders were conversant with the universal creative significance of the structures; some pyramids had lotus pillars at the pinnacles, and at least one was decorated with a row of stars around the base<sup>18</sup>.

Even while the pyramid was a predominant superstructure at the capitals of Kush and in Lower Nubia, ring tumuli were constructed in peripheral areas by people who must have

been fully conversant with the central official practice<sup>19</sup>. In the fourth century, these tumuli were built in all regions of the old Meroitic Empire, closing an ancient tradition.

### 3. Cult

Superstructures were generally accompanied by **external** offerings, most often placed toward the east or west. A Group tumuli had offering places on the west and south<sup>20</sup>, and the royal cemetery at Qustul was accompanied by cache pits which contained objects, ostrich eggs, and probably a round-topped stela<sup>21</sup>. In C-Group and early Kerma times pottery and sometimes paddle-shaped stelae were placed east or northeast of the tumulus, indicating an east to west axis of approach (Fig 4)<sup>22</sup>. Later, at Kerma, the axis was directed west to east, from the river, and chapels were added to the more important tumuli in both cultures<sup>23</sup>. Originally, the approach was direct, but the Kerma chapels were ultimately placed north of the axis, facing south (Fig 5)<sup>24</sup>. The C-Group chapels and those at Serra certainly belonged to important people, while the two greatest chapels at Kerma (*deffufa*) were built on the same scale as the great temple in the city itself<sup>24</sup>. In New Kingdom and Napatan/Meroitic times, much of the cult was Egyptian, but local practices were introduced, especially the use of the Meroitic language for inscriptions. At Qustul, the Noubadians of the fourth century CE revived first the (north) east offering deposit<sup>26</sup> and later the rows of chapels arranged along an east-west axis north of the tumulus, facing south (Fig 6).

In most periods animal sacrifices were deposited at or near the superstructures. In A-Group bovines were deposited near important tombs, especially some of the royal tombs at Qustul<sup>27</sup>. Most of the burials found intact had been decapitated; the skulls were presumably used in some other part of the complex. In Early Kerma and C-Group times, bovine skulls were deposited immediately south of the superstructure (Fig 1), often in large numbers, and sometimes accompanied by pottery and even small stone structures<sup>28</sup>.

Although the location of the skulls was changed in the late C-Group<sup>29</sup>, the great Kerma tumuli of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC still had long arcs of skulls deposited south of the tumulus (Fig 5).

Pan Grave or Medjay burials maintained a different but related tradition. Goat or even bovine skulls were placed in shallow pits at or under the tumulus, and deposits of this kind also included pottery and objects. The most notable skull offering was a bovine frontal bone decorated with eyes, spots and the figure of a warrior<sup>30</sup> which must have served as a kind of stela. This custom had a remarkable parallel in the mud models of cattle heads with actual horns on the socle of First Dynasty tomb T 3504 at Saqqara<sup>31</sup>.

#### *Substructures*

At various periods from A-Group to X-Group substructures of important tombs consisted of a long trench or corridor with a chamber cut or constructed into one side or in the centre. Great A-Group tombs at Qustul<sup>32</sup> had this shape, with a north-south trench. Although earlier great tombs at Kerma had circular burial pits, the later tombs in the series revived the corridor-chamber substructure, but built on an east-west axis. With separate chambers, K XVI was transitional<sup>33</sup>. Although the type disappeared in new Kingdom times with the introduction of deep vertical shafts, a simple form appeared at el-Kurru which was modified into the long axial shaft-chamber designs of later Napatan and Meroitic tombs<sup>34</sup>. The fourth century saw a more specific revival of the trench and side chamber, first with a trench and domical chamber at Ushara<sup>35</sup>, then bent axes at Tanqasi<sup>36</sup>, Qustul and Ballana<sup>37</sup>, with an

unusual form at Meroe paralleled in some Qustul tumuli (Fig. 7) <sup>38</sup>. Egyptian royal substructures were often long corridors with recurved axes to the burial chambers, but the most interesting Egyptian parallel is the substructure of Khasekhemwy <sup>39</sup>.

### *Burials*

At the beginning and during most of the periods of great prosperity in Nubia, special bovine symbolism was close to the deceased in the burial itself. In the Neolithic period bovine horn cores were placed at the head of the burial in Sudan <sup>40</sup>. In A-Group Lower Nubia, the burial was sometimes wrapped in a cowhide, and ultimately it was placed on a bed with bovine legs, or in a shaft with four holes at the corners to accommodate legs <sup>41</sup>. The succession might not be considered a meaningful sequence of development if it were not partly repeated in three later periods. Early Kerma burials were often placed between two cowhides <sup>42</sup>, an arrangement succeeded first by burial on a frame between two cowhides, and finally by burial on a bed with bovine legs <sup>43</sup>. A common substitution was burial in a rectangular shaft with holes at the corners or trenches at the ends<sup>1</sup>. Both bed and corner-hole or end-trench shaft burials occurred in Napatan times, again succeeded by Egyptian-style burials <sup>45</sup>. The hide to bed burial sequence was revived yet again in the fourth century CE with both hide and bed burials occurring at Qustul <sup>46</sup>.

Beds also play an important role in Egyptian burials. The co-occurrence might not be significant except for the repeated occurrence of bovine symbolism ranging from the legs of late Naqada period beds to the Heavenly Cow depicted on a couch of Tutankhamun <sup>47</sup>.

### *Burial Companions*

The burial of companions or servants and various substitutes played a recurring role in the most important burials of the Nile Valley. This occurred in several different modes: (1) The burial of a person or animal despatched for the funeral, presumably intended to act with or for the deceased <sup>48</sup>; (2) substitution for a companion in the form of figurines <sup>49</sup>; (3) burial of functionaries who died at other times in or beside a complex, also presumably intended to act with or for the occupant of the central tomb. Companion burials began in Sudan in the Neolithic <sup>50</sup>, and while they apparently did not occur in the A-Group, companions occurred frequently in Kerma burials <sup>51</sup>. The actual interment of human companions did not occur again along the middle Nile until the late Meroitic Period at Meroe and late fourth century Noubadian Qustul <sup>52</sup>, but the intervening period included the important (Egyptianising) substitution of shawabtis <sup>53</sup>. In addition to human companions animals were deposited <sup>54</sup>.

The companions of Nubia had important echoes in Egypt, where humans accompanied important burials in the Naqada and Thinite periods and substitutes in the form of models and representations occur with great frequency <sup>55</sup>.

## **4. Pharaonic Institutions and Polarity in the Cultures of Egypt and Nubia**

The brief discussion of individual features perhaps unfairly compared practices from cultures which were actually quite different. A short review of the major phases may highlight the contrasts and identify some transitions between the traditions south of Aswan and those to the north.

### *The Early Phase: Burials*

The, earliest customs of Egypt and Sudan did not contrast as much as they did later, for both areas used similar grave shapes and postures and shared some goods. However, there were contrasts: Tasian and some later burials in Upper Egypt were already made in rectangular boxes of reeds<sup>56</sup>, while unenclosed Neolithic burials in Sudan were made with bovine horncores at the head<sup>57</sup> and an earlier burial at Toshka had horns deposited above it<sup>58</sup>. However contacts between Sudan and Egypt, highlighted by flared beakers, and special forms of harpoon, are direct, suggesting that the contrasts may have been intentional<sup>59</sup>.

Still more features of the southern burial complex appeared in A-Group which had extremely close contacts with Egypt. These included the ring tumulus, surface cults, some directed toward the river, marked by round-topped stelae, bovine burial sacrifices, the hide or bed burial, and the trench-chamber substructure<sup>60</sup>. All were shared with contemporary Egypt, where they were sometimes combined with specifically Egyptian practices, such as panelled coffins buried on beds at Tarkhan or the panelled mastaba with clay models of bovine heads<sup>61</sup>. However, the Egyptian mortuary complex rapidly acquired the additional details that make it easy to contrast with other burial complexes in the region.

### *The Early Phase: Pharaonic Institutions*

The development of both burial complexes was paralleled by the consolidation of pharaonic culture, for definite pharaonic images and conventions appeared in Egypt during Naqada<sup>62</sup>. Also paralleling the rapid political development of the Naqada Culture, pharaonic institutions appeared in A-Group Nubia, presented in as coherent a manner as found in Egypt. The expression was nonetheless distinct, and it represented a dynastic sequence of about twelve rulers<sup>63</sup>. By the end of this early phase, both in pharaonic representations and in burial customs, there is evidence of intentional contrasts within a shared tradition, something that could be called a polarisation. The two most important polarities can be traced through subsequent periods in Egypt and Nubia.

### *The Middle Phase: Burials*

Burial customs have not been traced in detail during the period between A-Group and early C-Group/Kerma, but both cultures appeared with well developed burial customs and a regular repertoire of grave goods. C-Group and Kerma tombs exhibit signs of intentional cultural contrast with Egypt, reviving the ring tumulus, external cults with stelae and bovine symbolism (including skull deposits)<sup>64</sup>. C-Group Nubians gained extensive experience of Egyptian ways, from contacts and by living in Egypt<sup>65</sup>, which led to the adoption of some Egyptian mortuary practices without actually Egyptianising the burial<sup>66</sup>.

Kerma tombs were much larger and more elaborate, even by the end of the third millennium, and they represent the most complete development of the southern complex. As indicated above, earlier low tumuli, sometimes surrounded by vertical slabs or stepped, and sometimes covered with pebbles<sup>67</sup>, were followed by great tumuli bounded by a band of pebbles and paved, with a stone peak<sup>68</sup>. In great tombs, a circular burial chamber was subsequently divided into separate burial and deposit shafts<sup>69</sup>, which finally became an integrated burial complex with a long trench and side chamber. By Middle Kerma times, axial chapels were introduced, but placed west of the tumulus<sup>70</sup>. However the two great late chapels (K 11 and K XI with a rough row of subsidiary chapels) were placed north of the approach to the tumulus from the river. Bovine skulls, sometimes accompanied by pottery, were arranged around the southern perimeter of the tumulus<sup>71</sup>. Burials included both major

customs of the southern complex, the sequence of development from hide to bed burial, and companion burials, both human and animal. Hide and bed burials also appeared in C-Group graves<sup>72</sup>.

### *The Middle Phase: Pharaonic Institutions*

At different periods, both C-Group and Kerma apparently had pharaonic institutions. During the First Intermediate Period, a brief dynasty of at least three rulers appears in Lower Nubia, one of whom had a Nubian personal name<sup>73</sup>. The evidence for the late Kerma age is more diffuse, but also convincing. In monuments of Lower Nubia, Kerma rulers are portrayed with the White Crown (Fig. 8a), and the commandants of Buhen enclosed their title in a cartouche; victorious activities were also depicted on a related series of mud seal-plaques (Fig. 8b) and a rock-inscription<sup>74</sup>. At Kerma itself, a winged sun-disc was painted in the burial chamber of tumulus K Ill and the great tumuli contained models of sacred barks of Egyptian type<sup>75</sup>. Thus the complete Egyptian symbolism in New Kingdom Nubia had a precedent in Kush.

### *The Exchange between Nubia and Egypt and the adoption of Egyptian Polarity in the Middle Phase*

In addition to the formal culture of the rulers, Egyptian customs appeared in C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma cemeteries earlier, were used coherently, but did not efface local customs until the early New Kingdom<sup>76</sup>. On the other hand, some practices typical of Nubia occurred in early Middle Kingdom Egypt. Although they were not exactly typical of Egypt, it would be difficult to show that they had been introduced from Nubia at this time<sup>77</sup>. They at least show that features of Nubian type were not ejected from the culture by the unifying pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom.

The mixture of cultures during the later Second Intermediate Period culminated in the wholesale adoption of Egyptian burial and religious practices in the early New Kingdom. The adoption was too rapid and widespread to have been produced by force alone, and the prosperity and familiarity with Egypt that characterised the preceding period in Nubia shows that it was not produced by mere acculturation. The cemetery of large official tombs at Serra East illustrated the change from the low slab revetted and paved tumuli with chapels toward the east to pyramid<sup>78</sup>s. The pyramid of Amenemhat at Debeira thus culminated a smooth transition from Nubian (probably C-Group or Pan Grave) to Egyptian burial customs in the same dynastic sequence<sup>79</sup>.

### *Burials and Pharaonic Culture in the Late Phase*

A similar transition occurred in the first millennium royal cemeteries of Kush near Napata. As the rulers adopted the panoply of pharaonic images and conventions, tumuli placed over bed-burials were replaced by pyramids, accompanied by burials of ladies of the court and horses, arranged as companions<sup>80</sup>. Soon, Egyptianising customs<sup>81</sup> dominated the main cemeteries of Kush, while older-style tumulus burials continued on the periphery of the empire<sup>82</sup>. Occasionally, a burial at Meroe displayed features of contemporary "southern" type<sup>83</sup>, such as bovine sacrifices and human companions, but Kush remained committed to Meroitic official culture to the end.

As Meroe fell during the fourth century CE, the Egyptianising Meroitic burial complex was replaced by the contrasting peripheral type<sup>84</sup>. The ring tumulus, north chapel or offering place on an east-west axis, the trench or shaft with side chamber, the hide or bed burial, human and animal companions, and external sacrifices typify the royal complexes. Despite

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the changes, pharaonic imagery was used so clearly (Fig. 8c) that the religious impulse of the culture must have derived from the Meroitic experience.<sup>85</sup>

## 5. Pharaonic Culture in Nubia

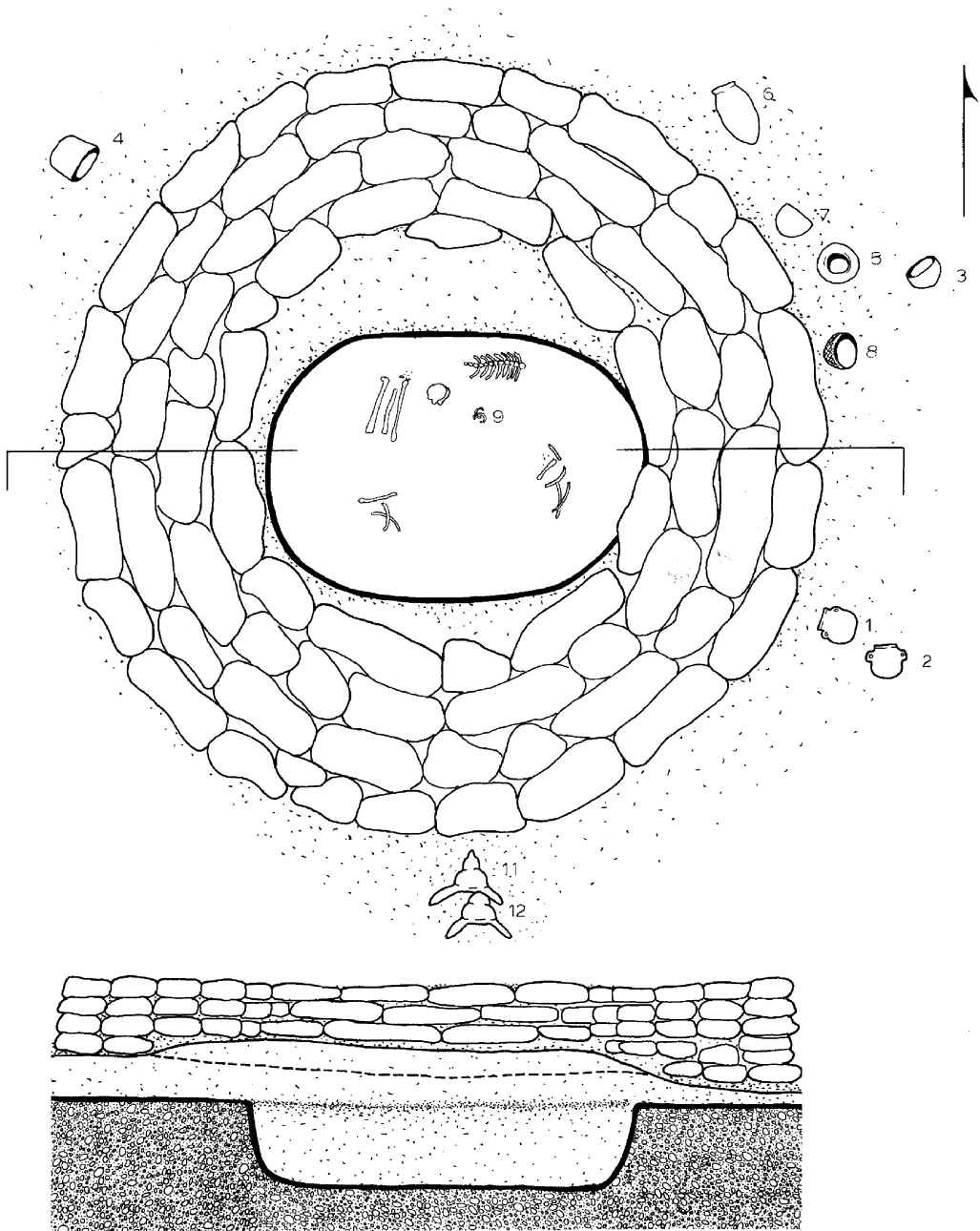
Despite contrast between the tightly organised coherence of Egyptian monuments and apparent mutability in the cultures of Nubia and Sudan, an underlying religious impulse can be derived from complexes of features that developed along similar lines in different periods. Transitions between Nubian and Egyptian cultures traced above indicate a significant underlying relationship between them that never totally effaced their intentional differences.

That there should be a very widespread religious impulse that drove the creation of the monumental civilisations and cultures of Egypt and Nubia is not surprising. The Atbai has always been a country traversed by people who travelled long distances.<sup>86</sup> Despite the official hostility toward Nubia, Egypt recognised an important kinship in distant Punt, transcending a chasm in culture.

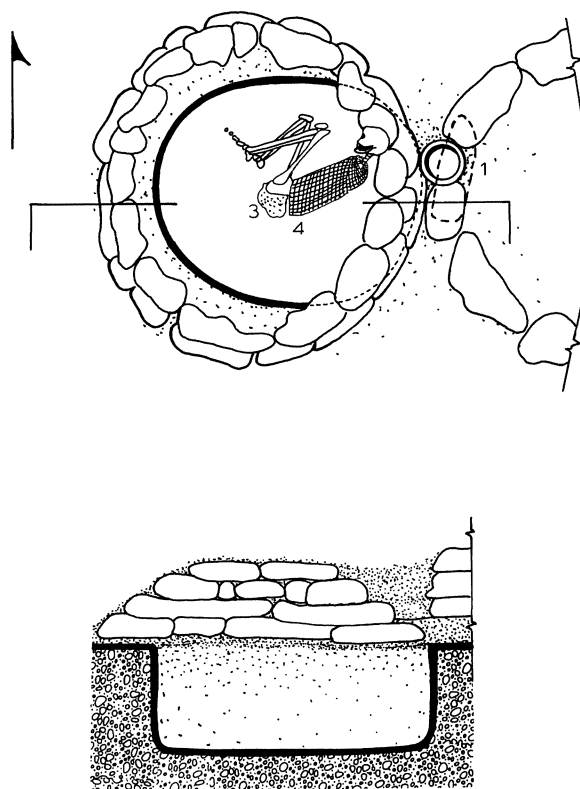
In the sixth century, Christianity finally eradicated the remaining centres of pharaonic culture. Today, only isolated practices remain that were accepted into post-pagan practices as rote observances deprived of their original meaning<sup>87</sup> or have survived beyond the boundaries of the Darel-Islam. Nowhere has the Nubian pole of the complex survived as completely as found at Kerma or in the Noubadian X-Group of Qustul and Ballana, although more fragments appear to have survived on the Upper Nile than elsewhere.<sup>88</sup>

The present essay has maintained only a limited argument that a meaningful relationship between Nubia and Egypt can be traced in their mortuary complexes. Representations and inscriptions in Nubia indicate that the impulses which created the visible monuments were pharaonic. It remains to apply the instruments of iconographical and structural analysis in the systematic and detailed fashion commonly used to interpret Egyptian monuments to add more lines and shadows to a simplified and fragmentary portrayal of religious life in ancient Nubia.





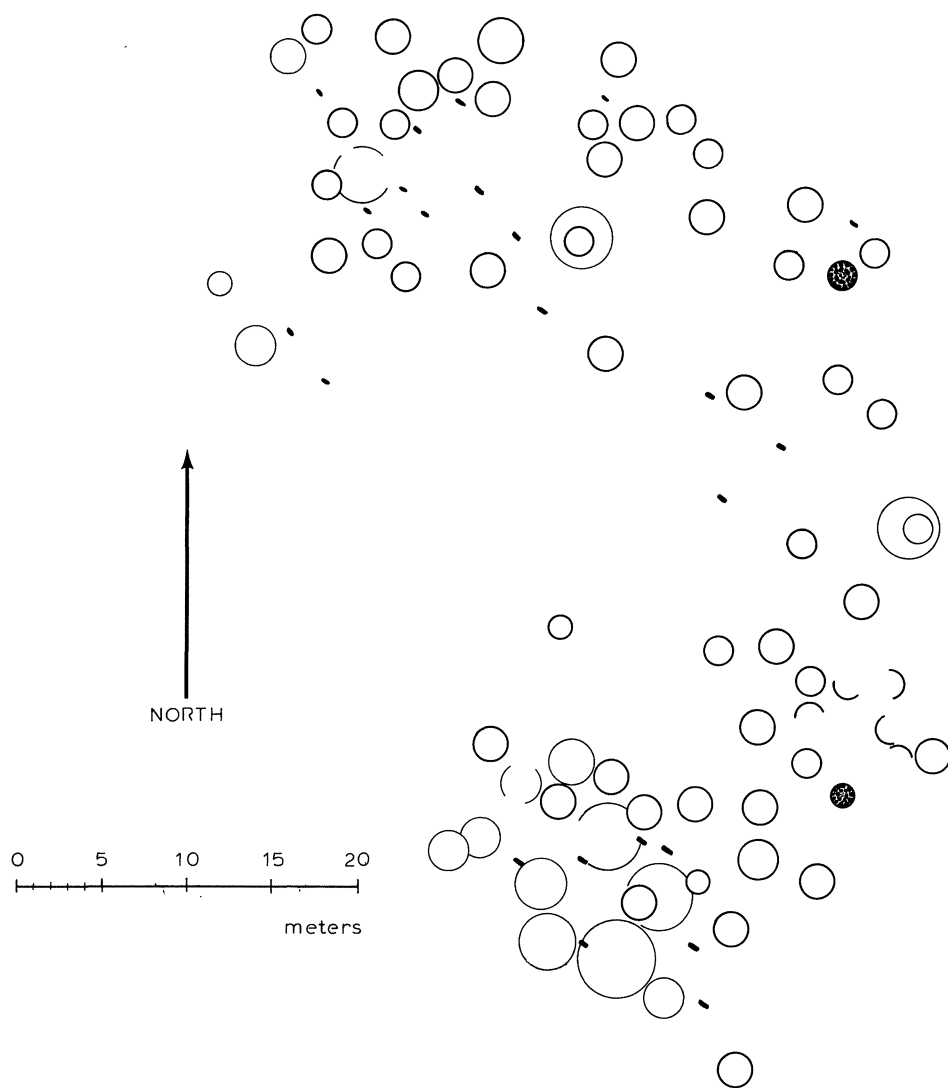
**Fig. 1.** A stone tumulus with two ox-skulls to the south at Serra East, B-B 1. Vessel 4 was probably deposited for a neighbouring tumulus (drawing by Lisa Heidorn).



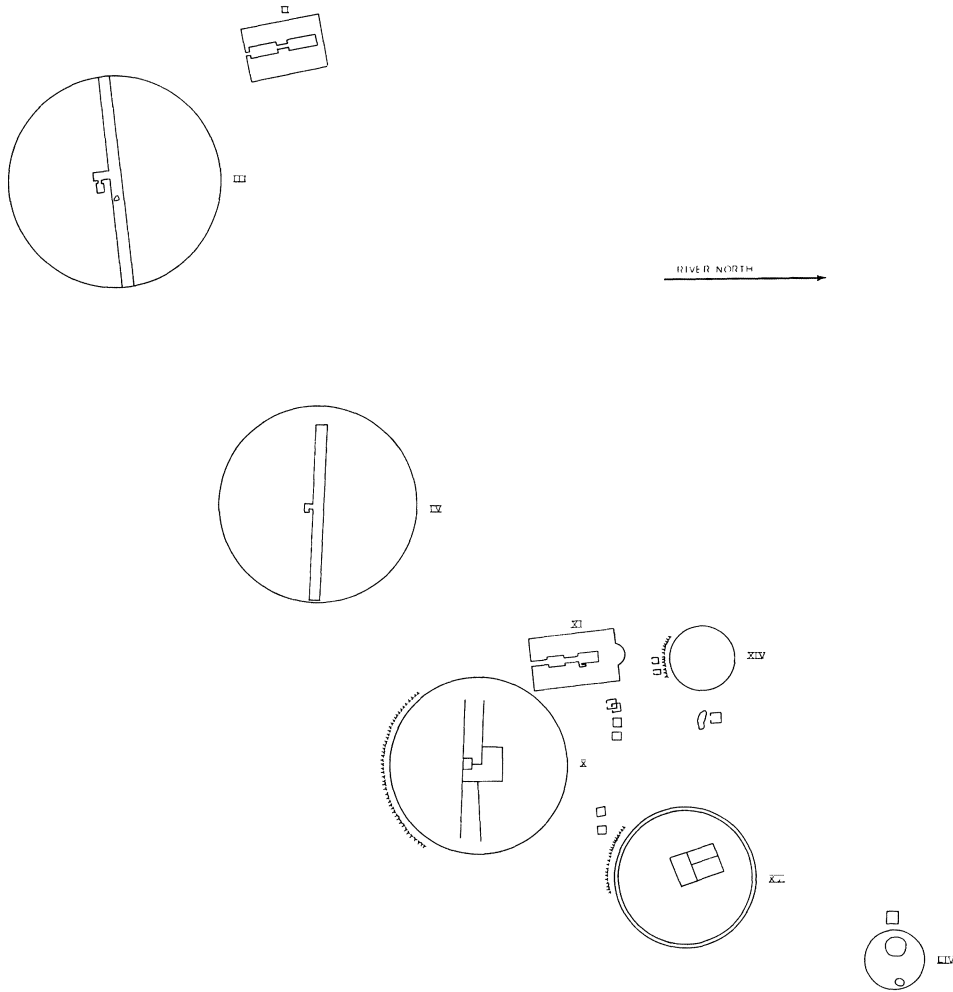
**Fig. 2.** A conical stone tumulus at Serra East, B-B21. Note that the upper courses of the tumulus are removed in the plan to show the burial. Vessel 1 was enclosed in a space left in the ring of the neighbouring tumulus (*drawing by Lisa Heidorn*).



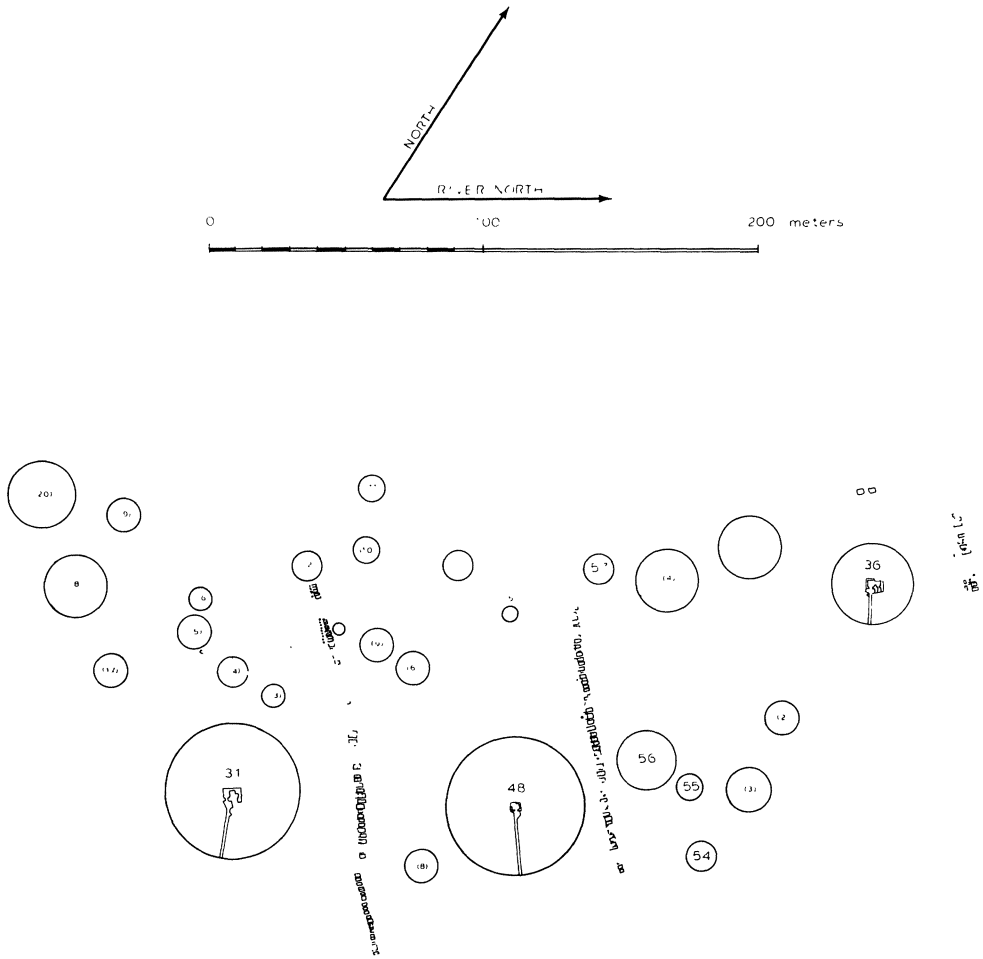
**Fig. 3.** Cemetery A at Serra East (drawing by Lisa Heidorn from sketches and plans by James E Knudstad). Note that the large rectangular structure superimposed on tumulus B-A 18 is the later Islamic tomb-shrine of Sheikh Nur.



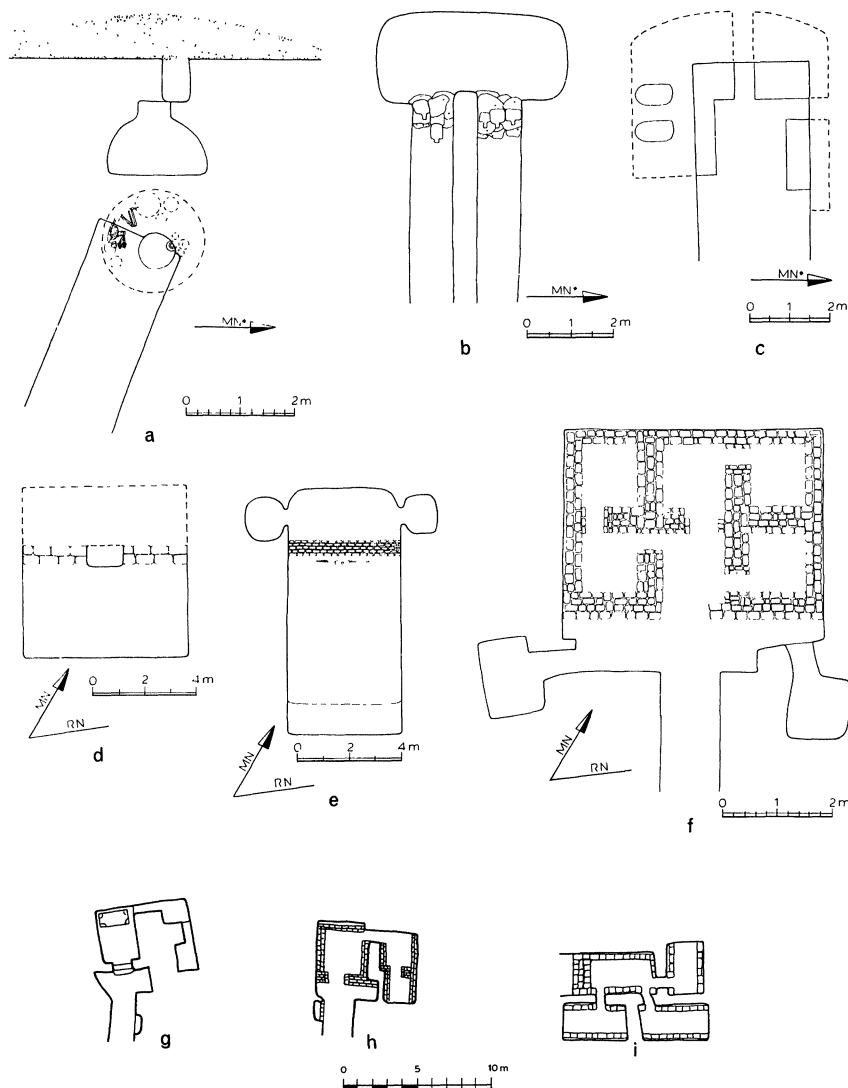
**Fig. 4.** Early stone tumuli and stelae at Aniba. The central area of Cemetery N, with later tombs removed (after Steindorff 1935, plan 5, approximately areas B-E/2-5; drawing by Lisa Heidorn). Note that river north is magnetic northeast.



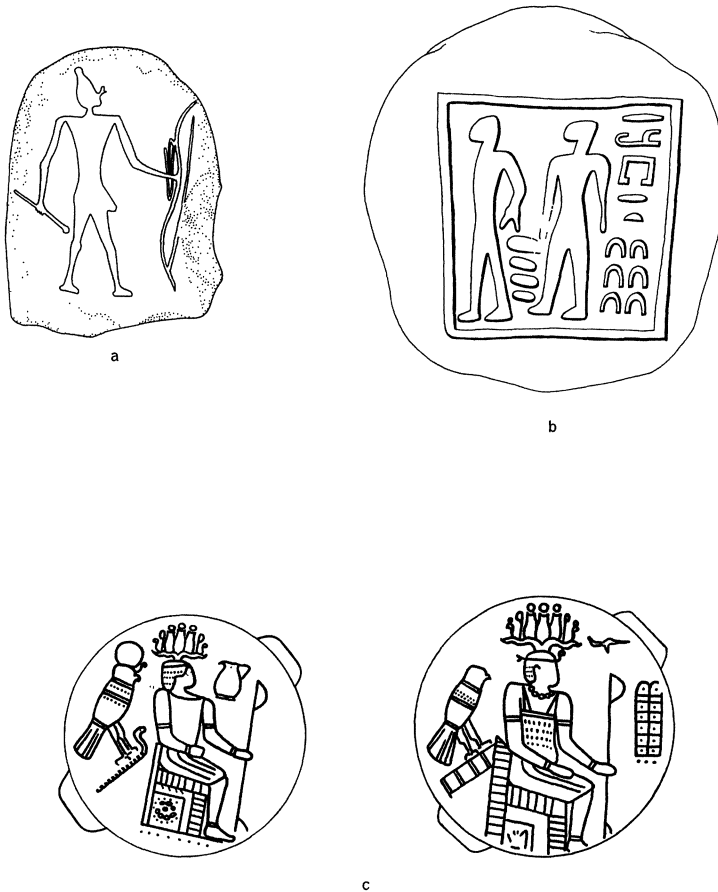
**Fig. 5.** Kerma, the great tumuli and chapels (*drawing by Lisa Heidorn*).



**Fig. 6** Cemetery Q at Qustul (drawing by Lisa Heidorn from plans and notes by James E. Knudstad). Tumuli numbered in parentheses were excavated by Shafik Faïd; those numbered without parentheses were excavated by Emery and Kirwan. Rectangles west of Qu 3, 4, 36, 60, (37), and (40) indicate pits for sacrificed animals. Small squares northeast of Qu 14 indicate deposits of miniature cups.



**Fig. 7** Ale development of Noubadian tombs from Sudanese prototypes (drawing by Lisa Heidorn). (a) Ushara tumulus, plan and section (adapted from Marshall and Abd el-Rahman Adam 1953, figs. 2-4); (b) Reconstruction of a post-Meroitic tomb substructure at Meroe based on photographs (Garstang, Griffith, and Sayce 1911, pls. XXXVIII-XL); (c) Tanqasi, substructure of Mound 1 (after Shinnie 1954, fig. 3); (d) Qustul tomb Qu 10 (sketch, after Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 13); (e) Qustul tomb Qu 14 (after Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 16); (f) Qustul tomb Qu 3 (after Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 8); (g) Qu 31 (Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 26); (h) Qu 36 (Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 28); (i) Ba 80 (Emery and Kirwan 1938, fig. 64). Ba 80 was oriented approximately river north-south; for the orientation of the Qustul tombs, see fig. 6.



**Fig. 8**

- (a) A royal figure of Kush in the Second Intermediate Period, after *Smith 1976*, cat. 691 (drawing by *Carol Abraczinskas*);
- (b) A magical plaque-sealing from Serra East (drawing by *Carlene Friedman*) ;
- (c) Armed gods on bezel rings from *Gamai* (drawing by *Carol Abraczinskas* after *Bates and Dunham 1927*, pl XXXIII: B and D).



## □ Notes

1. Note, for example the formula *ks hs* on the one hand, and Piye's disdain for Egyptian fish eaters on the other.
2. Hofmann 1967, summarised on pp 595-97, systematically discussed the phases of ancient Nubia according to a series of features as a cultural continuity. See Adams 1977, p 5. For new review of the establishment of Nubians in the Nile Valley, see Hofmann, Tomandl, and Zach 1989, pp 269-98. Although many have assumed a generally common heritage for most of Nubia's cultures, and have supported that assumption by pointing out features that appear in different ages, the lack of continuous cultures or sequences of readily recognised images and conventions has impeded the recognition of traditions. Most of the recognisable images are Egyptian, supporting an assumption that most formal culture in Nubia derived from Egypt (for example, note even the very alien-looking *deffufa* structures at Kerma. See discussions by O'Connor (1984), who stresses Egyptian influence and Lacovara (1986), who emphasises their non-Egyptian character.) which in turn largely unaffected by the cultures on her southern periphery (Trigger 1976, especially pp 149-51 and Wilson 195 1, pp 11-12).
3. In contrast to Western Asia, for example, where burials, especially individual burials, were only occasionally the centres of cults.
4. Emery and Kirwan 1938, pp 19-24, 27-160; Firth 1927, pl 15e and plan 8.
5. Reisner 1923 I-III, p 39 1.
6. Bietak 1968, p 118 (Pan Grave); *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1988-1989*, pp 36-37; Säve-Söderbergh (ed) 1989, pls 103-5.
7. Hughes 1963, pl XXVIB, at Serra East.
8. Bietak 1968, pls 1, 3, 5, 9 and 1 0; OINE V, pi 128.
9. Tumuli B 29 and 32 were stepped at Serra East, although the published plan does not indicate this. Since the steps were single horizontal slabs, the effect could have been intended to be conical.
10. Reisner 1923 I-111, pp 391 (K XVI), 272-73 (K X), 190-91 (K IV), AND 135-36 (K 111). Note that the KIV example was probably an obelisk. At least one of the low tumuli in Cemetery A at Serra East was paved with brick, and paving was also found on some C-Group tombs in the vicinity (Säve-Söderbergh ed 1989, pi 70:35:8).
11. Petrie 1914, p 2 and pls 12-14, 46; small chapels were placed at the northeast or southwest corners of the mastabas. The transition took place about the time of Pharaoh Ka.
12. Rizkallah Macraballah 1940, pi 37:223.
13. In addition to the tombs, a substantial residence was erected in the disused fortress of Serra East (*Oriental Institute Annual Report 1986-87*, pp 57-59). Inscriptions naming the rulers were found reused in Christian tombs in Serra village. See Griffith 192 1, pp 99- 1 00.
14. Säve-Söderbergh 1963, especially p 104. The correspondence would be between the peak of the tumulus and the pyramid rather than the entire tumulus-structure.
15. Steindorff 1937, pls 25. 26-38,40-43,45; Schiff Giorgini 1971. See figs 320-22 for a revival of the step pyramid using dry-stone masonry.
16. Dunham 1950, pi 4B; tumulus Ku 14 (C, fig 19a) may combine the tumulus and pyramid.
17. *Ibid.*, pp 2-3; see fig 16, for example.

18. Hinkel 1982, pp 128-35 (pillar pinnacle) and 141-45. For the pillar in Lower Nubia see OINE VIII, chapter 3.
19. Lenoble 1989. See Dunham 1953 for an earlier view of the relationship between pyramid and tumulus.
20. Smith 1962, pp 64-69; more details, including the stelae were added in Smith 1966, p 124. There were probably uninscribed stelae.
21. To the northwest, eg between Cemetery L and the river, just north of a direct axis. See OINE IV, pp 137-39.
22. Bictak 1968, pp 93-105, 1/a/3, 1/b/3, 11/a/6., Bonnet 1982, fig 11. Early Kerma stelae were not found *in situ*.
23. Steindorff 1935, plan 5.
24. Reisner 1923 1-111, plans 3, 5 and 6. The small chapels arranged in a rough row east of KXI facing south should be assigned to the same period. See also remarks by Bonnet (1986, - 15 and figs 25 and 26).
25. See Reisner 1923 I-III, pp 21-29, 122-26, 255-64; Bonnet 1978, pp 113-16, 1980, pp 43-50; 1982, pp 32-39; 1984, pp 10-11; 1986, pp 13-25; Lacovara 1986, pp 49-58. Despite differences in the internal arrangements, the similarities are important, especially the apsidal ends of K I and K XI.
26. Unpublished, see OINE IX, fig 13 0; pi 6, Q 227 and Q 5 1.
27. OINE III; see L 3, 6, 7, 20, 25, 26 and 27. See also L 18, 21 and 31-33 for other deposits. For other A-Group bovine sacrifices, see Firth 1927, p 217. Bovines were also found near the A-Group type stone trench and chamber tomb at Hierakonpolis (Hoffman, Lupton and Adams 1982, pp 55-56). Note also the horns placed above the very early burial at Toshka (Wendorf 1968, pp 872-85) and the horn cores in the Sudanese Neolithic burials, considered under substructures.
28. Reisner 1923 I-III, plan 4: K XVIII-K XXI; Bonnet 1982, fig 11, Serra tombs B 12, B 15 and B 32 had deposits to the southwest, river south, with pottery,, see also Säve-Söderbergh ed 1989, pi 121:2.
29. OINE V, fig 12; see p 80, table 35. T 104 still had a south deposit.
30. Compare Bonnet 1982, fig 11 (Kerma) with Bictak 1968, p 119, P/6 (Pan Grave); Brunton 1937, pl LYXVI: 66. Note that C-Group stelae depict bovines (OINE V, pls 95-99).
31. Emery 1954, pl 7.
32. See OINE III, pp 14-16 and register, tombs L 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 30, but especially pp 17577 for a discussion of the sequence.
33. See Reisner 1923 I-III, fig 136, plans 21, 17 and 15 for the sequence. The long trench-chamber complex may have been a combination of a deposit pit and chamber.
34. The trench is proportionally smaller; see Dunham 1950, figs 1 a (Ku Turn 1), 4a (Ku Turn 5), 5a (Ku Turn 6) and 24a (Ku 19, also a tumulus); for the axial substructures associated with most pyramids, see fig 10a (Ku 3).

35. Marshall and Abd el-Rahman Adam 1953, especially figs 2-4. See also Chittick 1957, pp 73-77.
36. Shinnie 1954, fig 3.
37. Emery and Kirwan 1938, figs 19 and 72; Tbrbk 1988, pl 5, for example.
38. Garstang, Sayce, and Griffith 191 1, pls 38: 1 and 40; see Emery and Kirwan 1938, figs 21 and 24.
39. Petrie 1901b, pl 58.
40. Lecoq 1987, fig 5, pl 1:3; see also Wendorf 1968, pp 874-75 for the deposit of bovine horn cores above earlier burials at Toshka.
41. OINE III, pp 123, 128; OINE IV, p 14 and note 3. Many graves with corner holes or end-trenches in various periods did not contain remains of beds. See note 44.
42. Bonnet 1982, fig 11 (oval shaft, Early Kerma); fig 27 (hide shaped shaft, Early Kerma).
43. Bonnet 1982, fig 16 (hide-shaped shaft no 57, Early Kerma). For beds, see Bonnet 1986, fig 17 (round shaft without holes, no 95, Middle Kerma) and Reisner 1923 IV-V, pp 208-27 and pl 5 1.44. Bietak 1968, p 125, K/6; the holes were also used for deposits, as they were in A-Group, but see K/5. Beds occur in all periods when trenches or pits appear.
45. See Dunham 1957, charts 1-2; 1950, fig 1 la, and 12a, for example.
46. Emery and Kirwan 1938, p 25 and fig 64, for example; OINE IX (forthcoming), chapter 1 section J a and tomb Q 152. For hide-shaped shafts, see Shinnie 1954, fig 3. For beds in post-Meroitic tombs at Meroe, see Garstang, Sayce, and Griffith 191 1, pls 38: 1 and 40:2.
47. See Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pp 23-25 for beds, sometimes combined with coffins; for Tutankhamun's bed, see Mohammed Salch and Sourouzzian 1986, cat 183. See also H G Fischer, "Bat," *LÄ* 1, cols 630-32.
48. See note 54.
49. These occur in Naqada period Egypt as well as later times. See Petrie 1901a, pls 5, 6: B 83 and R 134, for example. Such figurines could even include adversaries.
50. Reinold 1986, pp 159-69; 1987, pp 39-41.
51. Reisner 1923 I-III, pp 67-72; Török 1988, p 217.
52. Emery and Kirwan 1938, pp 27-160, various. Török 1988, pp 216-17. For Meroitic antecedents, see Dunham 1963, pp 199-206. W 122 has burials arranged as though they were part of a funerary offering deposit. If these are not actual sacrifices, they are reinterments used as part of the deposit, a symbolic equivalent. There were also bovines.
53. A cluster of tombs for ladies of the court at el-Kurru probably would be considered under item 3 above. See note 80.
54. Some distinction should be drawn between animals that accompanied the burial (Reisner 1923 IV-V, pp 253 and pi 52:3; Bonnet 1984, figs 16-17, tomb 8 1) and those sacrificed for the funeral or the cult (Note the bovine skulls, Reisner 1923 I-III, plan 4: K XCIII-K XXI).
55. See J J Griffiths "Menschenopfer," *LÄ* IV, cols 64-65 and Dieter Arnold and Erich Hornung "Königsgrab," *LÄ* III, cols 496-98 for a brief summary of the subsidiary burials. Whether

actual sacrifices or not, they were clearly intended to accompany the main burial. See also note 80.

56. Brunton 1937, pi 6:8; note the Badarian (?) mat-coffin beside it, no 6.

57. Reinold 1987, fig 11; Leconte 1987, fig 5.

58. Wendorf 1968, pp 874-75.

59. For pottery, see Kaiser 1985 figs 7:63 and 8: 1 -3; Reinold 1987, fig 4: E R Geus 1979, fig 4; idem 1980, fig 5a. See also OINE IV, table 26. For the "Aqualithic," see Håland 1987, p 51 and fig 3.

60. See notes 20, 21, 27, 32 and 41.

61. See notes 12, 31, 39 and 47.

62. See Williams and Logan 1987, pp 253-57,260-61 and fig 15; Williams 1988, especially pp 46-51.

63. OINE III, pp 163-83.

64. See notes 8, 9, 22, 23 (at least one chapel contained a globular Egyptian jar, which may not be late; see Steindorff 1935, p 148, N 319), and 24.

65. Fischer 1961, Bietak 1985.

66. Steindorff 1935, pl 16: a (stelae with inscriptions), b (offering tables) pi 74: 42-44 (boats).

67. Bonnet 1982, figs 11-12.

68. See note 10.

69. Bictak 1968, p 118.

70. See notes 24-25.

71. See note 28.

72. For bed burials, see notes 42-44; for human companions, see note 5 1; for animals, see note 54.

73. Säve-Söderbergh 1941, pp 43-50; Drioton and Vandier 1952, p 243; and Hayes 1971, pp 486-87. Two rulers are known by cartouches, Horus Senefertawyef, Qakare In (tef), and Horus Geregtawyef, Iyebkhentre'. The latter is coupled with a Son of Re' Segersenti. He may have been the last ruler of the line. Although both Hayes and Drioton and Vandier assume that the rulers were Egyptians, this is made unlikely by the lack of any Egyptian archaeology in Nubia of the period (in contrast to the Second Intermediate Period) and by the fact that Segersenti is a Nubian name (Osing 1976, pp 160-64 contains many names with the same structure and ending). Inscriptions of the two rulers with cartouches occurred from Umbarakab to Abu Simbel. One Wadjkare occurs at Khor Dehmit with Segersenti, who is called his son and Son of Re, who defeated the enemies of his father to the north of Per-Senbet (pp 43-44).

74. Depictions of the ruler include Smith 1976, pp11-12,P1s3:2 and 58:4; pp12-13, pls 3:7 and 59:1-2; and probably some rock drawings; see Smith 1972, pp 46-47, fig 5, for example. For the title "Ruler of Kush" in a cartouche, see Smith 1976, pp 55-56, pl 72: 1, Philadelphia E 10984.

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**75.** For the sacred barks see Reisner 1923, IV-V, figs 186-87; I-111, pl 14:1 and pp 208 and 277; for the winged sun disc painted in K III and another disc carved on the lintel of chapel K II, see Reisner 1923 I-III, p 136; IV-V, p 45.

**76.** See note 66.

**77.** They may have been a part of Egyptian culture from earliest times. For the equivalent of companions, note the ladies buried in the complex of Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep (Winlock 1942, pp 31-46) and the tomb with his soldiers (Winlock 1945). For the central core of the Mentuhotep complex restored as a tumulus, see Stadelmann 1985, pp 227-30, fig 74 and Kemp 1989, fig 38; the relationship between tumulus and pyramid in writing is noted by Stadelmann.

**78.** See note 10.

**79.** See note 15.

**80.** Dunham 1950, Map II: Ku 5 1 -55 and 201-225. They are placed in separate well defined clusters away from the royal tombs.

**81.** They resemble, but were not strictly identical with, contemporary Egyptian customs.

**82.** See Lenoble 1989 and *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1988-1989*, pp 36-37.

**83.** See note 52.

**84.** The chronology is not precise, but the earliest burials of this type in the Butana were probably late Meroitic in date.

**85.** This was also true of the Kalabsha cemeteries (Tdrbk 1988, pp 78-8 1), although the tombs have a different shape (Ricke 1967, figs 59-60), related more to the dry-stone structures of the Albai (Schweinfurth 1899; 1922, pp 269-99) than the mounds of the Butana, and the religious practices seem to reflect those of the Dodekaschoinos cults, especially Mandulis.

**86.** Burckhardt 1822, p 65. Even in unsettled times, Dongolawi merchants exported grain to Arabia by way of Sawakin. See also p 359. For long-distance movements in ancient times, see Karim Sadr 1987, especially fig 2; all four interpretations may apply to some extent.

**87.** For example Murnane "Opetfest," *LÄ* IV cols 574-79, col 575 and note 14.

**88.** See Seligman and Seligman 1933, pp 34, 90-91, 103-5 and 201 for beliefs and practices that could be relevant.

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### □ Abréviations

- BSAE British School of Archaeology in Egypt
- CRIPPEL Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
- EEF Egypt Exploration Fund
- EES Egypt Exploration Society
- ERA Egyptian Research Account
- JARCE Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt. New York
- JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago
- LÄ Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Vols. I-VI. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975-1986

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Publications, in progress:

*Excavations at Serra East, George R. Hughes and James Knudstad, Directors. Part 6: Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom Remains from the Fortress.* The Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, Vol. XI

### **Other Activities:**

Lecturer/Director, Oriental Institute Egypt tours, 1978-1980

Lecturer, Field Museum Red Sea tour 1981 (Egypt, Jordan, Israel)

Lecturer, Field Museum Egypt tour, 1984

Lecturer, Smithsonian Institution Egypt tour, 1984

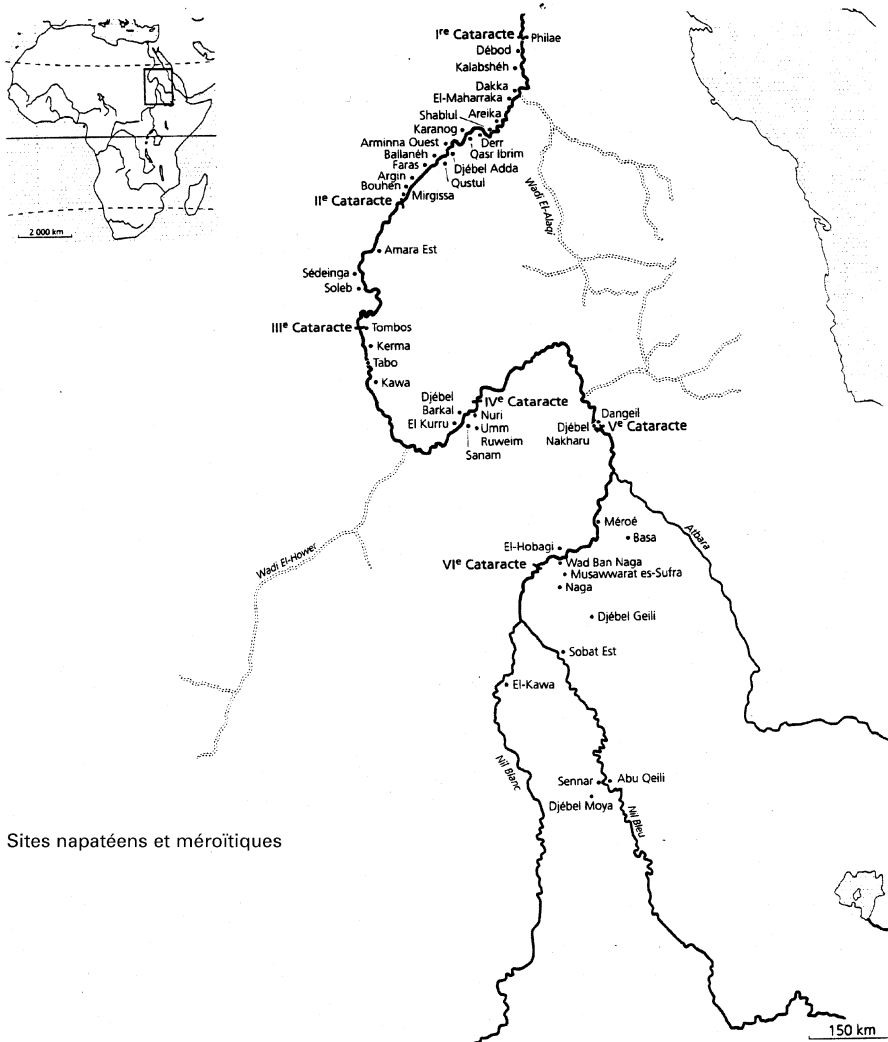
Lecturer, University of Chicago Basic Program Greece tour, 1987

Lecturer, the University of Chicago Extension, various dates, 1978-1992.

Teaching courses on early Egypt, Nubia, and the Sudan

**Memberships :**

- Archaeological Institute of America
- American Research Center in Egypt
- American Oriental Society
- American Ceramic Society
- International Society for Nubian Studies



Sites napatéens et méroïtiques

**La vallée du Nil au sud de la 1<sup>ère</sup> cataracte.** En particulier les sites de Qustul, Kerna et Méroé y sont indiqués (Source : *Soudan, Royaumes sur le Nil*, Paris, Flammarion/Institut du Monde Arabe, 1997, p. 392).