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*Pottery from the Kakemu Tomb (No. 15)
at Qubbet el-Hawa*

with contribution
A Royal Stamp Impression
by

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In 1901–1902 and 1904, Lady William Cecil directed archaeological works at Qubbet el-Hawa the results of which were published in *ASAE* IV and VI respectively.¹ The most significant discovery was the tomb of Kakemu (Qubbet el-Hawa No. 15), superintendent of the Priests of all the Gods of Elephantine, High Priest of Khnumu, Satis, and Anukis.²

The tomb, roughly dated to the Ramesside Period,³ was situated in the northern part of the necropolis. It was hewn in the bedrock and consisted of an open court, vestibule (hall), mortuary chapel, and a burial chamber. (**Fig. 1**).⁴ Two of the three shafts, Nos. 1 and 3, were located outside the open court, on either side of the entrance. Upon discovery, shaft No. 1 was filled with windblown sand and contained a large amount of pottery dated to various periods,⁵ indicating beyond doubt that the shaft had been robbed. Shaft No. 3 containing an untouched burial and three pots was published without exact information on the dating. The third shaft (No. 2) was situated inside the open court, right of the entrance. *This was opened and found to be untouched with its original sealing, the latter being made of rough, carefully laid stones, plastered over with mud. The shaft and passage were filled with the refuse rock and sand cut out of making it. In this rubbish a small red and black pot, similar to the predynastic pottery, was found. 27th January 1902, the sealing of this tomb was broken; on the tomb being untouched burial (...), consisting of a mummy and wooden case entirely eaten up by the white ants, and eleven earthenware pots placed round the body. Five of the pots, are of very rough red pottery, with clay conical shaped seals, containing Nile mud and small fragments of a similar pottery – the others being of a finer and whiter material with nothing in them.* (**Fig. 2**) Having finished explorations in the tomb of Kakemu, the complete vessels found there were stored in the tomb itself. In 2000, all the pots, fourteen jars altogether, were transported to the tomb of Set-ka (Qubbet el-Hawa No. 110), which is used by the SCAE as a storeroom.⁶

METHODOLOGY

The focus of this study is an assemblage of 14 vessels found by Lady William Cecil in the tomb of Kakemu. Three of them, Nos. 1–3 (**Fig. 3**), represent the so-called beer jars

¹ LADY WILLIAM CECIL, Report on the Work done at Aswân, *ASAE* IV, 1903 [= *ASAE* IV], pp. 51–73; EAD., Report on the Work done at Aswân during the first Months of 1904, *ASAE* VI, 1905, pp. 273–83 [= *ASAE* VI]. Although there is no direct indication in the reports, it seems that Howard Carter was the field director of the excavations. It was he who opened an untouched burial chamber in Kakemu's tomb, cf. CECIL, *ASAE* IV, p. 62.

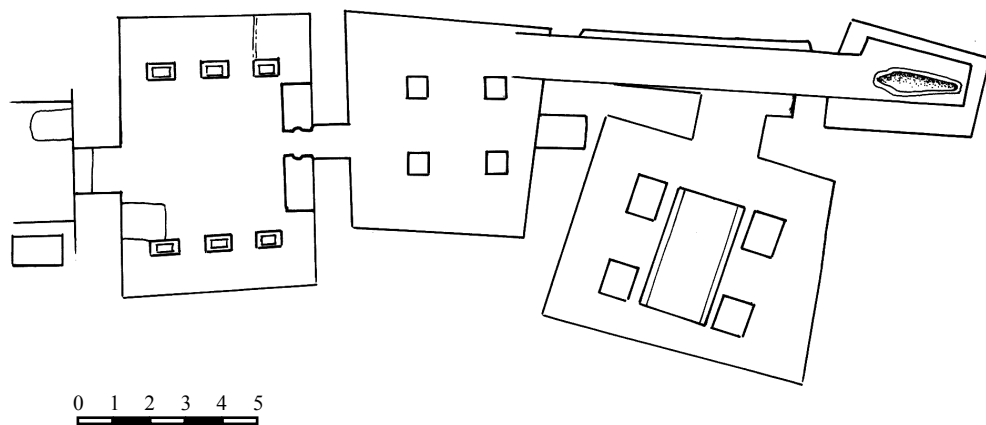
² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

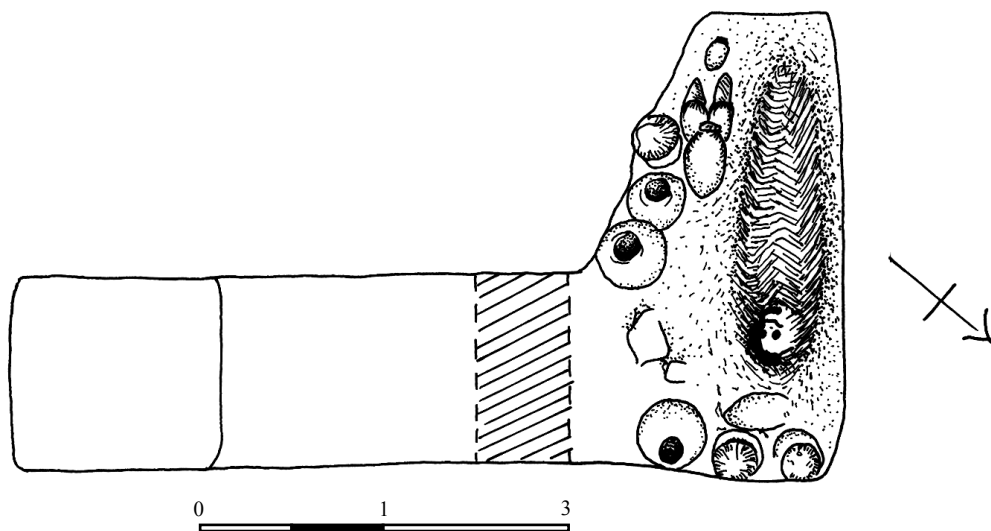
⁴ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶ This article is the result of a co-operation between the Supreme Council of Antiquities represented by Mr. Abd el-Hakim Karar, the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde represented by Dr. Cornelius von Pilgrim, and the Research Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, represented by the author. I would like to express my thanks for being invited to work on this project. Thanks to help from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut it was possible to document the pots from the tomb of Kakemu, as well as the finds from the recent excavations supervised by the SCAE on the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa. Last but not least, the author wishes to thank Dr. Edyta Kopp and Maja Kornacka for their help.



1. General plan of the tomb of Kakemu, Qubbet el-Hawa No. 15 (Drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).



2. Burial chamber and shaft No. 2 in the tomb of Kakemu (Drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).

from the late Old Kingdom; five pots, Nos. 4–8 (**Fig. 4–5**), are dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and six jars come from the Late New Kingdom (**Fig. 7**). All the pots are described as follows: fabric, firing, technique and base technique, surface treatment, colour, and state of preservation. Fabrics are described according to the *Vienna System*.⁷ Firing is defined as oxidized when the break has no core, and mixed when a thin black or dark gray zone is observable in the fracture.⁸ Any pre-firing coating is called slip, wash refers to any coating applied after firing. Descriptions of colours have been taken from Munsell Soil Color Charts.⁹ The vessels are presented in a chronological order, divided into three groups: Old Kingdom, early Eighteenth Dynasty and Late New Kingdom.

CATALOGUE

Pottery dated to the Old Kingdom (**Fig. 3**)

1. Beer jar (No. QH 111).

Fabric: Nile C.

Firing: mixed.

Technique: hand-made, the bottom by pinching, the body by coiling.

Surface treatment: red-slipped on the outer surface and partly on the inner rim.

Colour of the slip: 10R 6/8 light red.

Colour of the uncoated surface: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow.

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 14.5 cm, height: 45 cm.

2. Beer jar (No. QH 112).

Fabric: Nile C.

Firing: mixed.

Technique: hand-made, the bottom by pinching, the body by coiling.

Surface treatment: red-slipped on the outer surface and partly on the inner rim.

Colour of the slip: 10R 6/8 light red.

Colour of the original surface: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow.

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 15 cm, height: 44.5 cm.

3. Beer jar (No. QH 113).

Fabric: Nile C.

Firing: mixed.

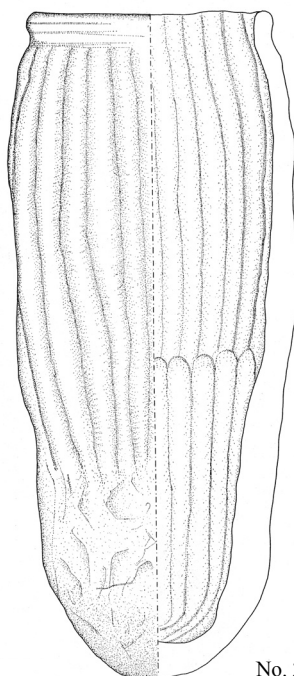
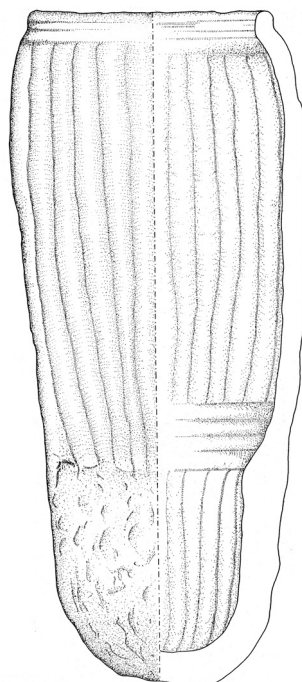
⁷ H.Å. NORDSTRÖM, J. BOURRIAU, *Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics*, in: DO. ARNOLD, J. BOURRIAU (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, Mainz a/Rhein 1993 [= *Ceramic Technology*], pp. 168–186.

⁸ Reduced firing, i.e. when the break is grey, black or a thick dark grey or black core is visible in the fracture was not observable among the pot tomb.

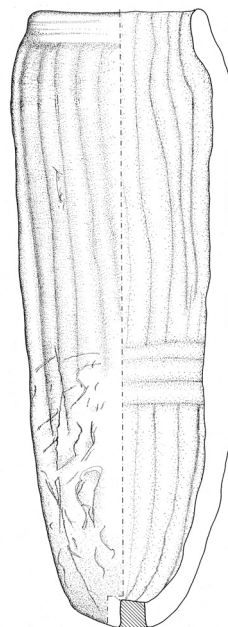
⁹ Munsell Soil Color Charts, Baltimore 1994, revised edition.



No. 1

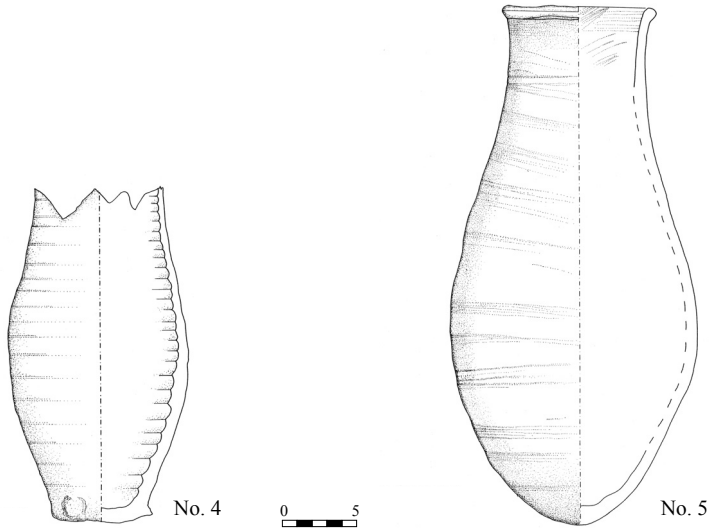


No. 2



No. 3

3. Old Kingdom beer jars – Cat. Nos. 1–3 – dated to the late Sixth Dynasty (Phot. M. Kornacka, drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).



4. Eighteenth Dynasty jars. Cat. Nos. 4–5 (Drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).

Technique: hand-made, the bottom by pinching, the body by coiling.

Surface treatment: red-slipped on the outer surface and partly on the inner rim.

Colour of the slip: 10R 6/8 light red.

Colour of the original surface: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow.

State of preservation: complete profile, fragment of rim missing.

Rim dia.: 10 cm, height: 41.2 cm.

Remarks: a hole made prior to firing near the bottom.

Parallels to Nos. 1–3: Elephantine – the sanctuary of Heqaib;¹⁰ Saqqara – tomb of Ikhy dated to the reign of Pepi I–Merenre.¹¹

One vessel, the beer jar No. 1 (**Fig. 3.1**), was identified easily as it had been illustrated in the report, in a photo showing a vessel found in shaft No. 1 (first from the left).¹² In case of the other two vessels, Nos. 2 and 3, the situation was not so simple. They could have come from the same shaft, but a different provenance cannot be excluded. Most certainly neither of them came from the burial chamber of shaft No. 2, as they do not

¹⁰ Personal observation of the author, done on the pottery found in the palace (area HGS).

¹¹ T.I. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara II, Pottery of the Late Old Kingdom. Funerary Pottery and Burial Customs*, Warsaw 2006, pp. 68–72, 384–387, with parallels found on the Memphite necropolis; EAD., *Saqqara 2002: Pottery*, *PAM XIV*, 2003, pp. 146–147, Fig. 4 (No. SQ 1115); K.O. KURASZKIEWICZ, *Saqqara 2002: Inscriptions*, *PAM XIV*, 2003, pp. 137–140.

¹² CECIL, *ASAE IV*, p. 61, Pl. I. The beer jar depicted in the plate is still sealed with a complete mud stopper. In 2000, only traces of this stopper could be seen on the outer surface of the jar.

match the description of the pots found in there. It is impossible to tell how the vessels got into the tomb of Kakemu which is younger by many ages. In all likelihood, the pots originated from one of the late Sixth Dynasty tombs situated in the Qubbet el-Hawa necropolis.¹³

Pottery of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 4–5)

4. Beer jar (No. QH 118).

Fabric: Nile E, fine.

Firing: mixed.

Technique: wheel-made, base cut with a string.

Surface treatment: uncoated.

Colour: 7.5 YR 5/4 brown.

Max body dia.: 12 cm, preserved height: 22.2 cm.

Parallels: Thebes West – temple of Merenptah,¹⁴ Deir el-Bahari – temple of Hatshepsut.¹⁵

5. Slender jar (No. QH 116).

Fabric: Nile B1.

Technique: wheel-made, base thrown on the wheel.

Surface treatment: uncoated.

Colour: 10R 5/6 red.

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 9 cm, max. height: 34.5 cm.

Parallels: Hebua;¹⁶ Amarna,¹⁷ Thebes West – Valley of the Kings (KV 21),¹⁸ Valley of the Queens (VQ 32),¹⁹ tomb Tjanuni.²⁰

¹³ PM V, pp. 231–240.

¹⁴ D.A. ASTON, *The Pottery. Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptahs in Theben, IV*, Mainz a/Rhein 2007, pp. 57–61, Pls. 2–3, Nos. 23 and 30.

¹⁵ Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, *Deir el-Bahari, Keramikproben aus Deir el-Bahari (reign of Thutmose II – Hatshepsut-Thutmose III)*, unpublished report, sample No. b. 11.

¹⁶ J. DORNER, D. ASTON, *Pottery from Hebua IV: South. Preliminary Report*, *CCE* 5, 1997, p. 43, Pl. II (No. 10).

¹⁷ P.J. ROSE, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, London 2007, pp. 90 and 230, Nos. 355–356 (type SG3 – slender jars with an inflected contour and a slightly everted rim).

¹⁸ D. ASTON, B. ASTON, D.P. RYAN, *Pottery from Tombs in the Valley of the Kings KV 21, 27, 28, 44, 45 and 60*, *CCE* 6, 2000, pp. 14–15 (No. 1). In the tomb there were 24 such storage jars considered as a typical form of the mid Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁹ G. LECUYOT, *La céramique de la Vallée des Reines. Bilans préliminaire*, *CCE* 4, 1996, Pl. II, Fig. C; first vessel from the left.

²⁰ A. and A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74*, *ArchVer* 19, Mainz a/Rhein, 1977, Pl. 63, 1/14j.

6. Storage jar (No. QH 109).

Fabric: Marl clay A4.

Firing: oxidized.

Technique: wheel-made in three parts joined at shoulders and in the middle of the body, base finished with a tool.

Surface treatment: self-slipped.

Colour: 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 10 cm, max. height: 75 cm.

Remarks: on the shoulder, a cartouche stamped before firing (**Fig. 8**).²¹

7. Storage jar (No. QH 110).

Fabric: Marl clay A4.

Firing: oxidized.

Technique: wheel-made in three parts joined at shoulders and in the middle of the body, base vertically scraped with a tool.

Surface treatment: self-slipped.

Colour: 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

State of preservation: complete body, rim missing.

Rim dia.: 9.5 cm, max. height: 80.5 cm.

Remarks: outer surface partly covered with reddish substance, on the neck and shoulders partly mud stopper preserved.

8. Storage jar (No. QH 114).

Fabric: Marl clay A4.

Firing: oxidized.

Technique: wheel-made in three parts joined at shoulders and in the middle of the body, base vertically scraped with a tool.

Surface treatment: self-slipped.

Colour: 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

State of preservation: rim missing.

Max body dia.: 27.5 cm, preserved height: 73 cm.

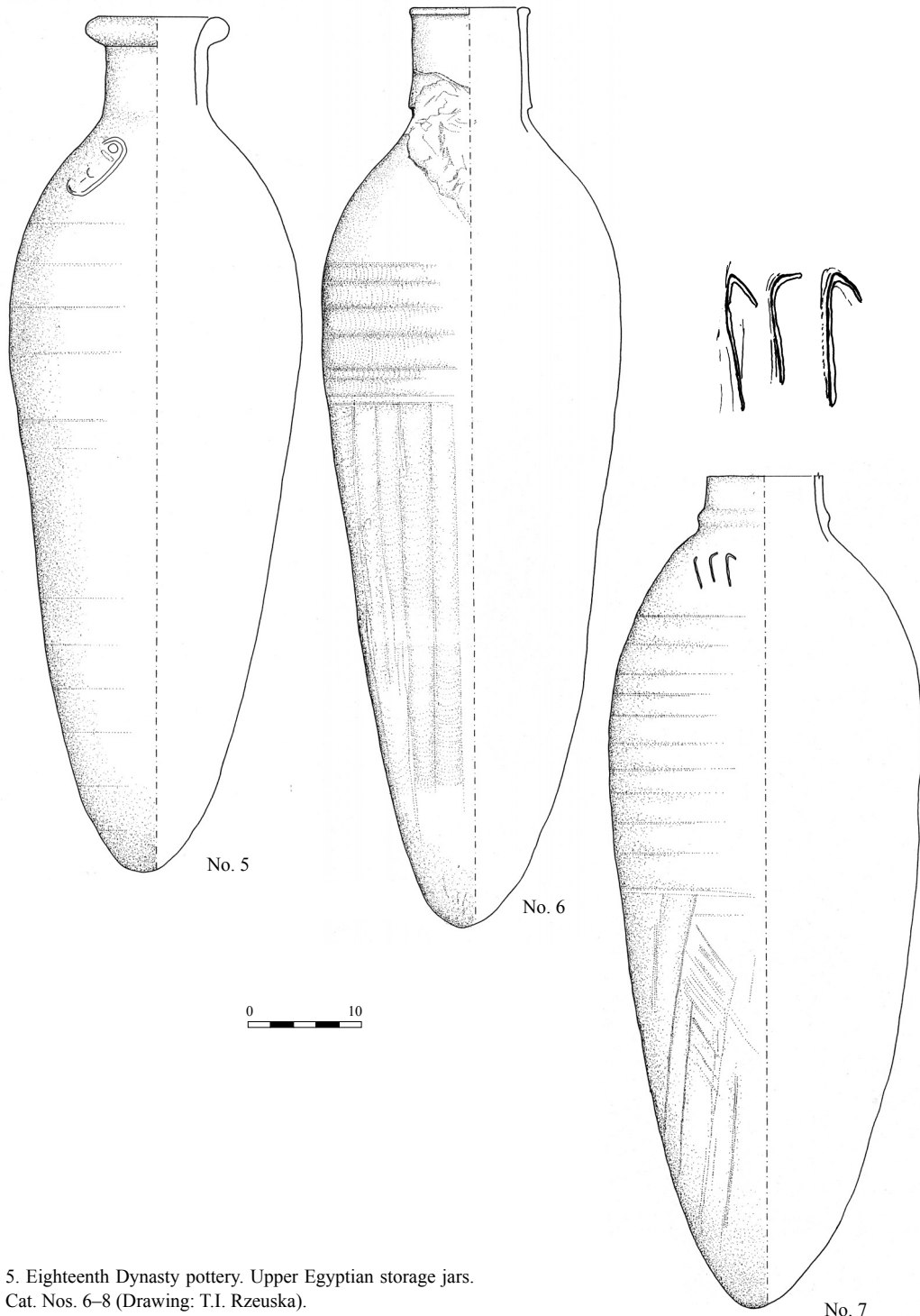
Remarks: on the shoulder pot-mark in the form of three vertical lines with bent upper ends, incised in wet clay before firing.

Parallels to Nos. 6, 7, and 8: Thebes – TT 294, 253, 254, one jar with pot mark in form of a vertical wavy line on the shoulder;²² Elephantine;²³ Sudanese Nubia, one pot bears

²¹ For interpretation of this stamp, *vide infra*, Appendix, pp. 196–198.

²² P.J. ROSE, The Pottery, in: N. STRUDWICK, The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose and Amenmose at Thebes (Nos. 294, 253 and 254), Oxford 1996 [= Pottery], p. 176, Pl. 68 (No. 124).

²³ Fragments of pots were found in levels (Bauschichten) 12, 11, and 10, i.e. in the settlement of the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom. No sherds from Elephantine are known to bear stamped cartouches. Personal communication of Dr. Anna Seiler to whom the author is deeply thankful for all remarks and information concerning this pottery. See also earlier types: A. SEILER, Zur Formenentwicklung der Keramik der



5. Eighteenth Dynasty pottery. Upper Egyptian storage jars.
Cat. Nos. 6-8 (Drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).

No. 7

marks in the form of three impressed strokes on the upper body, while two others bear impressed seal stamps representing the cartouche of Tuthmosis III.²⁴

An exact provenance for the vessels Nos. 4 and 5 is difficult to ascertain. One indication is that a group of pots, referred to as *finer and whiter material*, had been found in the burial chamber of shaft No. 2; this information was accompanied by a schematic drawing of this pottery (**Fig. 2**).²⁵ Judging by quality, colour of the clay, and form, vessels Nos. 4–5 are deemed to belong to this group. Jars Nos. 6–8 can also be assigned here.²⁶ One was found near the head of the deceased, leaning against the north-west wall of the burial chamber, the other two were leaning against the south-west wall, at one level with the deceased's chest and pelvic area. It remains unclear how these pots got inside Kakemu's tomb. They must have been brought here from some tomb or tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁷

Pottery of the Late New Kingdom (**Figs. 6–7**)

9. Beer jar (No. QH 117).

Fabric: Nile E, fine version.

Firing: oxidized.

Technique: wheel-made, base cut with a string.

Surface treatment: white-washed on the upper part of outer surface.

Colour: 10R 6/4 pale red (uncoated).

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 8.5–9 cm, max. height: 23.7 cm. Parallels: Valley of the Kings;²⁸ Thebes – TT Nos. 294, 253, 254;²⁹ Elephantine.³⁰

2. Zwischenzeit und der frühen 18. Dynastie, in: W. KAISER *et al.*, Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine, 25./26./27. Grabungsbericht, *MDAIK* 55, 1999, pp. 220–221, Abb. 52.

²⁴ R. HOLTHOER, New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The Pottery, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, Vol. 5:1, Lund 1977 [= *SJESN* 5.1], pp. 57–58 and 82–83, Pls. 14 (Potmarks and Seal Impression Nos. 8 and 28), 44.2–3 (Nos. 185/122:1 and 185/162:3), 49.4. These are tall-necked storage jars of type: ST 4/VP/O/n.

²⁵ CECIL, *ASAE* VI, Fig 3.

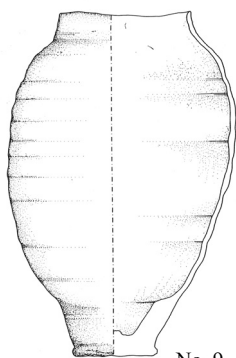
²⁶ *Ibid.*, *loc.cit.* These are the three biggest jars depicted as standing in the drawing.

²⁷ Little is known of the Qubbet el-Hawa burial ground in the New Kingdom. Only a few tombs have been identified, cf. E. EDEL, Zur Familie des *Sn-msji* nach seiner Grabinschriften auf der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, pp. 28–31, Taf. IV; L. HABACHI, The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroy of Kush in the Region of Aswan, *Kush* V, 1957, p. 22; L. HABACHI, Sixteen studies on Lower Nubia, Suppl. *ASAE* 23, Le Caire 1981, pp. 87–88.

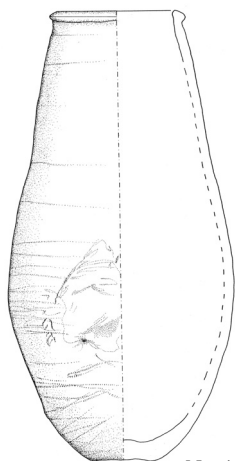
²⁸ D. ASTON, B. ASTON, E.-C. BROCK, Pottery from the Valley of the Kings – Tombs of Merenptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII, *ÄgLev* VIII 1998 [= *ÄgLev* VIII], pp. 156 and 189, Pl. 23 (Nos. 215 and 216).

²⁹ ROSE, Pottery, p. 175, Pl. 63 (No. 50).

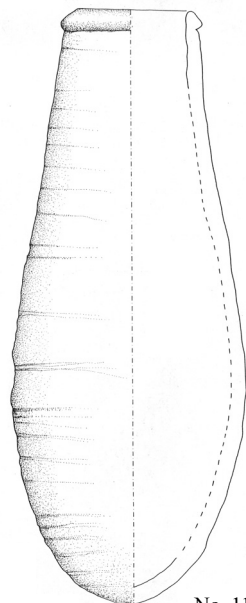
³⁰ D. ASTON, Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period, *Elephantine* XIX, *ArchVer* 95, Mainz a/Rhein 1999, Pls. 1 (No. 4), 3 (Nos. 57, 59–60), 16 (Nos. 516 and 518).



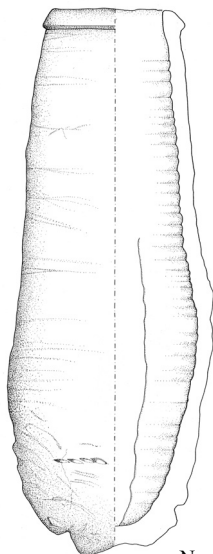
No. 9



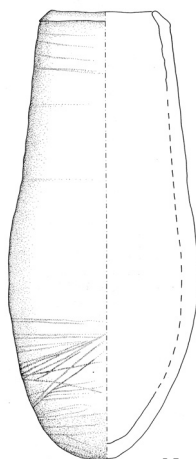
No. 10



No. 11

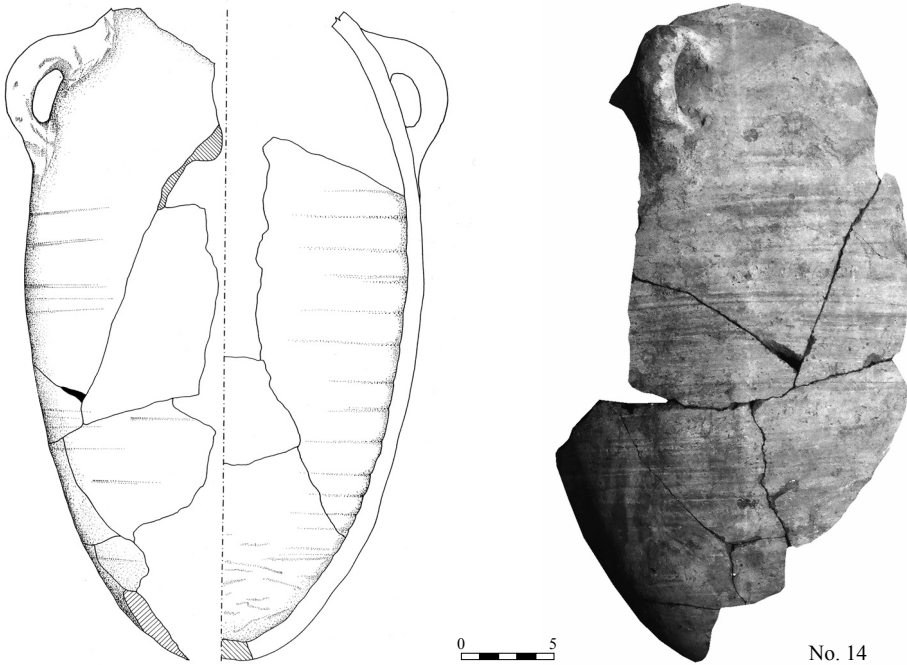


No. 12



No. 13

6. Late New Kingdom pottery. Cat. Nos. 9–13 (Drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).



7. Late New Kingdom amphora. Cat. No. 14 (Phot. M. Kornacka, drawing: T.I. Rzeuska).

10. Slender jar (No. QH 115).

Fabric: Nile B2.

Technique: wheel-made, base cut and hand finished.

Surface treatment: white-washed on the upper part of outer surface.

Colour: 10R 5/6 red (uncated).

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 8 cm, max. height: 31 cm.

11. Slender jar (No. QH 119).

Fabric: Nile B2.

Technique: wheelmade, base carelessly finished on the wheel.

Surface treatment: whitewashed on the upper part of outer surface.

Colour: 10R 5/6 red (uncoated).

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 8.5 cm, max. height: 41 cm.

12. Slender jar (No. QH 120).

Fabric: Nile B2.

Technique: wheel-made, base carelessly hand-finished.

Surface treatment: whitewashed on the outer surface.

Colour: 10R 5/6 red.

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 7cm, max. height: 38 cm.

Remarks: a rope incision made before firing on the bottom.

Parallels to Nos. 10, 11, and 12: Elephantine;³¹ Sudanese Nubia.³²

13. Slender jar (No. QH 121).

Fabric: Nile B2.

Technique: wheelmade, base cut and hand finished.

Surface treatment: white-washed partly on the outer surface.

Colour: 10R 5/6 red (uncoated).

State of preservation: complete.

Rim dia.: 6.8 cm, max. height: 31 cm.

14. Amphora (No. QH 122).

Fabric: Nile B2.

Firing: mixed.

Technique: wheel-made, two hand-made vertical handles attached to the shoulders, base hand finished

Surface treatment: pink-slipped.

Colour of slip: 7.5R 7/4 pale red; colour of the original surface: 7.5R 6/6 light red.

State of preservation: recomposed, upper part and bottom of the vessel missing.

Max body dia.: 21.5 cm, preserved height: 35.5cm.

Parallels: Valley of the Kings.³³

Lady William Cecil's report provides the grounds to assume that six of the vessels of late New Kingdom date actually came from the burial chamber of shaft No. 2.³⁴ The form of the vessels schematically represented in the excavation drawing overall resembles the shapes presented here. Identification of these pots is impossible. Five of the jars had conical stoppers at the time of discovery and contained Nile mud and potsherds.³⁵

³¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 9 (No. 198). The vessel is red slipped.

³² HOLTHOER, *SJESN* 5.1, p. 82, Pls. 16 (Nos. 185/478:1 and 185/544:6), 48 (No. 185/107:2), 68, 4 (No. 185/97:6). These are short-necked, slender jars (type ST/1/IR/O/I-m) with a direct, modelled or lip-rim, and rounded, occasionally dimpled base. The pots are larger than similar pots from the tomb of Kakemu.

³³ ASTON, ASTON, BROCK, *ÄgLev* VIII, pp. 161 and 163, Pls. 39 (No. 205), 40 (No. 336), 45 (No. 383).

³⁴ CECIL, *ASAE* IV, p. 62, Fig. 3.

³⁵ In 2000 the pots were empty.

DISCUSSION

The Old Kingdom beer jars found in the tomb of Kakemu represent an interesting and infrequently attested type. Beer jars are made of the worst quality Nile clay (usually C, seldom B2), and they are carelessly finished. Usually the potter did not apply himself to finishing the vessel surface, leaving it very rough, uneven, and with no special treatment. Beer jars from Qubbet el-Hawa are red-slipped on the outer surface, making them easily recognizable. None was found in closely dated contexts, so their attribution to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty is based merely on the parallels. The question is whether the precise dating, i.e. Pepi I – Merenre, established for beer jars from Saqqara is correct for pots from Qubbet el-Hawa? Considering the dating from one region as applicable in another might prove ill advised. The development of the ceramic forms in the region of Memphis may not have mirrored those outside this limited area. Nevertheless, the presence of the beer jars of the same type in Upper and Lower Egypt should be taken as a proof that this specific form was representative throughout the land in the late Old Kingdom.

Pottery of the Eighteenth Dynasty is represented by five vessels. Three of them are particularly interesting storage jars.³⁶ The few known parallels are attested in Upper Egypt and Nubia. Vessels from Qubbet el-Hawa and Elephantine³⁷ are made of Marl B. The colour of the pots found in Nubia is described as pale, while the clay as *Qena* ware,³⁸ which may correspond to Marl clay A4 in the *Vienna System*.³⁹ The jar from the Theban Necropolis has been identified incorrectly as an import.⁴⁰ In this group two variants can be distinguished, distinguished by the shape of the rim and neck and the finishing of the bottom part of the body. Pot No. 6 represents the first variant (**Fig. 5**). It has a short simple neck and everted rounded rim, the bottom part of the body bearing traces of horizontal surface forming, presumably on a wheel. The other variant is illustrated by vessels Nos. 7–8 (**Fig. 5**), which are somewhat higher than the previous one. The neck has a characteristic ‘collar’ in the bottom part, the rim is slightly rounded, and the surface of the bottom part of the body is shaped by vertical scraping with a tool. Pots of the first variant bear stamped cartouches with the name of Amenophis II or Tuhumosis II (Qubbet el-Hawa),⁴¹ and Tuthmosis III (Nubia), thus being dated with a great precision. In case of the other variant, an exact date is impossible, none of the pots having been stamped. The presence of cartouches is taken to be an indicative of being manufactured in the royal workshops.

The last group of the vessels comes from the Late New Kingdom. Jars Nos. 9 and 14 represent typical products of the Ramesside Period. The dating of jars Nos. 10–13 is somewhat more intricate. They were made of a poor quality Nile clay containing large quantities of sand and organic inclusions. Most show evidence of carelessness and haste

³⁶ HOLTHOER, SJESN 5.1, p. 83. He states that this type is very rare in New Kingdom contexts.

³⁷ Dr. Anne Seiler’s personal communication.

³⁸ HOLTHOER, SJESN 5.1, p. 82.

³⁹ NORDSTRÖM, BOURRIAU, *Ceramic Technology*, pp. 177–178.

⁴⁰ ROSE, *Pottery*, p. 175.

⁴¹ *Vide infra*, contribution by Edyta Kopp.

in their production – uneven surfaces and asymmetrical bodies. This could prove that the pots were meant exclusively for the funerary purposes as burial gifts, the so-called *necropolis ware*.⁴² The date has been proposed based on a few existing parallels.

To recapitulate the discussion of the pottery from Kakemu's tomb, it can be safely assumed that one of the three beer jars from the late Old Kingdom comes from shaft No. 1, while the other two jars are of unknown provenance. Their link with Kakemu's tomb is secondary. Another eleven pots came from pit No. 2 of this tomb. Five of these, Nos. 4–8, belonged to the Eighteenth Dynasty. They were discovered in a closed archaeological context, but quite clearly were not in their original position. They constitute important evidence for the functioning of the Qubbet el-Hawa burial ground since the times of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Nos. 9–14 are the latest in the entire group and date from the Late New Kingdom, i.e. the times of Kakemu, although it is rather to be excluded that the burial they were part of was actually that of Kakemu. It is not clear whose burial it may have been. It should be noted that this was a very poor burial despite being found in the tomb of a high-ranking official. Apart from the fourteen vessels (note that the pots represent only closed forms!) it had no other burial equipment.

Concerning the tomb of Kakemu itself several questions need to be answered. Lady William Cecil dated the tomb based on paintings and inscriptions to the Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasties, but believed it was actually of the Sixth Dynasty date and had been usurped by Kakemu: *The tomb, I should say, together with the untouched burial, to be of the VIth Dynasty*.⁴³ The case is more complicated than that. It is not clear which untouched burial she had in mind – from shaft No. 2 or No. 3. The burial from the chamber of shaft No. 3 is of Late New Kingdom date, hence it should be excluded. Of shaft No. 3 we know that it *contained a late untouched burial (...) and three pots*,⁴⁴ referred to as 'late'; it cannot date the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty. Thus, we still do not know which *untouched burial of the VIth Dynasty* Lady Cecil had in mind. It seems that no discussion of the dating of this tomb, and especially of its possible reuse, can be undertaken without re-considering the available evidence.

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⁴² J. BOURRIAU, Cemetery and Settlement Pottery of the Second Intermediate Period to the Early New Kingdom, *BES* 8, 1986/87, pp. 47–59.

⁴³ CECIL, *ASAE* IV, p. 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

APPENDIX:

A Royal Stamp Impression

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A stamp impression on the shoulder of storage jar No. QH 109 (see No. 6, above) contains a cartouche with a royal name (**Fig. 8**). The stamp was carelessly made before firing, the left side failing to be impressed. The condition of the hieroglyphic signs inside the cartouche is presumably due to this as well. In the present state only their outlines are visible. The scanty preserved signs R^c , \mathfrak{S} , and hpr were accompanied by a sign or signs, now illegible. During the Eighteenth Dynasty⁴⁵ three kings bore the name \mathfrak{S} - hpr [...]- R^c as their prenomen: Tuthmosis I \mathfrak{S} - hpr - $k\mathfrak{3}$ - R^c , Tuthmosis II \mathfrak{S} - hpr - n - R^c , and Amenophis II \mathfrak{S} - hpr - w - R^c . To judge by the space in the part that is illegible, the plural strokes could be missing signs, referring to the name of Amenophis II, or possibly the sign n as part of the name of Tuthmosis I. The sign $k\mathfrak{3}$ would be rather too large.

The attribution of the stamp to a king from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, perhaps Amenophis II or Tuthmosis II, is as uncertain as the original provenance of the jar. Pottery bearing a stamp impression with the royal name is not common,⁴⁶ but it has been known to come from both settlements and tombs. The presence of such a stamped pot in a non-royal tomb could indicate fairly close relations with the palace and could be construed as a kind of royal gift to the owner of the tomb.⁴⁷ However, the cemetery at Qubbet el-Hawa offers no clear indication of which tomb the jar may have belonged in. Of the New Kingdom tombs, only three are known by the name of the owners. The tomb of Kakemu is dated to the Ramesside Period and as such seems to be too young.⁴⁸ Two

⁴⁵ Compare dating of the jar above, pp. 188 and 194.

⁴⁶ Usually amphorae: one from Deir el-Medina with the prenomen of Tuthmosis I, cf. G. NAGEL, *La céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh*, 1, *DFIFAO* X, Le Caire 1938 [= *Céramique*], p. 129 (1922 *M*); amphorae with the names of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, and Amenophis II from Deir el-Medina, B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport* (1931–1932), Le Caire 1934, p. 76; amphora with the double impression of a stamp with the prenomen belonging to Tuthmosis III, R. HOLTHOER, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, pp. 58, 98–99, Pls. 14.28 and 44.3. On other types of pottery as well: vessels with stamp impressions from Serra East with the name of Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis III, G.-H. HUGHES, *Serra East. The University of Chicago Excavations, 1961–62, A Preliminary Report on the First Season's Work*, *Kush* XI, 1963, pp. 128 and 129 (one on the handle of the jar, and the other on fragments of a bowl) and J. KNUDSTAD, *Serra East and Dorginarti. A Preliminary Report on the 1963–64 Excavations of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Sudan Expedition*, *Kush* XIV, 1966, p. 172; jar with two stamps of Tuthmosis III from a tomb, G. NAGEL, *Céramique*, p. 79 (No 3), Fig. 62, p. 67 (No 86), Pl. 67. A piece of pottery inscribed with the prenomen of Amenophis II was found in a tomb in Nubia, see J. VERCOUTER, *Preliminary Report of the Excavations of Aksha by the Franco–Argentine Archaeological Expedition*, *Kush* X, 1961, p. 115.

⁴⁷ Cf. A. u. A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, Theben Nr. 74, *ArchVer* 19, Mainz a/Rhein 1977, pp. 89–90.

⁴⁸ The dating to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty was based on the style of the paintings and inscriptions (CECIL, *ASAE* IV, 1903, p. 64) and was generally accepted (E. EDEL, *LÄ* V, 55). However, the tomb is originally



8. Stamp impression on storage jar No. QH 109 – Cat. No. 6 (Phot. M. Kornacka; drawing: E. Kopp).

others are said to belong to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The tomb of *Sn-msy* is assigned to the reign of Hatshepsut,⁴⁹ whereas for that of *Ipw-msy* nothing but a general date has been proposed.⁵⁰ No other tombs from the New Kingdom are known, partly because there is no available dating evidence coming from the discovered tombs. The jar with the stamp could have belonged to one of these or to another as yet unidentified tomb. It has been suggested that Usersatet, the viceroy of Kush under the reign of Amenophis II, could have been buried at Qubbet el-Hawa.⁵¹ His tomb is unknown and there is no clear indication where

dated to the Sixth Dynasty as indicated by an untouched burial (pit No. 3), but was reused later (CECIL, *ASAE* IV, p. 64).

⁴⁹ E. EDEL, Zur Familie des *Sn-msjj* nach seinem Grabinschriften auf der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, pp. 28–31, Taf. IV.

⁵⁰ E. EDEL, Bericht über die Arbeiten in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan 1959 und 1960, *ASAE* LVII, 1962, pp. 38 and 41; E. EDEL, *LÄ* V, 54.

⁵¹ L. HABACHI, The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan, *Kush* V, 1957, p. 22.

it could be found.⁵² His close relationship to Amenophis II,⁵³ whose name may be figured on the stamp, makes this supposition preferable, although impossible to confirm by other evidence for the moment.

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⁵² It has also been suggested that his tomb was located at Qurnet Murrari, cf. L. HABACHI, *LÄ* III, 632, and Meidum, or Nubia, cf. P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, *HÄB* 26, Hildesheim 1987, p. 158.

⁵³ It is attested by a letter from Amenophis II, cf. W. HELCK, *Eine Stele des Vizekönigs Wsr-Št.t.*, *JNES* 14, 1955, pp. 22–31 (*Urk.* IV, 1343–1344).