

The Cultural Significance of Iconographic and Epigraphic Data Found in the Kingdom of Kerma

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Understanding a civilization like the Kerma culture is a permanent challenge for several reasons. This original state, active for more than a millennium, received many external influences throughout its history: some from Africa, some from Egypt. Its African models are thoroughly unknown to us, and their remains, if they still exist somewhere, are yet undiscovered. That is why we are, at first glance, compelled to restrict ourselves to the keys offered by the Egyptian models. We should try, however, not to be naïve, and to keep constantly in mind that the latter, introduced from the end of the Old Kingdom and probably renewed throughout the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, were still in use many centuries later in various ways that may have evolved away from the original applications and acquired meanings different from their Egyptian prototypes. Iconographic and epigraphic practices in general being a vast topic, I would like to approach the subject here through examination of the rare local examples of human representation presently known from Kerma.

The only sculpture available is a fragment of a terracotta statuette of a man, found by the Geneva Archaeological Mission in the ditches of the town, south of the Classic Kerma palace¹. The head, the arms and the lower part of the statuette are missing. The chest, with two crossed red strips, was 8 cm high. Apparently the right arm was outstretched, showing that the figure had held a stick, a scepter or a weapon, while the left arm probably hung at the side. The break at the base of the neck does not give any indication of the headdress, but the shape of the upper part of the back suggests that the man was standing. The place of its discovery would lead us to consider that we may have here a representation, preserved *in situ*, of a ruler of Kerma, which, when complete, would have been 20 to 25 cm high. The numerous other terracottas found at the site are very

rough and have little in common with it². The only monument which is thus far considered to show a figure of one of those kings is the famous Buhen stele³: the man wears the white crown of Upper Egypt adorned with a uraeus, which was proper to any kind of sovereign during that period⁴, and a short apron; he also holds a bow and arrows in the left hand and a mace in the right.

Engraved designs on several fragmentary ostrich eggs depict other individuals, who wear long garments or skirts and are shown among animals, such as giraffes, a *waran* lizard, a bird, and oxen.⁵ Two such eggs were found in Middle Kerma contexts, while the third was found in the Western Deffufa (K I), room B. But the principal source of human representation at Kerma are the poor remains of the paintings in funerary chapel K XI, recently restudied by C. Bonnet⁶. Here, human beings appear in the same kind of ecological context, rowing boats or fishing. In both kinds of examples, men and women are represented. It is not the place here to comment on the iconographic program of this funerary temple, but it may be interesting for our present subject to recall the importance of wild nature and the agricultural milieu both in these Kerma paintings and in those from Egypt. In the latter some sort of a model for the former can surely be discerned.

Still less evidence for the representation of divinities has been recovered: neither statue nor painting, but only some magical beings on a

¹ C. Bonnet, *Genava NS* 43, 1993, p.10, fig.13.

² C. Bonnet, *Genava NS* 32, 1984, p.23, fig.1; *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*, Genève, 1990, n° 79, p.166.

³ H. Smith, *The fortress of Buhen, The inscriptions*, Londres 1976, p.11-12, n° 691.

⁴ D. Valbelle, *Histoire de l'État pharaonique*, Paris, 1998, p.199.

⁵ G. Reisner, *HAS V*, p.33, Su 271; C. Bonnet, *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*, Genève, 1990, n° 76, p.165; *Genava NS* 34, 1986, p.10; 43, 1993, p.9.

⁶ C. Bonnet, *Genava NS* 43, 1995, p.46-50 et fig.19-20; *CRAI* avril-juin 1995, p.643-650; *Édifices funéraires de la nécropole orientale de Kerma* (à paraître).

boomerang,⁷ a sketch of some bucephalic deity engraved on a potter's polishing tool,⁸ and the ivory inlays of royal beds.⁹ Even if we consider that most of the local data may have disappeared for various reasons, such as the action of white ants on wooden objects for example, we cannot prevent ourselves from being struck by the paucity of human or divine figuration at Kerma.

Let us come now to the question of a local use of writing. The only epigraphic data originating without any doubt from the site itself is the Old Kingdom sandstone stela discovered by the Swiss Mission in a foundation deposit of a Middle Kerma chapel near the Western Deffufa.¹⁰ This bears the titles and names in hieratic of two Egyptians who came on a mission to the city. Two other inscribed objects dating from the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period - a mirror lying in an Early Kerma tomb¹¹ and a razor reused in a Classic Kerma one¹² - may be either local or imported.

A granite stele found in three pieces by Reisner in front of the Eastern Deffufa (K II), had been considered by the American archaeologist¹³ and by many scholars after him¹⁴ as a local monument concerning a restoration of the nearby sanctuary. Dated by the inscription to the 33rd year of Amenemhat III, it commemorates the use of 35 300 bricks in a construction called a "*senbet* which is in the Walls-of-Amenemhat-justified", and was intended "to reinforce the borders" of the king. It is no longer possible to accept that the allusion to this monument may have any kind of reference to K II, which was built several centuries later in the second half of the Second Intermediate Period.

It remains to be determined if this stela came from another part of the site and was carved at Kerma, which would suggest that the "Walls-of-Amenemhat-justified" was in fact a name given by

the Egyptians to the town of Kerma during the XIIth Dynasty. If it came from another site in Egypt or Lower Nubia and was brought to Kerma at the time of the construction of K II, where it was reused, the name would of course refer to another place and monument. After the work of the Swiss Mission in the town of Kerma, no one can any longer suppose that Kerma was an Egyptian administrative center during the Middle Kingdom, or that K III was the tomb of the Egyptian official Hapydjefay and his wife Sennuy. But the relationship between Memphis, Thebes and Kerma can be demonstrated by several kinds of data, such as sealings and imported ceramics¹⁵ and perhaps by inscribed material, as we shall see below. The discoveries that Charles Bonnet made in the middle of the city¹⁶ during his last season encourage us to remain cautious concerning that important episode of the history of Kerma.

I would like to add a few words on the three Buhen stelae dating from the Second Intermediate Period which talk of the work made by Egyptian officials in the service of the kings of Kerma. Ka says, "I was a valiant servant of the ruler of Kush; I washed <my> feet in the waters of Kush in the following of the ruler Nedjeh, and I returned safe and sound <to my> household."¹⁷ Sopedhor says, "I was a valiant commandant at 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."¹⁸ And Sobekemheb tells us, "I made a *per-ka* for my god Horus; I gave him a *heset-vessel*."¹⁹ Those three men assume their submission to the king of Kerma, whom yet they only call *heqa* and not *nesu*, the terms being equivalent in contemporaneous texts such as the Kamose stelae²⁰. Two of them claim their responsibility in the building of monuments to Horus of Buhen with the approval, or maybe at the request, of the king of Kush. Nevertheless none pretends to have achieved any construction in Kerma properly. We must notice also that the last

⁷ C. Bonnet *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*, Genève, 1990, n° 254, p.210

⁸ C. Bonnet, *o.c.*, n° 34, p.155.

⁹ C. Bonnet, *o.c.*, n° 276, p.217.

¹⁰ D. Valbelle, "L'Égyptien à Kerma sous l'Ancien Empire" in : C. Bonnet éd., *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*, Genève, 1990, p.95-97; "L'Égyptien en Nubie", *Actes de la VIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes (sept.1990)* I, Genève, 1992, p.359-362.

¹¹ C. Bonnet, *Genava NS* 32, 1984, p.14-15, fig.12; D. Valbelle, *o.c.*

¹² PM VII, p.180.

¹³ G. Reisner, *HAS V*, p.126-127 et 132-134; VI, p.511-512.

¹⁴ G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe dynastie*, 1969, Paris, p.26 et 56.

¹⁵ *Infra* p.00-00.

¹⁶ C. Bonnet, *Genava NS* 47, à paraître.

¹⁷ Philadelphia 10984 : Th. Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA* 35, p.52 and H.S. Smith, *o.c.*, p.55-56.

¹⁸ Khartoum 18 : T. Säve-Söderbergh, *o.c.*, p.55; H.S. Smith, *o.c.*, p.41.

¹⁹ Khartoum 5320 : J.W.B. Barns, *Kush* 2, 1954, p.21; H.S. Smith, *o.c.*, p.47-48.

²⁰ D. Valbelle, *o.c.*, p.197-204.

sentence of Ka's inscription means apparently that he did not die at Kerma, but was able to return to Buhen where he kept his household, ie his family and his servants.

After having recalled all these data, we are almost ready now to come to the principal subject of this paper: the Egyptian statues and statuettes found at Kerma. It is difficult to demonstrate beyond any doubt that some of these sculptures may date back to the Old Kingdom. However, fragments of alabaster vessels engraved with the names of Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II were found in quantity near the entrance of K I, and others came from K II B and from the eastern necropolis, tomb K X B and C 22.²¹ On several of these pieces the king is called "beloved of Hathor, lady of Dendera." These kinds of objects were made on the occasion of important celebrations in Egypt, such as king's jubilees, and were sent to the principal sanctuaries of the country as well as to the foreign sovereigns in relationship with the court of Egypt. We should not be surprised therefore to find that some were sent to Kerma during the VIth Dynasty. Some fragments of alabaster statuettes may be attributed to the same period: Boston 20.1204 from K II B and 20.1208 from K II A. None of these pieces, however, still remained in a contemporary context.

The Middle Kingdom statues and statuettes, discovered mostly in the Eastern Cemetery, compose the major part of the Egyptian data. Some statues of the same period were seen there and brought to Berlin by Lepsius;²² three other pieces were gathered by Reisner at the entrance of the temenos of K I, together with Old Kingdom data.²³ Among the Middle Kingdom objects, we have first to notice the presence of alabaster jars engraved with the names of Amenemhat I (from K I and K XI)²⁴ and Sesostri I (from K I and K XVIII),²⁵ and a faience goblet commemorating a jubilee of the latter from K I.²⁶ These objects are of a particular interest, inasmuch as they belong to the same category as the above-mentioned Old Kingdom

pieces and may contribute to testify to official diplomatic connections between Egypt and Kerma at least at the very beginning of the XIIIth Dynasty. Let us remember that the two lifesize statues of the nomarch of Assiut Hapydjefay and of his wife Sennuy date to the same period.

Very few statues or monuments found in the necropolis can be precisely dated within the Middle Kingdom, including the XIIIth Dynasty, to the time of the fall of the central power in Egypt and the beginning of the Hyksos domination in the North around the middle of the seventeenth century. Except for Hapydjefay and his wife, who were contemporaneous with the reign of Sesostri I, and the director of sealed goods Antef, author of the stela dated to the 33rd year of Amenemhat III, the private men and women named on the Kerma monuments are not famous enough to be precisely attributed to a particular reign. The only other datable monuments are the royal ones. Two ivory fans belonging respectively to the royal mother Itety and to the royal daughter Redienptah - the second being reused as the handle of a dagger -, a fragment of a lid in glazed quartzite, with the Horus name of Amenemhat III,²⁷ and two heads of statuettes,²⁸ which may be attributed to the XIIIth dynasty for stylistic reasons: Boston 13.3968, from K X, which is supposed to represent Sesostri III; and 20.1213 for Amenemhat III, discovered to the south of K II.

Three statuettes can be surely attributed to the XIIIth Dynasty. The older one is that of Sobekhotep II Sekhemre-Khutaui²⁹ (Boston 14.726), coming from K X.³⁰ G.Reisner and J.Vandier recognized Neferhotep I in the wooden anepigraphic statue³¹ Boston 20.1821 (**fig.1**), coming from K XVI. And recently, K.Ryholt succeeded in joining two fragments of the base of a kneeling statue of Sobekhotep V Khahetepre, found in K X and kept until recently in Boston (13.3985), with the statue itself, kept in Berlin (10645). (The Boston fragments have now been transferred to Berlin and rejoined with the statue). In addition, Reisner proposed to read as "[Dedu]mes" the name of a

²¹ G.Reisner, *HAS VI*, p.506-510, fig. 342 et 343,17-19. Two other fragments with the name of Pepi I were found by the Swiss Mission in CE 22.

²² Reisner, *HAS V*, p.17 et 32, n.1.

²³ Reisner, *HAS VI*, p.24

²⁴ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p.510 and 520-521.

²⁵ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p.510 and 520.

²⁶ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p.509, fig. 343,29 and 510.

²⁷ G.Reisner, *HAS VI*, p.521.

²⁸ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p.32, n° 10 and 12; pl.33, 5-7 et 34, 2-3.

²⁹ D.Wildung, *Soudan, Royaumes sur le Nil*, Paris, 1997, n° 128, p. 116.

³⁰ K.Ryholt, *CRIPPEL* 19, p.31-33, pl.6-8.

³¹ G.Reisner, *HAS VI*, p.31, pl. 33, 1-3; J.Vandier, *Manuel III*, p.220.

king in which the two last signs *mes* were readable on a fragment of a huge basin in alabaster found in K XVI.³²

Among about 130 pieces of sculpture found until now by the Harvard and the Geneva Missions, only two were complete at the time of their discovery - the big statue of Sennuy and the small one of an elder of the portal called Montuhotep (**fig.2**). A third - that of Sobekhotep Khahetepre - was reconstructed from two parts, one from Kerma, the other from an antiquities dealer in Luxor. About 17 of them were only half to three-quarters preserved. The remaining ones are fragments of various sizes. This situation seems to be the result of the combined effects of looters and antiquities dealers, who have never hesitated to break objects in the thought that they may contain something more obviously valuable. Of course treasure hunters more than once disturbed the archaeological contexts of those statues, sometimes long before the excavations of Reisner.

Nevertheless many remarks can still be made about this material, its original provenance, its local use and significance. Although the Egyptian royal and private statues are more or less all of the same kind and date globally to the Middle Kingdom, a first distinction can be made. While the greatest number were found in Classic Kerma/Second Intermediate Period contexts, mostly in the cemetery but also from several sanctuaries, some others were found in one of the Napato-Meroitic temples of Dokki Gel and open therefore a different field of research, until now unprospected.

In the Eastern Cemetery, the practice of associating some Egyptian statues with the burials appears at the beginning of the Classic Kerma period, as the Swiss Mission has been able to demonstrate. The oldest group of tombs whose funerary equipment begins to include such material are tumuli K XVI and K XVIII, then come K XXI and K XXII, K X and its chapel K XI, K IV, and finally K III and its chapel K II. The funerary equipment of the large Classic Kerma tumuli concentrated in the south end of the Eastern Cemetery must have been extremely rich, if we compare their contents to those of the earlier large tombs situated further north and their relative sizes.

They were so systematically plundered, however, that Reisner could not formulate more than few cautious hypotheses on the initial disposal of the material in the funerary pits or rooms. Even the place of the royal burial may be disputed.

K XVI³³ is of double interest, firstly, because it is one of the first of the Classic Kerma royal tombs to contain Egyptian objects, and, second, because it is composed of three separate pits. The archaeological situation it exhibits, however, is far from clear, since most of the fragmentary objects were scattered in surface debris. In his archaeological volume, Reisner considered room A to have been the chief burial. From here came, or should have come, all the statuettes - the wooden one attributed to Neferhotep I, a seated statuette of a woman in black granite and nine other black granite fragments including a scribe - as well as a large number of stone and faience vessels - in particular the alabaster basin of [Dedu]mes (?), bracelets, and ivory bed inlays which may have belonged to the royal funerary bed. He concluded, from the discovery of numerous broken human and ram bones, that room B was a sacrificial chamber where he also found beads, scarabs, amulets, etc. He compared room C, where many sacrificed bodies were still lying on the floor, to the sacrificial corridors of K X, K IV and K III, tumuli which he considered earlier. From here he collected also much funerary equipment such as pottery, daggers, armllets, amulets, beads, etc. Around the three rooms, several subsidiary graves were dug. These contained closely related individuals and contained nine fragments of black granite statuettes, registered simply as "debris of K 1619 and of K 1620"³⁴.

The distribution of the objects and the proper function of each room seem more or less established. The statuettes and the stone vessels should be associated with the sepulchral room A, identified thanks to the ivory inlays of the royal bed, while sacrificed individuals were placed either in B or in C. But various remarks force themselves upon us. It is difficult *a priori* to detect any real distinction between rooms B and C, yet the funerary equipment seems much richer and larger in C, which may be surprising if the bodies buried there are only sacrificed ones. In the same

³² G.Reisner, *HAS VI*, p. 509, fig.343, 34 and p.517-519.

³³ G.Reisner *HAS V*, p.389-402.

³⁴ *Id.*, p. 391; G.Reisner, *HAS VI*, n° 62, p.39.

perspective, several heaps of decayed wood - formerly parts of beds - are said to be "intrusive". The confusion increases in Reisner's second volume, devoted to objects, where the wooden statue is connected with room C,³⁵ while the alabaster basin is said to come from rooms B and C.³⁶ It becomes therefore hazardous to make a precise analysis of that equipment, essential to any serious interpretation of the corresponding funerary customs. Here we observe mainly some hesitations concerning data found on the surface, uneasy to ascribe to one place rather than another.

Elsewhere, some statuettes are registered in the contents of a tumulus, such as K III, in the first volume, while they are considered to come from another one such as K X in the second volume. These few inconsistencies may be clarified later by a reading of Reisner's field notes. At present, let us restrict ourselves to the observations we can make now regarding the original situation of the Egyptian statues in K X, K IV and K III. Besides the six fragments found near the front part of the chapel K XI and which may have come from the neighboring tumulus K X, more than 30 pieces can be associated with K X itself. Reisner³⁷ tells us that they were recovered mostly from the corridor B, scattered within ten meters of the door of the burial chamber A and in the debris of the surface, south of room A. It is difficult to guess whether they were all originally in the sacrificial corridor, or in the burial chamber, which was repeatedly plundered and left completely empty by the robbers, or distributed between the two places. Among the twelve royal statues discovered there, one can be ascribed to Sesostri III and two represent respectively Sobekhotep II and Sobekhotep V. This clearly means that XIIth Dynasty and XIIIth Dynasty objects were mixed together.

In K IV, the fifteen fragments of statues collected were all private ones. Found mostly in the superficial debris, they may have come either from the burial room A, or from the sacrificial corridor B, equally plundered.³⁸

With about forty Egyptian statues and fragments of statuettes, K III appears to be the

richest tumulus for that kind of material (**fig.3**). Their preservation and distribution are very similar to the previous ones. Here however the burial chamber B is preceded by an antichamber C, opening on the sacrificial corridor. The great majority of the statues were private but three of them are life size: that of Hapydjefay - east of the burial chamber B - that of his wife Sennuy - in the corridor A, 10 m west of the entrance of the vestibule C, and a small fragment from the surface. Most of the statues were discovered south of B and C, in their immediate vicinity.

From this quick review of the Egyptian statues found in the large tumuli, we see that they include kings, men, and women; they are represented standing, seated or in the position of scribes; they derive from the XIIth and the XIIIth Dynasties indiscriminately; they are sometimes made of wood, limestone, sandstone or alabaster, but mostly they are made of hard stones. All should have been complete when they were chosen to be placed in the tombs. At least some of them were certainly put in the burial chambers, but several seem to have been distributed - together with other objects - in the sacrificial corridors, perhaps even inside the compartments. What can we deduce of this? The hundreds of sacrificed individuals buried in the tumuli of the kings of Kerma, contemporaneous to the Theban kings of the XVIIth Dynasty and to the Hyksos kings of Avaris, represent the climax of an old local tradition attested since the Ancient Kerma Period. While Egyptian objects in Kerma graves seem to have been limited previously to toilet articles, here the statues and statuettes seem to have surrounded the body of the ruler of Kerma.

The participation of Egyptians kings, courtiers, and women in effigy in the royal and princely burials of Kerma, especially in the funerary chambers themselves, may suggest that they were to accompany the king in his afterlife, like all the members of his own court. The complete absence of excising names and usurpation seems to exclude the possibility that the kings sought to re-identify them as images of themselves and those close to them. Nevertheless we have up till now so little evidence of the use of writing in Kerma at any period that, even if we admit the permanent presence of translators knowing Egyptian and able to write it, we must accept the idea that the hieroglyphic inscriptions did not play an important

³⁵ *Id., Ibid.*, p.29 and 31, n° 1.

³⁶ *Id., Ibid.*, p.46 and 517-519.

³⁷ G.Reisner *HAS V*, p.276.

³⁸ *Id., Ibid.*, p.191.

part in the local customs, either in the royal and religious rituals, in the economic system, or in the funerary practices. Yet the prestige of ownership of Egyptian material was very strong in that particular period and the Egyptian culture must have had a strong influence on Kushite habits.

Similar Egyptian objects were also found in the Kerma temples. If few were collected in K XI, seven were found in K II and several others were recovered outside, between the chapel and the associated tumulus K III. This and the fact that the same kind of material was found at the entrance of the Lower Deffufa K I suggest that these objects were originally kept in the various sanctuaries of the town and of the necropolis, whence they were taken gradually to be included in the late royal burials. The persistence of a tradition concerning these objects has been provided last season by the discovery of six Middle Kingdom statues and fragments of the same kind in one of the Napato-Meroitic temple of Dokki Gel. The archaeological results were obtained there by Salah el-Din Mohamed Ahmed in the frame of the Geneva Mission. Let us say now that the statues derive from the ground of the sanctuary in connection with Napatan levels (fig.4).

This important discovery can be placed in its historical context, thanks to other similar ancient finds in several other Napatan temples : a statuette of Ugaf, first king of the XIIIth Dynasty - together with Middle Kingdom statuettes - in a cache under the sanctuary of Taharqa's temple in Semna³⁹, a statue of Sobekhotep IV Khaneferre in the first courtyard of the Taharqa temple of Tabo⁴⁰, a statuette of a the queen Nubemhat, wife of Sobekemsaf I in a room east of the sanctuary in temple A of Kawa, rebuilt by Taharqa - together with a Middle Kingdom dyad⁴¹, and the statue of the nomarch of Assiut Hapydjefay in the outer court of the Piankhi temple of Amun reconstructed by Natakamani in Gebel Barkal⁴².

All these finds have been variously interpreted, case after case. The question of the original provenance of these statues and of all the Egyptian objects in Kerma does not interest us

directly, insofar as, in most of the instances evoked, they are already present on the respective sites at the time of their respective reuse: the Classic Kerma for the first ones, the Napato-Meroitic period for the others. Most of these objects, when their inscriptions are preserved, show a link with a site in Egypt: Assiut, Choteb, Dendera, Coptos, Medamud, Thebes, Tod, Hierakonpolis, Sumenu and Elephantine. But the Semna statuette of Ugaf bears the name of the local god, Dedun. The great majority of these monuments are small and made in hard stones. If we make a small inquiry in other places in Egypt, we can find equivalent material, which bears some indication of its origin, such as the identity of gods, or titles and names of people. However, it is clear that these statues were intentionally brought by their owners or their agents to various sanctuaries of the country or even abroad. Since the name of Kerma during the Middle Kingdom is unknown or is otherwise absent from the considered material, the intended destination of the Kerma statues cannot be established definitely at present.

The Kerma statues are often supposed to come from the Second Cataract Forts, while the Tabo and Gebel Barkal statues are assumed to come from Kerma. The first hypothesis has no support at least from the available inscriptions on the statues, since none bears any allusion to one of the Second Cataract sites, and in any case their link with Egyptian places has to be explained. The second hypothesis cannot be demonstrated either, since it is impossible to identify Kerma statues outside of Kerma because of the lack of identification criteria just mentioned above. A third hypothesis would imply a series of direct incursions of Kushite troops into all the sites mentioned in the inscriptions preserved on the Kerma statues: ie as far north as Choteb and Assiut in Middle Egypt, if not Memphis. Such an epic vision is not completely impossible, but remains to be demonstrated.

For the moment we have to take into consideration a fourth hypothesis: that most of the Egyptian objects found at Kerma - especially the small statuettes in hard stone - may have been brought there willingly, little by little, and deposited, according to Egyptian religious practices, in contemporaneous chapels or temples of the principal or secondary town, from the VIth to the XIIIth Dynasties. A large proportion of them

³⁹ PM VII, p.149 et J.Vercoutter, *RdE* 27, 1975, p.225-228.

⁴⁰ PM VII, p.180.

⁴¹ PM VII, p.184.

⁴² PM VII, p.216.

were used in the cemetery during the Second Intermediate Period. Later, in the New Kingdom or in the Napatan Period, some of these statues were placed in the new temples and buried inside their sacred enclosures when the shrines fell out of use. The "Egyptian model" was unavoidable at Kerma, even if it experienced situations, sometimes conventional, sometimes a little disappointing.

Illustrations

Fig. 1 : Wooden royal standing statue (Boston 20.1821), photo by T.Kendall. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 2 : Statuette of the eldest of the portal Montuhotep (Khartoum 1132), photo by J.Reinold. Courtesy of the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.

Fig. 3 : Statue found by G.A. Reisner in tumulus K III; photo: Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition.. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 4 : Statue of the Director of Sealed Things, Reniseneb, found in Dokki Gel; photo by P.Rummler-Kohler. Courtesy of the Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan.



Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4