



THE 72<sup>ND</sup>  
**ANNUAL  
MEETING**  
OF THE

**AMERICAN  
RESEARCH  
CENTER  
IN EGYPT**

APRIL 22-25

**2021**

**VIRTUAL**



# AAR

— ANNUAL MEETING | 2021 —

# CONFERENCE



## **ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT**

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**APRIL 22-25, 2021**

**VIRTUAL**

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# Itinerary

Subject to change

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 2021

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT
9:00 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.	<b>New Students/Attendees Welcome</b>
10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
12:15 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	<b>Expedition Leaders Meeting</b> (by invitation only)
1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.	Coffee/Tea Break
2:45 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)

## FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 2021

<b>TIME</b> (US Eastern Time)	<b>EVENT</b>
9:00 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.	<b>Fellowship Information Session</b>
10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
12:15 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	<b>Keynote Lecture/Chapter Council fundraiser featuring Dr. Ramadan Hussein, sponsored by National Geographic</b>
1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.	Coffee/Tea Break
2:45 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)



## SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 2021

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT
10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	<b>Student and Early Career Workshop with John Paulas</b> (registration limited to 50 early career and graduate student participants for an extra registration fee of \$10)
1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.	Coffee/Tea Break
2:45 p.m. – 3:45 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
4:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.	<b>General Members Meeting</b>

## SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 2021

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT
10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	<b>TBD Special Session</b>
1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.	Coffee/Tea Break
2:45 p.m. – 3:45 p.m.	Paper Sessions (three concurrent tracks)
4:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.	<b>Wrap Up, Thank You and Kickoff of the 2022 Annual Meeting in Irvine, CA</b>

# SPONSORS



# Thanks From The Executive Director

DR. LOUISE BERTINI

This year marks the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, and our second Annual Meeting held virtually. When we moved to virtual delivery last year, none of us predicted the challenges that laid ahead. Though we all look forward to gathering again in person, the virtual format allows us to engage with our geographically diverse supporters, members, and research base. As our virtual year has progressed, so has our technology. We hope you enjoy this year's enhanced platform and options.

As with our in-person meetings, we are honored to welcome leading scholars from the fields of Egyptology, Archaeology and other specialties in Egyptian history who have made time to share, present, and discuss their research contributions and their passion for Egypt. I'm pleased to welcome our members, donors, and of course, enthusiasts of Egypt's history and ancient culture! In a time of screen fatigue, your participation, energy, and dedication cement the importance of this meeting for our community. We are so glad to have you with us.

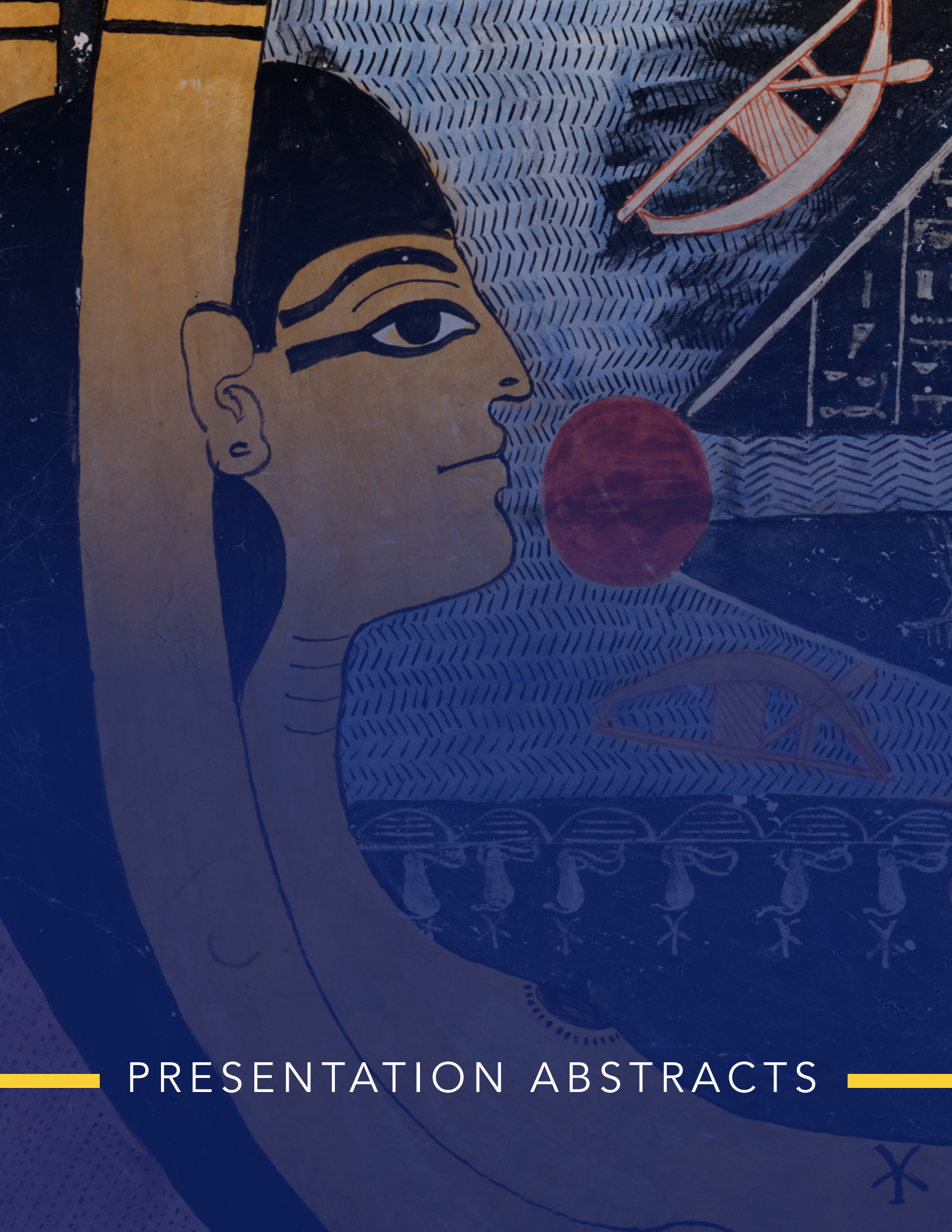
I'd like to express gratitude to the many people that worked through different time zones over the past several months to ensure that this installment of the Annual Meeting is seamless and successful. Our Annual Meeting Committee Chair, Denise Doxey, has led the way in navigating the continuation of our virtual format, as well as committee members Katherine Davies, Stephanie Denkowicz, Rita Lucarelli, Nicholas Picardo, Robert Ritner, JJ Shirley, Betsy Bryan, and David Anderson.

Hearty recognition and thanks to our Keynote Sponsor and new Research Supporting Member, National Geographic. We look forward to a dynamic partnership. I'd also like to extend thanks to our steadfast institutional partners, including the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, the U.S. Department of State's Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, for supporting ARCE's fellowship and academic programs, as well as our field work.

This year ARCE made student attendance and access to the Annual Meeting a top priority. Thanks to each of you who "supported a student" during registration, and our inaugural Student Access Council. This Council took a leap of faith in joining a new initiative and has generously demonstrated their commitment to our students in a time of need.

Last but certainly not least, thank you to our staff for their efforts in preparing every detail of this year's Annual Meeting. They work incredibly hard to make sure each of you has a positive and memorable experience.

Thank you for joining us, and enjoy the meeting!



PRESENTATION ABSTRACTS

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**ALEXANDER NAGEL**, Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York

## Brooklyn's First Cancelled Museum. An Art Historiography of an Odyssey from Egypt to the New World

Egyptian idols, wooden fragments from pyramids, a mummy from Thebes, and cat mummies from Memphis were only a few of the collected materials on display in the Brooklyn Navy Yard's first museum in the 19th century. Founded in 1833, the Lyceum was described in a journal as an 'olla podrida of queer things.' What do we know about the fate of the dispersed collections from the Lyceum today? Based on a new faculty-student collaborative Egypt-American research project, this contribution will follow the path of the materials from Egypt's underground to New York, Washington, D.C.'s Smithsonian Institution, and other art institutions. The main part of the presentation will introduce the separated fragments of a cartonnage coffin lid from Dynasty 26 and will digitally unify these dispersed materials. New research on archival resources and the complex and problematic first owner George R. Gliddon (1809-1857), his life in Alexandria, and the making of his "Memoir on the Cotton of Egypt" (1841), proved to be of great pedagogic value for students and classrooms in Brooklyn and Manhattan in recent months and reveal the potential of studying untapped collections in the digital world.

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**ALI ABDELHALIM ALI**,  
Ain-Shams University and ARCE

## The Chapel of Caracalla at Kom Ombo

The temple of Haroeris and Sobek-Re at Kom Ombo is unique in its architectural design as a double temple. It also has rare scenes, such as the scene of the surgical instruments. There are also small but important buildings around this main temple, e.g. the birth house and the chapel of Caracalla. The current research aims to study the function and plan of this questionable chapel from the reign of Caracalla dedicated to the crocodile god Sobek-Re. It is located on the northeastern side next to the Byzantine church and its presbytery. It was uncovered by Barsanti in February / March 1914 but has not yet been published. Unfortunately, it is severely destroyed. Its walls and consequently scenes are largely lost. All what remains are: the floor, the base of the sacred barque, the door jambs of the entrance and a flight of five steps and three stone seats on the right side of the stairs. In addition to the scenes and texts on the remaining door jambs, there is also some secondary epigraphy, namely some graffiti on the walls and on the floor of this chapel, which in turn could refer to private religious practices in the area of Kom Ombo. Thus, the current research will include these graffiti inside the study.



BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT

**AMR KHALAF SHAHAT,**

University of California Los Angeles

## Social History of Food in Ancient Egypt: Between Humanities and life sciences

The preservation of food remains from ancient Egypt is one of the unique aspects of the region's archaeology. While, the botanical materials from the predynastic Nag ed-Deir gave rise to archaeobotany as a science, early Dynastic botanical materials from Saqqara were the source data for Willard Libby to invent carbon dating and win the Noble Prize. In this paper, I continue this interdisciplinary cross-link to contribute to life science and Egyptology. First, I will present new unpublished food remains excavated by Reisner and Lythgoe in the early 1900s at Nag ed Deir and Deir el Ballas, housed at the Hearst Museum University of California Berkeley. This study presents the results of interdisciplinary analyses applying archaeobotanical and isotopic methods on plant-food from these sites. A new non-destructive Nano-archaeology method was developed to analyze a beer mash to reconstruct early beer ingredient compositions from Nag ed-Deir, revealing a regionally specific beer recipe. The result of a long stable isotope experiment by the author also introduces a new method to identify the source region of food to differentiate between local versus imported species such as earliest evidence of pomegranate and domesticated watermelon confirmed by carbon dates. These interdisciplinary approaches enable us to reconstruct Egyptian foodways' social history as related to regional identities and cross-

cultural interactions from non-elite contexts. While these methods expand our theoretical perspective from the humanities side, the isotopic data serve life sciences with exceptionally important deep-time data illuminating the anthropogenic impact of climate changes on the foodways and the social structure.

**ANDREA PAULA ZINGARELLI,**

Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences. National University of La Plata

## Amenmose Project (TT318): Preliminary Report on the 2020 season

This paper will present the results from the first work season in TT318, a tomb located at the bottom of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Luxor, Egypt. It belongs to Amenmose, who lived during Thutmose III, or maybe Hatshepsut reigns. Amenmose's only title mentioned in his tomb is Xrty-nTr n imn "stonemason/artisan of Amun". The original access to the tomb is currently covered. Therefore, the access is through the door of the neighboring tomb TT129, and then by a small hole. Previous conservation works or specific studies have not been carried out in TT318. For this reason, in this project based at the Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences of the University of La Plata (Argentina), the conservation of the monument is proposed. The project has set goals in the 2020 season, which included the evaluation of the paintings and reliefs' conditions and the tomb damage diagnosis. On that basis, the research, discussion, and formulation of strategies for the monument's restoration and conservation have been planned. In this paper, the results and future perspectives

will be discussed. Besides, the tomb's decoration will be presented.

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**ANDREAS GEORGIOS KOSTOPOULOS,**  
ARCE

## Out of the Box and onto the Web-ARCE's Conservation Archives goes online

Since 1994 ARCE has maintained an archive of 78 conservation and documentation projects funded by USAID. The archive comprises important collections of images, reports, and drawings documenting the conservation process for Egyptian cultural heritage sites spanning virtually all of the country's historical and cultural eras. Until 2016, original data and the majority of ARCE archival holdings remained inaccessible to anyone unable to visit ARCE's office in Cairo. In 2016, ARCE and the UCLA Library partnered to launch two ARCE archival collections on UCLA's Digital Library platform, the International Digital Ephemera Project (IDEP). The successful processing and publication of ARCE's first archival digital collection, in parallel with the knowledge acquired by ARCE staff through this partnership, inspired the organization to seek further funding opportunities to continue digitization and publication of the invaluable Conservation Archives. In 2018, ARCE won an award from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to lay the foundations for digitizing and publishing more collections, including a processing manual and foundational archival policies. The Archives team digitized and published three additional collections on ARCE's newly published Conservation Archives website, developed in partnership with the UCLA Digital Library. ARCE's

digital collections fulfill an important obligation of scholarship by disseminating the research, and project documentation, thereby expanding public access to richly diverse material in fields such as Egyptology, anthropology, history, religious studies, etc. This paper, includes an overview of the past five years' digital efforts and challenges, as well as data for the projects currently available on ARCE Conservation Archives website.

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**ARIEL SINGER,** The Epigraphic Survey,  
the University of Chicago

## Expanding Digital Epigraphy: developing a digital collation process

The exponential development of tablet technology in the past few years has resulted in a significant increase in the utility of these devices for digital epigraphy. At the Epigraphic Survey, we began integrating digital tools into our drawing and photographic methods over ten years ago, however only recently has it become possible to expand these into the actual collation process. In 2017-2018, the first complete digital case study was done for a drawing of a coronation scene of Amenhotep III from Luxor Temple. This included a digital photograph (extracted as an orthomosaic image from a 3D model), a drawing that was penciled and inked digitally, and two epigraphic checks and a director's check fully done on an iPad. Since then, the Epigraphic Survey has continued to streamline our collation process while enhancing our levels of accuracy and consistency. This paper will review how we converted our analog collation (using blueprinting paper, a glue-stick, and pencils) into a digital process, and the



lessons learned along the way. It will also cover the details our revised system, some of the issues that we have come across, and the variety of tools that we have tried so far. Finally there will be a short discussion of our future plans for the use of digital collation and our hopes for potential advancements in the technology.

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**BAHAA ELDIN ABDEL GABER BADAWY MASOUD**, Minya University

## The Scientific Publication of the tomb TT247 in the Western Theban Necropolis

The study was divided into an introduction, preapprehension, three chapters and a conclusion. The introduction dealt with a presentation of the message and the most important previous studies of the topic, then the preapprehension dealt with an overview of the Theban Necropolis and the tombs that it contains, as well as a historical summary of the area of Al-Khawka that contains the tomb. The first chapter deals with An archaeological study of the tomb, the name of the owner of the tomb, his titles and his family and description of the views of the tomb. Then the second chapter deals with the location of the tomb with the work of an architectural lifting of the tomb and their relationship to the surrounding tombs located in the same yard, The general planning statement for the tomb is (courtyard + entrance + rectangular room + well + small niche), then the study dealt with presenting a comparative study of the architectural planning of the tomb with similar planning in the Theban Necropolis as well as comparing it with tombs dating back to the same period of time. As for the third

chapter, it dealt with an analytical study of the scenes and writings recorded on the walls of the tomb, Linguistic study and analysis of some of the words that appeared in the roofs and walls of the tomb, their meaning, method of writing, and their development during different historical eras, and important words appeared in them.

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**BRENDAN HAINLINE**, University of Chicago  
**The Non-Royal Afterlife in the Pyramid Texts**

The Pyramid Texts were originally believed to reflect specifically royal rituals and afterlife beliefs, due to their first appearance in the later Old Kingdom exclusively in the royal pyramids. It is the royal exclusivity of these religious texts in the Old Kingdom that gave rise to the theory of the “democratization of the afterlife”. This theory has since largely been dismantled by scholars such as Harold Hays and Mark Smith (among others), in part because it is now known that several of the spells in the Pyramid Texts actually have a clear non-royal origin. In addition to problematizing the “democratization of the afterlife” theory, the existence of these specifically non-royal spells in the Pyramid Texts provides a textual window into the afterlife beliefs of non-royal Egyptians during the Old Kingdom. In this paper, I will summarize the methods that have been previously used to identify non-royal spells within the Pyramid Texts corpus, and additionally will offer two new non-royal markers: (1.) the deceased being the beneficiary of a  $\text{h}\bar{\text{t}}\text{p}-\text{d}\bar{\text{j}}-\text{n}\bar{\text{j}}-\text{s}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{t}}$ ; and (2.) placeholder text referring to the deceased’s ‘local god’. I will then highlight what these spells can reveal about non-royal afterlife beliefs and how these beliefs relate to those in markedly royal spells. Finally, I will discuss the implications of the

incorporation of non-royal beliefs (in particular, the deity Osiris) into royal mortuary practices — mainly that the royal conception of the afterlife was itself influenced and shaped in part by specifically non-royal beliefs.

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**BRIAN MUHS**, University of Chicago

## Textual Variants in Kushite and Napatan Mortuary Texts and their Significance

The royal families of Kushite and Napatan Nubia (c. 750-250 BCE) employed a variety of Egyptian language mortuary texts in their burials. Some previous studies (Doll 1978 and 2014) have examined the inscriptions on royal sarcophagi and funerary stelae, which disappeared after the early Napatan Period, and have suggested a gradual disengagement with Egyptian mortuary literature. Other studies (such as Petacchi 2018) have studied the inscriptions on royal offering tables, which continued to be used into the late Napatan Period, and suggest an ongoing engagement with Egyptian mortuary literature. This paper will examine some of the inscriptions on royal heart scarabs and shabties, which also continued to be used into the late Napatan Period. Textual variations in these mortuary texts support the hypothesis that the Kushite and Napatan Nubians had access to multiple textual traditions, and that they continued to select from these textual traditions, and in some cases combine or modify them, up to the end of the Napatan Period.

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**BRYAN KRAEMER**, Robert and Frances Fullerton Museum of Art, CSUSB

## Minmose's Prayer: The Secret Form of Osiris over Abydos and the Timing for Osiris's Festivals

When was the festival of Osiris at Abydos celebrated? There is a discrepancy in the dates apparent in the evidence. Evidence from the Middle Kingdom to Saite Period shows that the festival occurred in the first month of the Egyptian calendar: I Akhet 12-24. In contrast, evidence from after the Saite Period shows that it was celebrated in the fourth month of the calendar IV Akhet 12-26, the month named Khoiak. From the later body of evidence comes the name for the festivals of Osiris often found in the Egyptological literature, the Khoiak-festival. Although scholars have noticed this calendrical discrepancy and believe a change occurred over time, my research is the first to offer an explanation for why and when it actually happened. This talk presents an important text from Abydos for the chronology of the festivals, an inscription from the Ramesside tomb of High Priest of Shu, Minmose. It describes a vision of Osiris as the constellation Orion rising over a specific spot on the cliffs at Abydos. This vision happens during a nighttime event which is likely part of the festivals of Osiris. By calculating when this alignment of Orion with the cliffs at Abydos was visible in the Egyptian calendar during the Ramesside Period, it is possible to determine when the festival in question was celebrated in the Gregorian calendar. This and other calendrical evidence points to a possible reason for the

divergent dates in the evidence for the festivals of Osiris that exacerbated over time.

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**CARL ROBERT WALSH,**

The Barnes Foundation

## Ensembles and Assemblages: The Egyptian Collection at The Barnes Foundation

Nestled and dispersed amongst the myriad works of art in The Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia, are a collection of roughly 27 Egyptian objects. Almost none of these objects have been researched or published. Their authenticity and provenance are largely unknown, and purchase details are hazy. Most of the objects have flown under the radar of scholars, perhaps due to the disparate way they are displayed in Albert Barnes's 'ensembles,' display compositions that mix early modern paintings, sculpture, and furniture, ethnographic material from Africa, North America, and Southeast Asia, and objects from a variety of ancient cultures. Since 2019, an ongoing project at the Barnes Foundation has focused on uncovering the hidden stories of these Egyptian objects, in considering their authenticity, their archaeological contexts, and their historical biographies. In addition to presenting some of the initial results of this project, I consider how this small but dynamic collection can be used as a multifaceted assemblage to engage scholars, students, and the public.

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**CHANA ALGARVIO,** University of Toronto

## The Evolution of Royal Iconography in the Old Kingdom: The King and His Insignia

The image of the king is an important subject in ancient Egyptian art as it reflects royal and divine ideology, cultural beliefs, and the evolving narrative of kingship. A key period for examining the development of the king's image in pharaonic art is the Old Kingdom (c.2686-2181), yet few studies focus on royal iconography from this period (or in general for that matter). The bulk of work on royal art instead concentrates on technicalities of royal sculpture and reliefs, and how these art forms evolved between dynasties. Examining when the characteristic royal attire and motifs seen in the Middle and New Kingdom first appeared in the artistic record is vital in understanding the progression of Egyptian royal (and even divine) ideology, and of equal importance is understanding the socio-cultural context from which royal insignias were formed to explain why they exist. Just as the term 'multiplicity of approaches' was coined to better comprehend Egyptian religion, so too can it be applied to royal iconography as the wide array of symbols associated with the king all collaborate in nature to reflect the different aspects of kingship, rather than working as mutually exclusive items where one takes supremacy over the other. This paper therefore seeks to chronologically examine the royal iconography of the Old Kingdom by focusing on the evolution of royal markers and motifs from the sculptures and reliefs of kings from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty, determining which characteristic

pharaonic features were formed during the Old Kingdom and why.

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**CHARLOTTE ROSE**, Independent Scholar

## Place of Birth, Place of Worship: Childbirth in Ancient Egypt

Within scholarship discussing Egyptian birth practices, there is a larger debate on where birth took place and whether certain equipment were used for that purpose. Previous research has discussed specific remains concerning the location of birth, namely birth bricks, stools, New Kingdom royal birth scenes, birth arbors, and box-beds. Likewise, others have focused on textual sources such as the birth story from Papyrus Westcar and various records from Deir el-Medina. However, these approaches had not addressed the subject through a diachronic lens to examine the extent of change and continuity of practices through time. Given that the period from the Middle Kingdom (2000-1650 BCE) through the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BCE) is roughly a thousand years, with significant religious transformations, a chronological focus is necessary to understand the development of popular religion. This work addresses the location of childbirth in ancient Egypt in light of the social and religious changes during the Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom. The imagery associated with childbirth itself contained a mixture of continuity and changes built upon previous concepts. In particular, the relationship between the bedroom and birth and fertility magic present in Middle Kingdom objects became more pronounced in the fertility iconography of the New Kingdom. Overall, there was a shift away from the apotropaic

imagery characteristic of Middle Kingdom elites to a less elite female-oriented birth-bed iconography. This development may reflect the extent of cultural disruption during the Second Intermediate Period, with the lives of regular people less affected than the elite.



**CHELSEA KAUFMAN**, Johns Hopkins University | **BENJAMIN DODDY**, Loyola University Maryland

## An Experimental Approach to Ancient Egyptian Metalworking

A great deal of attention has been paid to ancient Egyptian metal works for their beauty, elegance, and refinery. Serious discussions of metal production processes, however, have been largely overlooked, perhaps in part because the ancient Egyptians leave us with very limited direct explanations of their metal production processes beyond sparse, elusory tomb imagery and intermittent and enigmatic mythological allusions. Our research represents a case study focusing on loop sistra, or ritual rattles, to illuminate the challenges, processes, and both human and material agency behind such works that are only accessible through experimental archaeology aided by modern technology. Our experiments mark the early stages of our ongoing investigations into the materiality of metal production in ancient Egypt. We will present our recreated ancient Egyptian copper-alloy loop sistrum alongside video documentation illustrating our metalworking experiments and investigations into the metallic properties of the ancient instrument to reveal the ways in which the materials were manipulated to achieve the desired

sound when played and where that sound falls in the spectral field. Simultaneously, since multi-component design of the instrument would have necessitated more than one production methodology to produce, we aim to demonstrate how the intended function of an object guides the choices made during the manufacturing process and uncover the hidden aspects of the materials and production technologies against a social and cultural background.

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**COURTNEY MARX**, ARCE

## Sisters, Sistra, and Sidelocks: The Religious Role of the Amarna Princesses

The six daughters of Akhenaten, known collectively as the Amarna princesses, have received little attention in the academic literature. While their representations were ubiquitous amongst art of the Amarna period, their imagery has been categorized as merely illustrative of their young age. Our modern understanding of the role and category of “children” has unwittingly limited the scope of academic inquiry about these young women. While none of the Amarna princesses were older than 13 years old at the time of Akhenaten’s death, the ages of the princesses did not invalidate them from performing a vital role within Akhenaten’s religious “heresy.” By exploring the unique iconography of the Amarna princesses, which includes sidelocks and the carrying of sistra, I argue that they were not mere symbolic figures, but primary actors in Akhenaten’s religious revolution. My paper places the Amarna princesses within the context of the changing religious environment

of the 18th Dynasty. During the 18th Dynasty, royal women were taking on religious roles that had traditionally been fulfilled by priestesses. The Amarna royal women continued this trend during Akhenaten’s reign. Furthermore, the princesses and queen Nefertiti represented the divine female element that was lacking within Atenism since there were no goddesses who were the equal of the Aten. The concept of the female duality of mother and daughter, or more specifically, in the royal context, queen and princess, was comprised by Nefertiti and her daughters in the Amarna period.

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**DANIEL GONZÁLEZ LEÓN**,

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)

## The Early Middle Kingdom Title HAty-a of Menatkhufo

In 1958 W. Helck argued in his *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* that in the Middle Kingdom there was a process which led the provinces to cease being the territorial administrative units in favour of small entities, which was rooted in the First Intermediate Period due to the territorial fragmentation notable during that “turbulent” time. The main authority would no longer be designated by the title Hry-tp aA (n) PROVINCE NAME, but rather HAty-a (n/m) TOWN NAME. In Helck’s opinion, this title may be shortened to HAty-a and, in this case, always appears before the name of this official; this would allow to distinguish it from the old HAty-a of Memphite tradition, which was still in use. He also finds cases where the term HAty-a is repeated twice in the very same string of titles, one at the beginning and the other before the name. This interpretation may hardly be ascertained because our knowledge of the title

HAty-a (n/m) TOWN NAME, unlike for the New Kingdom, is minimal during the Middle Kingdom. This communication aims to discuss whether Helck's account can actually be deduced from the texts of the tombs of the highest officials of the Oryx province in Beni Hassan since one of the few instances of this title in the Middle Kingdom, HAty-a n Mnat-#w=f-w(i), is attested here. Based on such approach, a re-examination of the chronology of these officials will be proposed.

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**DANIELLE CANDELORA**, SUNY Cortland

## Theban Bias & the “History” of the Second Intermediate Period

The history of the Second Intermediate Period, and the Hyksos in particular, has largely been reconstructed from a small corpus of fragmentary texts. Indeed, the most foundational understanding of Hyksos rule, territory, economic policy, and even literacy is founded upon almost two centuries of scholarly interpretation of these same texts. Only in recent decades has the archaeological record began to contradict this narrative, requiring a closer and more analytical look at these texts not necessarily as historical, but as works of literature and biased propaganda. The aim of this paper is to perform that reanalysis employing several literary and social theories to help discern propaganda from history. I will also consider the materiality of these texts, including their accessibility and visibility on the landscape, as well as the loaded implications of their physical settings. Literary theories such as intertextuality will be used to examine the influence and interactions of these texts on one another, providing an explanation

for why the textual and archaeological records of the Hyksos Period deviate so strongly on certain points. Finally, I will present reinterpretations of some of this textual corpus – including the Kamose stela and the Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre, which may be more in keeping with the archaeological evidence.

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**DAWN POWER**, University of Toronto

## The Solar-Osirian Unity and Rebirth in the Book of Caverns

The Book of Caverns is classified amongst the ‘so-called’ Underworld Books, which deal with the sun god's nocturnal journey in the Underworld. It appears in the New Kingdom royal tombs of the Ramesside Kings and also in the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos. The appearance of cauldrons in the lower registers has led this composition to be associated with punishment. However, upon examination of the text and iconography it became evident that the main emphasis is the Solar-Osirian unity and rebirth. The Solar-Osirian unity requires Re and Osiris to unite in the Underworld, so that Re can be reborn each morning and Osiris can be rejuvenated each night – the best iconographic example appears in the New Kingdom tomb of Nefertari. Although this phenomenon is alluded to in religious texts and Underworld Books that precede the Book of Caverns, it is not depicted in them. In the Book of Caverns the most apparent image pertaining to the Solar-Osirian unity consists of an ithyphallic Osiris with a sun disk above his erect phallus. However, there are various other images in this composition, which allude to this phenomenon and contribute to the composition's association

with the Solar-Osirian unity and rebirth. It is these elements that I will be discussing, in order to clarify the misconception that the emphasis of the Book of Caverns is on punishment. In rectifying this misconception, I will be able to present the Book of Caverns in a new light and demonstrate its emphasis on the Solar-Osirian unity and rebirth.

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**DOGA OZTURK**, Independent Scholar

## Kadriye Hüseyin: A Forgotten Ottoman- Egyptian Intellectual in Early-20<sup>th</sup> Century Egypt

Kadriye Hüseyin was a member of the Egyptian ruling family and a prolific intellectual whose works ranged from history books, essays, and poems, to translations and travelogues, most of which she produced in Ottoman Turkish. Until very recently, however, Kadriye Hüseyin has been largely a forgotten figure within the scholarship on both the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. This paper will introduce Kadriye Hüseyin as a clear representation of the Ottoman cultural consciousness that continued to flourish in Egypt in the beginning of the 20th century. Based primarily on the books that she published between 1909 and 1915, it will argue that while Kadriye Hüseyin wrote in Ottoman Turkish and was intellectually nurtured by Ottoman literary traditions, such as the genre of “advice literature” and early Ottoman novels, she was also influenced to a great extent by the intellectual currents that were prevalent in Egypt at the time, most important of them being writing on the biographies of famous women in Islamic history in an attempt to encourage the advancement of the status of women in the early-20th century Egypt.

Through analyzing Kadriye Hüseyin’s works, the paper will situate Egypt firmly within the Ottoman context and demonstrate the cultural ties that continued to exist between Istanbul and Cairo, at a time when Egypt was becoming more autonomous within the Ottoman Empire. In so doing, the paper will contribute to the understanding of the history of modern Egypt as well as the late Ottoman Empire.

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**EIMAN MOHAMED AHMED ELGEWELY**,  
Virginia Tech University

## Virtual Heritage as a Spatial Storyteller: The “Reviving Karanis in 3D” Project Case Study

Digital technology has significantly contributed to cultural heritage research; its applications extend from the digitization and 3D documentation of existing heritage artifacts and archaeological sites to the 3D reconstruction of lost or damaged buildings. However, its role has never been limited to being a savior and a revolutionary tool for preserving cultural heritage. More importantly, it helps discover new realities about the built environments. In this presentation, we discuss how 3D virtual reconstructed heritage buildings could act as a spatial storyteller of social events and daily life scenarios and reveal how the inhabitants used to interact with the spaces over extended periods to foster our communication with cultural heritage and enhance our connection with the past. This notion will be discussed through the case study of the “Reviving Karanis in 3D” project, which included the 3D virtual reconstruction of a house from the Greco-Roman ancient town of Karanis (known today as Kom Aushim) in Fayum, Egypt.

The study also included the re-contextualization of 3D photogrammetric daily-life objects inside the virtual house and the 3D reconstruction of furniture fragments from the Karanis collection at the Kelsey Museum of Archeology, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Incorporating furniture and daily-use objects in a spatial storytelling scenario helped create a sense of place inside the virtual environment used for educational purposes. Karanis town, which suffered massive destruction, was excavated in the 1920s by the University of Michigan expedition. Karanis finds were extensive; today, they are among the collections of different museums in Egypt and the U.S.

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**ELAINE SULLIVAN,**

University of California Santa Cruz

## Visibility and Ritual Landscape at Saqqara in the New Kingdom

The study of 'sacred landscapes' asks scholars to look beyond economic and demographic aspects of the human relationship with the land, and broach questions of how meaning and significance were constructed by ancient people. An important focus of such studies centers on the material culture of ritual, and how material forms are especially effective at communicating and actively shaping religious ideology. The archaeological site of Saqqara offers a unique opportunity to examine how ancient Egyptian royals and elites linked to state governance created and perpetuated a sacred funerary landscape through the built environment. I argue that royal and elite Egyptians used a number of common strategies to construct sacred landscapes at Saqqara (and at other important funerary sites

across Egypt), and that distinct forms of visibility were intentionally enacted or enhanced at Saqqara to create a culturally-specific type of elite funerary landscape that reified elite power and connection to state and royal cults. In this presentation, I use a 3D Geographical Information System (GIS) reconstruction model of Saqqara in the New Kingdom as a locus for hypothesis testing, virtually placing the scholar within a series of landscapes no longer possible to experience, in order to investigate specific questions of visibility at the site in that time period I conclude visibility played a key role in the formation and structuring of the site in the New Kingdom, and that visual links between monuments at Saqqara were purposefully developed because of contemporary religious concepts focused on the power of ritualized sight.

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**ELIZABETH MINOR,** Wellesley College |

**SARAH M. SCHELLINGER,** The Ohio State University

## Introducing Es-Selim R4: A Kerma Period Settlement in the Northern Dongola Reach

The ancient Sudanese settlement site of Es-Selim R4 (ESR4) is located in the Northern Dongola Reach, in which the wide floodplain was braided with Nile palaeochannels, supporting a dense network of Kerma Period settlements (Welsby 2001). The overall development of Nubian settlements during the Kerma Period is currently known through limited archaeological examples, concentrated in political centers in the Dongola region. The longest sequence of Kerma settlement development is at the city of Kerma, which captures the complexity of a religious and political capital along with residential



sectors (Bonnet 2014, 2006). The ESR4 residents would have existed within a network of provincial population centers that were tied to the religio-political capital at Kerma. This Kerma settlement site presents the opportunity to investigate how factors of environmental, social, and political change intersect to affect one of the provincial population centers over the course of 1000 years. Our initial findings presented here are based on a preliminary site survey in March 2019 and the first survey season held in January 2020. ESR4 was first documented by the Sudan Archaeological Research Society during the Northern Dongola Reach Survey (Welsby 2001). Our first site visit confirmed evidence of occupation from at least the Kerma Ancien (KA) Period (2500-2050 BCE), into the Kerma Moyen (KM) Period (2000-1750 BCE), and through the Kerma Classique (KC) Period (1750-1500 BCE). Occupation may have continued into the period of New Kingdom Egyptian colonization (1500-800 BCE) or beyond.



**ELLA KAREV**, University of Chicago

## “Mark Them with My Mark”: The Question of Slave Branding in Egypt

This paper analyses the Aramaic and Egyptian (Demotic/Hieroglyphic) textual evidence related to the practice of branding slaves/servants in Late Period Egypt, ultimately concluding that the Aramaic terminology of the period refers to branding—not tattooing, as previously suggested. Aramaic documents from the Late Period in Egypt often refer to an enslaved individual being “marked”; in translation, there is the choice to be made between “branding” and “tattooing”. Aramaic and Egyptian seem

to differ in the solutions they imply: Egyptian Aramaic references to slaves marked with I- (‘belonging to’) and the owner’s name seem to be too complex for a branding iron, and support the translation of ‘tattoo’, whereas Demotic Egyptian cattle sale documents indicate that certain ones are marked (wš) and provide a description of some of these marks, parallel to the modern practice of cattle branding. Although contemporary evidence is sparse, archaeological and textual pharaonic evidence—including a visual depiction of human branding and possible examples of branding irons—suggests that branding is a well-known practice by the time of the Late Period. Bearing in mind the use of branding as an indication of ownership, the evidence of tattooing as a cultic practice, and the etymology and usage of the Aramaic terms, this paper will propose that the body mutilation practiced in Egypt on slaves, and therefore a more accurate translation of the Aramaic terminology, is ‘brand’ rather than ‘tattoo’.

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**ELLA MCCAFFERTY WRIGHT**,  
University of Cambridge

## Akhenaten’s Temples in Nubia: Evidence for Revolution and Imperialism On the Periphery of Empire

Scholars have claimed that due to Akhenaten’s intense focus on revolutionizing Egyptian state religion, he failed to maintain Egyptian policies of imperialism. While Akhenaten may not have led a multitude of campaigns like earlier warrior kings of the 18th dynasty, this trend in scholarship has failed to recognize that Akhenaten’s construction of temples in Egypt’s

periphery, particularly in Nubia, was another form of Egyptian imperialism. Akhenaten constructed temples at the sites of Soleb, Sesebi, Dokki Gel, and Gebel Barkal. These temples are evidence of the rapid development and spread the Aten cult into Nubia during Akhenaten's reign, aiding imperialist policies. Akhenaten's successors, particularly Horemheb, went to great lengths to destroy, deface, and disassemble his temples in Egypt after the Amarna Revolution. In contrast, the heretic king's temples in Nubia survived relatively intact until the Rameside period, despite evidence of Horemheb's building works in the region. This paper argues that Akhenaten's temples in Nubia reinforced geopolitical boundaries of Egyptian imperial control while expanding the Amarna Revolution's influence outside of Egypt. By examining how Akhenaten's successors responded to his temples in Nubia in the aftermath of the Amarna Revolution, this paper also argues the continued significance of these temples to Egyptian imperial control in Nubia during the collapse of the 18th dynasty.

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**EMANUEL FIANO**, Fordham University

## Shenoute's "Rhetorical Ventriloquism:" Citational Practices in Discourses 4,6-9

This study focuses on the liberal use of citations of himself and other contemporaneous characters made by Shenoute of Atripe in four of his homilies (Discourses 4, 6-9). These Discourses are collectively introduced by the section heading "Discourses in the presence of some dignitaries who came to him with their retinues". However, with one exception, the Discourses under this heading are not actually addressed

to a dignitary. They constitute, rather, the reporting to a different audience about words Shenoute allegedly pronounced in the presence of officials at previous times. Moreover, they contain in turn further citations from previous verbal exchanges Shenoute had had with other actors. The use of citations from oneself or others was a rhetorical figure long codified in rhetorical manuals. Depending on the ancient taxonomy and conceptualization adopted, Shenoute's insertion of reported dialogue into his homilies qualifies either as dialogism (sermocinatio, *διάλογος*) or as impersonation (*προσωποποιία*). But Shenoute's "voice games" are particularly interesting, among other reasons, because of his repeated thematization of the significance of each situation of utterance (aimed at granting him control over the different addressees of his allocution at different times) and of his tendency to embed into the reports other literary devices such as "question-and-answer" riddles (allowing him to pose as an expert). By elucidating through rhetorical, stylistic, and narratological tools these and other features of Discourses 4, 6-9, this paper aims at furthering understanding of Shenoutian textuality.

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**FLORENCE FRIEDMAN**, Brown University, Dept of Egyptology and Assyriology

## Evidence Suggesting an Inscribed Colossus for Menkaure

While excavating Menkaure's Fourth Dynasty pyramid temple at Giza, George Andrew Reisner identified remains of two alabaster seated statues of the king, one under life-size, whose torso is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and one

colossal, now restored and also in the MFA. The thrones of both statues appear to have been uninscribed but for one royal name on the plinth beside the king's right foot. Reisner also found in the pyramid temple a group of inscribed alabaster fragments with royal titulary (again, in MFA) that in his 1931 publication, *Mycerinus, the Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, he oddly linked to the under life-size statue. This paper – with the aid of digital drawings of the titulary fragments' worked surfaces – shows that most of the fragments, plus others with only a "Giza" provenance, probably came from the front and back panels of a throne that was part of, not an under life-size seated statue, as Reisner thought, but a lost colossus (or colossi) that, unlike the Boston example, was fully inscribed. An eye and nose, plus a toe and uraeus, had already signalled the existence of at least one more colossus. These titulary fragments may clinch that finding, while further demonstrating that seated colossi, like all of Menkaure's major statue types – greywacke triads and dyads, and alabaster seated statues – were made in multiples. The original plan for how the colossi were installed was perhaps never realized, but I will suggest what that plan might have been "on paper" – and why.

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**FRANCESCO IGNAZIO DE MAGISTRIS**,  
Oxford University

## Sumur and Kumidi as Egyptian Centres in the late 18th dynasty

In the written sources dated at the late 18th dynasty the Egyptian presence in the Lebanon is mainly represented by the two centres of Sumur (Tell Kazel) and Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz), which

appear to have had a convoluted and correlated history. This presentation will argue that Kumidi was transformed into an Egyptian garrison centre when Sumur was first lost to Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, and eventually replaced it when the centre was lost again to Abdi-Aširta's son Aziru. It will do so by analysing the Amarna and Kumidi corpora in two ways. The history of each of the two centres in the written documents at our disposal is first discussed, with the objective of finding a relative diachronic succession of the events and "hook" it to the known and documented northern chronology. Then, the "Proximity factors" of each of the two centres – their areas of influence inside the Egyptian Levant – are discussed, to show that in both the later Amarna and Kumidi corpora, Kumidi appears to have replaced Sumur as the main Egyptian centre in the Lebanon.

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**GAELE CHANTRAIN**, Yale University

## Conceptual classification and figurative language in Ancient Egyptian: the case of emotion expression

As in many world languages, the expression of abstract concepts in ancient Egyptian relies in a great degree on the use of figurative language. The theoretical frame of this study is based on the conceptual metaphor theory. It is conceived as a corpus-based study and aims at (1) demonstrating how the characteristics of the reorganized classifier system in the New Kingdom allow for its use as complementary tool to the MIPVU method (<http://www.vismet.org/metcor/documentation/MIPVU.html>) for a systematic metaphor identification; (2) identifying

cases of conceptual mappings that can be found with EMOTION as target domain in Egyptian and providing examples of linguistic and visual actualization of these mappings, whether they are based on similarity (metaphor) or contiguity (metonymy/meronymy) relations; (3) addressing the difficulties inherent to metaphor studies in the case of a dead language, coupled with consequent cultural and diachronic gaps; (4) showing the relevance of a multidisciplinary study from both the Egyptological and the linguistic perspective. The presentation will be structured as follows: after a brief theoretical introduction, I shall show how classifiers can be useful for metaphor identification on a large corpus and, at the same time, for the study of lexical semantics in diachrony. The second part of the presentation will be dedicated to compound expressions based on the personification of the heart (jb and HAty) and to translation issues.

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**GARY GREENBERG**, Biblical Archaeology Society of New York

## Towards a Theory of Egypt's God-king Chronology

Ancient Egypt's only known multi-dynasty chronologies, the Turin Canon of Kings (c. 12th century B.C.E.) and Manetho's Aegyptiaca (c. 3rd century B.C.E.), indicate that the First Dynasty was preceded by a long list of god-kings with assigned lengths of reign. Unfortunately, the Turin Canon papyrus is very badly damaged in this section and many of the god names and much of the associated chronology are either damaged or missing. As to Manetho's history, his original text is lost and what we know about this time frame was preserved in wildly inconsistent versions preserved by several Christian scribes several

centuries later who took great liberties with Manetho's chronology and who explained why they made many changes to what Manetho wrote.

This paper introduces the theory that behind these two chronological texts stands a systematic unfolding of the Theban Creation theology with lengths of reign based on solar, lunar and stellar cycles, and that this data can be recovered by tracing error patterns in the Manetho sources. As an introduction to the thesis, this paper will focus on the Manetho texts and (1) outline several arithmetic errors made by the scribes who passed on the manuscripts, (2) demonstrate several interpretive errors by the redactors that led to erroneous data being used in the various Manetho sources, and (3) offer one major new insight as to what the redactors misunderstood, which, when placed in context, will provide the key to unlocking the chronological and sequential arrays and explain the various inconsistencies in the Manetho sources.

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**GAULTIER MOURON**, Université de Genève

## The determinative of the wt-priest a "mummy-cloth"? A band-aid solution!

From its earliest attestations, the word for "embalmer" (wt) is usually determined by an oblong ellipse. For almost a century, it has been generally accepted that the sign represents a "bandage" or a "mummy-cloth", after A. Gardiner's V38 sign. The wt-priest being mostly interpreted as the embalmer, the practitioner of the mummification, the reading of the determinative makes perfect sense up to that point. Nevertheless, a confrontation of the sign's forms and its evolution from the earliest dynasties

to the end of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period with the iconography from contemporary tombs questions the original interpretation. The study of texts and images, as well as artefacts, all of the same period, seems to confirm the unfounded reading of the sign as a bandage. A new understanding of the determinative leads to a new interpretation of the word “wt” and, by extension, of the functions of the of the so-called embalmer in the Old Kingdom.

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**HALA MOSTAFA**, Ain Shams University

## Unique Scenes on the Coffin Set of Hori (21st Dynasty)

The unpublished Coffin Set of Hori was found in the Cache of Bab el-Gasus and it is exhibited in the Egyptian museum, Cairo, JE 29619. Hori is the son of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, thus he is a member of the ruling family in Thebes during the 21st Dynasty, he held nine titles referring to his prestigious political and religious rank. The Coffin Set of Hori is unique as it is the only 21st Dynasty Coffin consisting of three coffins; the outer coffin, the inner coffin and innermost coffin replacing the usual mummy cover; imitating kings' coffins, in addition to it is the only coffin set showing the deceased holding royal insignias; HeqA and Nekhekh scepters, it is also unique in its layout as the elbows are stretched out of the lids' borders, and finally its distinguished scenes with royal and deifications attributes, such as royal formulae, and the scene are distributed as a narrative subsequence of his journey starting by his embalming and followed by him passing the gates of the netherworld, then he is united with Osiris to be identified with him later and finally his resurrection.

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**HANA NAVRATILOVA**, University of Reading/  
University of Oxford

## Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur, in the New Kingdom - updates

New Kingdom finds in the pyramid precincts of Abusir (for instance Sahure, but also Niuserre and Khentkaus II), Saqqara (for instance Djoser, Djedkare, Pepi I, Pepi II), and Dahshur (Senwosret III) include objects as well as inscriptions. They indicate a complex interplay of intellectual and material interests in the Old and Middle Kingdom monuments. Diverse categories of artefacts (secondary epigraphy, pottery – comprising wine jars –, ostraca, faience, and other small finds) are attested in the precinct of Senwosret III at Dahshur, making it a suitable case study. The secondary epigraphy attests to changing perceptions and practices concerned with the site, and eventually to the commodification of the spaces and structures of the pyramid complex, whose multiple roles evidently included a place of cult, and of personal piety, alongside personal commemoration. However, none of the New Kingdom conceptualizations had prevented the ultimate depletion of the pyramid complex, and its fine limestone. In the Ramesside period, the once visited and venerated pyramid precinct turned into a convenient limestone quarry (as did other pyramid complexes in the Memphite area), but without losing its exceptional status of a culturally, and particularly devotionally, significant location. The paper sketches a life of a pyramid complex, proposing the object biography as a functional approach.

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**HEATHER LEE MCCARTHY**, New York University Epigraphical Expedition to the Ramesses II Temple at Abydos

## The Mystery of the Unnamed Princess in the Tomb of Bint-Anath

QV 71, the tomb of Bint-Anath, the eldest daughter and great royal wife of Ramesses II, is located on the north flank of the Valley of the Queens. As with all other Ramesside queens' tombs in the valley, QV 71 is relatively large and possesses a rich, complex decorative program that reinforces the tomb's cosmographic value as the deceased royal woman's netherworld landscape. However, unlike these other tombs, which are adorned with programs depicting the tomb owner alone amongst the gods, QV 71 represents another human being along with the deceased queen. This person is an unnamed princess, who is shown twice in QV 71's sarcophagus chamber. The presence of this figure in the tomb has led some scholars to speculate that she represents a daughter of Ramesses II and his daughter-wife Bint-Anath, a notion that, while possible, is far from conclusively proven and not the only explanation for her depiction in the decorative program. In this paper, I will describe and present a critical analysis of the two scenes showing the unnamed princess in QV 71 with the aim of presenting alternative interpretations of the figure's identity and function within the tomb's netherworld landscape. To this end, I will focus on scene content, composition, and layout; the texts associated with each scene, particularly captions describing each royal woman's titles and epithets; the royal regalia worn by the princess

and by Bint-Anath; and the relationship of the two figures to each other and to the deities in each scene.

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**HUSSEIN HASSAN MAREY MAHMOUD**, Department of Conservation, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University

## Pigments from Ptolemaic mural paintings in Upper Egypt: archaeometric remarks

In ancient Egypt, natural and synthetic pigments were used for decorating different monuments and objects. In the Ptolemaic era (ca. 305–30 BC), the ancient artists used almost the same pigments used during the Pharaonic periods. However, moderate modifications in the chromatic palette were reported. This era witnessed the application of pigments that were not common in ancient Egypt such as cinnabar (mercury sulfide), basic lead carbonate (hydrocerussite) and green earth. Also, an interesting feature of mixing pigments together was used to produce green hues. Worthy to report that the analytical methods used to characterize the ancient materials should be micro or non-destructive. Recently in some archaeological sites Upper Egypt, a unique Ptolemaic-era tomb was discovered. The microscopic characteristics of fallen painted fragments in the tomb were observed via digital optical microscope. The surface morphology and micro-analysis of pigment grains were tested using a field-emission scanning electron microscope-energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (FE-SEM/EDX). For mineral identification, means of micro-Raman spectroscopy ( $\mu$ -Raman), Fourier

transform infrared spectroscopy (FT-IR) and X-ray diffraction analysis (XRD) were applied. Pigments of Egyptian blue (cuprorivaite, CaCuSi<sub>4</sub>O<sub>10</sub>), a synthetic pigment was first appeared at ca. 2600 BC, green earth (Fe-rich clay minerals), red ocher, yellow ocher, and carbon black were identified. Moreover, a darker green tone was produced through mixing portions of green earth, Egyptian blue and carbon black. Unexpectedly, the results have identified the preparation layer as calcium carbonate (calcite polymorph). The obtained results will provide a comprehensive data of some inorganic pigments used in the Ptolemaic era.

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**JACKIE JAY**, Eastern Kentucky University

## Resuscitating the “Democratization of the Afterlife”: A Reevaluation

Once a truism in Egyptology, the concept of a “democratization of the afterlife” has in recent years come under scrutiny. Mark Smith and Harold Hays have been among the most intense critics to argue against the notion that prior to a “democratization” in the late Old Kingdom there was a sharp separation between royal and non-royal conceptualizations of the afterlife. Their arguments have a great deal of value, presenting a persuasive case that from the earliest periods both groups desired transfiguration into an *akh* (“effective spirit”) existing in a celestial afterlife, with both groups using the same spells to bring about this end. However, while belief and aspiration may not have changed, this paper will emphasize the fact that important changes did occur in terms of what members of the Old Kingdom elite were permitted to display in their funerary monuments. Where non-royal tomb

decoration of the Fourth Dynasty portrays an afterlife existence exclusively in the tomb and surrounding necropolis, tombs of the Fifth Dynasty begin to make explicit reference to the deceased’s journey to the Field of Offerings/Reeds. I will argue that this removal of the divide between belief and display is a shift so significant it can justifiably be labeled a “democratization of the afterlife.”

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**JACOB C DAMM**, University of California, Los Angeles

## Identity at Empire’s End: Foodways and Cultural Practice at a 12th Century BCE Beth Shean

The presence of Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550 – 1125 BCE) has been interpreted either as signifying the presence of ethnic Egyptians as part of the imperial apparatus or as evidence for local Canaanites emulating their Egyptian overlords. Recent scholarship has tended to highlight the large body of locally-produced, low-prestige Egyptian-style ceramics as direct evidence for the presence of ethnic Egyptians, with the proportional breakdown of Egyptian-style and Levantine ceramics serving as the main metric for evaluating the presence and interactions of these identity groups. However, these proportions are subject to several quantitative and depositional caveats that problematize their utility as an index into identity negotiation. This paper seeks to nuance these figures by exploring foodways practices at the domestic level, which are regarded as a much more constructive lens into identity. The domestic contexts from Beth Shean’s strata S-4 and S-3 will be examined in this capacity, as they possess

the rare overlap of detailed ceramics and small finds analyses, an archaeobotanical report, and substantial qualitative information about culinary installations. Collectively, this data allows for an extensive discussion of the nature of identity expression during a particularly charged period of Egyptian imperial history, when the disintegration of the New Kingdom empire made the expression of an Egyptian identity or cultural affiliation a significant—and potentially fraught—investment.

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**JEAN REVEZ,**

Université du Québec à Montréal

## Making use of 19<sup>th</sup> Century photographs to relocate columns inside the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak

By the time the dust had settled in 1899, in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of no fewer than eleven columns inside the northern half of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, close to a third of the columns in this section of the monument lay in pieces on the ground (if one adds the nine other columns that had fallen prior to this catastrophe). Georges Legrain, then director at the site, courageously took on the task of re-erecting most of the fallen columns. Today, we are largely indebted to him for clearing the Hall of the debris it contained and for consolidating the foundations of the columns. In a previous lecture given at ARCE, we were able to show that incongruities in the decoration on some of the columns meant that some individual drums had not been put back in their original location. The work carried out during the past three seasons (2017-2019) by the joint University of Québec in Montreal and University of Memphis epigraphic mission at

Karnak has confirmed these findings. With the help of photographic archives dating back to Legrain and sometimes even before his time, we can prove that three entire columns were rebuilt in the wrong place; one of them was built some forty meters away from its original place, while two others were made up of blocks belonging to several columns now standing elsewhere inside the Hall.

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**JEREMY POPE,**

The College of William & Mary

## On the Road Again: A New Inscription from Taharqo's "Way of Cattle"

In the early twentieth century, Arthur Weigall discovered two nearly identical graffiti carved into boulders near the Khor Hanush and Tafa on the west bank of the Lower Nubian Nile, both containing five lines of hieroglyphic text with reference to a "way of cattle" and dated to the third month of Inundation in Taharqo's nineteenth regnal year. In 1959, Fritz Hintze published a third graffito from Ambarkab that bore the same date and content. Subsequent analyses by Wolf (1990), Dallibor (2005), and Pope (2014) have debated the purpose of Taharqo's three Lower Nubian graffiti: did they commemorate the movement of Kushite armies in their conflicts with the Assyrians, or did the graffiti simply mark a local footpath for the transport of cattle? Yet it seems that discussions of these three graffiti have missed a crucial piece of evidence. During a 1988 regional survey of Qasr Ibrim, Mark Horton's team discovered, photographed, and transcribed a fourth graffito again mentioning Taharqo's "way of cattle," but no translation of the text was ever published,



and this Ibrim graffito was never mentioned in subsequent discussions of Taharqo's "way of cattle." The Ibrim graffito necessarily affects interpretation of the other three: despite nearly identical content, it is located more than 100 km south of them and on the opposite side of the river. Comparison of the four graffiti also reveals some distinctive scribal practices that would characterize Kushite literacy throughout the Napatan period.

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**JESSICA ELISABET KAISER**, University of California Berkeley | **NORA SHALABY**, Humboldt University Berlin | **AYMAN MOHAMED DAMARANY**, American Research Center Egypt | **LISSETTE MARIE JIMENEZ**, San Francisco State University

## Culture and Politics in Heritage Management: The Abydos Temple Archives Ledgers

The Abydos Temple Paper Archives (ATPA), a UC Berkeley affiliated project, centers around a recently discovered historical archive containing documents from the Egyptian Antiquities Service related to the heritage management of the site of Abydos and surrounding areas, from approximately 1850 through the 1960s. Our current line of research explores the effects that growing Egyptian nationalism had on the administration of cultural heritage. In the century leading up to independence, Egyptians struggled with both political and cultural colonization. Starting in the first decade of the 20th century, they had resolved to use the spoils of the latter to defeat the former. In 1912, a new set of antiquities laws were unveiled, which tightened

the Service's control over archaeological permits and the antiquities trade and limited the reach of foreign interests in the realm of heritage management. To explore the impact these events had on the Sohag administration and beyond, we are currently analyzing antiquities office ledgers that record all the matters handled in the office during the years 1900-1925, as well as several museum ledgers from the same time period. By analyzing the broader categories of the ledger entries over time, we can identify systemic changes in excavation, legal matters, personnel, and antiquities trade issues local inspectors and museum staff dealt with, and connect these changes to contemporary political and cultural trends. This paper will present the latest results of ongoing research, and discuss the insights it can provide on the history of Egyptology from an Egyptian perspective.

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**JOVANA ZAGORAC**, Yale University

## In Search of Lost Time: An Astronomical View of Ancient Egyptian Star Clocks

Though the Ancient Egyptians had a rich relationship with the night sky, their use of observational data remains shrouded in mystery. One common vestige of the Egyptians' astronomical data is in diagonal star tables: painted grids with an astronomical theme found in funerary contexts, dating primarily to the Middle Kingdom and containing names of stars and constellations, called decans (Symons et al., 2013). According to the Book of Nut, these decans perform an annual cycle of actions, which led Neugebauer and Parker (1960) to classify them as timekeeping devices,

equation the action of being “born” (ms) with heliacally rising (or rising at sunrise). This theory is not without observational challenges, however, and has not been successful in identifying the majority of decans by their modern asterism. In 2003, Conman claimed to have ameliorated contradictions in the model by instead equating “born” with the acronycal rise (or rise at sunset) of the decans; however, this model has not been widely accepted in the field. My aim is to test these interpretations by mapping the motion of known decans using precise coordinates from my Python based-code, Decan-O.py, which relies on the same stellar coordinate calculations as modern telescopes. By mapping known decans’ motion and making reasonable assumptions about the actions the decans perform, we can begin to reconstruct the so-called “decanal belt” of asterisms named in diagonal star tables, and possibly even correlate Egyptian and Greek star names for a modern version of an ancient stargazing practice.

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**JULIA TROCHE**, Missouri State University

## Imakhu kher and the “Democratization of the Afterlife”

In this paper, I assert the imakhu kher (jmAx.w xr) formula (among other things) communicates the king’s centrality as mortuary benefactor in the early Old Kingdom. I further argue that this same formula, in Dynasties V-VI, can be mobilized as evidence in support of expanding mortuary access. I show that non-royal dead in the Old Kingdom had access to an afterlife, but that the full benefits and privileges of this afterlife were restricted, and their granting was primarily

recorded by various formulae, which elucidates changes in mortuary access. In doing so, this paper offers updated insights into the refuted phenomenon known as “democratization of the afterlife.” The democratization of the afterlife theory relates the decline in Egyptian kingship at the end of the Old Kingdom with an expansion in mortuary access, as evinced by the ubiquity of Coffin Texts in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. To the contrary, both Hays (2011) and Smith (2009) argue that this “ubiquity” is reflective not of a change in religious belief, but instead a change in fashion (Hays) or practice (Smith). Notably, both refute that this change is reflective of greater demographic access. I push back against this latter conclusion, arguing that there was an “opening” of mortuary benefaction in the late Old Kingdom concurrent to a decline in the king’s religious centrality, evinced though not by Coffin Texts but by cults to distinguished and deified dead and a restructuring of mortuary access communicated in part by the imakhu kher formula.

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**JUSTINE GALAMBUS**, University of South Florida, Indiana, University | **EDMUND MELTZER**, Pacifica Graduate Institute

## Ebers Papyrus No. 200: A Case for Acute Pancreatitis and the Challenges of Ancient Medical Translation

Ancient Egyptian medical texts pose unique challenges to translation secondary to the ambiguity of anatomical terms, the alternate application of otherwise well-defined words, and the use of words for which there is no accepted definition, particularly medicines, herbs, and specific disease names. Moreover, the text often

limits or omits a full patient history and physical exam, which are critical for diagnosis in modern medicine. Thus, a definitive diagnosis can be challenging to deduce and the limited translations of these texts lead to the propagation of erroneous interpretations. The Ebers Papyrus is one of several ancient Egyptian texts detailing medical knowledge and prescriptions. Within this text, an example that captures the challenges of medical translation is Ebers Papyrus No. 200, which was suggested to describe tuberculous spondylitis per a 1937 translation. Unfortunately, this diagnosis is often repeated without consideration of text or the likelihood of this condition. Upon review of this prescription, with consideration to its context within the papyrus, an alternate diagnosis of acute pancreatitis is suggested. Namely, four relevant diagnostic criteria are described in the case: pain in the abdomen or chest, pain referred to the back, possible association with a bite or sting, and spontaneous resolution within a few days. These criteria heavily favor a self-limited disease like acute pancreatitis over the chronic and debilitating tuberculous spondylitis.

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**KATE LISZKA**, California State University,  
San Bernardino

## Eight Medjay Walk into a Palace: Bureaucratic Categorization and Cultural Mistranslation of Peoples in Contact

Papyrus Boulaq 18 is a daybook account from the Egyptian palace of the 13th dynasty. Scattered among miscellaneous entries, it records an encounter between palace bureaucrats and

peoples from the Eastern Desert called the Medjay. Scholars have previously understood the interaction to be of the highest importance with an international delegation, perhaps in preparation for upcoming wars. The scribe who wrote Papyrus Boulaq 18 calls the leaders of the people who come to the palace “Medjay Chiefs/Elders” (wr.w MDAy.w) and enumerates food given to them. In reinterpreting this text, I argue that the Medjay were pastoral nomads who came to the palace to receive a payment for work done as itinerant laborers. They likely never met with the king nor had an impact on a historic event. Scholars have overvalued the importance of this record because the ancient scribe did something misleading: he used a bureaucratically approved scribal format with titular terms and social labels that were standard for his bureaucratic mindset. As historians, we are seeing these Medjay through the Egyptian scribe’s eyes, but their real social organization and purpose were likely different. By parsing of texts and applying comparative knowledge of the Medjay and palace practices at that time, we can more accurately understand the Medjay social organization and this particular encounter with the Egyptian palace bureaucracy.

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**KATHERINE DAVIS**, University of Michigan

## Philology, Literacy and Cultural Superiority: Attitudes toward Language in Early Egyptology

The disciplinary history of Egyptology is deeply entwined with language and writing. Yet as scholars have increasingly reexamined the assumptions and intellectual aims of early

Egyptology, the history of Egyptian philology has received less attention. During the nineteenth century, the field of philology established frameworks for analyzing the origins of languages, their development and their internal structure while also linking such analyses to notions of cultural superiority. Language—in terms of its grammatical structure, as well as its perceived mastery by a particular society—acted as a metric for classifying cultures and ancient Egypt was no exception. This paper looks at how nineteenth and early twentieth century ideas about the ancient Egyptian language tied into larger arguments about “civilization,” intellectual ability and race. I trace the linguistic relationships and boundaries that early Egyptologists like Richard Lepsius and Adolf Erman, as well as those outside of Egyptology, drew between Egypt and its neighbors (Greece, Mesopotamia, Libya and Nubia). I also consider how script type (including the development of the alphabet) and the perception of scribal competence formed another axis for situating ancient Egypt within the history of the written world.

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**KATHRYN BANDY**, Independent Scholar  
**District Administration?  
Warets in the Middle Kingdom**

The translation of Egyptian administrative units has long complicated the study of the Middle Kingdom administrative system. Words for different types of districts, fields, storehouses, and towns insert additional levels of administrative complexity.

Among these, waret (war.t) is particularly intriguing. Its usage ranges from identifying groups of specialized craftsmen to territorial

sections of the Nile Valley. Warets of craftsmen include draftsmen, goldworkers, and stone workers, and are often translated as ‘guild’ or ‘section.’ Warets of geographic areas can be well-defined, the Waret of the Head of the South, or more relative, the Northern and Southern Warets, and are often translated as ‘district’ or ‘section.’ Associations of the term with specific towns, such as Coptos and Heliopolis, do not fall into either of these categories. Frequently translated as ‘district,’ the relationships between a waret of a given town, the area around it, and its nome remains unresolved. Attestations are limited, geographically scattered, and date to both the early and late Middle Kingdom, presenting additional challenges. This paper will examine “waret” in relation to settlements, its problematic translation, and its administrative use. A better understanding of the term in these “local” contexts adds clarity to its use elsewhere and has implications for the administration of labor and geographic areas in both Egypt and Nubia.

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**LAURA RANIERI**, Ancient Egypt Alive  
**Your Pharaoh’s Moustache:  
A Brief Discussion  
of the Moustache in  
Old Kingdom Art**

The ubiquitous appearance of small moustaches on some of the tomb reliefs and statuary of the Old Kingdom have long been noticed, but seldom a subject of scholarly study. Although clearly visible on representations of individuals of different classes, from kings to workers, this element of facial hair style, the moustache, has not received any in-depth analysis or publication to date. Why do we find the moustache exclusively

in the art of the Old Kingdom, mainly from 3rd through 6th dynasties? Can the moustache and its different styles be categorized, and what does its appearance and evolution tell us about the kings, nobles, workers and art styles during this era of Egyptian history? This brief discussion seeks to show how the presence of moustaches in the Old Kingdom is unique to this period, and can serve as an important window into the artistic styles, socio-economic climate, personal care practices, beliefs, technologies, and virile character of the era. Based on research conducted for a University of Toronto graduate paper in 2016, I cite statuary itself and reference scholarly works of Reisner, Tassie, Russman and others. My aim is to document where moustaches appear, how the style changes, how they are used by different classes of individuals, and what their appearance might say about the art, life and beliefs in Old Kingdom Egypt.

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**LAURA TARONAS**, Harvard University

## The Amarna Period and the Politics of Iconoclasm in Ancient Egypt

The campaign to erase the names and images of some of Egypt's traditional deities during Akhenaten's reign is one of the few key elements of the Amarna Period that Egyptologists have yet to treat on depth in order to better understand the phenomenon. This paper is the product of my dissertation research, which explores which elements are erased — and with what frequency — from portable objects that are now housed in museums and private collections. The objects in the resulting catalogue range in date from the First Intermediate Period to the

early years of Akhenaten's reign and come from thirty-seven different sites from Egypt, Nubia, and the Sinai Peninsula (with of course several objects of unknown provenance). I recorded the erasure of twenty-two separate terms including the names and images of various deities, references to divine plurality, and references to Karnak, with Amun and his syncretized forms accounting for the vast majority of erasable terms in this catalogue. It appears that Amun was the unambiguous target of the erasure campaign, while divine plurality faced marginal persecution. My analysis of Amarna Period name changes suggests that the Atenist iconoclasm began before the Aten's final didactic name change, most likely between Akhenaten's years 5 and 9. Lastly, I consider who the Atenists might have been and what skills they needed to carry out their agenda. This project aims to provide a better understanding of the erasure campaign and to dispel some of the old misconceptions of Akhenaten's iconoclasm.

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**LINDA EVANS**, Macquarie University |

**PHILIP WEINSTEIN**, University of Adelaide

## Dragonflies in Old Kingdom art? Interpretations and implications

The Egyptology literature often refers to the presence of 'dragonflies' in Egyptian tomb scenes, but is this identification accurate? Many of the creatures labelled as such are morphologically incorrect, displaying antennae and/or legs that are too long, bulbous abdomens, and/or extra wings. Despite these anomalies, some images do indeed resemble dragonflies, especially those found in tomb

scenes in later periods. Here we present the first known identification of a dragonfly nymph (the insects' pre-adult, larval stage) in an Old Kingdom scene at Saqqara, which reveals Egyptian knowledge and close observation of the insects. Furthermore, while butterflies appear early in the artistic record, 'dragonflies' are not represented in marsh scenes until the late 5th Dynasty, thus corresponding with a period of environmental change in Egypt that was marked by unusually low Nile floods. The warm, stagnant backwaters that resulted from the changed river conditions will have encouraged a substantial increase in the range and quantity of common marsh insects, such as mayflies, damselflies, mosquitoes, and dragonflies. We propose that heightened awareness of these insects in the late 5th Dynasty led to the introduction of the 'dragonfly' motif and that it likely represents a composite image that incorporates the features of a range of hovering, fast-moving insects that are reliably found near water. The humble 'dragonfly' thus offers us unexpected insights into changing environmental conditions during the Old Kingdom period and the impact of animals on Egyptian cultural expression.

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**LINGXIN ZHANG**, Johns Hopkins University |  
**RICHARD JASNOW**, Johns Hopkins University

## A fertility petition to Amenhotep, son of Hapu? —Reconsidering the polish ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari

This presentation re-examines a limestone ostrakon with a lengthy Demotic text discovered by the Polish-Egyptian mission in the 1980s. The ostrakon was found in the niche of the bark

room at Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari. It was first described as a woman's letter to Amenhotep, son of Hapu, beseeching the saint to cure her infertility (Karkowski and Winnicki, 1983, p. 102). The intriguing content of this letter attracted the attention of scholars and it has been widely quoted in various publications. A full textual study of the ostrakon came to a halt with the unfortunate passing of Polish Egyptologist, Jan Winnicki. Demoticists who aspire to continue Winnicki's work face many challenges. As COVID-19 made it impossible to collate the ostrakon in-person, we employed two black-and-white photographs (Wysocki, 1985, pl. II) for deciphering the text. Our reading confirms that the letter was sent by a woman regarding issues of pregnancy and birth. However, our translation challenges a number of previous assumptions. We then compare the Polish ostrakon with three other Theban ostraca dated to the Ptolemaic period, which are oracular cures issued by Amenhotep, son of Hapu. The textual differences between the Polish ostrakon and these other Theban ostraca further suggest that the former is unlikely to be a letter to Amenhotep, son of Hapu.

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**LORELEI H CORCORAN**,  
University of Memphis

## "Got Pearls?" Costume as an Indicator of Elite Status in Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt

The subjects of the mummy portraits from Roman Egypt display the elaborate hairstyles, luxurious clothing and ostentatious jewelry (specifically for the women, necklaces and earrings adorned with precious "gems") popular among the

well-to-do throughout the Roman Empire. A common characterization of the patrons of these paintings, therefore, has been that they represent “the elite” stratum of Roman Egyptian society, a core of first-class, Hellenized citizens that inhabited a second-class world of hybridized religious beliefs and artistic aesthetics. This interpretation is widely accepted although an enumeration of formal criteria for identifying this “elite” class in Roman Egypt has never been systematically articulated. By comparing the clothing and jewelry shown in these portraits with evidence from recent archeological finds, this paper critically examines whether the sartorial selections of these individuals accurately portray their economic and social status and/or their ethnic identity. The conclusions will contribute toward a new dialog of investigation grounded in material culture and the patrons’ access to luxury goods such as dyed and embellished textiles and, in particular, the jewelry elements that document the trans-Asiatic trade network of the Roman world. Such data will not only enable us to categorize the status of the subject group objectively but also aid in determining whether the portraits record a truly assimilated Roman identity, a reconciled, multi-layer ethnicity, or a contemporary version of an idealized image that continued a native Egyptian funerary tradition of preservation and self-presentation.

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**MANON Y. SCHUTZ**, University of Oxford

## Creeping Creature: Taweret on all fours

The composite goddess Taweret is a well-known member of the Egyptian pantheon. In her typical appearance, she is depicted as an upright standing hippopotamus with leonine

extremities, and a crocodile back and tail. Yet, one of Tutankhamun’s ritual beds portrays Taweret walking on all fours. Of course, this piece of furniture—and hence the goddess represented by it—needs to stand on four legs because of its very nature as a bed. However, the depiction on a headrest in the Museo Archeologico in Florence likewise shows Taweret—identifiable as such on several grounds—walking on all fours; in this case, there was no necessity, as the craftsman could have depicted her in any way he wanted. Thus, this paper aims to analyze whether there is a difference in meaning between the two- and four-legged goddess and, if so, what this distinction might be. Taweret on all fours is further reminiscent of Ammit who assists in the weighing of the heart scenes since Dynasty 18. This similarity is not surprising, considering that the two beings are in fact opposites in appearance, the devouress having a crocodile head, a leonine front, and a hippopotamus behind. Moreover, they fulfill contrasting roles: Taweret swallows to give life, Ammit devours to take life. Hence, this paper will also look closely at the relationship between the so-called hippopotamus-goddess and the devouress. Could the latter have emerged from Taweret as her alter ego, reversed in appearance as well as function, the Florence headrest being a missing link?

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**MARGARET GEOGA**, Brown University

## “Senwosret, my son!”: Transmission and Reception of “The Teaching of Amenemhat” in Ramesside Deir el-Medina

“The Teaching of Amenemhat” was highly popular in Deir el-Medina, with over 150 ostraca from the village bearing excerpts of the poem. These ostraca, along with the majority of surviving Ramesside manuscripts of “Amenemhat,” have often been dismissed by philologists as unreliable and error-ridden copies of the poem. This paper argues that the “Amenemhat” ostraca of Deir el-Medina provide valuable evidence of the poem’s transmission and reception history, as well as insight into the social contexts of literature in the village. The paper first focuses on notable textual features in the Deir el-Medina ostraca, which are contextualized within the full corpus of surviving copies of the poem. I identify evidence of editorial interventions made in response to linguistic change and to Deir el-Medina readers’ particular literary tastes, as well as evidence of changes in understanding of “Amenemhat,” which suggest that some of the ambiguities that perplex Egyptologists today also posed interpretative challenges for the poem’s ancient readers. Next, the paper discusses the identity of readers of “Amenemhat” in Deir el-Medina, investigating several individuals named in colophons and how their backgrounds could have impacted their encounters with the poem. Finally, the paper places the “Amenemhat” ostraca within the broader context of Middle Egyptian literature and wisdom instructions

in Deir el-Medina and the Ramesside period more broadly, arguing that the poem played an increasingly important role in the formation of scribal identities.

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**MARGARET MAITLAND**,  
National Museums Scotland

## Rediscovering Ancient Egypt at National Museums Scotland: A history of collecting and display in Edinburgh

In 2019, 200 years after the first objects entered the collection, a new permanent ancient Egyptian gallery opened at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. This paper will present research on the history of collecting and display in Edinburgh and discuss how this informed decisions in developing the new gallery. The collection was compiled by both archaeologists and curators, positions which sometimes overlapped to the benefit of the objects’ study and display. Pioneering excavator Alexander Henry Rhind was possibly the first to include archaeological plans in his displays of an important Theban tomb group in 1859. Later, the Museum sent curator Edwin Ward to excavate with Petrie, seeking ‘more intimate’ contact with archaeological processes, resulting in the acquisition of a Seventeenth Dynasty royal burial. An emphasis on aesthetics brought extensive deaccessioning under famed art historian Cyril Aldred, as well as an increased focus on education, for which he designed dioramas and replicas that promoted an idealised, Western-centric vision of ancient Egypt. Today, the gallery



aims to present an accessible version of ancient Egyptian history that foregrounds the stories of individual people, while also addressing complex collecting histories and bringing Egyptian perspectives into the displays. Although museums are constrained by the collecting practices of the 19th and early 20th centuries, digital technologies can re-contextualize objects in a variety of ways, such as sharing the perspectives of excavators, providing access to archival material, and bringing ancient and contemporary experiences to life.

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**MARIA BELEN CASTRO,**  
National University of La Plata

## A fishing and fowling scene in the tomb of Amenmose (TT318): composition and meaning

The tomb of Amenmose (TT318) belongs to the stonemason of Amun who lived during Thutmose III -or maybe Hatshepsut- reign and it is located at the bottom of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. The decorative program of this funerary monument has been not published nor comprehensively studied yet. Amenmose Project has begun developing fieldwork in 2020 and set as its main objectives the conservation, study, and publication of the tomb. This paper is part of this Project and presents the fishing and fowling scene depicted in the north wall of the transversal hall of the tomb. Since the image is fragmentarily preserved, the current research aims to identify the elements that may compose the whole representation -images and texts- through comparison with the group of Theban tombs from the same period. The meaning of the

scene will be studied taking into consideration the inscriptions that usually frame this kind of depiction. Since these usually include the *sxmx-ib* expression, it is also our purpose to reflect on the scope of entertainment in a funerary context. This presentation will reveal a scene hitherto unknown in the corpus of fishing and fowling scenes, as well as seeks to enrich our understanding of them by integrating new perspectives linked to the emotional sphere.

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**MARIO BEATTY,** Howard University

## An Examination of Akhenaten's Torso in Relationship to his Theology of Light

The dynamic, incremental evolution of the theological rupture and deviation from some major established Pharaonic and spiritual norms initiated by Akhenaten was accompanied by an equally important artistic rupture. However, the question of if or how Akhenaten's theology cohered to artistic representations of his body is very much an ongoing, open-ended debate. This paper seeks to bring further clarity to this debate by examining and explaining Akhenaten's torso, a major artistic feature of his body that radically departs from the traditional canon of proportion and has not been systematically investigated in the existing literature. Through an examination of both visual and written texts during Akhenaten's reign, I will demonstrate that the torso was not a manifestation of any physical deformity, but was conceptualized as the main site of the body for activating Akhenaten's theology of light and his resulting unique conception of

Kingship which extended some of the ideas of his father Amenhotep III and incorporated them into his own sovereign theological and artistic innovations.



**MARTIN UILDRIKS**, Brown University

## Where did all the skulls go? Tradition, feasting and ‘feeding the Ka’ at Predynastic Mesa’eed

Little has been said about practices, values, and functions expressed by dis- and re-articulating human remains in Predynastic burials. In this paper, I investigate past interactions with Predynastic human remains at the mostly unpublished cemetery of Mesa’eed to balance existing studies on social aspects of life and death in Predynastic Egypt. Social aspects mediated through human remains have been overlooked at Mesa’eed since its excavations in 1910 and 1913, but even Predynastic studies nowadays still often limit themselves in explaining special treatment of human skulls and other skeletal elements. However, an in-depth analysis of contexts at Mesa’eed suggest that the rearrangement and displacement of human remains, and particularly skulls, occupied a special space in the experiences of Predynastic peoples there. This paper provides a first brief appreciation of the spatial organization of the cemetery, which allows me to highlight different spatial groups. I then focus on one such group to closely examine the locations, positions and inventories of its constituent contexts as well as some of the contents recorded for some finds belonging to this group. I conclude that these

contents highlight aspects of ritualized celebration and that food was consumed at Mesa’eed before and with the dead, effectively merging Predynastic food-ways with traditions of death to nourish the deceased. This in turn enables me to develop a new understanding of how the Predynastic ideological landscape imprinted itself on the architectural layout of graves for practices eventually geared towards feeding the deceased’s Ka.

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**MENNAH ALY**, Helwan University

## Iconography of the Doors of Heaven in the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead

The life of the ancient Egyptians had revolved around the solar cycle which defined their vision about the cosmos. Based on this view, the main aspects of the universe were the sky, the earth and the netherworld through which the sun god passes during his diurnal and nocturnal voyages. As early as the Old and Middle Kingdoms, textual evidence from the Pyramid and Coffin texts mention the Doors of Heaven that separated between the two realms of paradise and hereafter as well as protected the celestial terrains from the enemies of the solar deity who threaten the world’s order. For these reasons, the Doors of Heaven are believed to have only opened and closed to the sun god and his retinue to give them admission to the eastern and the western horizons of the sky during their recurring daily journey. With exception to the map of the netherworld given in the Book of the Two Ways which shows gates of different territories in the hereafter, the iconographic attestation of the Doors of Heaven is not completely attained before the appearance of the vignettes of the Book of the

Dead. The research aims to study the iconography, religious significance and conception of Doors of Heaven through the vignettes of the Book of the Dead, since these doors were not just represented as ordinary gates which not only guaranteed further protection to the celestial realm, but also designates the idea of the Doors of Heaven in the ancient Egyptian thought.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**MICHAEL ROBERT TRITSCH**, Yale University

## A Domestic Horizon: Household Niches and Private Religious Practices

This paper focuses on the analysis of niche emplacements in domestic contexts during the New Kingdom, with a goal of shedding new light on their significance and function within the sphere of private religious practices. Appearing throughout New Kingdom settlements, such niches share significant similarities in design, with their function linked to a need to achieve architectural balance and to serve as a location for cultic acts. To investigate this topic further, an in-depth examination of previous research and archaeological data together with relevant ritual texts employing both an emic and etic perspective in the analysis has facilitated a reconstruction of their role in ritual performance. From an etic perspective, the location of niches in houses seems to correlate with the configuration of “reception rooms” consistent with the concept of architectural balance, although this does not reflect their function. The function of niches within domestic structures emerges when viewed from an emic perspective, which reveals that these emplacements formed a locus for ancestor

worship, while also exhibiting the lineage of the household and serving as a mode of conspicuous consumption. Through a stylistic and philological evaluation, the evidence indicates that the niche design becomes a microcosm reflective of the macrocosm of the solar circuit, functioning as the akhet-shrine, a representation of the akhet-horizon and the proper receptacle to house the akh-spirit. Used not only to “akhify” a deceased relative but also as a place to leave regular offerings, niches attest to the significance of private religion in daily life.

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**MOHAMED WAHBALLA**,  
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

## El-Ghorifa burial methods

El-Ghorifa is a name given to an archaeological site located 3km north of Tuna al-Gebel- Mina, This site was used as cemetery consists of a large number of tombs dated from the late period onwards to the early Ptolemaic, belongs to the high priests of the ancient Egyptian God Tuth, the main Deity of the ancient Egyptian 15th Nome and its capital was Al-Ashmounein. The mission headed by the Secretary General of the SCA Dr. Mostafa Waziri and comprised archeologists from the area, started excavations at the end of 2017 and still work till now, the excavations revealed a big part of the Necropolis, which was used for long time from the Sait period and resulted a number of hewn underground tombs in the limestone cliff of the eastern mountain, reachable through deep shafts, these tombs were belongs to the elite of the 15th Nome mostly the high priests and their family members. The burial method were varied between, people who had limestone sarcophagi inscribed and not inscribed, Anthropoid, and rectangular, and

people buried in wooden coffins, and others buried in ground burial cuts. A lot of historical information resulted from these excavations will add to the Egyptian history, also a lot of artifacts comprised (Sarcophagi, wooden coffins, canopic jars, jewelry, amulets, and a big quantity of Ushabtie figurine in addition to small artifacts.

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**MOHAMED ZOHAIR**, University of Vienna  
**Unversehrt ist derjenige im Sarge: The Larva “dmA” of Coleoptera Beetles**

Certain species of necrophages and the dangerous effect they cause have been recorded in particular Coffin Texts’ spells and chapters from Book of the Dead. These species were the main problem that faced and threatened the work of the embalmers in Ancient Egypt. One of these species is the dmA “worm”. Comparing with other words that designate insects, the history of this dmA is not that long. It is recorded from the New Kingdom onwards. These occurrences reflect its hostile and negative connotations. In medical texts, this dmA is the origin of tm.yt that specifies a demonic affliction linked with Seth, whereas in funerary texts, it is the maggot of a specific necrophages. For the better preservation of the corpse, these maggots must be repelled. Accordingly, this paper examines the occurrences of dmA maggot in both medical and funerary texts on which one can stand to link it directly to the corpse-feeding organisms. Based on the emanating odor and food preference, corpse fauna can be divided into different successive waves over the different stages of decomposition. Adopting archaeological and forensic medicinal approaches, this work tries, therefore, to allocate

dmA to the larva of a specific order of the faunal successive waves on the cadaver, namely, Coleoptera beetle.

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**MOHGA RAMADAN ELLAIMONY**,  
Egyptian ministry of Tourism and Antiquities  
**Two tattooed female offering-bearers from Middle Kingdom at Cairo Museum JE 37564**

The ancient Egyptians practiced tattooing since the Predynastic period at latest. Two naturally mummified bodies of a male and female from Gebelein were tattooed and now they are kept at the British Museum. Their tattoos resemble the motifs that decorated some Predynastic female truncated figurines. During the earliest dynasties and the Old Kingdom, there were few traces of the continues of this practice, while in the First Intermediate Period there were no traces of this practice -based on present evidence-. In the Middle Kingdom variety of evidence of tattooing exist, as there were three female mummies discovered at Deir El Bahari, who were tattooed. The tattoos applied on their skins resembled the motifs that were decorated some of the Middle Kingdome truncated female figurines and the paddle dolls. The distribution of these motifs on the female mummies and also on the female figurines and paddle dolls had a fertility overtone which led some scholars to suggest the association of applying tattoo for enhancing the fertility of women. This paper presents two wooden figures of female offering-bearers that were tattooed; they were amongst the funerary collection from the tomb of T3wy/anti-m-HAt from Beni Hassan dated to the eleventh dynasty, now kept at Cairo

Museum \*JE 37564. They are the only example of female offering bearers who were presented tattooed in ancient Egypt -based on present evidence-. \*Several items from this tomb have the same accession number.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**MORGAN E MORONEY,**

Johns Hopkins University

## “Pregnant with Wine”: The Role of Wine in the Tomb Chapel of Itet

The early 4th Dynasty tomb of Nefermaat and Itet at Meidum includes the oldest preserved winemaking image within a tomb’s decorative program. This fragmented scene was located in Itet’s funerary chapel. Her chapel also included a unique scene depicting a wine and fig offering related to the ab-rA (mouth-washing) ritual. This paper examines the meaning of the ab-rA within Itet’s chapel, as well as the significance of wine and fig offerings in women’s funerary monuments in the early Old Kingdom. The wine, ab-rA, and figs in Itet’s tomb are a direct reference to rejuvenation and the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (wine), purification (ab-rA), and the first, and perpetual, funerary meal (figs) of the deceased as a divine ka. In Itet’s tomb, this scene’s hieroglyphs and imagery are signifiers for spoken recitations and rituals performed for the deceased, but not yet fully memorialized in stone. This ritualized sequence of wine, ab-rA, and figs mirrors the ordering of spells and offerings included in later offering lists and extensively expressed in the Pyramid Texts. Wine performed a meaningful role in Itet’s chapel, activating the deceased, initiating her ka’s rebirth, and potentially acting as blood to revitalize as a life

force. Wine and figs seem to have been meaningful offerings within the chapels of elite women in general during this period, helping to create and maintain effectiveness. The goddess Hathor, who was developing into an anthropomorphized deity during this period, arguably absorbed some of these aspects related to wine and figs.

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**MURTAZA MUSTAFA SHAKIR,**

Columbia University

## A Fāṭimī-era Nā‘ūrah (Waterwheel), as experienced by the poet Al-Amīr Tamīm (d. 984 CE)

Recollecting memories of a person or event related to a specific place has been a recurring theme in Arabic poetry from pre-Islamic times. An enlivening description (waṣf) of such a memorialized place serves as an interesting source for contemplating upon its intricate evocations and visual symbolisms that aim to immortalize precise historical figures or events, subsequently providing a two-layered narrative: of the actual place, and the manner in which it was beheld by a certain individual. One can find a substantial amount of evidence for reconstructing the description of a particular memorial space from this kind of literary tribute. This paper endeavours to present a similar reconstruction of the “dynamics between the text and the object”, from a few verses of an Arabic poem composed by a Fāṭimī-era prince, better known as al-Amīr Tamīm (337 AH-374 AH/ 949-984 CE), in his multisensory experience of the nā‘ūrah (waterwheel), a common presence in Egyptian gardens, and the connotational representation by which he desires to behold its architectural

beauty in the relaxing environment of a garden. Although art historians and observers have written much about the religious structures of Islam, non-religious structures like the nā'ūra, sometimes go blatantly unnoticed. Besides the nā'ūra, al-Amīr Tamīm's poems elucidate a number of creative and stimulating descriptions of non-religious spaces, that not only widen the scope of our understanding of Islamic art, but also provide new insights of how a non-religious structure could also be observed through a universal perspective, which definitely embodies, but is not limited to, the Islamic philosophy.

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**NANCY ARTHUR HOSKINS,**  
Independent Scholar

## The Attire of the Asmu of Shu: Imaginary Apparel or Real?

The unique Beni Hassan tomb painting of a procession of Asiatics bearing gifts for Khnumhotep II is considered an "artistic gem." The Middle Kingdom event was important enough to be recorded in the tomb during the reign of Sensuret II (circa 1890 BC). The extraordinary, colorful, patterned garments worn by the Aamu men and women in the caravan must have seemed startling to the Egyptians dressed in their ordinary garments of natural linen. The artist of the painting captured the costumes of the Aamu, and meticulously differentiated the patterns on the leader's robe, the men's tunics, the women's dresses, the donkey's saddle bag and blanket. European explorers recorded the tomb paintings during the 19th century when the colors were still vivid. They thought them "remarkable for their delicacy

and beauty." Recent researchers have published Beni Hassan photographs and video tours on the web. The colors and patterns on the costumes of the Aamu men and women in both the antique paintings and modern photographs are consistent. The consensus among scholars is that the fabrics were made of wool. A better breed of sheep, that was useful for spinning, dyeing, and weaving, became a plentiful product during Mesopotamia's 'Wool Age'. The woolen patterns on the costumes of the Aamu, which can all be woven on a primitive loom with the same method, were the subject of my 'experimental archaeological' project. I believe that the fabrics were not imaginary, but real.

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**NATASHA AYERS,** Austrian Archaeological  
Institute, Austrian Academy of Sciences

## Qau el-Kebir: Elucidating the Second Millennium BCE in Middle Egypt

The cemeteries at Qau el-Kebir are crucial for gaining a clearer picture of developments in material culture from the Middle Kingdom through the early New Kingdom in Middle Egypt. The continuous archaeological sequence at Qau el-Kebir makes the site a linchpin for linking sequences from sites in other regions of Egypt and Nubia. Although these burials were excavated in the early 20th century, the material did not receive a modern scholarly study until Janine Bourriau began re-documenting many of the Qau el-Kebir tombs in the 1960's. Other studies have focused on the large rock-cut tombs of 12th Dynasty governors or specific artifact classes, such as the deposit of New Kingdom ivories. A new study systematically

approaches the hundreds of burials of the Middle Kingdom through early New Kingdom at Qau el-Kebir via meticulous re-documentation of archival material and objects (e.g. pottery, scarabs, jewelry, metal tools, and stone vessels) currently housed in European museums. This paper will focus primarily on how the intact and minimally disturbed burials reveal chronological developments in the burial equipment and a more complicated and varied development in body position than has previously been put forth. Additionally, discussion of burials with Nubian-style material culture and burial practices will demonstrate how intercultural contacts manifest differently across the wider Qau-Badari area.



**NICHOLAS R BROWN**, UCLA Egyptology

## Ms. Andrew's "Coffin": from the Valley of the Kings to Boston, MA

Over the past 150 years, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has built an extensive collection of Egyptian art and artifacts. While the majority of their holdings come from the excavations of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, many items within the museum's collection were acquired through purchases or as gifts. Included within this latter group is a set of glass and carnelian inlays (MFA 05.300), which were given to the museum in 1905 by Emma B. Andrews. Ms. Andrews was the female companion to Theodore M. Davis, an American lawyer turned archaeologist who excavated extensively in the Valley of the Kings. Nicholas Reeves first proposed that MFA 05.300 came from Davis' 1902 excavation season in the Valley, and that they were found in association

with wooden coffin fragments inscribed for Amenhotep III (Egyptian Museum JE 36400). This study examines the exact provenance of these glass and carnelian inlays, through archival research, to confirm Reeves' hypothesis. Then, the author aims to correctly identify these inlays as having originally come from an embellished coffin of the 18th Dynasty. This is accomplished by means of studying the wooden coffin fragments of Amenhotep III at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, along with comparisons to other royal coffins of the 18th Dynasty. Finally, the find-spot of MFA 05.300 within the Valley of the Kings is studied in detail, to elucidate the use of the area during the 21st Dynasty dismantling and systematic looting of earlier funerary assemblages.

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**NICHOLAS WARNER**,  
American Research Center

## Conservation of the Red Monastery in Sohag: the 2019 campaign

In the fall of 2019, a documentation and conservation program was launched at the historic church of the Red Monastery in Sohag. This included the conservation of the 5th-6th century carved limestone portals giving access to the nave of the church as well as the last area of untreated plaster lining the wall of a now-missing staircase that led to the roof - an area that was particularly rich in painted inscriptions. Documentation was carried out in the form of 3D laser scanning, giving a complete record of the post-conservation condition of the church, as well as using more traditional methods that revealed the existence of a hitherto unknown collection of pilgrims' graffiti incised into the

plaster of the north wall. Finally, the provision of visitor information about the site was extended with a new display of archival images presenting both the history of the building and its conservation up to and including the work initiated at the site by ARCE in 2004.

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**NICOLA ARAVECCHIA**, Washington University in St. Louis

## A Space for Whom? The Gathering Hall of a Fourth-Century Church in Dakhla

This paper will assess the archaeological evidence of a large hall that was part of a fourth-century church complex located at 'Ain el-Gedida, in Dakhla Oasis. The focus will be on the spatial and functional relationship of the hall with the church and the other rooms of the complex. The room, of a rectangular shape, was broadly identified as a gathering hall because of the existence of mud-brick mastabas (benches) running along three of its walls. It was also connected to the church via two passageways, one of which was sealed—at some point in antiquity—with a partition wall that obscured the remains of a stepped podium between the two spaces. The location of the podium suggests that it was once used by someone—possibly a priest—who needed to be seen and heard by people sitting in both the church and the gathering hall. Suggestions have been made that the latter was a room destined to catechumens, who were allowed only partial participation to the Eucharist, or women. In its latest phase, the gathering hall may have instead been used for the eating of common meals. The paper will discuss comparative evidence for gathering halls

in church complexes from other sites in Egypt. The goal is to shed light on who might have congregated in the hall at 'Ain el-Gedida and—more broadly—on the social composition of the community that inhabited this rural site of Egypt's Western Desert in Late Antiquity.

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**NOHA MOHAMED KAMEL MOUSSA**, University College London, Graduate

## The Transformation of pre-Islamic sacred places into mosques in Egypt

The present study focuses on transformation in pre-Islamic sacred places (temple, monastery or church) into mosques in Egypt. The study presents historical, Archaeological data as well as contemporary practices and rituals as a source for understanding how the sacred place was re-used as a mosque. The study explores also the possible political, religious, and or economic intentions of re-using the sacred place, and tracing the continuation of pre-Islamic rituals and practices in the Muslim community's habitus. The evidence here introduces three case studies in Egypt during Fatimid with as case study of Saint Catherine Monastery, Ayyubid with a case study of Abu el Hajajj mosque and Ottoman with a case study of Qasr Ibrim. The study aims to understand how Muslims in Egypt re-used places related to others sacredness and how the pre-Islamic practices affected the Muslim community's habitus.



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**NOZOMU KAWAI**, Kanazawa University

## Tutankhamun and his men and women: Status and Representations of the Officials under Tutankhamun

During the reign of Tutankhamun, royal prerogatives seems to have been taken by the high officials as some of them adopted the epithets normally reserved for royalty. This suggests the shift of the power of the king to the men behind throne. Although high officials such as Horemheb, Ay, and Maya have been discussed by several scholars including myself, the general synthesis of the status and representations of Tutankhamun's officials has not been attempted. This paper will attempt to investigate them to understand the political situation during Tutankhamun's reign.

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**OREN SIEGEL**, Independent Scholar

## The Practice of Political Border-making (tASw) in Pharaonic Egypt

Egypt's circumscribed geography and well-known frontier fortresses have led scholars to draw extensive parallels between Egyptian boundaries and border-making practices to modern counterparts. However, several important differences distinguish aspects of ancient Egyptian conceptions of sovereignty and territoriality. This paper examines textual and

archaeological evidence as it investigates the role of tASw and the practices employed by the state to claim and establish such political boundaries during the Middle and New Kingdom. In particular, it emphasizes several important distinctions: first, Egyptian boundaries were defined by the capacity for royal action to alter them rather than permeability, and the repercussions of this difference have not yet been fully explored; second, boundaries posed distinct political challenges to pharaohs/kings whose power was theoretically unlimited, but very much constrained in practice; third, Egyptian tASw were often conceived of in personal terms, required regular maintenance from succeeding pharaohs, and unlike modern political borders, did not aspire to a kind of ahistorical eternity. Ultimately, most of the practices deployed by Pharaonic rulers to establish, fix, or reaffirm their tASw elaborately performed or displayed the power and potency of the Egyptian state in liminal spaces, but the wide variety of methods used to do so suggest that individual rulers had considerable flexibility when founding and maintaining their borders.

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**OWEN MURRAY**, OMM Photography/  
The Epigraphic Survey (Chicago House) |  
**ALEXIS PANTOS**, Western Wadis of the  
Theban Necropolis Project

## LD 177: From Model Creation to Presentation

The Chicago House method is rooted in an Epigraphic tradition where attention to detail and the expertise of artists, photographers and Egyptologists work in concert to form the foundation of the documentation process. The result is precise, accurate information-rich facsimile drawings that would be unobtainable if

any of the constituent parties were removed. This methodology places greater emphasis on the process, skills and knowledge of those involved, than on tools and techniques that can, and have been, adapted as needed. From the outset, the publication of such results was envisioned as a series of large folio print publications presenting the facsimile drawings alongside other relevant information. Recent developments in computing, especially in the internet and 3D technologies have not only revolutionized documentation practices, but continue to open up new publication mediums that would have been unimaginable a few decades ago, let alone when the project was first conceived. This paper uses the Survey's first ever "digital native" publication – LD 177 in Luxor Temple: Amun-Re Establishes Amenhotep III's Double Crown – to explore how the rapidly evolving field of digital and 3D publishing may work in concert with print publication to further the original aims of the project. In particular it will look at preliminary work adapting for-print 3D data for online 3D presentation and reflect on questions of how, when and where these technologies can be used, and how such technologies intersect with the needs, aims and ethos of the Chicago House approach.

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**PANSEE HANY ABOU ELATTA,**  
Carleton University

## Tutankhamun's tomb, anti-colonial contestation, and the construction of the 'Treasures' exhibition

How have representations of iconic Pharaonic objects been shaped by modern Egyptian claims-

making processes? This paper examines the anti-colonial efforts that led to Egypt's retention of the contents of Tutankhamun's tomb, and the way those efforts shaped popular conceptions of the discovery. Through a close analysis of media coverage of Tutankhamun's 'treasures', this paper argues that Egypt's retention of this find contributed its allure, controversy, and by extension, perceived value. This allure underlay the unprecedented success of the 1970s' Treasures of Tutankhamun exhibition tour, a new kind of blockbuster exhibition which defined its genre. It sought to recreate for its audience the experience of 'discovery'; that is, by catching a glimpse of a heretofore-unseen treasure trove, one could sympathetically access a sliver of Howard Carter's experience when he first saw those "wonderful things." Egypt's firm hold on the objects until well past the 1952 revolution contributed to Western museums' fervent desire for these inaccessible 'treasures', so that the retention of the Tutankhamun find – a defining political success for the Egyptian nationalist movement – creeps into the artifacts' discursive framing as 'treasures' to be beheld for the first time by a rapt Western audience. Thus, the genre of the 'treasures' exhibition – a staple of the contemporary museum – comes to be shaped by indigenous contestation and claims-making processes, thereby complicating the trajectories of desire and valuation that underlie the artifact's role as a trophy of coloniality.

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**PATRICIA A BUTZ,**

Savannah College of Art and Design

## Apollo Lykaios and the Egyptian Funerary Gods in the Dedication of Theomnestos, Son of Nikias

This paper concentrates on the rare dedication of a black granite canine, usually described as a wolf, inscribed by Theomnestos, son of Nikias, to the Greek god Apollo Lykaios and dating to the Ptolemaic Period (CG 9276). This, however, is no votive statuette. The combined height of the canine figure and rectangular base on which it sits is a full 53 cm. The eyes were clearly inlaid. The prominent inscription on the front end of the platform is executed in finely cut letterforms over 1 cm in height. There is an issue in the identity of the canine, from the Egyptian as well as the Greek point of view. In its first publication, the statue was referred to as a symbolic representation of a jackal: “un animal symbolique ressemblant à un chacal” (Miller, *Journ. Sav.* 1897, 473). The possible conflation of more than one canine in the iconography leads to the question of the statue’s original location. Approximately 140 miles north of Luxor, which has been listed for the statue’s provenance, is Asyut, known in Graeco-Roman Egypt as Lykopolis. Its ancient religious affiliations with Anubis, Wepwawet, and Osiris in his aspect as a wolf, were longstanding. Connections with Apollo Lykaios are better made at this site than anywhere else in Egypt. The inscription becomes critical for specifically naming Apollo Lykaios, complete with solar implications, not Zeus Lykaios as might have been expected in Greece. The statue’s significant move

in 1938 to the Coptic Museum also supports a Lykopolis provenance.

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**PAUL STANWICK,** New York University

## Jerome Robbins and Egypt

This talk will discuss Jerome Robbins’s engagement with the art and artifacts of ancient Egypt and how this interest was reflected in his work in the performing arts. Jerome Robbins (1918-1998) is the well-known American choreographer and director responsible for such Broadway productions as *West Side Story* (1957) and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964). He was also a longtime resident choreographer for the New York City Ballet (NYCB). The talk will focus on the early 1980s when Robbins visited Egypt (1981) and planned to direct the initial production of the Philip Glass opera *Akhnaten* (1984) based on the life of the eighteenth dynasty pharaoh. Robbins kept an illustrated diary of his time in Egypt now held in the collections of the New York Public Library. He sketched objects in the Cairo Museum. Robbins later worked with Philip Glass on the original libretto of the *Akhnaten* opera, but ultimately dropped out of the project after the death of NYCB founder George Balanchine. Robbins nevertheless experimented with music from the opera in his 1983 ballet entitled *Glass Pieces* and explored antiquity in his 1984 ballet called *Antique Epigraphs*.



BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT

**PETER MOORE JOHNSON,**  
Institute of Fine Arts, NYU

## Finding the Phallus in Ancient Egypt: Queering Masculinity

The ideal condition of being male in Ancient Egypt has been interpreted through textual and art historical sources as one of dominance, victory, hardness, and penetration. The phallus lies at the nexus of these readings through its use as a hieroglyphic classifier, literary trope, and in ithyphallic images. Iconographic analyses have expanded the symbolic significance of the phallus by associating the motif to representations such as fishing and fowling scenes. However, these analogous interpretations present the modern viewer with a conundrum: if the phallus is essential for understanding Egyptian masculinity, and indeed omnipresent in representations, why are male figures depicted without this emphasized sexual characteristic? This paper argues that there is a corpus of evidence which was, and to some extent continues to be, censored and obscured in the academic construction of ancient Egyptian masculinity. The phallus in Ancient Egyptian art was the primary offending member in these suppressive works of scholarship and museum curation. This paper assembles a corpus of some of these obfuscated works and suggests that the circumstances surrounding these practices of concealment are indicative of the prevailing social mores at the time. These acts have influenced a modern understanding of masculinity in Ancient Egypt. This corpus will provide an entry point to argue for rethinking

masculinity, one in which gender and biological sex, and its manifestation on the body, are not synonymous. These traits, while mutually constituted, are entangled with an Egyptian emphasis on fertility and importance of rebirth in the afterlife.

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**RANIA MAHMOUD,** University of Arkansas

## Naguib Mahfouz's Sugar Street: A Story of Female Political Growth

In narrating socio-political changes in Egypt between 1919 and 1957 Naguib Mahfouz's Cairo Trilogy (1956-57) chronicles the effects of these developments on the life of the Abd al-Jawad family over three generations. Whether it is the notorious family patriarch, Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, and his son, Fahmy, in Palace Walk; or his youngest son, Kamal, in Palace of Desire; or his grandsons in Sugar Street, the focus is male characters' coming of age in an Egypt struggling under British occupation. This paper traces a female journey on the margins of the last volume, Sugar Street (1957). I argue that through erasures in the narrative, readers can piece together a female subtext, which the novel neither centers nor overtly acknowledges, but one that tells of the intellectual and political formation of a modern educated Egyptian working-class woman in 1930s and 1940s Egypt. On the seams of this male-authored, male-centric text, is the story of female growth and development – a female Bildungsroman, of journalist Sawsan Hammad. An editor of a journal, Sawsan evaluates pieces that amateur journalists such as Ahmad, the grandson of Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, submit. She believes in a world where efforts are mobilized

towards curing the nation's ills; a world where art is functional, and the artist involved. Although it is Ahmad who emerges as a representative of the post-1919 Revolution national intellectual at the conclusion of Sugar Street, his education is unthinkable without Sawsan, who is instrumental in his training and eventual maturation as an independent thinker.

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**RAQUEL LAVRADOR NOVAIS,**  
NOVA FCSH - School of Social  
and Human Sciences (Portugal)

## New evidence on the “Reserve Heads”

The “Reserve Heads” date back to the Old Kingdom (4th – 6th Dynasties) and were found in the necropolis of Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur. Their enigmatic meaning and purpose confounded both the excavators and scholars leading to numerous theories since the 19th century. This paper presents my master's research results regarding the re-examination of this topic. The length of the corpus of “Reserve Heads” has been updated since 1919 when Smith counted 31. After Tefnin in 1991 claimed to be 34 it is currently accepted that there are 35 models. However, after a thorough analysis of the archaeological records, I believe there is evidence of 40 “Reserve Heads”. Tefnin already identified two ears (15-12-34 [G 4510]; 14-3-18 [G 4710]). Furthermore, I verified the existence of 6 more ears that were not yet studied, with four (MFA 13.445 and MFA 13.446 [G 5190 = G 2300]; C482 NS [G 2041]; 15-1-23 [G 5030]) indicate the presence of five more “Reserve Heads”. After the presentation of this new evidence, I will turn my attention to justify their inclusion in the corpus. Through the analysis of the titles of the owners of the “Reserve Heads”

I aim to unveil the family relationships and professional and informal interactions between the royal and non-royal elite and the pharaoh. And consequently, to prove their role in the social modeling of the Old Kingdom since they reflect individual emancipation.

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**RICHARD MCGREGOR,**  
Vanderbilt University

## Religious Relics and the Topography of Islamic Cairo

Any survey of Egyptian Islamic relics of the medieval period encounters a wide variety of objects. Records from the period show that believers' contact with such objects took place within a web of competing significations, with relics regularly shifting location, adopting new identities, and evoking various devotional and ritual responses. From the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, various political projects were launched to collect the most valuable relics of the region, and to engineer pilgrimage itineraries; while in Syria, a distinct practice associating Prophetic relics with libraries and hadith study developed (e.g. al-madrassa al-Ashrafiyya). In Mamluk Egypt, relics gave birth to new institutions expressly intended for their display and promotion (e.g. Ribat al-athar al-Nabi, or Shrine of Sayyidna Husayn). Using sources such as al-Maqrizi, al-Sakhawi, and Ibn Taymiyya, this paper will explore the relationship between devotional objects and the engineering of religious urban space.

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**ROLLAND LONG**, University of Pennsylvania

## The nfr-n negation: form and function

The nfr-n negation is a rare negative construction that first appeared in the Egyptian language during the late-Old Kingdom and continued in use into the early Middle Kingdom, appearing sporadically thereafter in several archaizing passages from the New Kingdom and the Saite Renaissance. Whereas scholars of Egyptian have recognized the negativity that this construction signified, philologists that endeavor to analyze the internal grammar of nfr-n have offered a variety of explanations that rarely agree. Furthermore, few have attempted to rationalize their usage in lieu of particles and verbs that appear more often than nfr-n. The main purpose of this paper is to elucidate both the grammatical purpose of nfr-n as well as its internal structure. It considers all the attestations of the negational nfr known from both of R. Hannig's Wörterbücher and analyzes each attestation of nfr-n in sections dedicated to the different grammatical functions that the construction may fulfill. Additionally, two short analyses on the grammatical character of the other nfr-negations, namely nfr ꜥ, the descendent of nfr-n in the early Middle Kingdom, and nfr pw B, the tripartite nominal construction used as a negation in the Middle Kingdom from the mid-12th Dynasty onwards, inform the conclusions of the paper. This analysis ultimately finds that nfr-n is chiefly a way to negate substantive verbs, and that nfr-n itself is a substantive construction, allowing the compound to fit in grammatical roles (e.g. the object of preposition) that only nominal elements, namely substantive verbs, can play.

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**ROSELYN A. CAMPBELL**,

Getty Research Institute

## Kill Thy Neighbor: Reassessing the Evidence for Human Sacrifice in First Dynasty Egypt

The subsidiary burials surrounding the First Dynasty royal tombs and enclosures at Abydos have excited much interest since their initial discovery. The majority of these subsidiary burials were disturbed in antiquity, but many were intact enough to be excavated and recorded from the early 20th century onwards. The nature of the burials and disposition of the human remains has led some archaeologists to conclude that the subsidiary burials represent the human sacrifice of members of the court to accompany the deceased king into the afterlife. However, the apparent lack of skeletal trauma on the human remains, as reported by Petrie and others, has led to debate about the nature of sacrificial rituals, and brought the interpretation of sacrifice into question. The highly incomplete nature of the extant human remains has discouraged further analysis, and arguments for or against interpretations of human sacrifice have relied instead on context and burial assemblages. This paper presents the results of the bioarchaeological assessment of 48 crania from subsidiary burials associated with two kings and one queen of the First Dynasty. Advances in forensic and bioarchaeological methods made it possible to gain new data about the lives of these individuals and how they may have died. By combining skeletal evidence of trauma, overall health, and age at death with information

about the burials of these individuals, this study constructs a more nuanced and holistic picture of the individuals within the subsidiary burials and the context of First Dynasty royal power and funerary practice.

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**SAMEH ISKANDER**, New York University

## The Abydos Temple of Ramesses II Project Field Reports

This paper will present the results of the most recent seasons of fieldwork by the New York University-ISAW expedition to the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos. I will discuss the data related to the new discovery of the temple-palace type monument, foundation deposits, and other structures within the temple precinct.

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**SARA E OREL**, Truman State University

## Quarrying in Upper Egypt: The Sequence of Quarries at the Gebel el-Haridi

Crossing the border between the ancient ninth and tenth nomes as well as the modern border between the provinces of Asyut and Sohag is the Gebel el-Haridi, a dramatic headland that at its base falls into a canal that runs along the east bank of the Nile. The Gebel features a series of quarries cut into the rock on both the lower slopes and the top of the scree slopes at the base of cliff about 100 meters above the level of the river. These quarries were one of the focuses of an Egypt Exploration Society survey expedition in the 1990s. Several, but not all, of

these quarries were marked by dedicatory internal inscriptions of the Ptolemaic Period, and a huge stela of Ramesses III which would have been easily visible from the valley floor. However, this is not the only way these quarries can be dated and, in fact, reliance only on these inscriptions can result in misleading interpretations. This paper will discuss the sequence of these quarries from the early origins as natural and man-made cuts in the mountain through their utilization as source of building material to their post-quarrying occupation during the Coptic Period. Sources for interpretation include the inscriptions, quarry marks, chisel marks, and ceramic material. This analysis argues that the dramatic stela of Ramesses III served symbolically to claim two previously-cut quarries on the mountain rather than exclusively to mark the beginning of a sequence of quarrying at the site.

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**SARAH L. SYMONS**, McMaster University

## Astronomical material in the Theban Necropolis

Two locales are notably represented in the corpus of astronomical texts: the Asyut Necropolis during the early Middle Kingdom and, discussed here, the Theban Necropolis during the Middle and New Kingdoms. This talk will discuss the types and locations of astronomical material found on Luxor's West Bank and the relationships between the types. The various traditions of New Kingdom tomb and mortuary temple ceiling decoration that include star names will be described. The paper will also discuss rare New Kingdom instances of astronomical material on vertical surfaces: one on a tomb wall and two on architrave friezes, containing personifications of named stars or star groups, planets, and circumpolar deities. All three are related to

the content of other Theban astronomical material and provide perspectives on gaps in our understanding of the original astronomical corpus on which Theban decorative programs drew. Among the artifacts related to astronomy that have been found on the West Bank, three are of particular interest for the chronology of astronomical activity in ancient Egypt. One, a New Kingdom sundial found in 2013, strengthens our understanding of timekeeping in everyday life. The others, star tables on the lids of Middle Kingdom coffins T3C and T3L, each make unique contributions to our understanding of star lists and tables as coffin decoration, and link the Theban Necropolis to the Asyut tradition of astronomical tomb and coffin decoration.



**SASHA ROHRET**, University of Chicago

## Provisioning vs. Household Economy at the Old Kingdom Settlement of Tell Edfu

Textual and archaeological evidence have shown that the town of Edfu developed into an important regional center during the 3rd millennium BCE serving as a provincial capital. But with the onset of the First Intermediate Period (2160-2055 BCE), which is often perceived as a time of widespread famine and economic crisis, limited textual evidence and a dearth of archaeological material have obscured the realities of daily life for the inhabitants of this influential site. Investigation of the oldest settlement remains at Tell Edfu began in 2015. While excavation of the Old Kingdom area is on-going, a great deal of archaeozoological material has already been uncovered from late

6th Dynasty domestic contexts as well as contexts that appear to have served administrative functions probably related to a royal domain dating to the late 5th Dynasty. This paper addresses the results of the diachronic analysis of faunal remains from the excavations of the Old Kingdom settlement area, and discusses the role of provisioning by the state versus a household economic system as it pertains to animal production strategies at the site. The results of this study are pertinent not only to questions relating to the evolution of occupation and food production/consumption at the site, particularly as changes in its nature occurred prior to the First Intermediate Period, but also to how the animal economy at Tell Edfu compares to other Old Kingdom settlement sites with administrative functions and showing varying degrees of urbanization and proximity to centers of power.

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**SAYED MAMDOUH SOLIMAN**,  
Ministry of Antiquities, Basel university

## A Rediscovered Tomb in Qurnet Marei: TT382 (Usermontu)

Usermontu's tomb (TT 382), which was re-discovered in 2010, is located in Qurnet Marei, tucked in among the burials of other high-ranking officials dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty through the Ptolemaic Period. Usermontu, who is also known from his granite sarcophagus (MMA 17.190.2042a-c), held multiple important titles, including High Priest of Montu, Overseer of Cattle, Overseer of the Two Granaries, and Overseer of the Treasury. With these responsibilities, it is not surprising that his tomb is one of the largest in the area. A brief survey



of the wall scenes in Usermontu's tomb suggests that it was built during the Ramesside Period, which was confirmed during an initial clearing out of the transverse hall which revealed a plaster fragment bearing the cartouches of Rameses II. The decoration throughout Usermontu's tomb is different than other Ramesside tombs' paintings style—the quality of the painting and its unusual iconography is unique for the time period. The tomb has been re-used during different periods: from the initial investigation of the fallen plaster fragments, we found that the tomb was re-used during the time of pharaoh SetNakht, the founder of the Twentieth Dynasty, who is depicted and identified by his cartouche inside the chapel adoring deities. TT 382 was occupied during the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods, as well as more recently by modern inhabitants of Qurna.

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**SERGIO ALARCÓN ROBLEDO,**  
Harvard University

## Reconstructing the plan of Early Dynastic North Saqqara

The paper hereby presented provides a reconstruction of the plan of the archaic necropolis of North Saqqara, which has long been overdue. Since the time of J. E. Quibell in the early 20th century, the site has received the attention of numerous archaeologists, who have revealed hundreds of funerary structures that date all the way from the Early Dynastic down to the Greco-Roman Period. The specific academic interests of the time –such as elucidating the location of the Early Dynastic royal necropolis or the location of the tomb of Imhotep– led scholars to focus their efforts in the publication

of larger and more monumental structures, often overlooking those which were smaller and not relevant to their arguments. As a result, at least 167 Early Dynastic tombs remain unpublished, which has prevented us from achieving a comprehensive understanding of the necropolis. Based on the available publications, together with unpublished archival material related to the archaeological works of C. M. Firth and W. B. Emery in the 1930s and 40s, I will present the process of reconstruction of the plan of the necropolis. This endeavor is part of an early stage of my PhD dissertation, which aims to place the well-known monumental structures of the cemetery in their broader context.

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**SHAIMAA MAGDI EID,** Director of the Scientific Archive Department at CEDAE at the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

## Tomb of Paser TT367: New fieldwork Research and archeological excavation (three seasons 2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2020)

Paser was a military officer who lived in the reign of Amenhotep II. He held some important titles such as Hry pDt "captain of archers". This title is considered one of the highest-ranking positions an officer could have. Paser also held other titles: Xrd n kAp "child of the nursery. The tomb (TT 367) is located in western Thebes, Upper Egypt, in the upper enclosure of the necropolis of Sheikh Abdel Qurnah. The T- shaped plan of the tomb is the typical architectural type of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Aims and Objectives of Paser TT367 Fieldwork Research:

- Digital documentation and publication
- Art historical analysis of the painted decoration
- Full conservation treatment
- Site management assessment

The three seasons of archeological excavation (2017-2020):

- Excavate the new discovered shaft (H)
- Excavate and cleaning the main shaft (G)
- Excavate and clean the longitude hall (E)
- Excavate and make a survey for the open court (A)
- Describe, measure, photograph, sketch, record all the finds and packed them in wooden and plastic boxes.
- Analysis the pigments of the tomb

Archaeological finds: The excavation work at tomb TT367 generated different archaeological materials, comprised of human and animal bones, shabtis, coffin, mummy cases, pottery, textiles and other archaeological materials, which were classified and identified to categories.

Conclusion: We can conclude from the excavation that the tomb has been reused more than once, from the New Kingdom until the Late Roman period.

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**SHELBY JUSTL**, University of Pennsylvania

## Of quartz it's important! Amara West and the Egyptian gemstone industry

Nubia served as a supplier of Egyptian mineral wealth providing gold and sandstone as well as semiprecious stones such as amethyst, carnelian, and jasper. This paper examines semiprecious stone distribution and centralized control within Nubia through a case study of Amara West, the

administrative capital of Upper Nubia during part of the Ramesside Period and the seat of the Deputy of Kush, an official appointed by the pharaoh to oversee the location's activity. Examining carnelian and jasper artifacts from the 1939 and 1947-1950 EES excavations of Amara West revealed that of the 67 semiprecious stone items with recorded findspots, 48 cluster in three areas connected to either the local temple or the Deputy of Kush's Residence. An analysis of the distribution of objects, related finds, and building architecture may indicate operation as storage magazines or treasuries for collecting Nubian tribute on behalf of Egypt. Concentration of storage facilities for semiprecious stone materials suggests a closely supervised gemstone industry under the direction of the Deputy of Kush. This case study illustrates a small aspect of the Egyptian gemstone industry with Amara West as a possible carnelian and jasper supplier for Egypt.

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**SHEROUK IBRAHIM SHEHADA**,  
Helwan University

## Innovations in the Language of the Amarna Period: An Analytic Study of the Verbal System

This research aimed to examine and appreciate the innovations introduced in the ancient Egyptian language of the Amarna Period by focusing on an analysis of the verbal system. It showed that at that time, the innovations in the verbal system—among which the sequential construction the  $ir(r).f\ sDm/ ir.f\ sDm$  and  $mtw.f\ sDm$  are one of the most significant, participated in the development of the analytic

(or periphrastic) system that is dominant in Late Egyptian and therefore testified to the transitional stage from Middle (or Classical) Egyptian to Late Egyptian. Moreover, this research revealed, through the analysis of the verbal system, that the linguistic innovations were largely attested in inscriptions from Amarna and did not reach Memphis, Thebes, or any other parts of Egypt during the Amarna period. One wonders whether this was not an indication of an overwhelmingly dominant local dialect in Akhenaten's new city and its immediate surroundings on the one hand, and whether this dialect could not be linked to the idea of a discourse implemented by the king on the other. The statistic study tackled the attestation of the instances, which is subdivided into two main parts: (1) Pre-Amarna Period including (63.33%), (2) the Amarna Period containing (36.67%).

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**STEPHEN PHILLIP HARVEY,**  
Ahmose and Tetisheri Project

## Evidence for the Cult of Ahmose-Nefertary at Abydos

Situated adjacent to the pyramid temple constructed by King Ahmose at south Abydos, two rectangular buildings composed largely of bricks naming the "God's wife, daughter of a king, wife and mother of a king" Ahmose-Nefertary were discovered in excavations from 1993 to 2006. The analysis of fragments of relief carving and statuary point to a decorative program featuring the image and identity of Ahmose-Nefertary, in contrast to the decoration in the adjacent temple of King Ahmose which features her husband. Epigraphic evidence from the site (including the text of a royal decree) demonstrates that her cult was active well into the reign of Ramesses II, a fact

reflected in the apparent depiction of her sacred bark in the Abydos temple of that king. In contrast with the veneration of the queen at Thebes that centers on her relationship to Amenhotep I, her Abydos cult is usually connected primarily with King Ahmose, although there are numerous indications that her role as *mwt nsw*, "Mother of a King," was already important during the later reign of Ahmose.

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**SUSAN RAHYAB,** Columbia University

## The Suppression of Writing in Roman Egypt From Augustus to the Rise of Christianity

This paper examines the suppression of the written word in Roman Egypt from Augustus to the rise of Christianity. While the topic of censorship by Christian authorities in the Roman Empire enjoys an impressive bibliography, the practice prior to Christianity's rise has yet to be properly explored. Papyri, inscriptions, and histories tell a somber tale of censorship and book-burning in Roman Egypt for texts deemed subversive by Roman authorities. As was the case in Rome, these practices were neither systematic nor consistent. However, censorship practices in Egypt did not entirely mirror those in the capital: unlike in Rome, targeted texts in Egypt were not those that attacked the emperor, but rather those that promised harm to the empire. Any texts condemned as "illicit" secured an author's censorship, whether religious, alchemical, astrological, or self-commemorative. This paper offers the first in-depth examination of censorship in Roman Egypt and explicates the socio-political and cultural ramifications of this practice. Why

did Roman authorities apply censorship in Egypt differently than at home? How did notions of subversive behavior change and differ between Egypt and Rome? These inquiries allow one to gauge the impact of social standing and proximity to the seat of power in extrapolating who Roman authorities marked for censoring and where. The curious ability of certain Egyptian texts such as the *Acta Alexandrinorum* in evading the flames is thereby comprehensible. This study unravels the rationale behind a performative and jarring strategy through which Roman authorities sought to control the written word in Egypt.

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**TARA PRAKASH**, College of Charleston

## A Celebration of Annihilation: Human and Divine Responses to New Kingdom Smiting Scenes

The image of the pharaoh in the act of smiting his enemies was one of ancient Egypt's most consistent visual motifs. The best-preserved and most elaborate examples date to the New Kingdom. During this time, smiting scenes regularly adorned outer temple walls, and as such, they would have had two ancient audiences: people and deities. In this paper, I will consider the emotional reactions of both audiences to smiting scenes and how these relate to the purpose of the motif. The divine role in smiting is exemplified in the god who stands before the pharaoh and witnesses the smiting. The god is best understood as an agent of the king, supporting and enabling the king's actions. This god's speech reveals his emotions, including happiness and love, which were also visualized through the scene's composition and the god's

gestures. While human beings, other than the king and the enemies that he smites, were not depicted in smiting scenes, associated texts indicate that happiness and jubilation were not only appropriate emotional responses to such scenes for humans but also the intended ones. The Egyptian people were supposed to enjoy and take pleasure in the sight of the smiting pharaoh. Viewers who expressed fear or other negative emotions marked themselves as Other. In this way, such imagery served to reinforce the sanctioned Egyptian collective identity. This paper demonstrates that smiting scenes were highly emotive religious and political tools, which helps explain their prevalence and consistency.

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**TERESA MOORE**,

University of California Berkeley

## Scribes in the Horizon of Eternity: Rare Title Extensions in Theban Graffiti

Among the 226 known graffiti left to us by the famous scribe Qenherkhopeshef, a relatively small number elaborate his professional title with the phrases "in the place of truth" or "of the tomb." Only one includes the title extension "in the domain of everlastingness and eternity." Graffito 276, scratched on a rock face near KV 8, in which the author takes credit for creating a "beautiful stairway" for the Western Goddess. A similar title, "true royal scribe in the horizon of eternity," appears in a votive inscription on a limestone seat from his office at the Village du Col, in which he paid homage to his father, Panakht, and his mentor, the scribe Ramose. Qenherkhopeshef's 20th Dynasty colleague, Amennakht son of Ipy, and his descendants also occasionally employed

expressions such as “in the horizon of eternity” and “in the domain of everlastingness” in their own graffiti. These instances, too, represent a small proportion of the hundreds of inscriptions left by Amennakht and his prolific family. This paper focuses on the two uncommon title extensions, on who used them and which titles they elaborate. Where are they located, and in what environment? Are they a display of piety, a manifestation of family tradition, or simply a matter of individual inclination? The context in which they are found may shed light of the interplay of private devotion with day-to-day work in a realm permeated with the sacred.

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**TRACI LYNN ANDREWS,**  
University of Chicago

## Nautical Developments Viewed Through Hieroglyphs

This is a preliminary examination of how technological developments in boats can be seen in nautical hieroglyphs. Boats and boat accessories, like sails and rudders, as hieroglyphs are found in multitudes from Pharaonic through Ptolemaic Egypt. These glyphs also show specific constructions that didn't develop until well into Egypt's long history. Examining the changes seen in the hieroglyphs can help illuminate when techniques and designs changed and how they were translated into Ancient Egypt's written word. This allows us to better pinpoint when these developments were conceived and implemented. Additionally, this study may produce an idea of the process of how the hieroglyphs' designs changed with the dynamic developments in ship construction, seeing how the Egyptians transitioned real

world change into their writing. This study looks at nautical signs on their own and their use in extant texts and carvings. Then compares the earliest attestation of the sign with our historical knowledge of the first known implementation of the development. Much of what we know in terms of the implementation of new boat technology comes from iconography. Expanding beyond this, now we can take into account the changes in glyph designs utilized in writing. Thus, combining the two forms of Egyptian decoration and imagery to fully understand the periodization of nautical developments.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**VICTORIA ALMANSA-VILLATORO,**  
Brown University

## Labor and Freedom in the Old Kingdom: Royal Rhetoric and Ideology, from Climax to Collapse

This paper argues that three social, ethical, and psychological principles enabled the smooth functioning of the Old Kingdom authoritarianism by shaping people's sense of freedom and securing their compliance: 1) collectivism, 2) royal distinction, and 3) willful service to the state. These three core values emphasize cooperative work towards a collective success that overrules individual desires and any non-royal entrepreneurship. The king's rhetoric implicitly promotes these discourses through subliminal appeals to linguistic commonsense. Thus, this research does not extract propaganda out of texts that were purposely designed to promote the monarchy, but rather, it is an

analysis of hidden agendas in messages meant to be interpreted by a common Egyptian understanding. This work is an application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to Old Kingdom royal decrees and letters; both labelled in Old Egyptian as wD. The interdisciplinary methodology of CDA seeks to identify traces of ideology as transmitted and legitimized by institutional language. The relevance of this methodology is warranted by the ancient Egyptian doctrine of Perception (sjA) and Annunciation (Hw) that recognizes the unique political agency of the king's intellect and speech. The use of Corpus Linguistics software determines the proliferation and eventual decline of the three aforementioned discourses throughout royal decrees until the sudden rise of individual power in the First Intermediate Period. It is finally argued that the state's own ideology of collectivism is the ultimate detonator of royal decentralization, causing Egyptians to resort to local and family ties that would eventually take over leadership.

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**VICTORIA JENSEN,**  
Independent Researcher

## Figurines and Models from the Palace, Settlement, and Cemeteries of Deir el-Ballas

Located in Upper Egypt just south of Dendara, Deir el-Ballas features a royal palace dating to the late 17th-early 18th Dynasty, supporting administrative and settlement buildings, as well as cemeteries dating primarily to the early 18th Dynasty. Early excavations by the Hearst Expedition to Egypt in 1900-1901 under the direction of George Reisner revealed a plethora

of clay figurines and models. These artifacts were primarily found in the palace and domestic/ industrial buildings, although a few were also discovered in tombs. Recent excavations have added more examples to the corpus known from the site. This paper will present the various types of figurines and models from Deir el-Ballas, which range from human and animal representations to objects such as boats, daggers, khepesh swords, fly amulets, and more.

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**W BENSON HARER,**  
California State Univ San Bernardino

## Forensic Archaeology to Find the Murderer of Ramses III

The murder of Ramses III was done through a well-documented conspiracy orchestrated by his wife Queen Teya in an aborted attempt to put her son Pentawere on the throne. Recent DNA studies have shown that the enigmatic mummy labelled Unknown Man E from the Dier el Bahri find of 1881 is the son of Ramses III. The anomalies of his mummification and burial have led many to suspect that Unknown Man E is Pentawere. The Niagara Falls museum acquired nine mummies from Egypt around 1860. It is probable that at least two of them came from the Abd el Rasool family in Luxor, who mined that Dier el Bahri hoard. All nine were sold after the Niagara Falls Museum closed in 1999. One has subsequently been identified as royal, possibly Ramses I. Beside him for 140+ years lay the mummy known as the Braided Hair Lady. Analysis of her coffin and her mummy show that her burial was almost identical to that of Unknown Man E. Her mummy now resides in the Museum of

World Wonders in Wichita, Kansas, where I was privileged to examine it. Efforts to analyze her DNA in 2003 were unproductive. New, advanced techniques have since been refined so that it may be possible to do analysis of some available muscle tissue and a broken tooth. If that shows the Braided Hair Lady is the mother of Unknown Man E, it would be compelling evidence that he is Pentawere and she is Queen Teya.

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**WAHID ATTIA MOHAMED OMRAN,**  
Associate Professor

## El-Salamuni Necropolis of Akhmim: New Approach

The main necropolis of Akhmim from the Ptolemaic-Roman Period is located on El-Salamuni Mountain. The El-Salamuni project aims to study and publish newly found painted Graeco-Roman tombs in the mountain. The presentation focuses on the topography of the necropolis, the history of archaeological investigations, the architectural layouts of the tombs, and their funerary art. Furthermore, the research outlines the main funerary characteristics of the El-Salamuni tombs in a preliminary study.

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**YOUHANNA REDA MATTA,**  
Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo

## More Evidence for the Identification of an Anonymous Saint in the Ancient Church of St-Antony Monastery

This paper presents more evidence for the identification of the wall painting of the Anonymous Saint (N. 14: Van Moorsel, 1995, pp. 122, 138-139; N. 3: Pearson, 2002, p. 221; N. 15: Sadek, 2003, p. 37), to the right of Abba Isaac, in the second Chorus, in the Ancient Church of Saint Antony Monastery, in the Red Sea. This identification was done by Pearson (2002, p. 221), through a reconstruction of the fragmentary inscription remaining on the wall painting. However, after resuming the previous studies, regarding the description and identification of the above-mentioned Saint, some more aspects will be explored, as follows. First, the paper will present the iconographic program context, studied by Bolman (2002, pp. 37-76), and Sadek (2003), and which possibilities can fit the best in this context. Then, it will compare with the same Saint in another parallel context (The Cave Church of St. Paul in his Monastery in the Red Sea), which is dated some centuries later, to which St. Antony Church seems to have been served as a model. At last, some hagiographical remarks will be added about the Saint to whom it identifies the Anonymous wall painting, his relation with Saint Antony attested in the sources, and his cult attested in the monastery of Saint Antony in the 13th century; what gives more credit to this identification.

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**ZITING WANG**, The University of Chicago

## Chariot diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age

The introduction of horses and chariots revolutionized the ways in which war and diplomacy were conducted in the Late Bronze Age. While the use of horses and chariots in New Kingdom warfare has been extensively treated by scholars, their role in diplomatic activities has not been investigated in depth. The main goal of this paper is to investigate the role of charioteers in foreign relations and diplomacy during the Late Bronze Age and the reasons (technological, cultural and political) that made them particularly fit for the role of diplomatic messengers. Previous studies have surveyed the diplomatic role of the charioteers during the Ramesside era, a period that witnessed a surge of diplomatic activities. However, they rely heavily on textual evidence produced by the Egyptians and have a narrow temporal scope. This paper will examine both textual (Egyptian, Akkadian, and Hittite) and archaeological evidence that is more chronologically disparate for the activities of charioteers in foreign relations and diplomacy, and if possible, conduct a comparative analysis of their role in the Egyptian and Hittite kingdom.





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