



# *The* 70<sup>th</sup> **ANNUAL MEETING**

OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH  
CENTER IN EGYPT

## **IN-PERSON MEETING**

April 22-24, 2022

Irvine Marriott Hotel, Irvine, California

## **VIRTUAL MEETING**

May 6-8, 2022

via Web Platform



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

---

**APRIL 22-24, 2022**  
IN-PERSON MEETING  
IRVINE MARRIOTT HOTEL IRVINE, CALIFORNIA

**MAY 6-8, 2022**  
VIRTUAL

U.S. Office  
909 North Washington Street 320  
Alexandria, Virginia, 22314  
703.721.3479  
United States

Cairo Center  
2 Midan Simón Bolívar  
Garden City, Cairo, 11461  
20.2.2794.8239  
Egypt

[info@arce.org](mailto:info@arce.org)

# ARCE EGYPT STAFF

## CAIRO

**Dr. Louise Bertini**, Executive Director  
**Dr. Yasmin El Shazly**, Deputy Director for Research and Programs  
**Dr. Nicholas Warner**, Director of Cultural Heritage Projects  
**Mary Sadek**, Deputy Director for Government Affiliations  
**Heidi Emadi**, Director of Human Resources  
**Rania Radwan**, Assistant Director for Facilities Management  
**Zakaria Yacoub**, IT Consultant  
**Dania Younis**, Communications Manager  
**Mostafa Zohdy**, Graphic Designer  
**Miriam Ibrahim**, Communications Associate  
**Andreas Kostopoulos**, Project Archives Specialist  
**Mariam Foun**, Operations Manager  
**Sally El Sabbahy**, Heritage Outreach and Planning Manager  
**Bianca Van Sittert**, Theban Mapping Project Coordinator  
**Noha Atef Halim**, Finance Manager  
**Yasser Tharwat**, Financial & Reporting Manager  
**Doaa Adel**, Accountant  
**Amira Gamal**, Cataloging Librarian  
**Osama Abdel Fatah Mohamed**, Supervising Librarian  
**Reda Anwar**, Administrative Assistance to Office Manager  
**Doha Fathy**, Digitization and Data Specialist  
**Fatma Fahmy**, Metadata Specialist  
**Helmy Samir**, Associate for Governmental Affairs  
**Salah Rawash**, Security & Reception Coordinator  
**Abdrabou Ali Hassan**, Maintenance Assistant and Director's Driver  
**Ahmed Hassan**, Senior Traffic Department Officer & Driver  
**Ramadan Khalil Abdou**, ARCE Representative & Messenger  
**Mohamed Hassan**, Transportation Assistant & Messenger  
**Eid Fawzy**, Technical Clerk & Messenger  
**Noor El Deen Ibrahim**, Messenger

## LUXOR

**Shaaban Mohamed**, Office Manager  
**Ahmed Badry Abdallah Ahmed**, Messenger  
**Mohamed Salah Hemed Saleh**, Driver

# ARCE U.S. STAFF

**Liska Radachi**, US Director  
**Dr. Fatma Ismail**, Director for US Outreach & Programs  
**Michael Wiles**, Chief Financial Officer  
**Kristen Ferretti**, Senior Financial Coordinator  
**Djodi Deutsch**, Academic Programs Manager  
**Rebekah Atol**, Development & Membership Associate  
**Catherine Reed**, Development Associate  
**Jeanned'Arc Sanbar**, US Communications Associate  
**Courtney Marx**, Administrative & Board Associate  
**Freddy Feliz**, IT Manager (Consultant)  
**Megan Allday**, Annual Meeting Coordinator (Consultant)

# BOARD OF GOVERNORS

**David A. Anderson**, *President*

University of Wisconsin – La Crosse  
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology

**Denise Doxey**, *Vice President*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Art of Ancient Egypt, Nubia, and the Near East

**Paul Stanwick**, *Treasurer*

New York University

**Betsy Bryan**, *Immediate Past President*

Johns Hopkins University  
Department of Near Eastern Studies

**Nicola Aravecchia**

Washington University in St. Louis  
Departments of Classics and of Art History and Archaeology

**Yekaterina Barbash**

Brooklyn Museum  
Arts of Ancient Egypt

**Stephanie Denkowicz**

Manatt, Phelps & Phillips, LLC

**Melinda Hartwig**

Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University

**Salima Ikram**

American University in Cairo  
Department of Sociology, Egyptology and Anthropology

**Janice Kamrin**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Department of Egyptian Art

**Rita Lucarelli**

Department of Near Eastern Studies  
University of California, Berkeley

**Nadine Moeller**

Yale University  
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

**Nicholas Picardo**

Harvard University  
The Giza Project

**Francis Ricciardone**

US Ambassador (ret.)  
President (ret.),  
The American University in Cairo

**Adam Sabra**

Department of History  
University of California, Santa Barbara

**Adina Savin**

Disney Branded Television

**Ed Snow**

Burr + Forman, LLP

**Deborah Vischak**

Princeton University

EX-OFFICIO

**Louise Bertini**, *Executive Director*

**Courtney Marx**, *Board Clerk*





---

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

6

Meeting Schedule

---

24

Presentation  
Abstracts



# Meeting Schedule

Subject to change

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 2022

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT	LOCATION
3:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.	Meeting Check-In, Information Desk and Registration	Registration Office
3:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.	Speaker Audiovisual Check-In	Berkeley/Anaheim
Starting at 2:00 p.m.	Exhibit/Vendor Area and Student Poster Exhibit Setup	Ballroom corridors

## FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 2022

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT	LOCATION
7:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Meeting Check-In, Information Desk and Registration	Registration Office
7:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Speaker Audiovisual Check-In	Berkeley/Anaheim
8:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Exhibit/Vendor Area Open	Ballroom corridors
8:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Student Poster Exhibit Open	Ballroom corridors
8:30 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break	Catalina Ballroom
10:45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.	Paper sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
12:15 p.m. – 2:15 p.m.	Lunch Break	
12:45 p.m. – 1:45 p.m.	Chapter Officers' Meeting	Rancho Las Palmas/ Santa Barbara/ Santa Clara
1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Syllabus Corral and Discussion on Teaching	Newport/Marina Del Rey
2:15 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
3:00 p.m. – 3:15 p.m.	Coffee Break available	Catalina Ballroom
4:15 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.	General Members Meeting	Ballroom E
6:00 p.m.	Bus Departure for Bowers Museum for Keynote Presentation by Lord Carnarvon "Treasure and Tragedy In An Antique Land, Tutankhumun and the Life of the 5th Earl of Carnarvon" followed by a light reception— Ticketed Offsite Event Sponsored by National Geographic	Ballroom corridors
6:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.	Lord Carnarvon Keynote presentation "Treasure and Tragedy In An Antique Land, Tutankhamun and the Life of the 5th Earl of Carnarvon" followed by a light reception— Ticketed Offsite Event Sponsored by National Geographic	Bowers Museum
8:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.	Buses return from Bowers Museum to hotel	Bowers Museum-hotel

## SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 2022

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT	LOCATION
7:00 a.m. – 6:30 p.m.	Meeting Check-In, Information Desk and Registration	Registration Office
7:00 a.m. – 6:30 p.m.	Speaker Audiovisual Check-In	Berkeley/Anaheim
7:30 a.m. – 8:30 a.m.	Expedition Leaders Breakfast (By Invitation Only)	Newport/Marina Del Rey
8:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Exhibit/Vendor Area Open	Ballroom corridors
8:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Student Poster Exhibit Open	Ballroom corridors
8:30 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break	Catalina Ballroom
10:45 a.m. – 11:45 a.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
11:45 a.m. – 1:45 p.m.	Lunch Break	
12:45 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.	Fellowship Information Session	Ballroom FGH
1:45 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
2:45 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.	Coffee Break Available	Catalina Ballroom
3:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
6:30 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.	Members and Awards Dinner	All Ballrooms

## SUNDAY, APRIL 24, 2022

TIME (US Eastern Time)	EVENT	LOCATION
7:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Meeting Check-In, Information Desk and Registration	Registration Office
7:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.	Speaker Audiovisual Check-In	Berkeley/Anaheim
8:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Exhibit/Vendor Area Open	Ballroom corridors
8:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Student Poster Exhibit Open	Ballroom corridors
9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH
10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break	Catalina Ballroom
10:45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.	Paper Sessions	Ballrooms ABC, D, E, FGH

# SPONSORS



Getty  
Conservation  
Institute



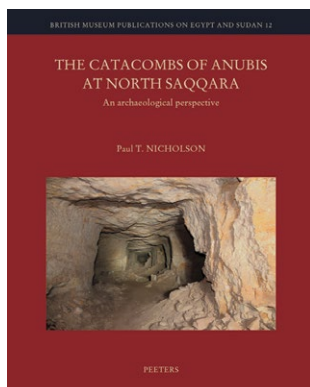
Memory of Egypt:

Nancy Hoskins: author, teacher, artist



# Ancient Egypt & Egyptology

## New, Recent & Forthcoming Titles



### The Catacombs of Anubis at North Saqqara An Archaeological Perspective

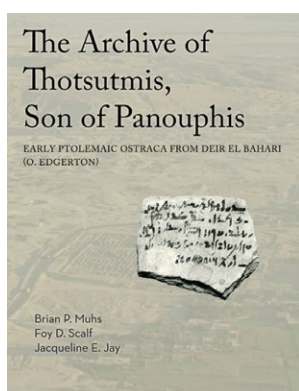
by Paul T. Nicholson

This publication describes the work of the Catacombs of Anubis Project. It examines the way in which the catacomb was created and the likely phases of its development in the Late and Ptolemaic periods. The way in which the many thousands of animal mummies were

procured is discussed in the light of modern faunal analysis and these results are combined with a new survey of the site to give a picture of the functioning of the cult at Saqqara.

309p (Peeters Publishers, July 2021, *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 12) hardcover, 9789042945500, \$138.00

PDF e-book, 9789042945517, \$173.00



### The Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis Early Ptolemaic Ostraca from Deir el Bahari (O. Edgerton)

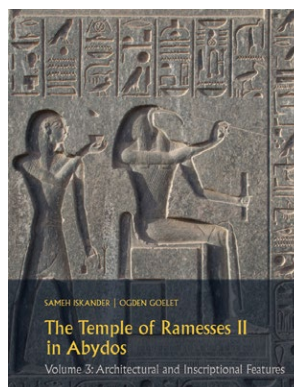
by Brian P. Muhs, Foy D. Scaif and Jacqueline E. Jay

The forty-two ostraca published in this volume provide a rare opportunity to explore the intersections between an intact ancient archive of private administrative documents and the larger social

and legal contexts into which they fit. What the reconstructed microhistory reveals is an ancient family striving to make it among the wealthy and connected social network of Theban choachytes and pastophoroi, while they simultaneously navigated the bureaucratic maze of taxes, fees, receipts, and legal procedures of the Ptolemaic state.

196p, 10 illus, 5 pls, 4 tbls (*Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, August 2021, *Oriental Institute Publications* 146) hardcover, 9781614910671, \$99.00

PDF e-book, 9781614910664, \$80.00



### The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos

Volume 3: Architectural and Inscriptional Features

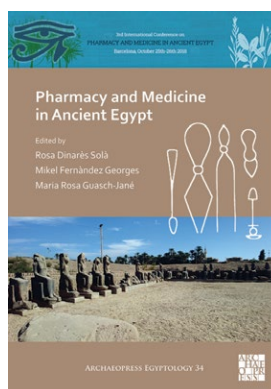
by Sameh Iskander and Ogden Goelet

Ramesses II's temple at Abydos stands as one of his most elegant. This volume offers a detailed analysis of the overall architectural layout and decorative program of the temple and its symbolism.

This discussion approaches the religious history of the site through its archaeology, its inscriptions—both planned and secondary (graffiti)—and its situation in the complex religious landscape of Abydos. Of particular interest are the temple's role as a staging point for the great Osiris Festival and its procession, among the most important of all ritual events in the Egyptian religious calendar during the Ramesside period.

512p (*Lockwood Press*, December 2021) hardcover, 9781948488785, \$195.00

PDF e-book, 9781948488990, \$156.00



### Pharmacy and Medicine in Ancient Egypt

edited by Rosa Dinarès Solà, Mikel Fernández Georges and Maria Rosa Guasch Jané

This volume presents the proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Pharmacy and Medicine in Ancient Egypt (Barcelona 2018). It showcases the most recent pharmaceutical and medical studies on human remains and organic and plant

material from ancient Egypt, together with related discussions on textual and iconographic evidence, to evaluate the present state of knowledge and the advances we have made on pharmacy and veterinary and human medicine in Ancient Egypt.

156p (*Archaeopress Publishing*, June 2021, *Archaeopress Egyptology* 34)

paperback, 9781789697704, \$42.00

Want to learn or improve Arabic skills  
from the comfort of your home or office?

# Online Arabic Classes

Study Egyptian Dialect or Modern Standard Arabic  
with Egypt-based native speaking instructors, while  
also contributing to some great charitable causes!

Visit [www.handsalongthenile.org](http://www.handsalongthenile.org) or  
email [classes@handsalongthenile.org](mailto:classes@handsalongthenile.org)



Hands Along the Nile (HANDS) is a U.S. based non-profit  
working to improve inter-cultural understanding and  
empower marginalized communities in Egypt  
and MENA region.

# 3 Weekly flights between Washington and Cairo

Enjoy seamless travel experience  
on our Boeing Dreamliner 787-9



[egyptair.com](http://egyptair.com)

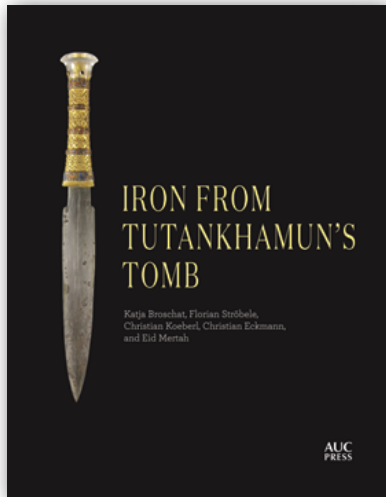
Free internet  
Personal screens  
Super diamond business class seats

\*Terms and Conditions Apply

**EGYPTAIR**   
A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER 



THE BEST IN EGYPTOLOGY FROM  
The American University in Cairo Press

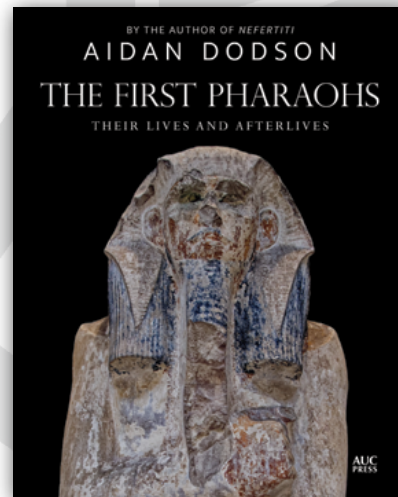


**Iron from Tutankhamun's Tomb**

Katja Broschat et al.

Hardback | 9781617979972

~~\$35.00~~    \$24.50



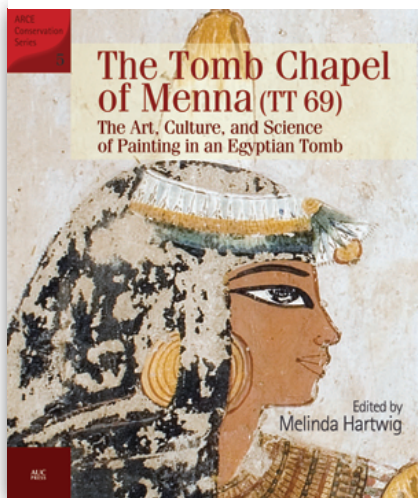
**The First Pharaohs**

Aidan Dodson

Hardback | 9781649030931

~~\$35.00~~    \$24.50

New in Paperback

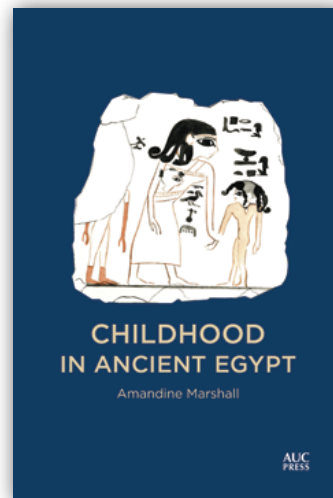


**The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69)**

Edited by Melinda Hartwig

Paperback | 9789774169847

~~\$59.95~~    \$41.97



**Childhood in Ancient Egypt**

Amandine Marshall

Hardback | 9781649031228

~~\$70.00~~    \$49.00

**SPECIAL DISCOUNT: 30% until May 30, 2022 at**  
**[aucpress.com/arce](http://aucpress.com/arce)**  
**Discount code: ARCE2022**



EGYPT... NOT ONLY THE PYRAMIDS



**Egitalloyd**  
Travel

# NEW MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS



We are pleased to offer ARCE members an exclusive member benefit with [BAR Publishing](#).

ARCE members can use Promo Code **ARCE20** at checkout to receive **20% off any BAR title(s)**.

BAR publishing is one of the world's most respected publishers of academic archaeology with over 3,600 titles in print. The BAR Digital Collection includes most of these titles and is available for libraries.

# EGYPTAIR IS PLEASED TO OFFER ARCE MEMBERS A 20% DISCOUNT ON THEIR NEXT EGYPTAIR BOOKING FROM WASHINGTON DC TO CAIRO\*

Fly non-stop from Washington Dulles to Cairo on or new Dreamline Boeing 787-900 aircraft featuring the latest Business Class all aisle access seating and our comfortable Economy Class cabin. Experience warm Egyptian hospitality the moment you board for your 10-hour 20-minute flight to the heart of Ancient Egypt!



## IAD FLIGHT – Currently operating 3 days a week – Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays

Flight Number	Departure	Arrival	Aircraft
MS 982	Washington Dulles (IAD) 12:00	Cairo (CAI) 04:30 (next day)	B787-9
MS 981	Cairo (CAI) 00:35	Washington Dulles (IAD) 06:25	B787-9

### BOOKING INFORMATION

Fares offered: 20% off published fares (excluding promo fares, basic economy and non-discountable fares)

Booking Period: November 1, 2021 – 30 June 2022

Destination: Cairo International Airport

### TO BOOK

Proof of membership is required.

If in the United States or Canada, you may call: 202-903-0940, Monday – Friday, 9am – 5pm EST

E-mail [washington\\_to@egyptair.com](mailto:washington_to@egyptair.com)

Visit us downtown at 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Suite 1015, Washington DC 20036.

We look forward to welcoming you onboard!

\*Terms and Conditions Apply

[www.egyptair.com](http://www.egyptair.com)

# Thanks From The Executive Director

DR. LOUISE BERTINI

This year marks the 73<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt. After two years of meeting exclusively on virtual platforms, we are thrilled to be back together in person. Much has changed since we last gathered. As our ways of connecting have evolved, so has the Annual Meeting. We are excited to present a dual meeting experience for 2022, offering both a virtual and in-person component. This format allows us to accommodate an outstanding number of excellent presentations and continue to offer global accessibility.

I am honored to welcome each one of you, whether you are joining in-person or online. Thank you to the scholars from across the world who have made time to share, present, and discuss their research contributions and their passion for Egypt. I'm also pleased to welcome our members, donors, and of course, enthusiasts of Egypt's history and ancient culture- we are so glad to have you with us.

Recognition and thanks to our Keynote Sponsor, National Geographic. Many thanks to The Getty Conservation Institute for their long-time partnership, and collaboration on our President's Reception. 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.

I'd like to express gratitude to the many people that have worked incredibly hard to ensure that the Annual Meeting is seamless and successful. Our Annual Meeting Committee Chair, Dr. Yekaterina Barbash, has led the way in pursuing our dual format, as well as committee members: Nicholas Picardo, Katherine Davis, Rita Lucarelli, JJ Shirley, Jessica Tompkins, Denise Doxey, and David Anderson.

ARCE has continued to prioritize student attendance and access to the Annual Meeting. Many thanks to our 2022 Student Access Council, both new and returning members. Thank you too to each of you who "supported a student" during registration to allow increased student participation. We are recognizing student support donors with pink name badge ribbons, and I encourage attending students to introduce themselves.

Last but certainly not least, thank you to our ARCE 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!



# Student Access Council

The ARCE Student Access Council is a group of individuals committed to supporting student access and fostering talent through student participation in the ARCE 2022 Annual Meeting. Many thanks to members of the 2022 Student Access Council. Student Access Council funds are used to offer reduced student registration costs, provide Virtual Meeting fee waivers for students in need, and support the DEI Travel Grants.

Adam Sabra

Denise Doxey

Ed Snow

Fatma Ismail

Janet Johnson

Julia Troche

Krystal Pierce

Laura Ranieri

Mary Kitchel

Nick Picardo

Rick St. Hilaire

Sid Kitchel



ARCE  
AMERICAN RESEARCH  
CENTER IN EGYPT

72<sup>nd</sup>  
The  
ANNUAL  
MEETING

ARCE IN-PERSON ANNUAL MEETING

## FELLOWSHIP *Information Session*

**Saturday, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2022**  
12:45 - 13:30 PT

### *About the session:*

Wondering about research funding or have a specific project in mind? An ARCE Fellowship might be just what you need. Learn more about opportunities for graduate, postdoctoral and faculty research in Egypt. Join the ARCE Academic Programs Manager and recent fellows for an informal discussion about the fellowship experience, the application and selection processes and living in Egypt.





ARCE  
AMERICAN RESEARCH  
CENTER IN EGYPT

The  
72<sup>nd</sup>  
ANNUAL  
MEETING

## ARCE IN-PERSON ANNUAL MEETING

*Keynote Presentation:*

# TREASURE & TRAGEDY IN AN ANTIQUE LAND

Tutankhamun and the Life of  
the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carnarvon

Keynote Presentation Sponsored by National Geographic

**will be livestreamed on**

Friday, April 22nd, 2022 at 18:30 - 21:00 PT

Keynote Lecture Followed by Reception

George Herbert, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carnarvon, was thrust into the global spotlight in the fall of 1922 with the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun. But who was the man supporting this momentous discovery? Herbert and Howard Carter had been long working in Egypt, excavating nobles' tombs in Deir el-Bahri and subsequently publishing *Five Years at Thebes*. In 1914 the pair received permission to dig in Valley of the Kings and began looking for the tomb of Tutankhamun in particular. After interruptions from WWI and finding little of interest, Herbert decided that 1922 would be the final season. What followed was a global sensation of intrigue, exploration, and Egyptomania. Though many know of Herbert's work in Egyptology, this keynote presentation will explore his formative years, role in WWI, Highclere, and the ongoing and amorphous legacy of the man behind the legend as told by his descendant, Lord George Carnarvon, the 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carnarvon.

### ***Tickets:***

**\$50 Adults, \$25 Students**

Ticket price includes light reception, one drink ticket, and bus transportation to and from the Irvine Marriott to Bowers Museum.

\*Wheelchair accessible buses provided. Bowers Museum is fully accessible with step free access to the parking lot, theater, and reception



ARCE IN-PERSON ANNUAL MEETING

*Invitation to*

**SYLLABUS CORRAL &  
DISCUSSION ON TEACHING  
WORKSHOP**

**Friday, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2022**  
13:00 - 14:00 PT

Join Dr. Julia Troche and Dr. Leslie Anne Warden for a syllabus corral and discussion about teaching. At this workshop, participants will be given sample common course syllabi (ancient Egyptian courses, but also introductory surveys expected at most institutions) and are encouraged to bring their own to share or workshop (print and digital). Additionally, participants will be invited to discuss best practices, common classroom challenges, and how to make their syllabi more reflective of diverse voices and perspectives. We encourage graduate students, early career scholars, and experienced educators to attend.

***About the organizers:***

Dr. Julia Troche is a teacher-scholar and Assistant Professor of History at Missouri State University, where she has won numerous teaching awards for high impact teaching practices and, most recently, an Excellence in Inclusive Teaching Award. She is currently nominated for the highest teaching award offered at her university—the Foundation Teaching Award. She regularly teaches the World History to c. 1600 survey in addition to Historical Writing and ancient Egyptian/Near Eastern history classes.

Dr. Leslie Anne Warden has taught at public universities and a small liberal arts college. She is interested in tying Egyptology into other curriculum and was recently awarded an NEH Humanities Connections Planning grant to support the creating of a new Archaeological Sciences concentration at Roanoke College. She is currently the Joanne Leonhardt Cassullo Associate Professor of Art History at Roanoke College, where she teaches courses such as Introduction to Archaeology, The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East, and supervises undergraduate research.



ARCE  
AMERICAN RESEARCH  
CENTER IN EGYPT

The  
72<sup>nd</sup>  
ANNUAL  
MEETING

ARCE VIRTUAL ANNUAL MEETING  
*Virtual Tour:*  
**THE JOURNEY TO THE  
BEYOND & BACK AGAIN**

Highlights from RAFFMA's Egyptian  
Collections for a Virtual Audience

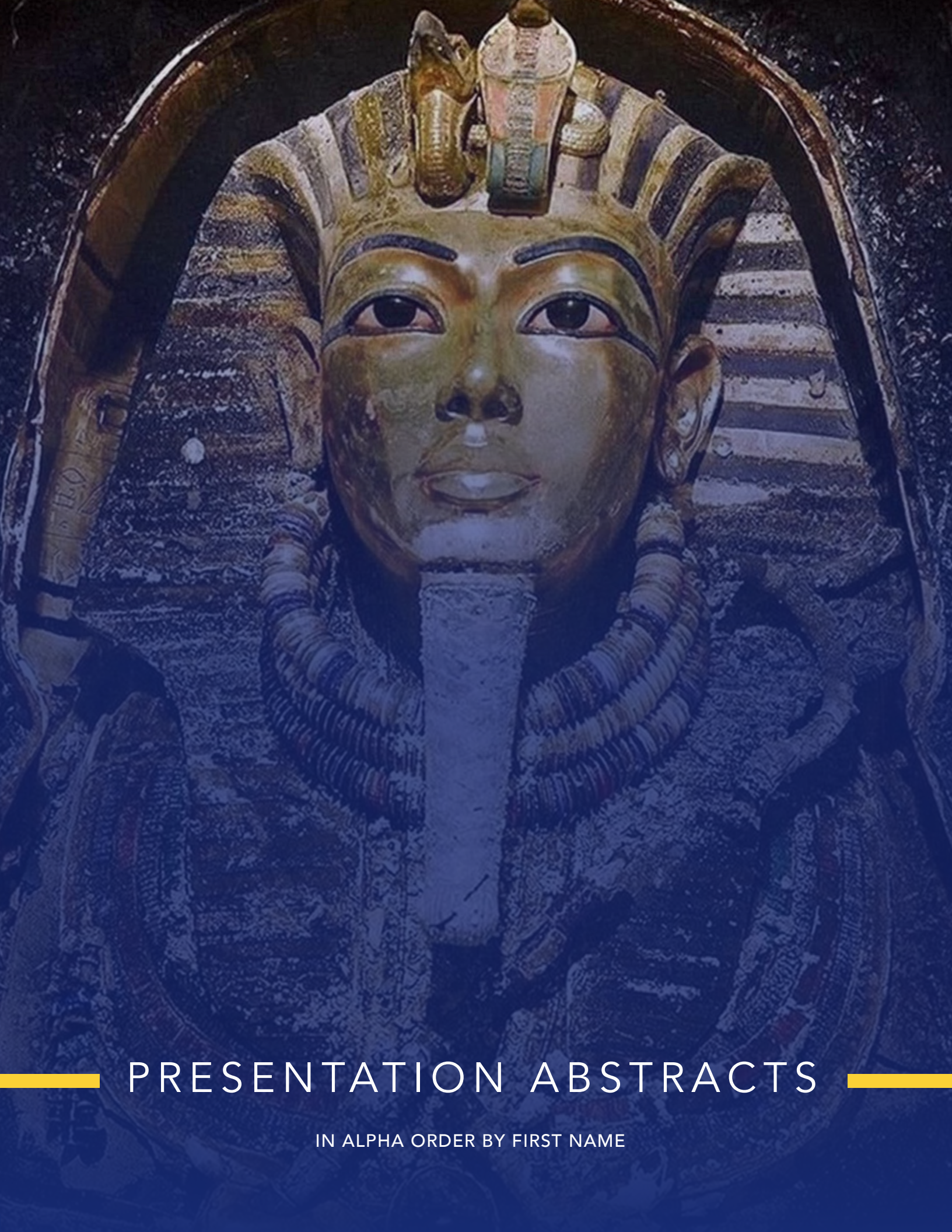
**Friday, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2022**  
12:00 Noon EST

*About the tour:*

The Robert and Frances Fullerton Museum of Art (RAFFMA) on the California State University San Bernardino (CSUSB) campus houses a unique collection of Ancient Egyptian artifacts, many donated by long-time ARCE members Dr. Benson Harer. In 2016 RAFFMA unveiled an exhibit of artifacts from their collection related to the ideas of Ancient Egyptian death and the afterlife called *The Journey to the Beyond*. While the museum was closed during the Covid 19 pandemic, RAFFMA staff took the opportunity to 3D scan the exhibit and render it into a

high-definition virtual experience. In this half hour presentation RAFFMA staff and Egyptology Faculty from CSUSB will present some of their favorite objects from the exhibit and the collection, while we inaugurate our 3D virtual exhibit to an ARCE internet audience. It will further illustrate what potential there is for any museum to undertake a similar project on their own today, beyond the current post-pandemic circumstances, and journeying into the future. Speakers will be present afterwards to answer questions and a discussion of the presentation.





# PRESENTATION ABSTRACTS

IN ALPHA ORDER BY FIRST NAME

---

**AARON DE SOUZA,**

Austrian Archaeological Institute

## Squares and Circles: Questioning Assumptions about Ancient Nubian and Egyptian Domestic Architecture

Our understanding of Ancient Nubian and Egyptian architecture has long been shaped by certain assumptions. Ancient Nubian buildings are generally thought of as rounded structures usually made of drystone, whereas ancient Egyptian buildings are rectilinear mud-brick constructions. These assumed differences carry an element of Egypto-centrism, whereby any change from circular to rectangular architecture in Nubian mortuary and settlement contexts is invariably viewed as evidence for so-called 'Egyptianisation'. But how correct are these old assumptions?

Through its investigation of non-urban Nubian habitation sites, the ongoing "Living Nubia" project observes that differences between Nubian and Egyptian settlement remains are not so easily defined. This becomes especially clear when architecture is considered together with associated material culture; sites that appear architecturally 'Nubian' might be materially 'Egyptian', or vice versa. These contrasts raise questions about the identities of the people who built and inhabited these places, and about the character of the socio-cultural environment in which they existed.

By combining new interrogations of legacy data plus more recent discoveries, the project challenges us to rethink fundamental questions: Why have past scholars make such hard divisions between Egyptian and Nubian? Can we and should we continue such differentiations between ancient Egyptian and ancient Nubian architecture? And ultimately, how appropriate is it to impose such clear cultural divisions and labels upon the ancient world?

---

**ADELA OPPENHEIM,**

Metropolitan Museum of Art

## The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur Seasons 2019 and 2021

Recent work of the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art has been concentrated in and around the temple constructed south of Senwosret III's pyramid at Dahshur. Built later in the king's reign, the form and purpose of this enormous but badly ruined structure (ca. 47 x 76 m) are the subject of continuing excavation and study.

Large portions of the temple's mudbrick subfoundation have been exposed including: 1) a step between outer and inner portions of the temple that must mark a transition between different types of interior spaces; 2) a square extension of unknown purpose at the southeast corner of the temple that may have included relief decoration and other objects related to royal women; 3) a gateway in the complex's south enclosure wall that had a lintel depicting Seth confronting Senwosret III's Horus name and a drain or channel; 4) a foundation deposit partially robbed in antiquity.

Newly discovered fragments indicate an over life size statue depicting an enthroned king wearing a sed-festival garment that was flanked by two smaller representations of standing royal women. The presence of a sed-festival statue in the temple is likely connected to extensive relief depictions of this rite, and suggests that an anticipated or actual enactment of the ritual was part of the south temple's purpose. Also discovered were unusual relief fragments inscribed with non-Egyptian place names, and several New Kingdom stelae, which provide further evidence for cult activities within the temple hundreds of years after its completion.

---

**AHMED MOTAWEA SHAIKHON,**

Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities

## Secrets of Sultan Hassan Mosque Cairo-Egypt

This paper presents the initial results of research work carried out as part of a project entitled "the re-expose the area around Sultan Hassan Mosque" which started by scientific teamwork from the Ministry of Antiquities using the robot which has been granted by a German engineer to the Ministry of Antiquities January 2016. The present study aimed to conduct a detailed survey to gather all available information from various sources about the area of the mosque.

As the applications of modern technology used in excavations in the Northwestern area of the Sultan Hassan Mosque had the greatest impact in reaching important results in the research and study of the site while working on the site, specifically to draw from it information and facts to complete the imperfect of the picture.

The area of the mosque it is suffering from a landslide several times and Proposals suggest that older buildings' remains might be found, as the document of the mosque construction indicates, it was built over the remains of other buildings which belong to previous ages.

There are still underground buildings that have been uncovered some of the ruins through excavations that took place in 2006, but these discoveries did not get enough studies and analysis, to give us a full conception of the planning of the facility and its function, hence the idea of the documentary scientific project with the completion of excavations scientific method Analytical documentary.

---

**AHMED TAREK,** The Metropolitan Museum of Art | **ANNA SEROTTA,** The Metropolitan Museum of Art

## New Insights from the Technical Study and Conservation of an Old Kingdom Wooden Statue

This paper presents the results of a technical study carried out to better understand the materials, manufacture and condition of the wooden Statue of the Official Merti (26.2.4a-c) in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. This statue dates to the Old Kingdom and it was excavated by the Egyptian Antiquities Service in the early 20th century, from Saqqara. In preparation for the statue's inclusion in a new exhibition, nondestructive analytical techniques were used to document construction methods, identify the pigments and painting techniques and provide a deeper understanding of previous

interventions, as well as the current condition of the statue. Multiband Imaging (MBI) provided useful information about the spatial distribution of surviving original pigments and materials used in previous restoration interventions. X-ray fluorescence (XRF) helped to characterize the chemical composition of pigment and preparation layers. Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) was used to document marks relating to both the carving of the wood and the surface preparation of the hair. X-ray Radiography helped to clarify the extent of the previous restorations, the understanding of which helped to inform treatment decisions.

As this paper will also note, the manufacturing techniques perfected during the Old Kingdom informed wooden statue production in subsequent periods, and indeed the materials and technology of this early work provide an interesting basis for comparison with later wooden statues.

---

**AIDAN MARK DODSON,**  
University of Bristol

## Tutankhamun: King of Argos?

The existence of Tutankhamun was first established by John Gardner Wilkinson during the late 1820s. Like other early scholars, he was perplexed by the absence of Tutankhamun (and the other 'Amarna' kings) from the Abydos-Rameses II king list (the only one then known), although aware from the Prudhoe Lions that he was in some way linked with Amenhotep III. This paper explores one of his potential solutions, as a case-study into the earliest phases of the modern reconstruction of ancient Egyptian history. This

harnessed the Greek legend of Aegyptus and Danaeus to suggest that Tutankhamun had been driven out of Egypt by 'his brother' Amenhotep III, to become the (re)founder of the Greek city of Argos.

---

**ALBAIR THABET ZAGHLOUL YOUNAN,**  
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

## An Unpublished Collection of Coffins in El Bahnasa Storage Museum

This collection was seized by the case No. 913 of the year 2015 in the court of El Minya Governorate- Egypt; kept in the storage in 2018. It made from wood, consists of 4 anthropoid coffins inscribed with texts and scenes date back to the Late Period. The aim of this study is extract new titles for the coffin's owners and their families and take details about the Dating of the coffins, which have no dates, by tracing the relationships of the coffin's owners which belong to the same family. The study will provide a new publication for a mystery unpublished collection of coffins, and will offer a transliteration, translation, and comments for untranslated Hieroglyphics texts.

The publication will make a comparison with different collections which preserved in the international Museums and will try to make a relationship among the owners and titles. The analytical study will contain the paleography, and iconography, for the whole similar coffins of the Late Period.

The author aspires to build such a prosopographic study by reviewing the previous publications and comparing this collection

with its similarities in other museums. As well as will provide lexicography, prosopography, onomastics, development of scripts, and history of the locals during the Late Period.

---

**ALEXANDER FREE**, LMU Munich

## Egyptian Metropolis and Roman city? Some thoughts on the civic development of Hermopolis Magna

When the Romans began to incorporate Egypt into their empire as a new province in 30 BC, the new rulers were confronted with a centrally administered area that was divided into about forty nomes, whose urban centres did not represent autonomous civic communities in the sense of a Greco-Roman understanding of “cities”. Until the beginning of Late Antiquity, the metropoleis remained part of their nomes and therefore did not constitute fully-fledged cities under a Roman perspective. They were merely second-class cities in the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, from the year 200 CE onwards, a self-confident civic representation can be observed in places like Oxyrhynchos or Hermopolis. The metropoleis now self-confidently appeared as full-fledged cities, although their administrative status did not correspond to their representation. The paper aims to address this phenomenon and uses the example of Hermopolis to show how in the 2nd century CE new concepts of meaning of joint community life emerged within the urban population, transforming the metropolis into a Roman city in the long run, way before its administrative development was completed. Although modern archaeological research has

long emphasized the urban character of the metropolis and has no reservations in classifying it as city, Historians nevertheless still have difficulties in understanding it as such from a civic point of view. The paper intends to address this research problem and adds a civic element to the long known urban character of the Egyptian metropoleis. Due to its extraordinary source material, Hermopolis is an excellent example for this attempt.

---

**ALEXANDRA R WITSELL**, Ancient Egypt Research Associates

## Seals and Sealings from AERA's 2019-2021 Excavations at the Menkaure Valley Temple, Giza

During the 2019–2021 excavations in the Menkaure Valley Temple, Ancient Egypt Research Associates recovered seals and clay sealings from the vast deposits of settlement material that George Reisner dumped while clearing the Central Court of the temple during his 1908–1910 work. A preliminary analysis of this material bears very promising fruit, including recognition of an entire data stream of “button”-impressed clay sealings seemingly missed by Reisner, with important ramifications for the history of glyptic art in the Old Kingdom. The discovery of these seals and sealings in the settlement occupation of humble apartments, bins, and granaries of the Central Court raises questions about button seals, ownership, and gender, given the ongoing discussion regarding their association with women and magic. As part of this analysis, I will also present for the first time a selection of the Heit el-Ghurab (HeG) stamp-impressed sealings

dating to the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure. Not only does the HeG stamped material draw a clear line of continuous seal usage between the 4th Dynasty and the later Old Kingdom on the Giza Plateau, it also hints at similar parallels that can be seen in the 4th Dynasty HeG cylinder seals and the later Menkaure Valley Temple material.

---

**ALMOATZBELLAH ELSHAHAWI**,  
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities |  
**AHMED TAREK**, The Metropolitan Museum  
of Art | **MOAMEN MOHAMED OTHMAN**,  
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities |  
**MOHAMED ABD EL-RAHMAN**, Ministry  
of Tourism and Antiquities | **EID MERTAH**,  
Ministry of Tour

## Tutankhamun's Silver Trumpet: An Analytical Study

This paperwork is an analytical study of the silver trumpet of Tutankhamun in the collection of the Egyptian Museum. Two trumpets which called in hieroglyphs Snb ("sne-heb") were found in the burial chamber of Pharaoh Tutankhamun dates back to the New Kingdom, 18 Dynasty. These trumpets were discovered in 1922 by Howard Carter while excavating Tutankhamun's tomb. These are considered the world's oldest operational trumpets and the only known surviving examples from ancient Egypt, one in sterling silver and the other in bronze or copper.

The silver trumpet (studied object) was later found in the burial chamber and is 22+1/2 inches (57.2 cm) long (Carter No. 175). Its bell is engraved with a whorl of sepals and calyces representing the lotus flower. One of the most exciting aspects of the Tutankhamun's trumpets

is that they were found with brightly painted wooden cores inside, resembling the bloom and stem of the lotus flower. This decorated rigid core was perhaps to protect the delicate metal from distortion, make a "buzzing" sound, or help clean the tube's inside with a rag. It was unknown for sure why trumpets contain cores.

The present work aims to identify and study the silver trumpet of Tutankhamun using X-ray fluorescence, which allows compositional analysis and comparisons.

---

**AMR OMAR**, The American University in Cairo

## The First Seasons of Abu Bakr bey at Giza Plateau

With the Old Kingdom tombs, he discovered at the western cemetery of Giza plateau from 1947 onwards, the name of the charismatic Abdel Moneim bey Abu Bakr (1907-1976) is evenly associated. Nevertheless, the archaeological projects he conducted at various locations within the plateau are not less significant, albeit less well-known. The archival materials of Abu Bakr bey, now preserved at the AUC Rare Books & Special Collections Library, began, fortunately, to remedy this paradox by elucidating his long-forgotten excavations, explorations, and projects that he often conducted simultaneously at Giza plateau since he was appointed in 1940 as an Acting Director of Giza plateau and new Director of the Egyptian University's Ḥafā'ir al-Ahrām (Pyramid Excavations); an excavation initiated in 1928 by his professor, Selim bey Hassan, who had to relinquish in 1936.

As an enthusiastic young Egyptian Egyptologist, Abu Bakr was thrilled to retain the Egyptian University's Giza concession after the Antiquities

Service held it for some years. Yet, the Excavation Department suddenly suspended the concession and asked him to conduct a rescue excavation first, as a series of rock tombs were unearthed while digging a new road. Abu Bakr had to spend 1941-1942 seasons clearing, exploring, and documenting eight rock tombs, without expecting much, as most of them were hitherto looted. This paper will present the first report examining the documentary data of these seasons, as they have remained unpublished to date.

---

**ANDREAS KOSTOPOULOS, ARCE**

## Out of Box and Onto the Web -ARCE's Conservation Archive 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 fulfil 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, presented by Andreas Kostopoulos, ARCE's project archives specialist includes an overview of the past six years' digital efforts and challenges, as well as data for the projects currently available on ARCE Conservation Archives website.

---

**ANDREW HOGAN**, The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, UC Berkeley

## The Evolution of Ancient Egyptian Fiscal Institutions: Continuity and Change in the Late Period

Traditional interpretations of Hellenistic Egyptian political and economic developments have privileged narratives of rupture and the importance of “new” imported Greek institutions. However, recent scholarship has begun to acknowledge the earlier well-established fiscal arrangements that informed how the Ptolemies implemented their institutions for the fisc at the state, local, and temple levels. The present communication builds upon earlier work that demonstrates Egyptian institutional precedents in banking (Muhs 2018), the temple economy (Monson 2016; Arlt 2015), as well as land tenure and transaction costs of government (Manning 2003, 2015) by grounding further fiscal innovations attributed to the Greeks – namely rent strategies for taxation, state monopolies, and evolving monetary practices – to endogenous practices already in use in Egypt. The argument demonstrates the importance of institutional developments during the Late Period by building upon the spate of recent scholarship on institutional arrangements during this time (Moreno Garcia, Agut-Labordère, inter alia) and employing new models in cultural evolutionary theory that treat the dissemination of institutions in phylogenetic terms. One important byproduct of this approach is that it continues to move the field further from colonial models. Furthermore, when examined within the broader context of

the Eastern Mediterranean during this time, Egyptian fiscal developments can be understood as participating (to varying mediated extents) in shared patterns of fiscal evolution. The Late Period in Egypt is thus understandable as a unique precursor to subsequent implementations and a participant in wider Mediterranean trends.

---

**ARIEL SINGER**, The Epigraphic Survey, the University of Chicago | **OWEN MURRAY**, OMM Photography/The Epigraphic Survey (Chicago House)

## On Publishing Digital Epigraphic Material: Building a Virtual Prototype

The past few years have seen explosive growth in the use of 3D models and other digital tools to augment numerous and various areas of Egyptology. More specifically, epigraphic work has been revolutionized by increased accuracy, portability, and accessibility of digital tablet technology. This has led to many valuable conversations about what these tools contribute to epigraphy and Egyptology and how to best utilize them. One of the primary questions that has arisen from such conversations is: can one publish a descriptive volume in a modular format that is visually cohesive, highly functional, and presents the many layers (both literal and figurative) that are created by the epigraphic process?

This paper will examine the core question above and present a digital publication prototype tailored to epigraphy, but with applications for the Egyptological community at large. This open-source web-based experimental viewer represents a platform for displaying contextualized geospatial relationships (in 3D)

and for examining their surface details (in 2D). Simply put, it marries layered 2D imagery and 3D models with available linked data, using the open source IIIF viewer Open SeaDragon for 2D imagery and the SketchFab platform for 3D models.

In addition to presenting the prototype itself and our reasoning behind structure and design choices, we will discuss a number of areas of interest/concern that need to be addressed in future iterations, especially with regard to accessibility and archivability.

---

**ATENA VIORELA UNGUREANU,**  
University College London

## The Calculated Design of the Disordered. Mourning Scenes in Theban Tombs and Visual Decorum

This paper demonstrates that the ‘indecorous’ mourning scenes involved clearly established production processes consonant with the formal, ‘decorous’ scenes. The art world functioned unwaveringly: places of ideation designed the visual chaos which successfully conveyed the disorder and confusion accompanying grief; at Thebes, one fourth of the Theban patrons chose or approved the scene inclusion; and artists applied a language of expression with its own well-defined set of rules and practices circumscribing iconography. This paper undertakes a comprehensive visual and iconographic analysis of mourner scenes in 110 Theban tombs from the New Kingdom to the Late Period, across four categories: mourners in the coffin sledge procession, in the Opening of the Mouth ritual, on the ground, and in ships.

The investigation shows that the artists employed seven iconographic devices for conveying grief:

1. Gender segregation or mixture,
2. Figure overlap,
3. Change of body or gaze direction,
4. Combination of body postures embodying three emotions: withdrawal (kneeling, crouching, bowing or covering head), despair (body stretched toward coffin, arms thrown up) or overwhelm (limp body, lying on ground),
5. Nudity,
6. Clothes and hair dishevelment, and
7. Facial expressions (tears, open mouth).

This novel and comprehensive review indicates how disorder and variability were calculated additions which ensured the dominant aim of ritual performance. It also shows that far from using a broad-brush approach, the artists manifested the seven devices differently across the four scene categories, as they worked within the constraints of the wall space, traditions of technique, available materials, and skill.

---

**BAHAA GABER,**  
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

## The Excavation of the Lost Tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga Necropolis, West of Luxor

During the last century, the site of the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis (North) was not inhabited by villagers because of the irregular slopes and heights of the rocks in this area. This resulted in the preservation of the tombs at the site. On April 2018 the Egyptian Mission (DP2017) was cleaning an area from debris and discovered Tomb Kamp 157 (about 400<sup>3</sup> m of rubble covered the court and the entrance of the tomb). The owner of the tomb was the Magistrate, User-hat (the city councilor) and his wife was the Lady of the House, Merit.

The second discovery of the Egyptian mission was that of the tomb of the goldsmith, Amenemhat (Tomb no. 390). The third discovery revealed Tombs Kampp 150 and 161, as well as the burial chamber of the Songstress of Amon, Isis-Nefert.

Another important discovery was that of the largest safe tomb in the cemetery of Thebes, belonging to the Seal-bearer of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shed Su-Djehuti, and the Hereditary Prince, the Mayor, To. This tomb dates back to the end of the 17th Dynasty and was re-used at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.

An additional six tombs were discovered at the bottom of the cemetery courtyard, including an unnumbered tomb of the Clerk of the King's Store, Shess.

This paper will outline these very important discoveries, made by the Egyptian mission working in Dra Abu el-Naga

---

**BARBARA MENDOZA**, Santa Monica College

## Entangled Styles: A Possible Link Between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture from the mid-7th century BCE

Intercultural connections between Greece and Egypt in the ancient Mediterranean region can be no longer solely defined as a colonization of one culture over another but as a means to describe a cultural process by which the exchange of ideas takes place and new forms of art, architecture, religion, social practices and ideals can form into an entirely disparate bi-cultural society before Roman rule. It is often discussed that the Greeks' entrée into Egypt was the beginning of

the "Græco-Roman Period" for Egypt; however, contact with the Greeks began far earlier than has been previously supposed. Artists and sculptors were very much a part of the creation of a 'new' Ptolemaic Egypt, and an "Archaic" Greece; whether from the Greek side or the Egyptian side, these agents of change were hard at work in the mid-7th century BCE. Add to the mix the inclusion of the Nubian Dynasty, whose kings claimed they were "more Egyptian than the Egyptians," we see a complex dynamic taking place where the promotion of 25th dynasty royal sculpture may have been the seed for the mechanism of ancient Egyptian influence of the Archaic Greek kouros or youth figure. In the archaeological record, evidence can be made for this observation by investigating bronze sculpture from mid-7th century BCE Egypt, particularly life-size, hollow cast bronze male figures excavated at Mit Rahina, Egypt, a known site of contact with Greece. This journey takes us from 25th Dynasty Egypt all the way to the island of Samos in Greece.

---

**BETHANY SIMPSON**, Virginia Commonwealth University, Qatar | **EMILY COLE**, UCLA

## Shifting Shorelines: Reconstructing the Topography of the Ancient Fayyūm Lakeshore

Renewed academic focus on ancient climate change and its effects in the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyūm have increasingly tied our understanding of water levels in Lake Qārūn with broader shifts in water availability and management. Much of this debate has focused on papyrological evidence and data collected from geological coring that covers long timespans.

New work at the site of Al-Qārah al-Ḥamrā completed in 2021/2 by the Northeast Fayyūm Lakeshore Project, however, adds nuance to this discussion. At a lower elevation (-40 m asl) than many other sites in the Fayyūm, this site lies in an area that was constantly threatened by shoreline fluctuations. Topographic survey and excavations at the site prove that there was nevertheless a substantial settlement on the north shore of Lake Qārūn from the mid-Ptolemaic until at least the early Roman period. Our results show that its inhabitants subsisted largely on fishing and agricultural production on the lakeshore but were also connected to trade within the Fayyūm and beyond. This paper presents an overview of these results and places Al-Qārah al-Ḥamrā within the landscape of the region, in particular Karanis to its East and Soknopaiou Nesos to its West.

---

**BETSY BRYAN**, Johns Hopkins University

## What Counts in Cattle Branding?

Among the Egyptian objects that Col. Joseph Myers bequeathed to his beloved Eton College upon his sad death in the Boer War in 1899, are two cattle brands of particularly fine quality. The brands are part of a loan from Eton to Johns Hopkins University from 2010 to 2030, during which time the Archaeological Museum is cataloguing and studying the numerous works entrusted. These brands date from the Amarna era and form the basis for a broader discussion of animal branding and its connections not only to the husbandry economy but to personal and institutional identity. The discussion will describe these two brands, placing them into the context of other known examples from a variety of time

periods. Documentary evidence, too, referring to specific brands and their owners, will be discussed. In addition, the talk will consider the ideological value of representations of brands and how they functioned within tomb scenes. An implement as simple but essential to the economy of ancient Egypt also exemplifies what we mean by materiality. The identity provided by the mark of branding gave agency to the objects and even more to the animals touched by them.

---

**BIANCA GRIER**, Independent Scholar

## The Doctor Will See You Now: A Prosopography of Medical Practitioners in Deir el-Medina

The village of Deir el-Medina (18th-20th Dynasties, New Kingdom) near the necropolis of Thebes on the West bank of the Nile housed the royal tomb builders. Many surviving sources found at this site contain official records: lists of goods, wages and personnel. Other sources include a wealth of manuscripts created by the villagers revealing aspects of everyday life that not only include wages but also various benefits that were provided by the Pharaoh. These documents also attest a varied medical culture and the many practitioners in the village who healed and cared for workers and their families. On the basis of over 300 of these manuscripts, this paper will provide a prosopography of more than twenty medical practitioners living in the village from the 19th to the 20th dynasties. At different times, physicians (swnw, a title given to a non-specialist or general healer), scorpion charmers (xrp-srq.t, a title given to a healer with some religious overtones), and nurses or wet-

nurses (mnat and Mna.t-nxt.ti) attended to the village's inhabitants as employees of the Pharaoh offering one of the benefits provided by him. These healers all represent specific aspects of the ancient Egyptian medical tradition and illustrate several points of access to medical services available to the workmen of Deir el-Medina and their families. These services facilitate the ongoing health and welfare of the Pharaoh's workforce.

---

**BRENDA J BAKER**, Arizona State University

## Toothpicks or Flossing: Evidence of Dental Hygiene Practices in Ancient Nubia

Cultural modifications of teeth include unintentional wear patterns arising from their use as tools and intentional modifications such as avulsion or filing. Occasionally, grooves found especially between posterior teeth (molars and premolars) develop from fibers being drawn between the teeth regularly or through toothpick use. Such interproximal grooves are typically located near the juncture of the tooth crown and root (the cemento-enamel junction or CEJ) and provide evidence of dental hygiene practices. Thirty-three adults with observable dentition were recovered from five Kerma to Napatan cemetery sites upstream of the fourth cataract in Sudan. Six of these 33 adults (18%) show interproximal grooves consistent with inserting fibers or toothpicks between the teeth. Many of these individuals show severe wear of the extant teeth. Another individual with extreme wear but no interproximal grooves evident shows polishing of a premolar, which suggests possible brushing with fibrous matter. Of the six with interproximal grooves, 4 are males and 2 are females,

indicating that both sexes were involved in this practice. These individuals range temporally from Early-Middle Kerma to Late Kerma (graves date from approximately 2100-1100 BCE). Additionally, at least one adult male from a large late Meroitic to Christian period cemetery in the same project area shows interproximal grooving, indicating continuity of similar dental hygiene practices in ancient Nubia. This study demonstrates how systematic analyses of human remains may reveal previously unrecognized aspects of daily life in the Nile Valley.

---

**BRENDAN HAINLINE**, University of Chicago

## Re-evaluating ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ Sound Correspondences Using Basic Vocabulary

Secure cognates are necessary for establishing sound correspondences between related languages and vital to understanding not only Egyptian's place in the Afroasiatic family but also early Egyptian phonology. Perhaps the most heated debate of early Egyptian phonology concerns the correspondences of Egyptian ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ and whether ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ was originally dental \*/d/ or pharyngeal \*/ʕ/. An originally dental ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ is supported by potential cognates such as Egyptian ʕ3 "door" ~ Akkadian daltu "door," while an originally pharyngeal ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ is supported by potential cognates such as Egyptian ḏbʕ "finger" ~ Ugaritic ʕšbʕ "finger." Given these and many other potential cognates on both sides of the debate, it is clear that this question cannot be solved through the proposal of new cognates. Rather, there must be a way of systematically evaluating the cognates already proposed. In this talk, I will bring a new approach to this problem

by focusing on so-called “basic vocabulary.” This term refers to lexical items that express certain body parts, numbers one through five, core verbs, and other concepts that are all essential to human experience and therefore resist borrowing, making basic vocabulary particularly valuable for historical linguistic studies. As I will show, through narrowing potential cognates to basic vocabulary items, a regular correspondence between ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ and pharyngeal sounds in related languages is well-attested, while a correspondence between ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ and dental sounds is not attested. This strongly suggests that Egyptian ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ was originally \*/ʕ/, and thus apparent cognates that suggest a dental ⟨<sup>c</sup>⟩ must be explained in other ways.

---

**BRIAN PAUL MUHS**, University of Chicago

## Micro-lending in the Ptolemaic Archive of Panas Son of Espemetis

The archive of Panas son of Espemetis was written in Thebes in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE. It includes eight Demotic and Greek contracts relating to Panas’ parallel careers as a mortuary priest and a lender, and at least six papyri with Demotic loan accounts recording 468 micro-loans, 343 for money and 125 for grain.

Loan accounts are a lender’s unilateral record of loans. They are distinct from loan contracts, which are written up by a borrower for a lender. Few Demotic loan accounts have survived and been published, even though most smaller loans were probably recorded only in loan accounts and not in loan contracts due their cost.

The loan accounts from the archive of Panas son of Espemetis provide a very different picture of

credit and lending than contemporary Ptolemaic Demotic loan contracts. For example, the loans in the accounts indicate the principle and the interest rate, which are usually omitted from Demotic loan contracts. This is probably because the loans in the accounts were open-ended, while Ptolemaic Demotic loan contracts usually had a due date after which securities were forfeited.

The loans in the accounts were relatively lightly secured. Only three were secured with written contracts, 152 with objects, and 118 by the promises of guarantors. The guarantors were often borrowers themselves, suggesting that social control played a role. Borrowers were frequently craftspeople, who may have relied on Panas’ regular mortuary revenues to smooth out their own irregular incomes.

---

**BRIANA JACKSON**, Pratt Institute

## Diplomacy through Shared Solar Theologies: A New Examination of Egyptian–Mitannian Relations

A few generations following Thutmose III’s historic battle against the Mitannian kingdom, diplomacy was founded during the reign of Thutmose IV through the first dynastic marriage between a Mitannian princess and an Egyptian king. Such marriages would continue to be the basis for maintaining the diplomatic Egyptian–Mitannian relations between Egyptian kings Amenhotep III and Akhenaten and Mitannian kings Shuttarna and Tushratta. Details of these marriages and the diplomacy that was maintained as a result of them are found mostly in the Amarna Letters sent from Tushratta to Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

However, theological connections are also apparent, represented by the inventory lists of luxury gifts decorated with solar imagery in the so-called international art style, as well as by greetings to and events concerning each other's gods, namely solar gods.

These letters date to the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign and the early years of Akhenaten's reign, contemporaneous with the occupation of the Malqata sed-festival palace site and the recently excavated Gem-Aten town site, during a time when solar theology in Egypt was evolving dramatically. This paper provides a theological as well as art historical examination of the Amarna Letters sent from Tushratta and sheds light on an understudied theme in the diplomatic relationships between the aforementioned kings. It considers how diplomacy between Mitanni and Egypt may have been strengthened in part by the kings appealing to one another on the common ground of solar theology.

---

**CAROLINE JOAN ARBUCKLE,**  
University of British Columbia

## The Database of Religious History as a Tool for Egyptology

The Database of Religious History is an open access digital repository for the global history of religion. The data is gathered through expert filled questionnaires on religious beliefs and practices. Currently there are three types of questionnaires: Religious Group, Religious Place, and Religious Text. The standardized style of the questionnaires allows users to compare answers to these entries both within and between global regions and time periods, while still providing experts the space to

add individual comments and descriptions. Users can then read individual entries in an encyclopedia style entry, or use the data to create visual representations of comparisons in the form of both maps and timelines. Due to a generous grant, for the last three years, the staff at the database has been able to focus on recruiting experts that study the Mediterranean region, and Egypt and Nubia in particular. Thanks to these efforts, there are currently entries that discuss the predynastic through to the modern period, which include sites from throughout Egypt and Nubia, and describe a significant number of religious texts, all filled out by experts in the field. In this discussion, I describe the current status of these entries and explain how the database can serve as a tool for Egyptological research and pedagogy. I will also explain how experts can get involved to ensure that their own research is represented and available for future users.

---

**CHARLES RIGANO,** Independent

## When/Why the Maidum Pyramid Appearance Radically Changed - A New Answer to an Old Puzzle

Snefru (first king of Dynasty 4) built three massive pyramids. The Bent and Red Pyramids at Dahshur remain substantially intact today and maintain their original inclined pyramid shapes. But his first attempt, the Maidum Pyramid, which final form was also an inclined sided pyramid, at some point lost much of its outer structure and today appears to be a tower on a hill. There is disagreement on when this true pyramid was reduced to the ruin we see today and how it happened.

The two primary explanations that have been

offered are: Kurt Mendelsohn proposed in his 1974 book *Riddle of the Pyramids* that the outer pyramid layers collapsed during the final construction phase and the rubble around the base is the remains of the upper pyramid, and, George Johnson proposed in his 1993/1994 KMT articles "Pyramid of Maidum" that at an unspecified time, pyramid blocks were quarried away and the rubble around the base is the remains of a work ramp. Both of these proposals are flawed.

Drawing on the excavation reports of Petrie, Mackay, el-Khouli, and Rowe, as well as personal first-hand observations, I will identify the time period, actually a specific dynasty, when the outer pyramid layers collapsed, the cause for the collapse, and the follow-on actions of quarriers and nature which led to the Maidum Pyramid current appearance.

---

**CHARLOTTE ROSE**, Independent Scholar

## Entangled Traditions: C-Group Female Figurines in Context

Previous scholarship has long noted the stylistic similarities between C-Group Nubian and certain Egyptian female figurines, namely the patterned clothing, tattooing, and hairstyles. This preliminary work analyzes the C-Group figurines from the lens of the contexts in which they occurred, which is an area less explored in prior scholarship. The Nubian figurines with patterned clothing and tattoos came from a variety of contexts in contrast to the funerary-specific Egyptian comparanda, indicating Egyptians adapted these Nubian stylistic elements for their own cultural use. Similarly, plaque-like female figurines featured in domestic areas of both Egypt and Nubia, with those from the latter having

the enlarged buttocks that are a distinct Nubian feature. Overall, Nubians and Egyptians modified female figurines and their stylistic features for their own culturally specific contexts.

---

**CLAIRE KOEN**, Fordham University

## Articulations of the Demonic in the Coptic Life of Paul of Tamma

This essay will consider the appearance of an "Ethiopian demon" in the Coptic Life of Paul of Tamma. The first section of the paper will present a brief overview of the development of the trope of the Ethiopian demon in Coptic Christian writings. The second half of the paper will investigate the particular geographical and environmental aspects apparent in the Life of Paul of Tamma, and consider the ways in which these local considerations may have influenced the author's descriptive choices. The paper will contribute to the broader scholarly conversation regarding the ways in which articulations of the demonic, and of "othering," have historically served as techniques of self making at both an individual and community level.

---

**COURTNEY MARX**, ARCE

## Princess Imagery of the New Kingdom: The Artistic Influence on and of the Amarna Period

Traditional ancient Egyptian artistic guidelines went through drastic changes under Akhenaten

due to the radical solar philosophy and religious reforms of the Amarna period. Despite the Amarna period often being recognized for its distinctive artistic style, art from the period incorporated previously established artistic vocabulary. This unique artistic style is evident in the representations of the Amarna princesses and in scenes of the royal family. Before the reign of Akhenaten, the representation of royal children was uncommon, but it became prevalent during the Amarna period. However, changes to the representations of royal daughters had begun prior to Akhenaten's reign, most notably during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amunhotep III.

In my presentation, I will explore how Akhenaten's use of previously established artistic vocabulary was applied to the depictions of his daughters. My research focuses on three types of princess representations: princess processional imagery, princesses in scenes of the royal family, and images of individual princesses. I will review and compare the images of princesses from the early and mid-New Kingdom, both before and after Akhenaten's reign.

The aim of my research is threefold. First, to situate the Amarna period in its New Kingdom artistic context. Second, to examine the artistic influences that culminated in the unique representations of Akhenaten's daughters. Third, to explore the influence that the Amarna period had on the representations of princesses during the reigns of Ramses II and Ramses III, despite the Amarna period style being condemned after the end of the period.

---

**DANIEL GONZÁLEZ LEÓN,**

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)

## The Title *im3-ʿ* and the Cult of Khnum from Herwer

The obscure title *im3-ʿ* has received some scholarly attention, but its reading and meaning remain uncertain. In a recent study, the present author has focused on the sources dated from the Thinite Age through the end of the Old Kingdom and, according to this archaeological and epigraphic evidence, it seems clear that the *im3-ʿ* holder occupied a high position within the structure of the Egyptian state, probably being a member of the king's closest circle. Also, following the accounts of C. Ziegler (1993; 2007) and M. Baud (1999), a relationship of this official with the magico-medical sphere with a role of protecting or taking care of the king was discussed. The title *im3-ʿ* between the end of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom is not nearly as present as in the Old Kingdom, and it is only attested in the titulary of the *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n m3-ḥd* "great overlord of the Oryx (province)" (16th province of Upper Egypt). What is striking is that this official had a primary role in the cult of Khnum from Herwer, a god one of whose attributes is medicine (or iatromagic). This communication aims to propose that this officiant was awarded the title *im3-ʿ* in accordance with his functions in this cult.

---

**DAVID ANDERSON,**

University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

## Scanning the Monument(al): Three-dimensional Recording of the Mut Temple Precinct at South Karnak

The last decade has seen the adoption of various techniques by archaeologists and Egyptologists to record on-going excavations, artifacts and building remains in three-dimensions. In many areas of the world, drones (UAVs or unmanned aerial vehicles) and/or laser scanning are the techniques typically chosen to conduct 3D recording of buildings and large scale architectural remains. However with restrictions on the use of drones and the importation of laser scanning equipment these techniques are not readily available to projects working in Egypt. Beginning in 2020 and continuing in 2022, the Johns Hopkins University Expedition to the Mut Temple Precinct at South Karnak conducted 3D documentation of the stone architecture, statuary, and surrounding terrain at the Mut Temple. This paper presents the methods developed to conduct the 3D documentation using only standard DSLR cameras and off-the-shelf 3D photogrammetry software. Results of the two seasons of work will be presented and the use of the data for the interpretation of the temple remains will be discussed. Finally a modified recommended approach to large scale photogrammetric recording without the use of drones and laser scanners will be presented.

---

**DAVID IAN LIGHTBODY,**

The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture

## Horus, the Shen-ring, and the Protective Symbolism Encircling Khufu's Great Pyramid at Giza

During the 19th century, piles of limestone rubble amassed around the base of Khufu's Great Pyramid at Giza were cleared away for the first time in the modern era. Survey evidence was collected that demonstrated the building's original exterior dimensions with a high degree of accuracy. The research also provided details of the cubit measurement system used to build the monument. This presentation now details how the cubit-based dataset also provided information about the underlying symbolic concepts used to design Khufu's tomb. Several Egyptologists including Flinders Petrie, I.E.S. Edwards, and Miroslav Verner have already determined that the proportions of a circle were utilized as a guiding principle, but it is only during the last two decades that the ritual concepts behind this ancient practice have been understood. This presentation explains the encircling and protective ideas behind this architectonic choice. For the ancient Egyptians, this geometric art expressed a meaningful ritual concept of unending encircling protection. The talk presents the results of a published study carried out over more than a decade into this issue. The same concept was expressed graphically by the pharaoh's patron god, the falcon Horus, shown grasping the shen-ring in its claws. It will also be shown that the adoption of the cartouche as the principal symbol signifying the pharaoh

was closely related to the shen-ring and to the concept of encircling protection expressed in the architecture of Old Kingdom pyramid tombs.

---

**DAVID MICHAEL WHEELER,**  
UC Berkeley | **KIM SHELTON,** UC Berkeley

## A New Faience Plaque Fragment of Amenhotep III from Petsas House, Mycenae

In the summer of 2005, a fragment of a faience plaque was found during the excavation of Petsas House, a ceramic workshop and residence located in the settlement outside the citadel at Mycenae. Based on the traces of a cartouche and a single hieroglyph on one face of the plaque, it has been identified as another piece of the now infamous faience plaques of Amenhotep III from Mycenae. Though the Petsas House fragment is small and seemingly insignificant, its archaeological context makes it unique among the surviving fragments and thus, provides us with an opportunity to reconsider questions posed by previous scholars and reframe the conversations around these unique artifacts. Not only is this the earliest find context yet for plaque fragments (14th c. BCE), it is also the only piece discovered outside the citadel and from a craft production context. As such, the Petsas House fragment invites scholars to rethink not only the dating of these objects, but also their point of origin and possible use(s). The discovery of this fragment within Petsas House is particularly interesting, as this is almost certainly one of the workshops that produced the Mycenaean pottery found in such large quantities at Amarna. Our evidence suggests that Petsas House was an independent

workshop that was closely affiliated with the citadel, however, it operated outside of direct palatial control. Therefore, the presence of one of these plaques compels us to reconsider the nature of contact between Mycenae and Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

---

**ELENA PISCHIKOVA,**  
American University in Cairo

## Kushites in South Asasif: Recent Discoveries and Reconstructions

The present paper focuses on the adaptation of Nubian architectural elements and usage of Nubian burial equipment in early Kushite tombs of the South Asasif necropolis.

Ongoing work on the conservation and reconstruction of three Kushite temple tombs, TT 391, TT 223, TT 390 has been conducted by the South Asasif Conservation Project since 2006. Several elements of this work were funded by ARCE AEF grants. Reconstruction of these monumental decorated tombs provides a wealth of information on the influence of Nubian funerary and temple architectural design and construction methods.

The large volume of finds from the burial chambers of TT 223 and TT 390 increased significantly in 2020-2021 after the clearance of several small undecorated tombs of lower ranking priests to the north of the superstructures of TT 223 and TT 390. Funerary equipment in the South Asasif necropolis allows to suggest a close connection with Nubia, the homeland of the South Asasif tomb owners, which was achieved through multiple avenues.

This paper will argue that mobility of the artists between Egypt and Nubia during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was bidirectional and Nubian artists participated in the design of the temple tombs of South Asasif. Certain elements of the burial equipment, including funerary beds, were imported from Nubia. They were complemented with Egyptian imitations and Egyptian objects. Early Kushite burials in Egypt show a strong symbiosis of Nubian and Egyptian funerary cultures that remained influential in later periods.

---

**ELISSA FERGUSON,**

University of North Georgia

## Slaughter and Lament: A Reconsideration of the Slaughtered Calf Scene

Much has been said about the slaughter of the calf, a small vignette that adjoins Opening of the Mouth scenes in about a dozen private tombs from the late 18th and early 19th Dynasties. The scene differs from other cattle sacrifices as it features an unusually cruel method of dispatch: the foreleg of the calf is removed while the animal is still alive and as the mother cow watches, bellowing in protest.

Commentaries interpret the scene widely, wrestling with the function of vivisection, the mourning cow, and the significance of the foreleg. Connections to various episodes in the Contendings of Horus and Seth are popular, while Petra Barthelmeß argues the calf replaces cattle sacrifice and the maternal bellow reflects the calls of mourning women.

This presentation interrogates these interpretations, examining the history of calf

sacrifice, non-royal mortuary texts, and the essential contribution of familial mourning in funerary ritual. Building off Barthelmeß' claims, it argues the mother-cow's lament as a prime motivation for the mutilation of the calf. The resurrective power of feminine lamentations and the central role of the family in the reconstitution of body and spirit during the Opening of the Mouth ritual is reconfirmed and expanded.

---

**ELIZABETH JOANNA MINOR,**

Wellesley College

## An Early Representation of an Observed Star Pattern on a First Intermediate Period Coffin

An ancient Egyptian wooden coffin lid from Naga ed-Deir has the painted depiction of five pointed stars on its inner surface, with the unique addition of blue-green dots in a distinct pattern at the center. This First Intermediate Period (2181-2040 BCE) coffin was discovered in the well-documented Reisner excavations from the early 1900s, and now is held in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California - Berkeley (PAHMA 6-20131). The use of five pointed stars on the roofs and inner top surfaces of funerary monuments was long established in ancient Egypt and represented the cosmic aspect of the desired eternal afterlife. The unusual inclusion of twenty-two dots was painted in a deliberate arrangement and patterning that strongly suggests that it was intended to represent an astronomical observation. The blue-green color of the dots was known in ancient Egypt as the color *wadj*, which represented the brilliance of the sun. The range of sizes in the

dots could represent different magnitudes of brightness of the stars. A small selection of coffins from this time period include written charts of star observations, called diagonal star tables, that describe distinct decans. The Naga ed-Deir coffin has the potential to be one of the earliest attempts at an accurate visual observation of star patterns from ancient Egypt. This study included collaboration between an archaeologist and astronomer (Robert Minor, Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory, retired) which has led to potential new understandings as to what area of the sky may be depicted.

---

**ELIZABETH MCGOVERN**, New York University

## Costume and Communication in the Tomb of Menna (TT 69)

Menna's tomb chapel (TT69) contains some of the most vivid, detail-rich vignettes among the surviving elite tombs in Western Thebes. Yet, while the vignettes have been intensively and expertly analyzed in past scholarship from the point of view of general themes, style, and inscriptional evidence, the costume has been largely overlooked. This paper, therefore, explores the extensive and detailed representation of costume in the Tomb of Menna and its function as a means of communicating and reinforcing identity in the tomb chapel.

While costume has long been acknowledged as a form of non-verbal communication and studied in-depth in other fields of ancient art, it remains to be a topic explored in great detail in Egyptology. In this paper, I use the term "costume" to encompass any combination of clothing, hair, jewelry, and body modifications

(such as wigs, tattooing, piercings, etc.) used by one individual to communicate with another. I will demonstrate how costume serves as a means of communicating information that could be considered awkward or cumbersome to relay verbally; thus, vignettes from Menna's tomb chapel will be analyzed to show how the costume depicted was an effective means of communicating the identity of the tomb owner and other individuals present in the tomb chapel's decorative program.

There is no established framework within the field for undertaking such a study; therefore, I integrate approaches developed by anthropologists, sociologists, and dress-historians to develop a methodological framework for evaluating the efficacy of costume in communicating information about the tomb owner and others.

---

**ELLA KAREV**, University of Chicago

## "Son of the House": House-born Slave or Court Official?

Four mysterious men show up in 5th century Aramaic witness-lists at Elephantine and Saqqara, lacking patronyms but bearing the epithet "son of the house". In conjunction with the lack of a patronym—seemingly a mark of enslavement—this title was often interpreted to indicate a "house-born slave", i.e., a slave born to an enslaved mother and a free father. This conclusion is not entirely unfounded: a similar term is known from Old Testament and Mesopotamian sources; the dynamic of a male owner and a female slave is likely to lead to such a situation; and the Elephantine corpus evidences at least six people born to enslaved women and their owners.

In this paper, I analyze the Aramaic and Egyptian textual evidence for lack of filiation in enslaved persons, the use of “son of the house” as a courtly title in Achaemenid Persian tradition, and the naming practices of house-born slaves from the Jewish community at Elephantine, who all bear matronyms. This paper concludes that “son of the house” in the Aramaic texts of the Late Period is indicative of a high-status title, shared with Arsames the satrap and other individuals, and not a mark of birth to an enslaved mother. The correct identification of this title in its cultural context allows us to separate the Egyptian Aramaic material from Old Testament sources and contributes to a more accurate picture of the social and administrative structure of Persian period in Egypt.

---

**EMILIE SARRAZIN,**  
University of Chicago

## A View from the North: The Late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period at Mendes

Between 1964 and 1978, an archaeological mission led by Donald P. Hansen from the Institute of Fine Arts (IFA) of New York University uncovered important structures dating to the late 3rd millennium BCE at the site of Mendes. In one excavation area, a complex sequence of occupation made up of mastabas, simple burials, and settlement remains was excavated; to this day, these are among the few stratified remains spanning the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period ever found in the Delta. Unfortunately, the results of the IFA expedition have only been cursorily published. This paper

re-examines the discoveries made by the IFA using the excavation notes, drawings, photographs, and objects that have been consolidated and stored at the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago. This presentation details how these archival records can be used to better define the chronology of occupation and material culture in the excavation area, allowing us to inquire about changes in burial practices and the use of urban space at Mendes. This data provides an invaluable window into the late 3rd millennium BCE from a region that is too rarely included in scholarly discussions due to the dearth of archaeological evidence. The goal of this research is to gain a better understanding of the social and urban landscape of Mendes during the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period and, ultimately, to contribute to broader conversations about these historical periods from the perspective of the Nile Delta.

---

**EMILY GRACE SMITH-SANGSTER,**  
Princeton University

## Defining Bodily Difference: A Reexamination of Depictions of Dwarfism in Old Kingdom Art

Prior research on the topic of dwarfism in ancient Egypt tends to follow one of two approaches: a semiotic reading of dwarfs as iconographically significant tomb decoration, or an examination of depictions of dwarfism as examples of the ways in which Egyptians accepted disabled individuals into society, even ‘allowing’ a select few to reach high ranking positions or roles as entertainers. While such studies often touch briefly on the significance of representing an othered body in the idealized

art of the pharaonic period, discussions of the depictions rarely delve into the theoretical. Further, many neglect to examine the ways in which the identities of these individuals contribute to a better understanding of how and why bodies could be shown as different, yet idealized in Old Kingdom art. This paper works to address this issue through the reexamination of depictions of dwarfism in the Old Kingdom, focusing on the question of why depictions of known and unknown individuals with dwarfism follow all artistic conventions beyond the proportion of the body and asks what allowed for such a negotiation of conventions in the depictions of bodies in this period. Further, the data is utilized to dismantle suggestions that Old Kingdom depictions of individuals with dwarfism can be understood as representing an easily read message associated with entertainment, fertility, or an early iteration of Bes, suggestions which have further shrouded the true significance of the depictions of this multivalent and complex group of people and their significant roles in the Egyptian hierarchy.

---

**EMILY WHITEHEAD**, Emory University

## Investigating an Intriguing Pastiche Middle Kingdom Solar Boat

With a crew hard at work amongst the solar boat furniture, the Michael C. Carlos Museum solar boat stands out amongst the fleet (MCCM 2018.010.415). Solar boats are a rare form of Middle Kingdom tomb model. They share very particular boat furniture and always lack a crew and a means of steering or propulsion. Therefore, likely in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the Carlos Museum solar boat was

compiled from several different models, forming the intriguing, crowded vessel seen today. A recent technical and art historical investigation of this unique boat model virtually unpicks the previous interventions and history of engagement with this object. It explores what is 'original,' asking where the various elements of this boat came from, their contexts and purposes, how the ancient models, from which this boat is drawn, functioned in Middle Kingdom burials, and how they differed from each other. This presentation will consider how the alteration and compilation of models affect the interpretation and future display of this exceptional model. Drawing from this single case study, the broader implications on interpretations and displays of these grave goods become apparent, as such boat models, as well as model scenes of food production, agriculture, and granaries, are not only extremely common to museum collections across the globe but are frequently altered and compiled from disparate elements.

---

**ERIN INGRAM**, University of Toronto

## Do Not Stand Against Me: Motivations Behind the Use of Heart Scarabs and Associated Spells

The motivations behind the selection and use of heart scarabs and related spells is a complex matter. The primary function of these magical amulets was to protect the heart and ensure a successful outcome during the Weighing of the Heart Ceremony. This final judgement was invariably tied to the moral character of the deceased. Heart scarabs, in particular those inscribed with BD 30B, ensured that the

deceased's heart would not stand against them as a witness nor betray them by devising lies about its owner. What can this tell us about individuals who chose to be buried with heart scarabs? Why did some individuals choose to be buried with one or more of these amulets and spells while others opted not to be buried with any? While it is tempting to suggest that immorality played a role in the selection of these objects and texts, archaeological evidence suggests that it was a multitude of factors that led to their inclusion in burials. Through textual evidence, examples of re-use, and four case studies of New Kingdom individuals who each owned multiple heart scarabs, the motivations behind the selection and use of heart scarabs and their spells will be explored.

---

**ESSAM NAGY**, JLMU - MoTA - EES |  
**DANIELLE CANDELOR**, SUNY Cortland

## Resurrecting Osiris: The Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-Ankh

The 25th Dynasty Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-Ankh, lies at Karnak, south of the Tenth Pylon of the Amun-Re precinct, and east of the ram-headed avenue of sphinxes that runs from the Tenth Pylon to the Mut precinct. This somewhat isolated monument is one of a series of Osirian chapels built by the Kushite pharaohs. Kings Taharqo and Tantamani are both represented in the scenes of the chapel, performing ritual offerings to various gods including the "Lord of Life" himself.

In 2020, the Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF) of the American Research Centre in Egypt (ARCE) funded the Osiris-Ptah neb-ankh research

project (OPNARP) at Karnak Temples. The focus for the work the season was to complete the documentation, restoration, conservation, and reconstruction of the Osiris-Ptah Neb-Ankh chapel, as well as excavating small segments of the surrounding area. A further goal of the 2020 work was to train four of the new generation of Egyptian archaeological colleagues in partnership with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA).

It is planned to continue the work in the area of the chapel, continuing conservation of the wall-decoration and extending the excavation of the surrounding areas. We also plan to make the site accessible for visitors to the Karnak temples. We are very grateful to ARCE for the generous support that has allowed the OPNARP to learn more about the monument, correct century-old restoration attempts, conserve the chapel, and train future ministry colleagues.

---

**FATIMA N. ESMAIL**,  
University of Texas at Dallas

## Inscriptions of Piety and Coptic Saints - A Folio from the Keir Collection

My research focused on an artifact from medieval Islamic Egypt in the Keir Collection of Islamic Art - a double-sided paper folio labeled in the museum collection as a "Fragment with a drawing of Apollo and Greek and Arabic texts." Except for a brief entry in the Collection catalogue no secondary scholarship was discovered, and the folio had not been closely studied in relation to its drawings and inscriptions. The folio raised interesting questions about the identity of the figures represented, the stylistic and

iconographical elements of the drawings, and the language and content of the inscriptions. My research has identified the figures as equestrian martyr Saint George and Archangel Michael, who are venerated in Coptic Christianity as protectors and intercessors since early centuries. The primary language of the inscriptions is Arabic, and I have clearly identified the secondary language, a few lines of which appear on the folio, as Coptic, and not Greek as the museum record suggests. My translation of the inscriptions reveals that they are biblical passages and extracts from the Coptic Book of Hours (Agpeya). These findings open a window into understanding the historical context of Copto-Arabic literature, manuscript production of religious texts, and the role of the monasteries in this regard. The discussion throws light on Coptic painting styles and iconographies prevalent in Egypt in the Premodern period. My research suggests a possible alternate dating of this fragment to the seventeenth-eighteenth century though this determination requires further scientific analysis of the ink and paper of the folio.

---

**FEDERICO ZANGANI**, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague

## Global Cities, Networks, and Diplomacy: Against the Notion of an 18th-Dynasty Empire in Syria

This paper sets out to challenge the Egyptological consensus and question the notion that the 18th Dynasty ever controlled an empire in the northern Levant. A combined analysis of both Egyptian and Akkadian sources is virtually incontrovertible as to the failure of Egyptian imperialism in Syria from Tuthmosis III

and Amenhotep II through the Amarna period, particularly in the Orontes valley and in the coastal areas north of Byblos, to the extent that Egyptologists should reject the idea of an Egyptian empire in the northern Levant. Thus, this paper argues against outdated conceptions of sovereignty, territoriality, and pharaonic power, steeped as they are in Egyptian exceptionalism, and proposes the implementation of concepts from the contemporary fields of International Relations and political science. In particular, an analysis of the major urban centers of the Levant in light of the current research trend on global cities, city networks, and city diplomacy yields a disenchanted view of the pharaonic monarchy as a more modest political actor struggling to cope with the unprecedented phase of globalization of the Late Bronze Age. This failure of Egyptian imperialism in Syria should pave the way for future Egyptological research into complex and contradictory aspects of the foreign policies of the pharaonic monarchy, aimed at investigating alternative ways in which the 18th Dynasty sought to exert its influence in a global system of urban-based political and economic networks.

---

**FIADH AINWE KELLY**, California State University, Bakersfield | **ROBERT M. YOHE**, California State University, Bakersfield

## Lending a Hand

Close to a decade ago, the Anthropology Program at Cal-State Bakersfield was contacted concerning the disposition of a partial mummified human forearm that had been collected from the Fayum by a student from Bakersfield College in the early 1970s. Associated with the human remains was a piece of textile cartonnage with some adhering stucco and painted images, including some with gilt. The remains and associated artifact was

integrated into the CSUB Anthropology teaching collection in 2011 once the mummified appendage and associated wrapping were conserved and stabilized. The following presentation is an analysis of these remains that includes information with respect to the nature of the remaining soft-tissue anatomy, preservation methods, wrapping techniques, and potential pathologies through standard x-ray imaging. Although the provenance issues surrounding these remains are somewhat problematic, a combination of factors (including a written note from the student collected the remains) suggests the cloth cartonnage and forearm most likely date to the Graeco-Roman period.

---

**GAELLE CHANTRAIN**, University of Liege

## “Like a Son” in Foreign Country: Hierarchical Relationships Between Egyptians and Foreigners in the Travel Narrative

This paper addresses the question of hierarchical relationships between Egyptians and foreigners in the travel narrative. It provides an overview of the strategies used to highlight the status of the different protagonists in narratives pertaining to this genre. The main strategy that is explored is the recurrent reference to the household metaphor, which is also widely used in diplomatic correspondence throughout the Near East during the Bronze Age. Attestations of this metaphor are also found in the relations between Egypt and the Levant, notoriously in the Amarna letters. Interestingly, a closer look at the travel narrative suggests that references to the household metaphor became also a literary

theme classifying situations and behaviors as “foreign”, and more specifically “Levantine”. They can indeed be contrasted with other implicit references to international relationships involving other regions and primary interactions of different nature, for example, Levant vs Punt and diplomacy vs trade. Furthermore, I argue here that the evolution of the household metaphor realizations in the travel narrative reflects the evolution of its actual use in diplomatic context and therefore provides further evidence of the dynamics of international hierarchical relationships between Egypt and the Levant at given times. More specifically, it records for instance a paradigmatic shift between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Finally, other elements are also pointed out to complete the picture and add to hierarchical status definition, such as the strategies for the expression of irony and the motion dynamics between protagonists that implicitly reveal hierarchical differences.

---

**GEORGIA BARKER**, Macquarie University

## Impacts of Instability: Military Representations from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom

Although the military served an important role in ancient Egyptian society, very few military representations are known from private tombs. Schulman has identified eight provincial examples of military wall scenes from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, while Kroenke has identified six provenanced military funerary models from the same periods. The theme remains rare among both media and should

be considered a supplementary addition for the ruling elite who desired to highlight their personal military success. The fact that the military is even included among the repertoire of funerary models is quite surprising. The sculptures were interred in the burial chamber where every effort was made to protect the body of the tomb owner. Animate beings were largely excluded from scenes on the walls of substructures in order to protect the deceased from any threat they might pose. Including representations of armed soldiers had the potential to cause harm. This paper will examine the known examples of military funerary models and will compare them with the wall scenes. Focusing primarily on the representations from Middle Egypt, it will identify the differences between the two media and propose why the theme would be included among the repertoires of funerary models and wall scenes. This will highlight the historical importance of the artistic representations and will provide new insight into how a period of political instability affected funerary customs of the provincial elite.

---

**GIORGIA CAFICI**, Centro Italiano  
di Egittologia "Giuseppe Botti"

## The Egyptian Elite as Roman Citizens. Looking at Ptolemaic Private Portraiture

In the Ptolemaic Period, the Egyptian elite still managed to play an important ideological role and to keep itself culturally relevant by maintaining ancient traditions and by being represented in texts and images. They continued to be represented in statues produced according to the traditional Egyptian

style. However, eminent member of Egyptian elite decided also to be represented in an innovative way, namely through portraits characterized by realistic facial features.

In the past decades, only few scholars have focused their research on non-royal Ptolemaic portraiture. They usually explained this phenomenon as the development of local Egyptian traditions and excluded any foreign influence on the rendering of realistic facial features.

The results of the research on the corpus of Ptolemaic private portraits instead highlight a multifaceted and composite phenomenon and point out a close link between Ptolemaic private portraits and Late Roman Republican portraiture. Non-royal Ptolemaic portraits have thus to be analyzed within the wider Mediterranean context using a methodological approach resulting from the adoption of two perspectives, the Classical and the Egyptian one.

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the research on Ptolemaic private portraits thanks to a specific case study, namely the statue in dark granite of Hor son of Tutu (Berlin, Ägyptische Museum, Inv. no. 2271) and its link to a Roman portrait attested in three marble exemplars (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. no. 121991, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. no. I. N. 1777 and Munich Glyptothek inv. 537).

---

**HANA NAVRATILOVA**, University of Reading

## New Kingdom reception of the South Temple of Senwosret III: perspectives

The South Temple of Senwosret III within the pyramid precinct of this sovereign at Dahshur might be one of the largest temple structures predating the New Kingdom temple complexes. It may constitute a unique link in the development of ancient Egyptian temple architecture. Its special position has to be considered also in context of available New Kingdom evidence (including but not limited to secondary epigraphy), which displays a reception history of the monument. The spread of traces of secondary epigraphy in the South Temple area appears to be even more significant than hitherto assumed and will be analyzed here. During an earlier survey of secondary epigraphy from 1990s to 2010s, the South Temple area, despite being excavated only in a small part, provided over 25% of the secondary epigraphy finds in the precinct of Senwosret III. The ongoing excavations in 2014, 2017, 2018 and 2019 have recovered further material. Context of New Kingdom finds includes both fragments of the building structure and of the furnishing of the temple: columns, wall surfaces (decorated and undecorated), and fragments of statues. Both writing techniques, graffiti and dipinti, appear in the South Temple area, and their distribution is not necessarily restricted by an exterior/interior division. New Kingdom visitors might have appropriated each part of the precinct in a specific way - the South Temple could have been perceived differently in comparison to, e.g., the North Chapel. Architecture and decoration of each building could have stimulated a specific and contained interaction.

---

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

## Book of the Dead 180: Early Ramesside Developments

The early Ramesside period was a time of accelerated change and innovation that impacted the Egyptian world of ideas and material culture, including funerary/religious iconography, art, architecture, and literature. Consequently, the Book of the Dead, a New Kingdom compendium of afterlife spells, was affected by the creative spirit of the era; the number of spell illustrations began to increase, and new vignettes were formulated for that purpose. The evolution of one particular spell, BD 180, exemplifies some of the formal changes evident in the Book of the Dead generally. This spell first appeared in the 18th Dynasty as an entirely textual composition, but its early 19th Dynasty enhancements involved the creation of two different vignettes, each with a distinct pattern of use, one predominantly royal, one exclusively private.

The purpose of this paper is to present my research regarding the BD 180 subtypes utilized in tombs and on papyri during the early 19th Dynasty. I will focus primarily on illustrations, an aspect of Book of the Dead studies that is not always given the scholarly attention it merits. Drawing upon my study of Ramesside royal women's tombs in the Valley of the Queens and my ongoing project examining the connection between these queens' tombs and the development of the Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition, I will also trace this

spell's complex history of use, which involved an interface and negotiation between royal and non-royal spheres.

---

**HENRY BOHUN**, University of Wales |  
**MENNAH ALY**, Helwan University

## “Souls and Shadows Receive Him. The Firmament Approaches the Netherworld”: Sunshades, Feathers and Heaven’s Doors

In the Book of Caverns concluding tableau in the so-called Merenptah temple, the birth of the sun god announcing the opening of the Eastern Doors of Heaven, happens between two rows of sunshades “Swt” and “bA” birds. The relationship between sunshades and bA birds with the gates of the celestial sphere is known from other funerary attestations, and is further assured by the appearance of the sun god himself and the blessed dead as bA and Swt (shadow) at sunrise in the Book of the Dead vignettes. Sunshades are also associated with deities that play vital roles in cosmic rebirth; as they are often related to, and embodied with the ostrich feathers from which sunshades are made. Interestingly, sunshades/fans are depicted in royal smiting representations which likely relates this category of scenes to solar rebirth and the opening of the gates of the sky.

This research aims to understand the religious significance of the presence of sunshades at depictions denoting the opening of the Doors of Heaven, and how together with divinities associated with them they play an important role in the continuous rebirth of the sun god. The paper also sheds light on royal smiting scenes

that incorporate representations of sunshades/fans highlighting their association, through using similar themes, with sunrise. The study thus discusses the meaning, origins, and wider implication of sunshades/feather fans depicted in the aforementioned attestations, connecting them symbolically and etymologically beyond these contexts to the natural world and the social-political sphere.

---

**JACOB C DAMM**, SUNY Cortland

## Colonizing Daily Life: The Monumental Gate at Ramesside Jaffa (modern Israel)

During the New Kingdom, the port city of Jaffa was an important command and control node in Egypt’s Levantine empire. Archaeological excavations at the site have revealed rich evidence for Egyptian involvement over the course of the entire imperial period, including a consistent, overwhelming majority of locally manufactured Egyptian-style ceramics. During the Ramesside period, the site was dominated by a monumental gate complex bearing a façade inscribed with the titulary of Ramesses II—a situation that prevailed until the violent destruction of that monument during the late 12th century BCE. This feature comprises the only Egyptian-style monumental gate yet excavated in the southern Levant, offering an ideal case study for examining how monumental expressions of Egyptian domination impacted daily life in the imperial periphery. Apart from commanding the primary liminal space controlling access to the city, the gate constituted an intrusion of the imperial into everyday life by positioning the garrison authorities in proximity to quotidian

activity spheres. This is especially visible in the cooccurrence of administrative and mercantile contexts within the gate complex as well as the probable function of the gate within the garrison provisioning system. In this paper, I argue how the gate served as a highly conspicuous symbol of the Egyptian imperial and colonial system, possibly even serving as a flashpoint for the violence that consumed the garrison in the late 12th century BCE.

---

**JANICE KAMRIN**, The Metropolitan Museum of Art | **ANNA SEROTTA**, The Metropolitan Museum of Art | **CHANTAL STEIN**, The Metropolitan Museum of Art | **CAROLINE R. CARTWRIGHT**, The British Museum

## An Unusual Coffin of the Lady of the House and Noble, Shep

Long a part of The Met's Egyptian art collection, the coffin of the Lady of the House and Noble, Shep (MMA O.C.6b, c), has received renewed attention as part of our on-going First Millennium coffin project. While its materials and decoration conform in many ways to the typical Theban coffin type of the 25-26 Dynasties, this object presents some conundrums. Although the head and chest area are similar to those seen on Theban coffins, the remainder of the lid is sparsely decorated, looking perhaps more like a northern coffin. However, a Theban provenance is made probable by a stela in Leiden belonging to a woman who is likely Shep's mother, Taqereret, a member of the extended family of Montu priests. The individual found inside the coffin upon its arrival at The Met had been mummified in Roman fashion, so we have no clear evidence that O.C.6b, c was used for Shep's burial. One possibility, based on similarities

in the decoration to other examples of this type, is that The Met's coffin was used as a receptacle for Shep's embalming materials. Recent archival research has also allowed us to connect the coffin to the collection of Judge Elbert E. Farman, Consul General to Egypt from 1876 to 1884. In this paper, we will present the technical, archival and Egyptological research that has shed new light on this unusual coffin.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**JASON PAUL SILVESTRI**,  
University of California, Berkeley

## pTurin 54030: The Oldest Berber Text

Acquired from Deir el-Medina by Drovetti in the early 19th century, pTurin 54030 is a Ramesside magical papyrus that consists of several fragmentary spells written in hieratic script but in the language of the Qeheq, a group of uncertain geographic origin. Previous scholarship on the Qeheq language has suggested either a broadly "non-Egyptian" or "Semitic" identification for the language (Roccati 2015). On the grounds of comparative lexicography, morphology, and syntax, I propose that the Qeheq language belongs to the Berber language family, indigenous to nearly all of Northern Africa west of the Nile Valley. This identification rests upon an equation of the Qeheq word  $\text{t}\bar{\text{z}}\text{-r-m}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-ti}$  (glossed in the text's title with the Egyptian word  $\text{ḥf}\bar{\text{z}}\text{w}$  "snake, worm") with the well-attested Berber root  $\text{z-r-m}$ , meaning "snake, worm" Further evidence for Berber syntax and morphology is also present in the text, though difficult to assess given the phonological constraints of the group-writing system and the lack of an Egyptian gloss for the text. The identification of the Qeheq language as

belonging to the wider Berber language family furthermore pushes back the earliest textual attestation of a Berber language by nearly a millennium; the current oldest datable Berber text is the Mikiwsan (Micipsa) inscription from 146 BCE found at Dougga, Tunisia. The implications of this identification are manifold, affecting Egyptological conceptions of the role of foreign magicians in Egypt and more broadly Libyan-Egyptian interaction during the Ramesside Period and Berberists' understanding of the earlier phases and diachrony of the Berber language family alike.

---

**JAY SILVERSTEIN**, School of Advanced Studies, University of Tyumen | **ROBERT LITTMAN**, University of Hawaii at Manoa | **STACEY BAGDI**, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München | **SAYED ELTAHAWY**, MOA

## The Thmuis Nilometer

In 2010, whilst a pumping station on the west side of Tell Timai was under construction, a limestone structure was exposed. Ensuing salvage excavation revealed a rare example of a well-preserved Delta Nilometer. The situation and the architecture of the nilometer are uniquely adapted to the hydrological conditions of the Greco-Roman city of Thmuis. Unlike other examples of nilometers, the water crypt of this one has an aqueduct that spilled into the stairwell leading down to the well and running to the north toward an unknown destination. The nilometer was also articulated with an adjacent hill by a crude staircase. Folk tradition had memorialized the location of the stair and nilometer in a local fertility ritual that persisted long after the nilometer and its associated architecture were buried and forgotten. This paper reviews the shape, function, ritualistic significance, and hydrographical implications of the nilometer of Thmuis.

---

**JEAN REVEZ**, Université du Québec à Montréal | **EMMANUEL LAROZE**, Centre national de la recherche scientifique | **PETER J BRAND**, University of Memphis

## Restoring the Past: Defining Criteria for the Anastylis of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak

The current state of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is to no small extent the result of the modern reconstruction of the monument after its partial collapse during the 19th Century of our era. Out of the 134 columns that originally stood inside the 100m x 50m religious complex during the Pharaonic period, more than 30 of them have undergone partial or total repair in recent times. With hundreds of loose blocks lying around vast areas outside the Hall where these fragments belonged initially, defining accurate criteria in order to re-erect the column drums in their right position becomes a crucial task. Using the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as a laboratory where the joint University of Quebec in Montreal - University of Memphis mission has been conducting fieldwork since 2011, this paper attempts to categorize the various iconographical features (with an emphasis on the decorative program of the Hall), as well as epigraphical criteria (presence of standardized/non standardized writing of frieze of royal cartouches and bandeaux texts) and architectural characteristics (such as the study of the size of blocks or location of incision lines and mortises on top of two matching drums) that help the historian putting old pieces back together.

---

**JENNIFER MIYUKI BABCOCK,**  
Fashion Institute of Technology, SUNY

## The Great Cat-Hare of Deir el-Medina

Seven tombs at Deir el-Medina and some Books of the Dead depict a vignette from Spell 17, in which the Great Cat defeats Apophis, the serpent who threatens the sunrise by attacking the solar barque traveling through the Duat. Iconographically, these images are identical: a spotted feline sits beside the ished tree, its tail curled up around its hind leg, while one paw wields the blade that dismembers the serpent. However, the representation of the Great Cat in Inerkhau's tomb (TT359) is distinct from the others. This paper examines how the artist renders the Great Cat as a composite of a feline and a cape hare, a nocturnal creature associated with the Egyptian desert landscape. While other composite beings in Egypt are illustrated with clear divisions and separation of forms, in the case of Inherkhau's Great Cat, we see a much subtler, gradual transformation from one animal to the other.

This artistic treatment of composite forms leads to questions about the degree to which Inerkhau's tomb showcases individualistic artistic flair, or an overlooked visual conception of the divine. Regardless, this unique representation provides a nuanced, deeper understanding of the significance of hares in ancient Egypt, and of the scene described in Spell 17.

---

**JENNY CASHMAN,** Independent Scholar

## Scribal Surprises in the Tomb of Tutankhamun: Anubis' Hidden Palette and Other Treasures

The tomb of Tutankhamun still has stories to tell, even 100 years after its discovery. In this paper, I discuss the scribal palettes and related objects that were found in the tomb, and consider their possible symbolic function and role in this royal funerary context. A total of 13 scribal palettes and two "painting" palettes were in the tomb. Two in the Treasury were inscribed with the king's names, but unexpectedly, one had his Aten nomen – Tutankhaten – while the other carried his Amun nomen. If they were from different time periods of his reign, as seems likely, why were both included in the burial? Even more surprising is the palette hidden beneath the linen coverings on the recumbent Anubis statue at the entrance to the Treasury. Between its forelegs was a small ivory palette inscribed with the name and titles of the princess Meritaten. Was it a gift to Tutankhamun? Or an offering to Anubis? What was its purpose there? The other palettes, found in the Annexe along with additional scribal equipment, display a high quality and variety of artistry, extensive use of gold and gilded wood, ivory, glass, and stone. What can we learn from them? Scribal palettes had long been part of non-royal burials, but their importance during the 18th Dynasty as funerary objects, gifts, and in ritual contexts including the Book of the Dead, provides context in interpreting their presence in Tutankhamun's tomb.

---

**JILL S. WALLER**, Johns Hopkins University

## Cemetery N9000: The Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom periods at Naga ed-Deir

Large amounts of materials excavated in the early 20th century remain unpublished and are therefore not widely known. Naga ed-Deir, a site famous for its Early Dynastic material and its First Intermediate Period inscriptions, also contained later material which the original excavators never published. Several recent studies have begun to re-examine and publish the material from this site, including the recent book edited by Vanessa Davies on cemeteries N2000 and N2500. This paper will highlight some observations from the author's own analysis of cemetery N9000, which contained private burials from mainly the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom periods. The current study is focused on tombs N9090-N9100 but is considered a first step to a full publication of the entire cemetery, aimed at filling a gap in regional mortuary studies from these periods. The author has worked to differentiate the actual archaeological facts from the biases of the original excavators, stressing the importance of separating historical assumptions from archaeological material. Reexamination of these artifacts, ranging from pottery to scarabs to painted inscribed coffin fragments, along with the original excavation records, provides new insights into the individuals buried at this site during these periods. Using the records, several "lost" objects from the original excavations have been located in museum inventories. This

includes a stela fragment published by Lutz as "Provenance unknown", but which original excavation photographs confirm belonged to an individual in tomb N9096.

---

**JJ SHIRLEY**, Director, TT110 Field School;  
Journal of Egyptian History; JARCE;  
Chapters Council

## Digital Epigraphy in Theban Tomb 110

As reported at the 2019 ARCE Annual Meeting, the TT110 Epigraphy and Research Field School was beginning the process of utilizing a wide array of photographic methodologies to determine the best way to record the painted areas of the tomb. In 2021-2022 the project returned to TT110 to continue this work and digitally record the painted scenes. The methods experimented with include RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging), Photogrammetry, D-Stretch, Infrared photography, and 3D modeling. This paper will present the results of these investigations, including examples from the digital epigraphic documentation of scenes – done by field school students – that have never before been published.



**JOSÉ RAFAEL SAADE**, Brown University

## Assessing the Egyptian Personal Names in the Biblical Story of the Israelite Sojourn in Egypt

The biblical episode of the Israelite Sojourn in Egypt, narrated in Genesis 37-50, presents four names whose origin is believed to be Egyptian: pôtîpar, pôtî-pera', šāpenat-pa'nēah, and ʔāsenat. Etymological studies of these names have focused on their significance to the discussion of the historicity or fiction of the biblical narrative of the Sojourn and on their implications regarding its date of composition. However, these studies have been overly simplistic in their sole focus on the consonantal structure of the word, failing to address how the Hebrew rendering of the names may reflect the vocalic patterns of the Egyptian original.

This paper utilizes the latest advances in our understanding of diachronic Egyptian phonology to shed light on the century-old discussion of how these proper names should be interpreted. Taking into account the prosody of Egyptian language, as well as the different vocalic shifts that Hebrew and Egyptian experienced in the first half of the first millennium BCE, I demonstrate the unlikelihood of the accepted etymologies and propose new ones that attend to the phonology of both Hebrew and Egyptian and to Egyptian syntax. Moreover, not only do these new etymologies present similar structures to those of personal names attested in Egyptian texts, but their meanings also conform with the context of the Sojourn episode, as

evidenced by their relation to the events narrated in the story and by the mention in one of them of the Semitic deity Baal.



**JOSEPH MORGAN**, Yale University

## The Secret Lives of Ptolemaic Administrators

In this talk, I hypothesize the relationship between individual cartonnage hoards stemming from Middle Egypt that accounts for prosopographical and contextual links between the early Ptolemaic texts published in P. Hibeh I and II with texts published in BGU X, P. Hamb. II, SB VIII, and P. Sorb. III. On a prosopographical basis, I reevaluate the composition of individual administrative dossiers previously identified among the Hibeh papyri and link them to unprovenanced acquisitions preserved in European collections as well as to a recently published archive excavated at Ghoran (P. Sorb. III). This reevaluation provides new insights into early Ptolemaic archival practices in Middle Egypt, the function of texts in the performance of administrative operations, and the composition of provincial administrative offices. My identification of the archival "protagonist" who collected the papers preserved in P. Sorb. III, one Zenodoros, Cyrenaean lochagos of Sadalas' company, with a homonymous oikonomos responsible for the administration of the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome suggests a revision of the prevailing narrative of the development of Ptolemaic administrative institutions in Middle Egypt beyond the Fayyum. I reconstruct the life of the lochagos-turned-oikonomos Zenodoros as a case study in the social and economic roles of Ptolemaic administrators in the rural environment of 3rd century Middle Egypt.

---

**JULIA PUGLISI**

## Transformation on the Giza Plateau: The Central Field Cemetery

Wedge between the causeways of the Menkaure and Khafre pyramid complexes is the “Central Field,” a ten-hectare cemetery dating from the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. Its history is integral to the history of the Giza necropolis, which partly owes its formation as royal burial place to the mining of limestone in the Central Field area. Once the area transitioned into a cemetery during the reign of Khafre, tomb construction in the Central Field underwent a series of innovative changes that responded to previous large-scale quarrying: rock-cut mastabas were shaped from quarried stone, and some of the earliest rock-cut tombs in Egypt were carved within the quarried cliff faces. Other important changes—such as painted burial chambers and the transfer of the viziership to non-royal officials—appear for the first time in the Central Field, reflecting the religious and socio-political changes in the Memphite area during the mature Old Kingdom. Despite its importance for understanding Giza and the history of the Old Kingdom, these changes have not been fully investigated since the excavations of Egyptian Egyptologist Selim Hassan (1886–1961) in the early 20th century. Expanding upon the work of Peter Jánosi and others, this paper presents some observations on the dating of Central Field tombs from my ongoing dissertation, which explores the development of the cemetery and its contributions for reconstructing the social history of the Old Kingdom.

---

**JULIA TROCHE**, Missouri State University

## Imhotep: from Man to Myth

While Imhotep may be widely known as the namesake monster in Universal’s *The Mummy* (1932/1999), he is better known to Egyptologists as the architect of Djoser’s stepped pyramid. But how, when, and why did Imhotep develop a legacy that would endure for over four millennia?

Perhaps surprisingly, very little is established about the historical Imhotep, who lived during the reigns of Djoser and Sekhemhet. Only one extant, contemporaneous artifact with his name is known to historians (a statue base, Cairo JE 49889). A dipinto at Saqqara also names him and may be contemporaneous, while a dozen or so artifacts from this time period share titles with the titles of Imhotep and thus may belong to him, but do not name him explicitly. This relative dearth of evidence makes it difficult, then, to reconstruct his life and the events that perhaps primed him for deification. Furthermore, it is notable that the earliest, secure evidence for his deification dates to the Ramesside Period, some 1200+ years after his death.

In order to better understand this unexpectedly enigmatic figure, I apply the historical trends of apotheosis (i.e. deification) identified by Troche (2021, *Death, Power, and Apotheosis in Ancient Egypt*) to the case of Imhotep. In doing so, I provide some possible answers to the question I proposed above: how, when, and why was Imhotep deified? Notably I offer a novel interpretation, informed by historical trends, that places his deification earlier (i.e. the Middle Kingdom), based on circumstantial—but hopefully compelling—evidence.

---

**JULIAN ALEXANDER THIBEAU,**

Center for Ancient Middle Eastern Landscapes

## Water Management in the Oases of the Western Desert

This presentation will compare water management strategies in the Kharga, Dakhleh, Bahriya, and Farafra oases in the Western Desert of Egypt in the Greco-Roman period. There are significant differences between the water management systems used in different oases in this period. Some oases had more extensive systems of qanats, while others relied more heavily on irrigation canals. The oases in the Western Desert share a common landscape and all derive their water from the same source: sandstone aquifer springs. However, in spite of these apparent commonalities, the way that this water was managed differed greatly between oases. I will map the landscape of irrigation canals and qanats at these four oases using satellite imagery and integrate geological data into my analysis. By mapping and comparing the ways in which water was conveyed through the landscape of these oases during the Greco-Roman period, I hope to create a comparative model that will allow for understanding the various water management strategies that could be employed in this arid region by the Ptolemaic and then Roman state. I will also compare my spatial analysis of divergent water management strategies with geological and climatic data in order to determine whether environmental variation could account for the predominance of canals or qanats at any given oasis or whether these observable differences could be attributed to oases being exploited by the state in different ways.

---

**JUSTINE GALAMBUS,**

University of South Florida, Indiana University

## Paleodermatology: Reevaluating Skin Disease in Ancient Egypt

Dermatology has proven to be as old as written medicine itself. Dermatological cases can be found throughout medical papyri, pointing to the significance and recognition of skin disease. These diagnoses ultimately necessitated both surgical and medical interventions. Unfortunately, the translation of dermatological cases is prone to the common pitfalls in the translation of medical papyri. Though some diagnoses are discernible, some cases require further textual analysis with correlation to the mummy record and common pathologies to generate, at best, a probable differential diagnosis.

This session aims to cover a brief overview of paleodermatology as it presents in the medical papyri, archeological, and mummy records. The role and representation of dermatology in the papyri, including a discussion of the “pustule” hieroglyphic (Aa2), will be discussed to contextualize skin diseases in ancient medicine. The comparison of dermatological classification criteria in ancient Egypt will be contrasted with modern criteria. The talk will then conclude with avenues for continued research.

---

**KARA COONEY,**

University of California, Los Angeles

## The Coffin of Thutmoses III: A Case Study of the Re-Commodification of a Royal Coffin

The 21st Dynasty priest-kings depended on patron-saint ancestor kings. Amenhotep I and Thutmose III, in particular, were treated as guarantors of the 21st Dynasty High Priests of Amen, and these two kings were often depicted on the floor boards of priestly coffins. While most royal burial goods from Dra Abu el Naga and Biban el Moluk were recommodified by late 20th and 21st Dynasty warlords and politicians, including Herihor and Panedjem I, these same 21st Dynasty leaders nonetheless displayed their pious connection to these revered ancestors in order to prop up their own regimes ideologically. The recent CT scan of the mummy of Amenhotep I by Sahar N. Saleem and Zahi Hawass revealed a gilded girdle, for example, proving that certain royal mummies were displayed during re-burial(s), at least within the society of high priests, to show care and attention to royal funerary cult. This paper will focus on my close examination of the coffin of Thutmose III, discovered in 1881 in the Deir el Bahari 320 Royal Cache, as this body container shows repeated opening and closing, and, I argue, even regilding and refinishing during the 21st Dynasty after more valuable gold sheeting was likely removed. This treatment of the royal ancestors indicates that political stakeholders could take wealth from the ancestors while simultaneously setting themselves up as their saviors.

---

**KATE LISZKA,**

California State University, San Bernardino

## Road to Wadi el-Hudi: Networks, Routes, Landscapes, and the Locals in the Eastern Desert

The Wadi el-Hudi team returned to Egypt in pandemic-laden-Fall 2021 for a series of important discoveries interlaced with (mis-) adventures. This talk will share some of the team's recent discoveries about how large-scale mining expeditions were conducted in the desert during several periods of Egyptian history: not only the well-known activity of the Middle Kingdom but also newly documented phases during the Persian, late Ptolemaic-Early Roman, and Islamic Periods. The mineral resources brought miners here, especially for a unique source of amethyst for jewelry. Among other things, the team discovered an ancient, marked road that leads back to Aswan, which may have led to the ancient fortress of Abu in the Middle Kingdom. Yet the road certainly continued to be used for thousands of years as the main path to Wadi el-Hudi. Excavations this season also found evidence of officials and institutions in the desert and in the Nile Valley who supported these exhibitions. And they can show how the entire landscape of Wadi el-Hudi featured in the large-scale mining operations. Some people hunted gazelle to eat and cut down trees to burn, while others continued to prospect for other viable veins of amethyst. And the Wadi el-Hudi team also finally found evidence of local interactions with the nearby pastoral nomads and other small-scale groups of Egyptian and/or Nubian miners carrying out

informal and unconnected(?) mining ventures. This talk explores the complex methods that ancient peoples employed to carry out large-scale mining expedition on the edge of their world.

---

**KATHLEEN SHEPPARD**, Missouri S&T

## Access to the Field at the Turn of the 20th Century: Egyptology's Republic of Letters

In December 1904, a young Welsh artist named E. Harold Jones arrived in Cairo as part of the 1904/5 Liverpool season at Beni Hasan, led by John Garstang. Jones wrote home that on his first morning in Egypt "I got up at 9:30 & was relieved to find my morning cough had gone..." He was suffering from tuberculosis, and was hoping to start a new career in Egypt as an artist, copyist, and Egyptologist. Egyptologists were a relatively small group in the late 19th and early 20th century. They formed an informal republic of letters in which they corresponded freely with one another both while in the field and in the off season. These connections, made through letters as well as in person, led to jobs, friendships, publications, funding, new finds, and new ideas. This paper will use Jones' story as a case study to demonstrate the power of this group of people and the influence they had over access to the field. Jones knew the places wealthy patrons would be, he wrote to them, then he went to those places and used his connections and talent to get a new, better job. Ultimately, he would find himself working for Americans Theodore Davis and Emma Andrews,

and in tombs with (living) royalty and dining with the likes of financier JP Morgan and the Earl of Carnarvon.

---

**KATHRYN HOWLEY**,

Institute of Fine Arts, NYU

## New Evidence from Sanam for the Nubian "Dark Age", c. 1000-800 BCE

The time between the end of New Kingdom colonial Egyptian presence in Nubia and the rise of the Napatan kings, c. 1000-800 BCE, has traditionally been described as an archaeological "dark age" in Nubia. The lack of evidence from this period means that the impetus for the emergence of the indigenous Napatan state in the mid-1st millennium BCE is poorly understood.

The population of Nubia did not, of course, disappear in the absence of Egyptian oversight. In recent years, increasing amounts of evidence have been identified to "fill in" the apparent archaeological gap; however, this evidence is largely derived from cemeteries, many of which belonged to originally Egyptian colonial settlements (e.g. Tombos and Amara West). Settlement evidence from non-colonial settings has, until now, been lacking, limiting knowledge of the social and political landscape of the formative period of pre-Napatan Nubia when Egyptian administrators were no longer present.

This paper will discuss the Sanam Temple Project's discovery in 2018 of an early first millennium BCE monumental mud brick building in the vicinity of the temple at Sanam, near the fourth cataract of the Nile. The discovery of pre-25th Dynasty habitation remains has the potential to add hugely

to our knowledge of Nubia's "dark age" and our understanding of the circumstances which allowed for the Napatan kings and 25th Dynasty to emerge. Preliminary results from two seasons of excavations and plans for future work will be presented, as well as the find's implications for our knowledge of pre-Napatan Nubia.

---

**KEA JOHNSTON,**  
University of California, Berkeley

## Unlikely Tomb-Mates: Coffin Reuse at Akhmim 25th and 26th Dynasty

The coffin of Besenmut in Leicester's New Walk Museum (LA 1980.1885) is a dizzyingly colorful example of regional coffin decoration at Akhmim during the 25th Dynasty. However, its plain outer coffin contains a secret: a large, inscribed board belonging to someone else's coffin. The board features Book of the Dead spells to drive away dangerous animals. It also features the titulary and partial genealogy of the owner: a man more highly ranked than, and apparently unrelated to Besenmut.

Besenmut was not the only person from Akhmim to reuse coffin. Several other pieces from the Akhmim corpus also show signs of being reused or incorporating reused parts. All of these examples of reuse can be stylistically dated to the 25th and 26th dynasties.

This paper examines these cases of coffin reuse at Akhmim in light of recent scholarship on reuse in 21st Dynasty Thebes. The impetus for reuse in both places might have been similar—a lack of resources in the face of increased demand for prestige goods. However, reuse at Akhmim was probably not presided over by the priesthood of

Min, but may have instead occurred informally at the level of the craftsmen who made the pieces.

---

**KELLY-ANNE DIAMOND,**  
Villanova University

## The Blind Harper: An Exploration of the Masculine Hierarchy through Artistic Representation

Gender studies has established that there is no essential femaleness or maleness, but once gender is ascribed to an individual, the social order holds that person to gendered norms and expectations. This was also true for ancient Egypt where gender production was a part of daily life. Exploring gender performance through artistic representation is a useful way to consider the position of the blind harper, distinguish his social status for the assignment of responsibilities, and understand his incorporation into the hierarchy. The musical performances in which the blind harper appears are displays of gendered interactions that emphasize these expectations.

I argue that images of the blind harper exhibit characteristics that are associated with femininity, submissiveness, and lack of virility. This combination of attributes marks the blind harper as embodying a form of masculinity that is low in the masculine hierarchy. A bald/shaved head, blindness (or symbolic blindness), chubbiness, middle age, and sitting position unite to varying degrees to embody one construct of masculinity that existed in ancient Egypt. This masculine construct was socially acknowledged, idealized in art, and repeated. I do not believe that the blind harper represents a third gender, such

as berdaches, who are biological males but are treated as social women. Instead, the blind harpers are men whose constructed masculine expression deviates significantly from the hegemonic masculine construction. This paper will demonstrate the ways in which the ancient Egyptian artists signaled the blind harper's gendered social status while also maintaining that of the other males around him.

---

**KERRY M MUHLESTEIN**, BYU

## Database and Ethnographic Studies of the Fag el-Gamous Cemetery: a report on the 2020-2021 Seasons

The last two seasons have seen great progress in our understanding of the material culture of the Fag el-Gamous cemetery. During that period, we have twice brought in a specialist from Belgium to work with our team at our university on textile artifacts we are analyzing and conserving. While here our team not only did their work carefully on campus, but they also visited native Navajo weavers who seem to use a somewhat similar loom in order to better understand the construction techniques of some tunics. As a result, we believe we have identified tunic elements not attested in any other collections.

We also trained students in the conservation of textiles. Further, we recreated pottery with "kill holes" in order to try different methods of creating those holes, which enabled us to determine the technique used for creating the hole in each vessel we have found with such a feature at the cemetery. We also engaged in an innovative practice for taking the data from over 1000 burials and putting it into

a usable database. In a multidisciplinary effort, professors and students from Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Biology, and Information Systems created a project that involved hundreds of students to create a burial database for the cemetery, representing one of the largest collections of burial data anywhere. We will demonstrate how this database can be accessed and used.

---

**KHOLOUD HUSSEIN**, Cornell University

## Silver Screen Cinderella: Soad Hosny and the Fashioning of a Cultural Image

This paper will examine the manner in which actor Soad Hosny is framed and portrayed on-screen, and – by consequence – off-screen in contemporary Egyptian culture. Specifically, this paper will address a critical phenomenon: the majority of Hosny's roles, and certainly the ones for which she is better known, are roles where Hosny is 'framed' on-screen, as an 'image': an entity to be viewed. Hosny, dubbed the 'Cinderella of the Silver Screen' by her public, is often portrayed and constructed as an art object in her films: an object which is framed and presented as one especially crafted for visual consumption, not just by audiences without the film but – critically – by consuming audiences within the frame, plot and matrix of the film itself.

This paper will draw on theoretical frameworks of studying art, visual and material culture vis-à-vis gender studies. Specifically, the paper will pay particular attention to the aesthetic and sociopolitical forces at work, in constructing a volatile version of 'femininity': a kind of

'femininity' which is idolized, sanctioned and sanctified, but only within the confines of an image – whether this image be projected on the silver screen, or transferred unto a painting. This will, in turn, lead us to consider the negotiation, and transformation, of the social and ideological place of 'women' in contemporary Egypt – and women stars and entertainers, in particular – across the decades in which Hosny was active: an issue famously tackled by Hosny herself, through her iconic role in *Khali Balak min Zuzu!* (Watch out for Zuzu!).

---

**KIMBERLEY WATT**, Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Cairo

## The women in the New Kingdom rock inscriptions of Sehel: Self-presentation, Kinship, and Regionalism

The rock inscriptions of the New Kingdom recorded on the island of Sehel on the Nile's First Cataract are well published and offer a corpus contextualized in time and space. Among the plethora of individuals identified, approximately 30 women are included in the inscriptions. They rarely appear as the dedicatee but are instead the mothers, wives, daughters, sisters of the main figure.

Olabarria has suggested that the display of kin is associated with the self-presentation and praise of the dedicatee. Their inclusion also illustrates the social group of the individual and his network. Examining the recording of relatives in rock inscriptions at Sehel, combined with an existing study of the Wadi el-Allaqi ones, led to the conclusion that the intentional

recording of kinship, through the women of one's family, drew the attention of the local audience to a social network. It is posited that the recording of one's female relatives indicates that the individual and his family were local to the region. Such localization helps to identify local social networks and their interactions. As this hypothesis has been suggested for members of the New Kingdom expeditions of the Wadi el-Allaqi, crossing this theory with the larger dataset of Sehel allows pinpointing the intricacies of such regionalism.

---

**KIRA WEISS**, UC Santa Barbara

## The Indigenization of the Cello in Egyptian Arab Music: Issues of Heritagization and Modernity

In Egypt's post-independence period in the 1920s, the country sought a modern identity as an independent nation-state while still preserving its heritage. In 1932, Egypt hosted an international congress to make recommendations for the future of Egyptian and Arab music, one of the first events of its kind worldwide. The issue of the use of Western instruments in Arab music ensembles—particularly the cello and bass—was among the most controversial topics at this congress. In the late 1920s, artists such as Umm Kulthum and Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab incorporated the cello into their small, traditional ensembles (*takht*-s). Yet congress members recommended excluding the cello from *al-musiqa al-'arabiyya* ensembles due to its sentimental affect (*shajw*) and "domineering sound," rendering it incompatible

with traditional Arab instruments. Despite this recommendation, Egyptian artists continued to include the cello in their ensembles and by 1964 Umm Kulthum included three cellists in her ensemble. Nevertheless, when the Egyptian Ministry of Culture established the first state-funded Arab heritage ensemble in 1967, the cello was initially excluded. I will discuss attempts at the heritagization of Arab music as well as the gradual indigenization of the cello which is now part of the standard instrumentation of Arab music ensembles. Positioning the debate over the cello within the quest for modernity, I will analyze the rift between heritage policy recommendations and the decisions made by artists themselves. This research contributes to understanding the role of music as a form of intangible cultural heritage in modern Egyptian society and culture.

---

**LAMARRISON FORTE**

## An Examination of Plant and Animal Species on Predynastic Pottery and Other Wares

In the past 50 or so years we have gained a wealth of knowledge about predynastic Egypt as a whole, but uncertain particulars persist. The pottery and related wares (including pre-pottery ostrich eggs) contain cultural details that have proven elusive to comprehension, and developing a method capable of properly extracting these elements can go a long way towards achieving a stronger sense of understanding in regard to thematic integrity among these items. Much like the rock carvings that display similar themes, the pottery of the Naqada era (4000-3000 BCE) contains several animal and plant species that have been ill defined

as of now, but such a task is well within the realm of possibility and has proven useful to the attempt of gaining clarity on early ideas about the process of honoring the dead. By isolating each element from the funerary scenes on the pottery, identifying them and placing them back into the vignettes to observe as a whole, we can attain a better idea of what the Naqada people were thinking; each figure can be found in the real world, and this aspect of the scene composition has proven useful in grasping the conceptualizations and themes the Naqada people utilized to envision not just a possible afterlife, but their place in the world around them. The research therein will demonstrate elements of a profound and well developed system of communication already in place during this era, and these themes remain in full use until the end of the Ancient Egyptian period.

---

**LESLIE ANNE WARDEN**, Roanoke College

## Excavations of the Kom el-Hisn Provincialism Project, 2016-2019

As the only settlement of Old-Middle Kingdom date in the western delta and a presumptive nome capital, Kom el-Hisn is crucial to understanding early Egyptian urbanism. The pioneering work of Robert Wenke and his team in the 1980s introduced the site as a producer for the Egyptian state, largely based on the floral, faunal, and architectural remains and comparisons with Heit el-Ghurob. In 2016, the Kom el-Hisn Provincialism Project (KHPP) returned to the site with the aim of investigating it through a bottom-up lens. We are doing this through new excavations yielding a contextualized assemblage for study and by turning to data of other provincial

settlements, rising in recent decades, as potential comparanda.

Our foot survey of the site shows that it is a candidate for rescue archaeology, currently covered with overgrowth and garbage with much that remained in the 80s now gone. We turned to a magnetic survey to identify high-potential areas for excavation, as well as test trenches following areas of promise identified in coring by Kirby's team in the 90s. These confirmed areas of the settlement zone, with the southwest being the richest in remains. This talk will detail our archaeological findings, all domestic, in three different zones dating (respectively) to the mid Old Kingdom, the late Old Kingdom, and the late First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom. The talk concludes with a comparison of the ceramic corpora of Kom el-Hisn and Elephantine Island as a beginning exploration of provincial and temporal differences in ancient Egypt settlement life.

---

**LINDA EVANS**, Macquarie University

## The Brooklyn Snake Papyrus: Why the Enigmatic 'kArA' is a Chameleon

The Brooklyn snake papyrus (nos. 47.218.48 and 47.218.85) has intrigued Egyptologists since its publication by Serge Sauneron in 1989. Thirty-seven of the 38 reptiles that are catalogued in the first half of the text label and describe a variety of snakes, as well as outline the physical effects of their bites, which has enabled the scientific identification of many. However, the identity of the last animal listed in the treatise, the 'kArA', is debated. The text describes the animal as green with three ridges on its head and possessing the ability to change colour, features

that have suggested to many scholars that the kArA is a chameleon (Family Chamaeleonidae), but as these lizards are not dangerous to humans, its apparent association with venomous snakes has caused others to doubt this conclusion and seek alternative explanations. Reference in the text to the creature possessing "two legs under it" has added to the confusion. Here I will present information not hitherto considered that further supports the identification of the kArA as a chameleon and which explains why its grouping with snakes may have been viewed as logical according to the ancient Egyptians' folk taxonomy.

---

**LISA SALADINO HANEY**, Carnegie Museum of Natural History | **JEN THUM**, Harvard Art Museums | **LISSETTE MARIE JIMENEZ**, San Francisco State University | **CARL ROBERT WALSH**, The Barnes Foundation

## Teaching Ancient Egypt in Museums: Creating a Space for Inspiration and Collaboration

Ancient Egyptian artifacts are central to the learning of schoolchildren, college students, and members of the public in museums across the world, yet conversations centered on museum learning are often excluded from academic discourse. This paper provides an overview of Teaching Ancient Egypt in Museums: Pedagogies in Practice, a new edited volume bringing together Egyptologists, teachers, curators, docents, museum educators, artists, and community partners who have engaged with Egyptian artifacts in innovative ways. This project

incorporates an array of co-authored case studies based in collections around the world, grounded in both museum education and Egyptology. They represent ethical museum pedagogies and equitable learning experiences that reflect Egyptology's changing vision of itself, as scholars have begun to productively interrogate the colonial, orientalist, and archaeologically questionable underpinnings of the discipline.

This paper will provide a synopsis of the justification and goals underlying this project and will introduce the project team and case studies. It will also address some of the unique challenges of teaching with ancient Egyptian material, owing (among other things) to the often-problematic manner by which such objects entered museum collections. The methods we use to teach from Egyptian artifacts and human remains, and the ancient and modern social contexts in which we couch them, must respond to the need in both museums and the field of Egyptology to create more inclusive practices grounded in social justice and equity. Through this project we hope to interrogate past practices and find new, more ethical and equitable ways forward.

---

**LORINDA WONG,**

Getty Conservation Institute

## Reassessing the Wall Paintings in the Tomb of Tutankhamen

The collaborative project between Egypt's Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and the Getty Conservation Institute to conserve the tomb of Tutankhamen (2009-2019) provided an opportunity for in-depth investigation into the techniques of execution of the burial chamber

wall paintings. This included close examination of the paintings through visual observations, in situ non-destructive study, and ex situ analyses of samples. The findings identified discrepancies in setting-out and preliminary procedures and variance in the planning and execution of the paintings from wall to wall. These incongruities shed light on our understanding of Egyptian tomb construction and decoration and provide physical evidence to support the premise that the early death of the young Pharaoh required hasty adaptation of a pre-existing tomb. Moreover, it is possible that these unique circumstances surrounding Tutankhamen's burial contributed to particular forms of deterioration, most notably the extensive presence of brown spots on the painting scheme. Previous studies of the tomb have overlooked connections between its technology and deterioration or that aspects of the state of conservation of the paintings may have archaeological significance because they relate to circumstances of original execution. Reassessing the complex and interrelated issues of original technology, physical history, archaeological significance, and deterioration was therefore an essential component in formulating appropriate approaches to the conservation of Tutankhamen's tomb as well as for considering its future preservation.

---

**MAARTEN PRAET,**  
Johns Hopkins University

## Access to Mural Art at Amarna: Space Syntax Analysis of Wall Paintings in the King's House

The wall decoration of the King's House at Amarna originally consisted of both figurative (such as scenes depicting the royal family) and non-figurative (such as paneled dados) paintings. Even though only small portions of the wall paintings have been preserved, archaeological evidence seemingly indicates that the number of decorated rooms was limited. This paper offers an alternative method to analyze the placement of wall paintings in specific rooms of the King's House: an archaeological methodological approach known as space syntax analysis. Using space syntax analysis, two graphs of the floorplan of the King's House were created in order to analyze the visual integration of each area in the building and the level of control over each room: a visibility graph and a justified graph (J-graph). Based on the results of these two graphs, it is possible to interpret the seemingly targeted placement of the wall paintings in the King's House in terms of access control. Would everyone entering the King's House have been able to see all of the wall paintings, or would visual access have been restricted? And, if so, why? With the results obtained from space syntax analysis, this paper aims to provide an innovative interpretation of the function of the decorated rooms in the King's House, as well as of the function of this building and its placement at the center of the ritual landscape of Amarna.

---

**MAGDALENA LAPTAS,** Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

## Identification of the Evangelists John and Matthew in Some Images of Medieval Egypt and Nubia

The images of the apostolic college were often painted in apses of the churches or praying niches of monasteries in Medieval Egypt and Nubia. The Disciples were also presented in scenes such as the Dormition or the Ascension as well as the Communion of the apostles. If the apostles were labelled with tituli, their identification was obvious. However, many images don't contain inscriptions, so the identification is not easy, especially if the apostles hold the same attributes e.g. books.

Nevertheless, sometimes it is possible to identify, apart from Peter, some other apostles, especially the evangelists. The aim of this presentation is to demonstrate the means by which the particular apostles can be identified. The presented material will be based on research which was conducted by me during the realisation of my project 'The Apostolic College in the Monumental Painting of Medieval Egypt' conducted under auspices of the Polish National Centre of Science in 2017-2018.

---

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

## Mothers of the Sun — The Use of Ritual Beds after Tutankhamun

Nearly a century ago, when Howard Carter gazed through a small opening into the Antechamber of Tutankhamun's tomb, the king's long-legged ritual beds were among the first objects he saw. Thus, in his journal entry from 26 November 1922, he lists the three "gilded couches in strange forms, lion-headed, Hathor-headed, and beast infernal" as part of the "wonderful" things he had glimpsed. This fascination with Tutankhamun's so-called ritual couches—often considered as unique—is still palpable today. Besides his famous mask, they are probably the best-known findings from the tomb, shown in almost every publication and documentary on the topic. However, even though these specimens are the only complete examples that have been found to date, they are not uncommon.

Hence, the aim of this paper is to present the two- and three-dimensional evidence for these ritual beds from royal tombs and other contexts after Tutankhamun. The talk seeks to provide answers to questions about, for instance, the use and meaning of these pieces of furniture during and after burial, but also intends to trace possible changes and development lines between the different dynasties. Moreover, it will be discussed whether the group of ritual beds really consisted of only three exemplars originally or whether there were more—after all, Tutankhamun himself possessed a second (although short-legged) leonine bed, placed

inside the sarcophagus to carry the king's three anthropomorphic coffins.

---

**MARGARET GEOGA,** Brown University

## Doing the Dog-Walk: Literary Quotations at the Temple of Kawa

This paper focuses on three quotations of the Middle Egyptian poem "The Teaching of Amenemhat" in Taharqo's forecourt of Temple T at Kawa. Although these quotations have been previously identified, their implications for the transmission, adaptation, and reception of "Amenemhat" – as well as of Middle Egyptian literature more broadly – in 25th Dynasty Kush remain unexplored. This paper presents the inscriptions, which quote from line §12c of "Amenemhat" (dj.n.j jry{.j} sttjw Smt Tzmw "I made {l} the shooters do the dog-walk"), and analyzes the textual modifications the inscriptions' author(s) made to the verse when adapting it from a scribal to a monumental context. Next, the paper examines the quotations' role in the forecourt's archaizing decorative program, which includes reliefs and inscriptions as well as freestanding stelae and statues. Finally, the paper discusses the reception of the poem in the context of the circulation of Middle Egyptian literature in Nubia. The paper offers preliminary conclusions about why the author(s) of the inscriptions, including Taharqo, chose to quote from "Amenemhat" in the temple forecourt, as well as how visitors to the temple experienced the quotations.

---

**MARGARET SWANEY**, Johns Hopkins University | **KATE GALLAGHER**, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum

## Cohen's Cabinet: Collecting and the Curation of Knowledge

During his four-month voyage to Egypt in 1832, Baltimorean banker, Col. Mendes Israel Cohen, compiled one of the first American collections of ancient Egyptian antiquities. According to Cohen's travel journal, he acquired these nearly 700 objects—ranging from amulets and shabtis to human and animal remains—"chiefly on the spot", purchasing additional items from the 1835 London auction of the famous collection of Henry Salt, former British Consul General of Egypt. Like notable collectors of the time, Cohen created a lithographed catalog of his collection. In 1884, Cohen's inheritors transferred the entirety of his collection to the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. However, in the almost 140 years since entering the museum's teaching collection, which objects belong to Cohen's collection and these items' original catalog numbers have in many cases either been lost or incorrectly attributed. In this paper, we present our ongoing work using three never-before-studied, archived drafts of Cohen's catalog to re-identify the objects in this collection and to re-discover Cohen's original mode of display and interpretation, revealing insights into the way he taxonomized his collection. We also contextualize Cohen as an early-19th-century collector, examining what, how, and why he collected as well as his role in a larger network of Egyptologists, diplomats, artists, and collectors that endeavored to order,

classify, and evaluate ancient Egyptian material remains according to Western systems of knowledge.

---

**MARIA CARMELA GATTO**, Polish Academy of Sciences

## Bordering the Cataract

The revolutionary process of state formation instigated profound changes in the socio-economic structure of ancient Egypt, the earliest form of territorial polity of human history, more so at its newly established borders. This presentation will discuss the archaeological reality of border making in the region of the First Nile Cataract, Egypt's southern border with Nubia. To do so, it will investigate changes in settlement pattern, land use, and social scenery during a time that covers the fourth and early-third millennia BCE (the so-called Predynastic/Early Dynastic period). Evidence of discontinuity is evaluated in the frame of the state formation process to understand how and when changes happened. One would expect the unification date, around 3100 BCE, to have been a catalyst for changes, but is that so? Traditional discussions of border formation and (re)negotiation in ancient Egypt have focused on later periods (dynastic and post-dynastic). This research, instead, concentrates on the first act of border formation, when the set of practices well-known from later times was still in the making.

---

**MARIA SOFIA PATREVITA**, University of Naples "L'Orientale"

## Couchant-Lion Bracelets in Middle Kingdom Egypt Jewellery

Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the most famous hoard of jewellery was found in the tombs of the 12th Dynasty of royal ladies, at Lahun and Dashur. The treasures belonged to the daughters of Sesostri II (Sit-Hathor-Yunet, Meret and Sit-Hathor-Int). Among their jewels there was a particular type of bracelet called couchant-lion bracelet.

These bracelets, characterized by a strong symbolism linked to female royalty and the lioness goddess Sekhmet, are made up of gold elements in shape of couchant lions, beads of gold and semi-precious stones such as turquoise or carnelian, and, in a few cases in amethyst as for the lion bracelets of Sit-Hathor-Yunet. The couchant lions show different goldsmithing techniques, such as soldering, lost wax and use of gravers. In fact, as Petrie suggested, the lions may have been casted from cire perdue since they are all made from different wax models and have variations not entirely due to the finishing done with a graver.

Typological, stylistic, metallurgical and experimental studies concerning these particular bracelets are useful instruments for the understanding of the symbolic meaning beyond ornamentation, the universe of metallurgy and goldsmithery as well as ancient techniques and tools. The experimental

archeology can help us to understand the ancient metallurgical processes used in this precious and symbolic artistic expression.

---

**MARINA ESCOLANO-POVEDA**,  
University of Manchester

## Astrologica Athribitana: Four Demotic-Hieratic Horoscopes and the Earliest Attestation of Astrological Practice at Athribis

The Athribis Projekt of the University of Tübingen has recently found one of the largest collections of ostraca in Egypt, amounting to more than 15,000 texts of various kinds. The deposit, located to the west of the temple of the goddess Repit at Athribis in Upper Egypt, consists of texts written in demotic, hieroglyphs, hieratic, Coptic, Greek, and Arabic. It encompasses texts of administrative, economic, educational, religious, and astronomical content. In this lecture I will present the edition and analysis of three horoscopes from an ostrakon, and I will demonstrate that a set of horoscopic ostraca preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, and until now unprovenanced, is part of this same Athribis group, and was donated to the museum by Petrie after his campaigns on the site. This Athribis group constitutes the earliest attestation of horoscopes in Egypt in any language, dating from the mid 1st century BCE to the early 1st century CE. They record very detailed astronomical and astrological information, including new orthographies for many astronomical and astrological concepts, as well as a series of lunar dates that demonstrate the practical use of a 25-year lunar cycle. These horoscopes constitute an important addition to our

understanding of the development of astrological traditions in Egypt and the Graeco-Roman world, and identify Athribis as a relevant center of the practice of this discipline already in the late Ptolemaic period, a status that would be maintained throughout the Roman period, as attested in the famous Zodiac Tomb.

---

**MARISSA ASHLEY STEVENS,**  
UCLA

## Unfinished Business: Incomplete Funerary Papyri and Possible Implications

21st Dynasty funerary papyri have much to inform us about Egyptian funerary practices and religious beliefs. The preserved texts can be read to enrich our views of cosmogony and can further our knowledge of Egyptian language and writing systems. By examining the materials and tools used to create the documents, one can gain insight of production techniques. And by studying the owners of these documents, we can uncover facts about family genealogies, social structures, and a wealth of information about the rank and titles of the deceased, as well as the implications these societal positions held for living descendants. One interesting feature of this corpus of papyri that has largely been overlooked by scholars is the significant quantity of them that have an unfinished edge at the end of the document. Many papyri have vignettes that simply trail off, being left incomplete. Sometimes, the polychrome color scheme ends, leaving behind a black and red outlined sketch. Other times, there are empty registers where images were not drawn, or text columns that remain blank. The top and bottom decorative borders

fade away, creating an uneven length of framing. This understudied observation can shed much light on how funerary papyri were procured: were these documents pre-fabricated, with customers purchasing documents “off the shelf,” or were they custom commissions made for specific individuals? If the former, did purchasers know the documents were unfinished? If the latter, was it a lack of funds, materials, or time that resulted in the incomplete documents?

---

**MARTIN UILDRIKS,** Brown University

## WiFi in the Desert: Digital Recording and the Participatory Excavation at Sanam Temple, Sudan

Ian Hodder argued nearly 40 years ago that interpretation starts ‘at the trowel’s edge,’ but a great variety of digital recording systems for archaeological field data overlook the interpretative nature of data collection. To address this oversight I developed the Beacon, an innovative digital recording system, which aims to bring digital recording and interpretation in conversation. In particular, the Beacon is a small mobile portable device that leverages state-of-the-art digital infrastructures such as unstructured database systems to accommodate much greater varieties of archaeological data than traditional database systems. Moreover, the Beacon uses real-time communication protocols to enable instantaneous data exchange and interpretation between all involved stakeholders, regardless of nationality, language, specialism or location.

A first iteration of the Beacon was field-tested during excavations of the Amun Temple at

Sanam near Gebel Barkal in present-day Sudan. This temple was first excavated in 1912 and its multi-temporal and varied archaeological profiles provide a particularly good environment to explore modern delicate digital technologies in harsh and complex multi-dimensional environments. In this paper I use our experiences at Sanam Temple as springboard to discuss how the Beacon is designed to cope with increasing demands on multivocality in recording, analysis, and interpretation and began to transform our work at Sanam into a 'participatory excavation.' I will also present future directions, which we hope to field-test during our next season.

---

**MARY-ANN POULS WEGNER,**  
University of Toronto

## Heket, Isis, Nut, and the Abydos Birth-House

The early 19th Dynasty 'Portal Temple' at Abydos has intrigued investigators since the time of Petrie, who first investigated its unusual portico. The location of the structure at the interface between the Votive Zone and the Osiris Temple precinct, as well as elements of its relief program and architectural plan, point to a highly specialized role within the context of the broader Abydos landscape. This paper explores aspects of the temple's function as an integral element of the symbolic geography associated with the Osiris festival procession, in which elements of the environment were invested with meanings linking them to locations within the conceptual realm of the Duat. Examination of preserved architectural and iconographic elements of the structure, construction accounts, and archaeological remains from the Votive Zone

allows for interpretation of the Portal Temple as an integral feature of the setting within which the cults of Osiris and the royal ancestors were celebrated.

These converging lines of evidence also shed light on changes in the significance of the Votive Zone over time. Monuments from the preceding Middle Kingdom attest to the importance of Heket and Khnum at the site, while analysis of inscriptional data indicates a shift of focus to Isis and Nut in the New Kingdom and subsequent periods. Underlying these developments is continuity in the strong birth-related associations of the Votive Zone. The research unpacks some of these connections with transformation and rebirth, expanding our understanding of textual references to the 'birthplace' (msxnt) of Abydos.

---

**MEREDITH BRAND,** The American University in Cairo / California State University San Bernardino

## How Many Nubian Pots Makes a Nubian Settlement? Identifying Nubian Settlements at Wadi el-Hudi

Site 21 at Wadi el-Hudi presents an archaeological conundrum. The Wadi el-Hudi Expedition's recent 2021 season surveyed a site with features typical of a small Middle Kingdom mining settlement, including a starter mine (a test trench to investigate the quality of mineral deposits) and several dry stone one and two-room buildings. The buildings at Middle Kingdom mining settlements are typically clustered together, yet at Site 21 the small structures

are scattered around the site and spaced far apart. The pottery on the surface of the site is overwhelmingly Middle Nubian (C-Group) with very few early Middle Kingdom sherds. Further, almost every open form (i.e. bowls) at the site are Middle Nubian and all closed forms (i.e. jars) are early Middle Kingdom Egyptian. The substantial quantities of Middle Nubian pottery and atypical arrangement of dry stone structures raises questions about who lived and potentially worked at Site 21. This issue is central to current methodological and theoretical debates over how we recognize identity in the archaeological record. Site 21's pottery, and to a lesser extent architecture and starter mine, will be explored in this talk in order to address how we recognize and understand Middle Nubian settlements in Egypt.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**MICHAEL ROBERT TRITSCH**, Yale University

## Egyptian Veterinary Medicine: A Reappraisal of the Evidence

This paper investigates the practice of veterinary medicine in ancient Egypt, with the goal of shedding new light on its place in the greater tradition of Egyptian medicine. The Middle Kingdom Kahun veterinary papyrus (UC 32036), the only papyrological evidence of pharaonic veterinary practice currently known, outlines the treatment for three different cases of bovine eye diseases, most likely being a part of a much longer manuscript designed to serve as a general treatment manual for cattle. An evaluation of the layout of the three cases reveals a shared, common pattern, beginning with a descriptive

heading, followed by the prominent symptoms, the treatment, and the prognosis, and ending with new symptoms that could manifest and their associated treatment, which parallels the format found in the Edwin Smith medical text. In terms of content, the Kahun papyrus exhibits similarities with both the Ebers and Hearst medical papyri in regard to names of the ailments and designations of plants utilized in the treatments, further demonstrating the intertextuality of this overall corpus. Finally, when looking at evidence for veterinary medicine outside of the collection of medical papyri, the emphasis on cattle is consistent with that reflected in "Reden und Rufen" and Hatnub Graffito 15, as well as also conforming with the known importance of cattle to the Egyptian economy and religion. The Kahun Papyrus provides a glimpse into the veterinary practices of the ancient Egyptians, with the treatment of animals mirroring their overall approach to medicine.

---

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

## The Tomb of Ipy

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 new kingdom 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, and many tombs for Senior statement.

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.

Ipy's tomb is one of the most important tombs discovered in El Ghorifa. It is tomb No. 29, according to the numbering of the tombs discovered in the area. It belongs to one of the noblemen of the 15th Nome of Upper Egypt.

The tomb consists of the sarcophagi of the owner and This tomb contains the funeral foundation of the tomb owner, such as the ushabti statues, canopic Jars.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**MORGAN E MORONEY**, Johns Hopkins University

## Who's that Girl?: An Investigation into the Woman in Pahery's Winemaking Scene

The winemaking scene in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Pahery at Elkab features a woman standing beneath a trellis harvesting grapes. Winemaking is a relatively common theme in Egyptian elite tomb scenes, however, this portrayal of a woman participating in the manufacturing of wine is unusual. She is the first woman to be depicted in any stage of wine production. She is also one of just a select few women who is artistically portrayed participating in winemaking throughout

Egyptian history. Her exact identity, however, is uncertain. She might simply be a fellow worker or a remarkable artistic choice, but her singular inclusion suggests she is deliberate and significant. Her presence is an expression of the matrilineal kinship ties emphasized in Pahery's tomb decoration. She also reflects women's important relationship with wine ritual during this period, and arguably holds divine associations herself. Through comparisons of changing iconography, gender roles, agency, and religious and political practices, this paper examines the relationship between wine, ritual, gender, and female deities during the early 18th Dynasty. Within this tomb's context, and moving beyond, this enigmatic woman highlights mythical and ritual connotations and signifies new assertions of identity and meaning, subtly expressed, but not yet fully explored, in early New Kingdom winemaking scenes.

---

**NADINE MOELLER**, Yale University | **EMILIE SARRAZIN**, University of Chicago

## Resilience and Adaptation to Climate and Environmental Changes in Egypt: the 4.2ka BP Event Reconsidered

In the history of ancient Egypt, some important political and socio-economic changes have often been linked to a global, short-term and abrupt climate event: the so-called 4.2 ka BP event, which seems to coincide with the transition from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE. Considered as a seemingly unprecedented period of aridification, this climate event is thought to have had a direct impact on the dissolution of the Old Kingdom state and the resulting societal changes. While the

appeal of such a theory is undeniable, the proxy data from Egypt on which this narrative is based are rarely critically assessed, and the link between the environmental and historical data—be it with regards to chronology, scale or causality— is rarely conclusively made.

This paper proposes to re-examine the latest evidence for both climatic and sociocultural changes at the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period in Egypt and Nubia, with a particular focus on proxy and settlement data. While it is certain that changes in the local landscape greatly impacted the evolution of past settlements, to what extent these changes can be linked to broader climatic trends with larger societal repercussions is more difficult to assess. In this regard, the benefits and limitations of using proxy data to explain changes in those settlement patterns will be reviewed, particularly when these changes coincided with this particular period traditionally associated with societal “collapse” in the scholarly literature.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**NAGM EL DEEN MORSHED HAMZA,**  
Grand Egyptian Museum

## Conservation of Decayed Garment: Conservation Role in Discovering New Evidence for Tutankhamun's parents

This research is describing the conservation of a rare tapestry woven garment from the tomb of King Tutankhamun Carter No. 054f. The garment was not opened out by the excavators because of

the fear of damaging. At the time of discovery, the scientist Alfred Lucas sprayed it with a solution of celluloid in acetone.

The garment was housed in a wooden tray. The garment was crumbled and there were many fragments and powdery fibers inside the box.

The conservation decision of the garment was a challenge because of the crumbling of pieces and previous intervention's use of the solution of celluloid in acetone. The decision of opening and unfolding the garment pieces depended on evaluation of its whole condition, and experimental application on pieces from the garment. The success of conservation decision not only in unfolding and reconstructing the garment but also allowed examination and analysis for all the garment pieces to discover very important signs and texts on the garment that suggest a new interpretation of the familial relationships of king Tutankhamun. Regarding the remnants of this text (cartouche), it becomes very obvious that this cartouche does not belong to King Tutankhamun, but to another king or even queen. That is, the garment may be for a person other than Tutankhamun. This case study reveals the importance of conservation in reviving and discovering a new history of the objects.

---

**NANCY ARTHUR HOSKINS,**  
Independent Scholar

## Tutankhamun's Tunic: A Crucial Clue to the Colorful Costumes in New Kingdom Tomb Paintings

The Tunic of Tutankhamun is decorated with a pastiche of woven bands and embroidery. One

hundred years ago Howard Carter described the bands as 'tapestry' woven. Eighty years ago Grace Crowfoot wrote in a JEA article that they were warp-faced bands woven in the Bedouin technique. Her theory – perpetuated in the literature – is incorrect. The bands are weft-faced pattern weaves similar to tapestry, but more complex.

When I first saw the tunic in 1983, the color of the bands made it easy to analyze their woven structure. I was permitted to photograph the tunic and came home with macro images of the bands. As an 'experimental archaeological' project I wove recreations of the patterns of five Tutankhamun tunic bands, the ankh collar, and his Amarna belt to prove that pattern weaving was understood during New Kingdom Egypt, though the textiles and technique were probably foreign. The method of weaving the bands was published in my 1992 book and in the 2011 JARCE.

Before and after Tutankhamun, New Kingdom tomb paintings depicted goddesses dressed in red patterned gowns that were cited as 'bead-net dresses.' I believe that these gowns — and some very un-Egyptian kings' costumes — were fashioned of patterned fabrics woven in the same method as the Tutankhamun tunic bands.

Over a hundred patterns from colorful costumes found in New Kingdom royal and non-royal tomb paintings from Tuthmosis IV to Ramesses XI were woven to demonstrate that these could



BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT

**NICHOLAS R BROWN**, UCLA Egyptology

## Wake Up Tut! Evidence for the Awakening of Osiris Ritual from Tutankhamun's Tomb (KV62)

100 years after its discovery, the tomb of Tutankhamun continues to be the focus of numerous Egyptological studies and scholarly research. Due to Howard Carter's meticulous and thorough documentation of the tomb, it's possible today to continue to "excavate" the tomb and make new discoveries about ancient Egyptian religious beliefs, kingship ideology, and funerary practices. This includes a reanalysis and new interpretation of the layout of the Burial Chamber as related to the Awakening of Osiris Ritual.

The earliest depiction of the Awakening of Osiris Ritual comes from the 19th Dynasty, which represents the awakening of Osiris by his son Horus in the presence of various deities connected to the Osirian myth. In the scene, the mummiform figure of Osiris lays prone and enshrined upon a lion bed, surrounded by various crowns, weapons, clothing, and other emblems. It is here argued that Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber is a physical manifestation of this ritual, which is not only represented in image and text, but also by objects and even the body of Tutankhamun himself. First, the author introduces the Osirian ritual and discusses its origins. Then, several examples of the ritual's emblems and tools are compared between the two-dimensional depiction of the scene and the three-dimensional layout of the Burial Chamber. Finally, the author

proposes a number of hypotheses for why this ritual physically manifested itself within Tutankhamun's burial, and how this analysis provides us with more information on royal funerary practice during the New Kingdom.

---

**NICHOLAS WARNER, ARCE**

## ARCE Conservation and Documentation Projects 2021-22

This presentation will showcase ARCE's conservation and documentation projects executed in 2021 at the Jewish Cemetery in Basatin (Cairo) and the Red Monastery Church (Sohag). It will further provide an update on ongoing work in 2022 at the temple of Khonsu at Karnak and the house of Howard Carter on the West Bank of Luxor.

---

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

## Funerary Crypts in Churches of Late Antique Egypt: Evidence from the Western Desert

This paper will discuss funerary crypts in churches of late antique Egypt, with an emphasis on the evidence from Dakhla Oasis. In 2013, the excavation of a fourth-century church, located at the Graeco-Roman site of Trimithis (modern-day Amheida), revealed a funerary crypt, with three sealed burials, in a remarkably good state of preservation. This is the first known crypt, associated with a church, to have been found in Dakhla; also, its early dating

makes it one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of any other known crypts from Christian Egypt. The evidence from Trimithis will be compared with that of other Egyptian funerary churches, paired with underground crypts, that are known beyond Dakhla.

The discovery of the crypt below the church at Trimithis raises important questions, which are key to our understanding of early Christian funerary architecture in Egypt. Some of these questions are: what characterizes a late antique funerary church, in terms of both layout and use? Did it host only regular liturgical services or also ritual meals and commemorations by the relatives of the deceased? Also, why were the individuals buried inside the church rather than at the nearby cemetery? The aim of this paper is to show how the discovery of an underground funerary crypt makes the Trimithis church an important case study, with the potential to offer a significant contribution to our knowledge of Christian funerary architecture, as well as of Christian burial customs, in late antiquity.

---

**NIKOLAOS LAZARIDIS,**  
California State University Sacramento

## Personal Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities as Themes in Ancient Egyptian Storytelling

Fictional narrative writing constituted a long-lasting tradition in ancient Egypt. Its earliest attestations date to approximately 2100s BCE and its latest to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. In the course of these 2400 years, Egyptian fictional stories sustained a passionate relationship with Egypt's elite, reproducing and propagating that class's core principles and values. They flirted on and off with various forms of literary and documentary writing, such as tomb

biographies or praise poetry, cherishing the strong connections between written and oral modes of communication. They also educated and entertained literati and illiterati who were attracted to the magic of storytelling.

In this paper, which is part of my ongoing examination of Egypt's art of storytelling, I identify explicit references to the knowledge, skills, and abilities of characters found in a select corpus of Egyptian fictional stories whose dates range from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman era. Based on these references, I discuss the role such character information played in constructing story-characters' status, in building or resolving story-crises, in responding to specific sociocultural values, as well as in invoking emotions that facilitated the effective communication of a story and its messages. This study expands on recent approaches to narrative writing in Egyptology and Literary Studies by offering an original insight into the intricate relationship among story-character information, story-making, and story-telling.

---

**NOZOMU KAWAI**, Kanazawa University

## King Neferneferuaten from Tutankhamun's Tomb Revisited

The identification of the female ruler Neferneferuaten and the placement of her reign has been controversial for years. The evidence of Neferneferuaten from Tutankhamun's tomb has puzzled our understanding of the king's identification as male or female. In this paper, I will reevaluate some objects inscribed with Neferneferuaten's name from Tutankhamun's tomb and other evidence from Amarna and

Thebes to understand her identification and status.

The observations of some of her objects from Tutankhamun's tomb have turned out different interpretations from the previous thoughts.

Two blue faience bracelets of Neferneferuaten with the epithet, "one who is beneficial for her husband" (Carter nos. 620 (41) and 620 (42)) and that of Akhenaten (Carter no. 620 (40)) have the exact dimensions and designs, which indicates that they were produced as pair item at the same time, perhaps at the time of their coregency. If so, this may contradict Marc Gabode's theory that Neferneferuaten's epithet, 'one who is beneficial for her husband' was used after Akhenaten's death, as an allusion to Isis's relationship to her deceased husband Osiris. A newly identified tunic from Tutankhamun's tomb (GEM16017, Carter 54f), which was recently published as Smenkhkare's tunic, should belong to King Neferneferuaten. The nomen on a sequin bearing Neferneferuaten's name, probably from Tutankhamun's tomb (Edinburg 1959.451), should be read Neferneferuaten-hekamaat rather than the previous interpretation Neferneferuaten-heka. From these results and other evidence, this paper will shed new light on the identification and the status of the enigmatic King Neferneferuaten.

---

**OREN SIEGEL**, Polish Academy of Sciences

## Renovating Walls and Changing Value(s): Town Walls in Ancient Egypt

Monumental walls were integral parts of many of the most famous monuments in Pharaonic history, from the pyramid complex of Djoser to the temple of Hathor at Dendara. But why were some towns walled when others were not, and why were nearly all temples bounded by enclosure walls? Recent

sociological and anthropological approaches to the concept of “value” help to offer more nuanced answers than previous functional or essentialist analyses.

This paper will examine monumental enclosure walls through the lens of structuralist and action oriented approaches to value. Following an overview of these theoretical schools, I will suggest that as consummately political structures, walls are attempts to define certain socially meaningful entities, but their presence also implies that there are dissenters who would contest such divisions—otherwise a wall would not be necessary in the first place. Analyzing wider patterns of wall construction illuminate the priorities and fears of some of Pharaonic Egypt’s most important political actors, and how these changed over time. To illustrate some of these changing priorities, I will explore patterns of Pharaonic town walling from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom. In sum, the proliferation of walled towns during the First Intermediate Period may well reflect greater localized violence, but their continuing usage in the Middle Kingdom highlights a time period when the town emerged as a particularly meaningful, and perhaps contested, social unit.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

**PANSEE HANY ABOU ELATTA,**  
Carleton University

## How Egyptian Repatriative Efforts Shaped Public Understandings of the Bust of Nefertiti

Despite institutional and scholarly assertions that the Egyptian government did not seek to

claim ownership over the Bust of Nefertiti, contemporaneous media sources show not only that such efforts were in fact undertaken, but also, that their impact was critical to establishing the Bust’s now-iconic status.

During the period of interwar turmoil, the post-Versailles German state took pains to bolster a national self-image undermined by heavy wartime losses. Thus, claims for the Bust made by the Egyptian state — at the time, under de facto British control — were posited through German periodicals such as *Die Kunstauktion* and *Der Cicerone* as a crucial battlefield of national pride. But counter-hegemonic views could be found as well: satirical cartoons, particularly those in *Kladderadatsch*, used humour, irony, and subversion to escape some measure of state control, expressing countervailing views critical of state efforts to retain an apparently stolen artifact. But regardless of the periodicals’ ideological bent, such contemporaneous media representations demonstrate the complex impacts of the Egyptian claim on the frenetic debate in 1920s-30s Berlin with regards to the Bust’s ownership, value, and meaning.

Nonetheless, this facet of Nefertiti’s early fame (or infamy) has gone under-recognized in its contemporary analyses. By drawing attention to the ways in which such efforts have underlay contemporary conceptualizations of iconic artifacts, this study strives to demonstrate the deep imbrication between contestation and museal value-production; that is, the ways in which structures of collection and knowledge-production derive ‘value’, broadly defined, from constructions of dominion and deprivation.

---

**PATRICIA COLETTA**, Gebel el-Silsila Project

## Emerging from the Belly of Hathor: Excavations at the Gebel el-Silsila New Kingdom Necropolis

Located in Upper Egypt, Gebel el-Silsila is an archaeologically rich site encompassing 30 square kilometers and preserving evidence of human activity from the epipalaeolithic through the Roman period and beyond. The landscape of the site is dominated by its massive sandstone quarries, 104 in total, which were the source of fine golden sandstone in ancient Egypt from at minimum the Middle Kingdom through the Roman Period. Naturally an operation of this size necessitated a large workforce of quarry laborers who needed to be fed, housed, ritually protected, and of course buried. The Gebel el-Silsila team has been excavating at the site of the Thutmosid necropolis since 2015 and some significant insights into the lives of the laborers and their burial practices have been revealed. Ongoing excavations and analysis of the archaeological evidence, material culture, and the osteological remains have yielded some exiting results in the team's mission to establish a better understanding of life as a quarry laborer during the New Kingdom at Gebel el-Silsila, ancient Kheny. This paper will present an overview of the necropolis with its diverse burial types including the affectionately named "watery tomb", provide an update from the field, and discuss recent finds and revelations.

---

**PETER DER MANUELIAN**, Harvard University

## Rediscovered: The "Lost" Arabic Diaries of the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

In 2006 I was fortunate to discover in Egypt more than seventy Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition Diaries written by succeeding generations of the Diraz family of reises from Quft, who steered George Reisner's Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition in Egypt, Sudan, and Palestine for more than forty years. With this find a new frontier has opened on the contributions of Egyptians to the great Western expeditions of the early twentieth century. Recent attempts to do justice to unnamed and unheralded Egyptian archaeologists will benefit from such a treasure trove of written data: thousands of pages of Arabic text and drawings. A summary history will be given of the main archaeological players of the Diraz family from el-Qal'a, Quft, followed by the account of the discovery and recent history of the Arabic diary books in Egypt and Boston. The paper will conclude with comments on their significance, with a few examples. The Arabic diaries form part of a new data mining study since they offer us a reassessment of the Egyptian role in what are usually described as Western excavations in Egypt.

---

**PETER LACOVARA**, The Ancient Egyptian  
Heritage and Archaeology Fund

## Rescue Archaeology at Deir el-Ballas 2021-2022

Reporting on the work done at Deir el-Ballas in May of 2021 and January and February of 2022. We continued the restoration work in the North Palace and the 'South Palace,' as well as exploring what we had previously thought was the administrative area for the settlement located in the mouth of the South Wadi. We also continued our work on the excavation and restoration of the houses by the North Palace and the enclosure wall of the North Palace.



**BEST STUDENT PAPER CONTESTANT**

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

## The Aesthetics of Archaism: Reconsidering Representation during the Kushite 'Renaissance'

Kushite Art of the Napatan Period, ca. 700-300 BCE, has been broadly characterized by its Egyptianizing influences. Visual culture from this period is called archaistic due to Egyptian representational conventions which have been traditionally heralded as a revival, or renaissance, of classical forms. Yet, this appraisal overlooks the innovations and irregularities found in Kushite visual culture which are distinctly non-Egyptian. Key among these are representations of the double uraeus, cap crowns, the "Kushite fold," and other unique aspects that clearly identify

a representation as Kushite. This paper poses the question of what we mean, and from whose perspective are we looking, when we label these works as examples of archaism. Categorizing a work as archaistic relies on positioning a piece temporally in relation to another by identifying survivals and revivals of styles, iconographies, and forms, most often for dating purposes. Yet, this temporal comparison assumes that Egyptians and Nubians shared the same concept of temporality. A distinctly Kushite temporality will be presented to propose an analysis that instead focuses on how Kushite representations leveraged a preexisting visual lexicon as evidence for a critical, or even 'philosophical', engagement with an expanded environment of socio-political control. Textual and archaeological evidence from this period suggest a unique process of Nubian signification that operates by means of imitation, paraphrastic interpretation, and replacement. Interrogating this process of representational meaning-making offers a new context to consider the significance of Kushite images beyond a similitude to Egyptian art and instead as a reflection of a unique worldview.

---

**RANIA MAHMOUD**, University of Arkansas

## Colonial Nostalgia in Lawrence Durrell's Mountolive

Lawrence Durrell's Alexandria Quartet (1957-1960) is mostly celebrated as a work commemorating a once cosmopolitan Egypt, particularly Alexandria. Yet, the Quartet is highly conflicted in its view of Empire. I argue that Mountolive (1958), the third volume of the Quartet depicts Egypt as grotesque, validating imperialist discourse within which the British presence in Egypt appears as a benign, rational force. Depicting 1934 to 1936 Egypt in nostalgic terms, the novel traces the protagonist's,

David Mountolive's, education as he outgrows his love for both Egypt and the elite Egyptian Coptic woman Leila Hosnani and recognizes the grotesqueness of both. Mountolive, who first visits Egypt in 1918 as a junior officer in the High Commission, approaches Egypt through colonial fantasy where Leila poses as a sultry female whose sensuality unleashes emotions long suppressed by a rational English education. Accepting as real the exotic world of orientalist literature, and enthralled with Egypt's magical difference, Mountolive re-enacts the colonial fantasy in his sexual relationship with Leila, which itself mirrors his changing relationship with Egypt. Eventually he embraces the English colonialist social order, accepting its "rational" classification of Egyptians as incapable of self-governance. Durrell achieves this by rejecting Egypt's marvelous charms which lure Mountolive at first and replacing them with a disenchanted, and thus ostensibly rational, perspective that exposes Egyptians as corrupt, irrational beings ruled by mysterious religious forces that are rightly incomprehensible to a civilized man.

---

**RASHA AHMED SHAHEEN**, Egyptian  
Museum | **MONA FOUAD ALI**, Cairo University

## Digitization and Preserve of Photographic Achieve of Coptic Museum in Egypt

The photographic archive of the Coptic Museum in Cairo is in a state of severe deterioration that affects its sustainability. The album is stored in an unsuitable storage cabinet that is difficult to control in temperature and humidity. The damage to the cover is manifested in the separation of the fabric used in packaging at the outer corners. As well as a deterioration in the heel area and

separation in the identification card, the album in the form of staining, oil and wax stains, and soil above the top surface of the cover and cut in the card and water spots. As for the gelatin images, many images show the condition of silver mirroring, and drying of the external edges, which expose them to fragility and breakage in addition to the presence of color spots resulting from the use of ink in the numbering of images, fingerprints resulting from the use of adhesive in the installation of images on the paper carrier in addition to the staining resulting from Bad handling and taking photo album. Album documented and damage recorded. The mechanical cleaning of the album and photos was done to remove the dust. Chemical cleaning of the album and photos was done to remove wax stains and adherent glands. Herbs were treated. Vulnerable places were strengthened. The missing parts have been completed. The album has been re-bound. A special portfolio has been created to preserve and sustain the album.

---

**RASHI NARAYAN**

## Censorship and the Creation of Egyptian Culture in 1952 Independent Egypt

This project examines the creation of Egyptian culture under Nasser in the 1950s by comparing *That Smell of It* by Sonallah Ibrahim and *Miramar* by Naguib Mahfouz. Despite marked similarities between the two novels, only Ibrahim's novel faced censorship. The authorities and leading literary critics decried Ibrahim's novel as vulgar and immoral due to its reference to masturbation and sexual acts. However, Mahfouz's novel also contained sexual material. The two novels also had similarities with regards to content as they

included discussions of degradation of emotional connections, lack of sexual fulfillment and overall disillusionment with the regime. The main difference is in the writing style and outlooks of the two novels. Mahfouz's novel and its reception confirms the notion Nasser censored literature in order to manipulate the public image of Egypt. The regime chose to censor Ibrahim's work because it did not project a Western-palatable view of Egypt and threatened Nasser's ability to assert his country as a world power. This project argues that the Nasser regime worked with prominent literary critics in order to create a Western-palatable idea of independent Egypt, enabling the regime to project the new country as a major world power.

To support the argument, this project utilizes widely available secondary and primary sources which were either all published by main stream presses or in the public domain. These sources include novels, posters, and parliamentary minutes as well as peer-reviewed journals and books.

---

**REINERT VIKJORD SKUMSNES,**  
Emory University

## Historical Bodies, Mundane Resistance and Alternative Worlds

Papyrus Turin CGT 55001, also known as the Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus, was kept in the Turin magazines for nearly two centuries, catalogued simply as obscene and obscure papyrus. Following its publication in 1973, it has variously been perceived as glimpses behind the scenes in a whorehouse, pornography, satire/parody of royal and elite practises, folktales, moral instructions for the male ego, ritual activity for placating the goddess Hathor during the Valley Festival, and

most recently, an object with agency, performing resistance, and an expression of female initiative and control in heterosexual relations.

This paper reviews earlier interpretations, and refers to other figured papyri and ostraca as well as literary texts with unclear boundaries between men and women, human and non-human. The concept historical bodies will be used as an exercise of reflexivity, to move beyond strictly representational frameworks, to nurture multiplicity and complexity. By drawing on critical and new materialist approaches that conceptualise the body/bodies as historically contingent and always entangled in mutually determining relations, the figured papyri and ostraca are described as components in assemblages of affective environments. Their significance (and power) lies in their differential relationship with each other, their appropriations, translations, potential concerns with everyday life and more traditional representations. Their radical difference sheds light on knowledge production and mundane resistance, of how male/female and human/non-human relations were/are constantly in the making, but also offers the possibility of negotiating alternative worlds.

---

**RICHARD JASNOW,** Johns Hopkins University

## Thoughts on Preparing an Anthology of Late Period Egyptian Literature

Some years ago I began to compile an Anthology of Late Period Egyptian Literature for the series Writings from the Ancient World, edited by Ted Lewis. The texts selected are chiefly in Demotic, but several hieratic compositions are also included. In this talk I will discuss the character of the resulting corpus and the particular challenges confronting the translator. Since the target audience is not only

Egyptologists but also interested non-specialists, the question arises as to how to present such often fragmentary and difficult material. The project also provides an opportunity to take stock of advances in the understanding of these texts and to provide an overview of recently published literary works.

---

**RICHARD MCGREGOR**, Vanderbilt University

## The Hajj Mahmal and Egyptian Pilgrimage Culture

The talk will explore the Egyptian practice of parading an elaborate mahmal (palanquin) and sending it on the Hajj between 1250 and 1950, with special attention to how the mahmal was both a devotional object and a symbol of political power. The mahmals themselves carried inscriptions attesting their dual identity as both sacred and secular objects. The sacred/secular boundary was also blurred when the mahmals were presented as artworks in museums after 1950. The paper considers the use of the museum as a contested political space in light of religious objects and wider projects of religious reform.

---

**RITA LUCARELLI**, University of California, Berkeley | **ELAINE SULLIVAN**, University of California Santa Cruz | **EIMAN MOHAMED AHMED ELGEWELY**, Virginia Tech University

## From the Museum back to the Tomb: Re-contextualizing an Ancient Egyptian Sarcophagus at Saqqara in VR

The Late Period basalt inner sarcophagus of “chief physician” and “overseer of the Temehu

(Libyan mercenaries)” Psamtek, found by Barsanti and Maspero in 1900 in Psamtek’s tomb south of the Unas pyramid at Saqqara, is now on public display in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, California (PAHMA 5-522). Like many museum objects, its modern display cannot adequately replicate aspects of its original archaeological context — in a deep rock-cut shaft, nestled among hundreds of impressive elite tombs at the necropolis. The museum visitor has little opportunity to understand the meaning and original placement of the object, either within the tomb or in the larger cemetery. To virtually re-place the sarcophagus in its original context, the authors are developing a dynamic VR-headset experience that combines a 3D reconstruction model of Saqqara with a photogrammetric model of the sarcophagus. The application allows the user to jump between multiple levels of scale: experiencing a visualization of the Saqqara cemetery in the Late Period, entering a model of the tomb’s burial chamber, interacting with the text of the sarcophagus, and reading translations of the object’s text. The goal of the project is to experiment how new immersive ‘virtual reality’ headset technologies can be used by Egyptologists to better express to the public the complex histories and layered meanings of archaeological objects, especially those removed from their original sites of deposit.

---

**ROBYN ADAMS GILLAM**, York University

## Ritual and Performance: The Pinciano Obelisk

The Pinciano Obelisk, which commemorates the foundation of the eponymous city and funerary cult of Antinous by his lover, the emperor Hadrian, was first discovered in Rome in the early 16th

century. Since its decipherment, disagreement has persisted over its content, original location and place of manufacture. Its inscriptions display an irregular layout, eccentric orthography, phraseology and vocabulary. This has led to a number of conclusions: that this late, decadent inscription was created in Italy, not Egypt, that it is an awkward, inept translation of an imperial decree and that the text locates the tomb or cenotaph of Antinous in Rome.

The most obvious problem with such interpretations is that the main topic of the text is the foundation of Antinoopolis in the Hermopolite Nome in Middle Egypt. Inscriptions commemorating Hadrian, Sabina and Antinous, recently found on the site, are identical in style and orthography to the obelisk. Renewed study of the inscription over the past 30 years has located it securely within the corpus of late Middle Egyptian inscriptions and the complex theologies of the Graeco-Roman period.

The present study will focus on the obelisk inscription's relationship to funerary literature of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman period and evidence for continuing ritual and oracular practices. It will also explore parallels with other instances of 'official' divination, such as that of Arsinoe II.

---

**ROBYN SOPHIA PRICE, UCLA**

## The Power of Scent at Deir el-Medina

Social hierarchies are both created and maintained through the manipulation of sensory experiences. For example, phenomena like public rituals and extravagant feasting often incorporate loud instruments to drown out chatter and focus

attention, specific fragrances accessible only by the wealthiest of individuals, and decorations of fresh-cut flowers soon to wilt, but which add vibrant color and floral scents to an already heavy atmosphere. While the host displays their disposable wealth and the power inherent in their ability to bring together such materials, the participants experience, consume, and become immersed in the spaces to which they are invited.

In this paper presentation, which is excerpted from my dissertation work, I address how, in particular, the social values accorded the experience of scent influenced the organization of ancient Egyptian social life in the New Kingdom (ca. 1550 BE – 1050 BCE). I argue that this period encompassed a shift in the attributed value to the experience of smelling, wherein there became an increasingly broad availability of products desired for their scent. Specifically, this presentation focuses on the accessibility of scented products in this period as represented in written, visual, and material evidence. Through a case study focusing on the workmens' village at Deir el-Medina, my study will identify how the local values given particular sensory experiences impact large scale political and economic systems and, by extension, how such experiences can be manipulated to control targeted populations.

---

**RUNE NYORD, Emory University**

## Images Coming to Life in Egyptological Thought

The idea of images coming to life to lead a separate existence, usually under the control of their creator, can be attested at various points in ancient Egyptian history, though primarily as a literary topos (e.g. pWestcar, pVandier) rather

than an aim of actual ritual practice. Despite this somewhat uneven direct attestation, the notion has played a central role in Egyptological thought about ancient conceptions of images since the 19th century. In more recent Egyptology, this idea of “living images” has tended to be replaced by other explanatory models, such as souls (usually the ka or the ba) inhabiting cult statues, but it remains the standard explanation for other object categories and phenomena, notably funerary models of the late Old to early Middle Kingdom and various traditions of modified hieroglyphs, such as the decapitated horned viper hieroglyph during roughly the same period. This selective survival of the idea of Egyptian images coming to life prompts an exploration of its history and conceptual underpinnings. This paper examines the seminal formulation of this understanding of Egyptian image concepts by Gaston Maspero and the 19th-century anthropological ideas informing his interpretive framework, as well as its subsequent survival beyond Maspero’s specific theory. It also addresses the position of the idea of other people believing in images coming to life within Western concepts of representation, seeking to account for its continued explanatory value in select domains of Egyptology.

---

**SALIMA IKRAM**, AUC

## KV63: Some Embalming Notes

This paper will present a preliminary overview of the materials found in KV63, an embalming deposit discovered in 2006. It will present the materials and their amounts and will contextualise them with those from other embalming deposits. The paper will also explore the possible uses of some objects that are not immediately obvious

in mummification, such as limestone fragments, colourants, and azurite.

---

**SAMANTHA ROSE GONZALEZ**,  
Independent Scholar

## Examining Health Inequities in Ancient Egypt

This paper, drawn from my MA thesis research, explores the history of medicine in ancient Egypt between the Middle and New Kingdoms . Specifically, it highlights the use of religion and magic in healing and explores ancient Egyptian health inequities. I seek to bridge the gaps between the study of medicine and religion. My main focus is how social hierarchies influenced health inequities in the ancient world, with specific consideration of women’s health in ancient Egypt. Through a close examination of the Kahun papyrus, I will discuss how women’s health in ancient Egypt centered on women’s reproductive capability. This paper will demonstrate that there was differential access to healthcare in ancient Egypt based on sex/ gender and class. It further contextualizes medical texts within their broader roles in healthcare and utilizes an interdisciplinary approach to re-examine assumptions about medicine in the ancient world.

---

**SAMEH ISKANDER**, New York University

## Report on the Work at the Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos

I will present in this paper the results of our recent 2021-2022 field season of the New York University-

ISAW at the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos. We plan to complete clearing the temple's prescient, which would elucidate for the first time the prescient's interior layout in its entirety for better understanding of the temple's various economic and administrative activities.

The presentation will also include the discovery during this season of the existence of an intriguing large pre-Ramesside structure below a portion of the temple prescient.

---

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

## The Unnumbered Tomb in the Courtyard of TT 110: Its Date and the Possible Owner

During the 2014-2015 excavations by the American Research Center in the courtyard of Theban Tomb 110 several tombs and shafts were discovered, including the mid-18th Dynasty painted tombs of Rebiu and Samut, and a badly damaged tomb, designated UNT1. This paper will present a discussion of UNT1, based on the archaeological evidence and remaining decoration. The entrance to UNT1, which is located to the north of TT 110, was uncovered in 2015 and the tomb was cleared in 2016. The tomb architecture consists of a Longitudinal Hall, Transverse Hall with two shafts leading to five chambers, and an unfinished rear Pillared Hall. The Longitudinal Hall walls were plastered and painted. Unfortunately, the majority of the plaster and the paintings are absent. The north wall contains remains of daily life scenes typical of the period, representing the owner probably doing his duties through inspecting the agriculture activities, receiving offerings, etc. The south wall still has

little patches of paintings representing religious funerary scenes. The archeological investigations showed that the tomb was reused in later times. From comparing the remains of the scenes with other 18th Dynasty tombs scenes, the tomb seems to be dated between the time of Thutmosis III to the time of Thutmosis IV. With the lack of the inscriptions, the owner of the tomb is still unknown, however, evidence from the material excavated has suggested a possible candidate.

---

**SEAN MICHAEL PEAD COUGHLIN,**  
Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences | **JAY SILVERSTEIN,** School of Advanced Studies, University of Tyumen

## Perfumery in Ptolemaic Egypt and Tell Timai: An Experimental Approach

In this paper, we present preliminary results of an interdisciplinary effort to study aromatic oils ('perfumes') of the Ptolemaic period. The project is a cooperation between the Alchemies of Scent Project (Prague) and the Tell Timai Archaeological Project (Hawaii / Tyumen). Its goal is to better characterize the techniques of perfumery as they were practiced in Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly as they relate to recent findings of the Tell Timai Project. The Tell Timai Project recently discovered what may be a perfume factory at Tell Timai. This would be a breakthrough in the history of perfumery. If confirmed, it would be one of the few perfume industries discovered that is also attested in written sources and perhaps the only one for which a complete recipe is preserved in Greek and Latin sources: the Mendesian perfume, named for the city of Mendes (close to the site). This paper explores the perfume factory

hypothesis. To do so, the Alchemies of Scent project takes an experimental approach: we present results from controlled experiments using different interpretations of the archaeological and textual data; and we compare those results to the objective and subjective characteristics of the end products as described by our sources (scent, taste, colour, viscosity, etc.). The impact is twofold: substantively, we offer new interpretations of materials and methods of perfumery in Ptolemaic Egypt; methodologically, we offer a novel method of botanical identifications, identification of artefacts, interpretation of written procedures, and comparison of Egyptian and Greek / Latin sources.

---

**SOPHIA KROFT**, Institute of Fine Arts, NYU

## Developing a New Approach to Understanding Human Representations on Decorated Ware Vessels

The earliest ancient Egyptian art extends back into the Predynastic Period (ca. 4400 – 3300 BC) in which human representations are manifested in figurines, tusks, tags, and in compositions painted on pottery vessels or carved into rock. With no written records to aid in their clarification, however, the meaning behind such human representations and the activities in which they are often depicted still remain subject to debate among scholars.

Focusing on human representations in compositions painted on Decorated Ware vessels dating from Naqada II, this paper uses three examples to demonstrate a new two-fold approach in their analysis. First, this study deconstructs the figures into their most elementary details in order to decipher the shared visual vocabulary

of human images and explain how they operated within the scenes. Secondly, this approach takes the curvilinear pottery surfaces into consideration via experimental archaeology whereby the compositions are painted onto replica vessels. This methodology focuses on aspects of realizing the compositions that have yet to be fully treated in previous discussions, such as spatial orientation and compositional design. This paper will demonstrate that by applying such an analysis to a wider, yet well-defined corpus of securely provenanced and dated decorated vessels, the scenes can be read as specific episodes in a long-lasting ritual event.

---

**SOPHIA SLOTWINER-NIE**, Yale University |  
**MICHAEL ROBERT TRITSCH**, Yale University

## Monumentalizing a Journey: Small Step Pyramids as Markers of Royal Expeditions

This paper explores the role of the seven small step pyramids constructed between the late Third and early Fourth Dynasties, located at Elephantine, Edfu (el-Ghonemiya), Hierakonpolis (el-Koula), Nubt (Naqada), Abydos (Sinki), Hebenu (Zawiet el-Meitin), and Seila (in the Faiyum). With the exception of Seila, all of these structures exhibit similar dimensions and construction techniques, appearing to have been erected as part of a unified building project. In regard to their function, with no burial chamber incorporated into any of the pyramids, they do not appear to serve a mortuary purpose, although an above ground chapel is sometimes present. This has led to numerous theories regarding the intended purpose of these enigmatic constructions, ranging from commemorating the location of mythological events to acting as symbols of the royal cult in

the provinces. However, the majority of these ideas fail to account for the relative position of the pyramids to associated settlements. Further, earlier evaluations have overlooked the possible correlation between the locations of the pyramids and local trade routes. It is this latter idea that is now being evaluated, using remote sensing to assess the relationship between these seven step pyramids and trade routes during the early Old Kingdom. From our analysis, the possibility that they act as markers of the start of royal expeditions, monumentalizing the royal monopoly of these enterprises, is being proposed, underscoring the connection between these unique structures and the expression of royal dominance and power throughout the Egyptian landscape.

---

**STACY L DAVIDSON**, Johnson County Community College | **ANNE AUSTIN**, University of Missouri - St. Louis

## Quantifying Representation and Disadvantage in Egyptology: Results of the Egyptology State of the Field Project

Following the summer 2020 protests against the murder of George Floyd, many U.S. academics recognized the urgent need to reform diversity and inclusion in our fields. However, within Egyptology, basic questions still remain unanswered: for example, how much representation do different groups have among current Egyptologists? What barriers do underrepresented groups experience and how do we overcome them to have a more diverse field?

In order to address these questions, the

Egyptology State of the Field project collected both survey and interview data aimed at identifying (1) the demographics of the field of Egyptology and the inequities faced by underrepresented populations; (2) roadblocks early career scholars on the job market; and (3) experiences with accessibility, professional development, and completion/retention rates.

In February 2021, we launched our project by offering an online, anonymous survey open to self-identified current and former Egyptologists in the United States. We collected data from over 200 individuals covering demographic, educational, and professional information. Nearly 70% (n=140) of survey respondents felt a lack of representation or disadvantage in Egyptology based on one or more aspects of their identity. For example, respondents indicated their gender (27%) and/or social class/economic status (27%) were disadvantageous, while 80% of non-white respondents felt a lack of representation based on their racial and/or ethnic identity(ies). In this paper, we present responses to questions about exclusion and discrimination in order to evaluate how to improve diversity and inclusion in our field in the future.

---

**STEFANIA MAINIERI**, University of California, Los Angeles

## “Faces” under the paint. A New Approach to the study of Ancient Egyptian Yellow Coffins

The Ancient Egyptian yellow coffins represent one of the most studied artifacts in Egyptology. In spite of this, the numerous stylistic and iconographic variables, as well as the various techniques of

execution and the widespread reuse of coffins during the 3rd Intermediate Period, continue to place these artifacts at the center of a lively debate and of different International Projects, including “Faces Revealed” Project.

The Project - financed by the Research and Innovation Programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Grant N. 895130, Horizon 2020, European Union - started in April 2021 in collaboration with the Museo Egizio di Torino, the NELC, UCLA and the DABC, Politecnico di Milano. The Project takes its lead from innovative research trends which see the combination of different but interconnected skills and competences, and seeks to contribute to the study of the coffins by developing a new and efficient methodology that can provide further insights into the manufacture, production, workshops and maybe ancient reuse of these coffins. The innovative project focuses on two areas never considered before: the physiognomic traits of the coffin faces virtually removing the pictorial layer through the photogrammetry, and the impact and importance of the plaster at first in ‘modelled’, as well as in ‘remodelled’ sculpted wooden masks. Combining all the data (iconography, texts, layout, morphology and technical aspects) could allow us to isolate comparative models and outline a new, more precise classification of yellow coffins and their provenances.

---

**STUART TYSON SMITH,**  
University of California, Santa Barbara

## Maintaining and Transcending Social Boundaries at Tombos, an Egyptian Colony in Nubia

Archaeological projects working within the cemeteries associated with the “temple towns” of

Upper Nubia have tended to focus on the tombs of elite colonial administrators, providing a very top down view of society and interactions within the context of Egypt’s New Kingdom empire. This paper reports on the results of recent fieldwork at Tombos deploying broad exposure excavation to identify a larger sample of the more modest tombs and burials that lay between the larger pyramid complexes of colonial officials. This work revealed individual and communal burials reflecting a broad range of social status, including a variety of tomb types from small pyramids akin to those at Deir el Medina to simple individual shaft and pit tombs, as well as burial treatments including individuals wrapped in reed matting similar to the modest practices recently identified within the large cemetery at Amarna. Evidence for cultural entanglement reflects an increasingly diverse community over the course of the New Kingdom and into the Third Intermediate Period. The excavation of a small cemetery of modest burials across the river at Hannek adds to this picture by documenting the penetration and limitations of Egyptian cultural influence in the vicinity of the colony. Material culture and practices attest to a pattern of mutual influence between Egyptian colonists and local Kushites that extends beyond the wealthy elite who managed to colony to decisions made about burial practice by wealthy and poor members of the underlying society that characterized the community at Tombos and its hinterland.

---

**SUNWOO LEE,** University of Chicago

## The Ramesside Rhetoric of Crisis Management

One of the common strategies of self-presentation employed in Egyptian biographical inscriptions is to refer to one’s success in handling difficult

situations. The word *qsnt*, “pain, hardship” (Wb. V, 70-71.4) appears frequently in such context. In autobiographical stele dated to the FIP, the nomarchs boast of how they kept their nomes alive during the years of famine (*rnprt qsnt*, “lit. years of pain”). In MK and NK autobiographical texts, the deceased would refer to himself as *snḏm qsnt* (“one who makes pleasant what is painful”) in a chain of self-laudatory epithets, referring to one’s eloquence to relieve a difficult situation. In the Ramesside royal inscriptions, we see the similar pattern of self-presentation, although there, the motif becomes far more developed and takes on a global or cosmological dimension. In this talk, I will examine a few such examples from the inscriptions by Seti I (Kanais Inscription), Ramesess II (Quban Stela; First Hittite Marriage Inscription) and Merenptah (Great Karnak Inscription). After briefly discussing the architectural and historical context of these monuments, I zoom in on the selected passages’ vocabulary and literary structure. It will be shown that while the passages cannot be taken at face value (as is the case with any statement made in the royal inscriptions), they nevertheless provide a lens through which to imagine and experience the dynamic world the pharaohs of the 13th century found themselves in.

---

**SUSANNE BECK**, Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies/Egyptology, University of Tuebingen

## The falcon-headed crocodile god Horus imi-Shenut and His Enemies

The falcon-headed crocodile deity Horus imi-Shenut is not unknown in the Egyptian religion but

has never been studied in detail considering all the currently available textual and graphic attestations. He was worshipped in the Ninth Upper Egyptian Nome and had a cult for more than 2500 years. Horus imi-Shenut is mainly known for burning enemies in his brazier but his nature is more complex and multi-layered than that. The talk discusses the reading of the epithet imi-Shenut, his cult and priesthood, his nature as a god as well as his outward appearance.

---

**TARA PRAKASH**, College of Charleston

## The Pharaoh’s Emotional Style: A New Approach to Understanding Egyptian Kingship

The nature of kingship in ancient Egypt has been and continues to be a much-discussed topic that scholars have considered from numerous directions. For example, Egyptologists have questioned the divinity of the pharaoh, his relationship to the gods, and the notion of the royal *ka*. They have also investigated the societal implications of these questions by examining the dynamics and interactions between the king, the royal family, and the elite. Yet despite these studies, it is still uncertain how kings lived, acted, and experienced their world, not only from a practical perspective but also an ideological one.

This paper aims to supplement and engage current arguments on kingship by beginning to consider the emotions that were associated with it. To do this, I will focus on the concept of emotionology that the historians Peter and Carol Stearns first developed. The Stearns employed this term to designate the study of emotional

standards and norms, i.e. emotional style, in contrast to actual emotions that an individual or group experiences. Using their framework, my broader project seeks to understand the emotional style, namely the standards and norms, associated with kingship in New Kingdom Egypt. In this paper, I will introduce the project and discuss one emotion that was part of the pharaoh's emotional style: rage. My case study on royal rage highlights the potential of engaging history of emotions research; doing so enables cross-cultural comparisons, which allow Egyptologists to ask different questions of their data and understand it in new ways.

---

**TASHA DOBBIN-BENNETT,**  
Oxford College of Emory | **SCOTT FOSTER,**  
Oxford College of Emory University

## Advancing the Pedagogical Toolkit: Integrating Virtual Tools in the Classroom

Beginning in the Spring 2016, our IRB approved research project was a collaboration between an Egyptologist and the Department of Academic Technology. Our joint goals were to explore student engagement with and retention of material culture through the use of Virtual Reality (VR). This pedagogically driven project sought to bring together methodologies from Object-Based Learning (OBL), Backwards Design, and Digital Humanities in order to overcome large-scale engagement issues in our field. From March 2020, our collaboration has pivoted to an entirely virtual focus - encouraging our two departments to search out new solutions. During our presentation, we will take a deeper look at how VR and virtual tools can shape classrooms from faculty, student, and

academic technology perspectives. We will discuss our data, including our biggest pedagogical impacts, logistics and integration issues and solutions, and our assessment and reporting surveys.

---

**TASHA VORDERSTRASSE,**  
University of Chicago

## Drusilla Dunjee Houston's Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire in its Context

This presentation examines the work of Drusilla Dunjee Houston (1876-1941) and her important historical book, *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, published in 1926. In this work, Drusilla Dunjee Houston posited that Kush was where civilization had originated and then spread to elsewhere in North Africa, the Middle East, and India. She also argued that it was a Black civilization. Other Black scholars and intellectuals had made similar arguments about Kush and in this, Drusilla Dunjee Houston was following in that intellectual tradition which contrasted to those of white scholars such as Reisner and Breasted, whose racist views meant that they wrote about Kush from a very different perspective. It is clear that this was a project that Drusilla Dunjee Houston felt strongly about, as her letters to W. E. DuBois on her book demonstrate. As Miriam Ma'at Ka-Re Monges noted in the PhD dissertation, *Kush: An Afrocentric Perspective*, Drusilla Dunjee Houston "did a remarkable job, given the resources that she had." Building on the work of other scholars, namely Peggy Brooks-Bertram, this paper will discuss the importance of the book *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire* and the different sources that Drusilla Dunjee Houston

used to write it. It will also look at why the book, after being initially popular, has since become less well known and why it should be considered an important part of the historiography of Nubian studies and should be more widely incorporated into our understanding of Kushite history.

---

**TESSA GENEVIEVE DAVID LITECKY,**  
The American University in Cairo

## All the King's Horses: Stable Administration in New Kingdom Egypt

Horses were an important part of Egyptian society during the New Kingdom as tools of warfare, status symbols of the elite, and an emblem of the power of kingship. However, little is known about how these animals were trained and cared for, or who was working in horse stables and their roles. There are no texts or images that explicitly explain methods of horse management. Therefore, this topic has been generally overlooked in the literature. This thesis combines two threads of evidence to create a more complete picture of the organization, purpose, and function of horse stables and the treatment of horses. First, this work identifies and examines the surviving evidence from archeological, textual, and artistic sources relating to horse stables and horse care. Particular attention is given to the limited archaeological remains of horse stables in Egypt, texts that speak to the duties of Stable Masters and grooms, and depictions of interaction between handlers and grooms, feeding, as well as images of natural horse behaviors. In addition, examples of horse stables and management from neighboring contemporary cultures are surveyed to identify potential parallels. Then, the titles of people associated with horse stables from the 18th,

19th, and 20th Dynasties are analyzed to better understand how the hierarchy, roles, and titles changed throughout the New Kingdom and explain the development of horse care and training.

---

**THOMAS HELMUT GREINER,**  
The Antiquities Coalition |  
**HELENA AROSE,** The Antiquities Coalition

## Analyzing the Impact of the US-Egypt Cultural Property Agreement in the Fight Against Antiquities Trafficking

International borders are a key defense against trafficking, including that of ancient art and artifacts. Restricting the import of cultural objects that lack proof of legal export or good titles not only fights the illicit trade, but also allows the legal trade to continue and thrive.

In the United States, the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (CCPIA) grants the President the authority to join the treaty's other state parties in bilateral or multilateral agreements, which prospectively restrict the import of undocumented archaeological and ethnological materials into the U.S. while also promoting responsible cultural cooperation and exchange.

The 2016 US-Egypt Cultural Property Agreement was the first between Washington and an Arab nation. Since its signing, the US-Egypt agreement has increased bilateral cooperation in fighting illicit trafficking, with concrete results. It has also inspired other countries throughout North Africa to take action against cultural racketeering.

The agreements are valuable tools against illicit

trade, benefiting both parties. The U.S. is the leading market for art and antiquities — both legitimate and illicit. By restricting the import of looted and stolen cultural objects into the U.S., states can deal an effective blow against the overall global black market. Beyond the import restrictions themselves, bilateral agreements also provide for mutual cooperation, as well as technical and even financial assistance for states.

This paper analyzes the impact of the US- Egypt agreement specifically, by exploring its history, compliance, and efficacy, and makes further recommendations based on this analysis.

---

**THOMAS HELMUT GREINER,**

University of Toronto

## Re-examining the Implications of Lapis-Lazuli in Egypt's Predynastic Period

In the early fourth millennium BC, contacts between Egypt and the southern Levant were confined mostly to the Nile Delta with imported finds in the Valley being very limited to non-existent. Beginning in the Naqada IIC period, scholars have witnessed important cultural and social changes, one of them being an increased presence of foreign objects, especially Upper Egypt. An important component of this apparent intensification of international exchange is lapis-lazuli, which appears in Egypt for the first time during that period. Since the ancient sources of lapis-lazuli are over 3,000 km to the east of Egypt (Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Pakistan), the stone is vital in analysing Egypt's contacts with the southern Levant as stated above.

Finds of Red Sea shells as well as turquoise in various contexts dated to the early fourth

millennium BC across Upper Egypt are a testament of its contacts with the outside world. Furthermore, access to long-distance exchange networks has been considered as an important element in Egyptian state formation. The trade between Egypt and the southern Levant, exemplified by the importation of lapis-lazuli, was an important element of this process. For example, Tomb 3094 at Matmar may show the earliest documented lapis-lazuli find in Egypt dating to the Badarian Period. In fact, there are several similar examples of luxury goods that date prior to the Naqada IIC period. What implications do these finds have on lapis-lazuli as a major element in Egyptian contacts with the southern Levant?

---

**THOMAS SCHNEIDER,**

University of British Columbia

## Hermann Grapow's Position in Egyptology and National Socialist Initiatives for the Humanities, 1938–45

This lecture will be a case study of the academic and political roles of one of the most prominent German Egyptologists of the 20th century during the second part of the Nazi period: Hermann Grapow (1885–1967). Grapow, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Berlin and a senior administrator of the University and the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences between 1938 and 1945, was instrumental in repositioning Egyptology during these years under his own leadership, and to open the discipline to National Socialist initiatives for the Humanities. It can be demonstrated that Grapow not only used the opportunities that the new political situation offered for his personal professional ascent but

that he embraced National Socialist agendas as a pathway for future research and teaching as much as he condoned the Nazi regime's 'fate-given' racist and expansionist politics. The lecture will provide additional evidence and arguments in the context of recent debates about how to properly contextualize Egyptology and the position of Egyptologists in Nazi Germany.

---

**TOKIHISA HIGO**, Kanazawa University

## From the Concept to Goddesses: The Earliest Iconography of The Goddesses Dual Maat

The goddess Maat is a personification of the concept of Maat, which is generally understood as the order of the universe, justice, truth, and so on. While the goddess Maat is usually personified as one entity, she is sporadically depicted in the form of two goddesses named Dual Maat. The words "the broad hall of Dual Maat" in Chapter 125 of Book of the Dead shows that she became prominent from the New Kingdom onward. Although the reduplication of the goddess Maat in the netherworld has been discussed by scholars, the reason for this is still unclear. Recent studies exploring the origin of the concept of Maaty have shown that the term was connected to different aspects in the Old Kingdom and may have been reinterpreted into a Dual at a later point in time. As a continuation of this diachronic research on Dual Maat, this paper will reconsider the attestation of Maaty in the sources from the New Kingdom, focusing on the Book of the Dead papyri that have not been studied in detail. The iconographic analysis and comparison of the various depictions of Dual Maat and their subsidiary texts reveal the gradual changes of the roles of these

deities during the earliest time when the concept of Maaty became concrete as the goddesses in the Judgement of the Dead.

---

**TOM HARDWICK**,

Houston Museum of Natural Science

## Wonderfully Expensive Things: Carter, Carnarvon, and the Market for Ancient Egyptian Art

Forthcoming Tutankhamun centennial celebrations will undoubtedly place the discovery of the tomb within a continuing account of archaeological work, and emphasize the dispassionate, scientific work carried out by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon in excavating and conserving the contents of the tomb for the Egyptian Museum.

Carnarvon and Carter, however, were not just excavators: both men were avid collectors and canny dealers in Egyptian objects at a time when their status and values were changing. In the years before World War I, pieces once acquired and appreciated by collectors as 'curiosities' or comparative, typological specimens became increasingly seen and prized as art objects, at prices to match. The sales of the large Egyptian collections of Lord Amherst and the Rev. William MacGregor in 1921-22, and the 1921 Exhibition of the Art of Ancient Egypt at the Burlington Fine Arts Club built on this trend. Collectors like Carnarvon, Calouste Gulbenkian and William Randolph Hearst fought over Egyptian objects, some buying on Carter's recommendation – and, naturally, paying him a healthy commission. Carter formed relationships with dealers such as Sir Joseph Duveen and Spink and Sons, both openly

buying and selling objects and hiding his identity behind front men.

This lecture focuses on Carter and Carnarvon's relations with collectors and dealers in the 1920s. These encompass the disposal of Carnarvon's collection after his death in 1923, and also seem to have extended to the proposed sale of objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

---

**VALENTINA SANTINI,**  
University of Birmingham

## Psychology of Grief and Mourning in New Kingdom Egypt

In many ancient cultures, bereavement was closely related to mourning and lamentations. In particular, in Egyptian culture, the importance of the link between pain and its public display is exemplified, for instance, by the many representations of funerary processions and mourning scenes depicted on tomb walls.

During the New Kingdom, mourners are usually identified by specific characteristics. What is not always clear is their psychological response to loss and death.

These actions were spurred by the same feelings that are studied by modern psychology, where loss and grief, and the ensuing healing processes, is a central concern. The relevance of sharing these dramatic events through cultural rituals is well known, and recent research in the field (see, for instance, Harrington and Neimeyer, ed., 2021) brought evidence that loss can be better dealt with if it is not considered an individual hardship, but - at least partially - a burden to share.

To better deal with grief, both the personal mournfulness, and the public rituals are fundamental, and so they were in ancient Egypt. To try to discern and, eventually, identify this dichotomy between individual grief and social mourning, a series of case studies will be analyzed.

Comparing these studies will help put in an anthropological framework of understanding which ritual processes the ancient Egyptians employed in public, and which intimate ones they lived in their privacy, highlighting the unique aspects of their culture within the fundamentally human experience of death and grief.

---

**VERA ELIZABETH ALLEN,** Harvard University

## Framing Damage: Reliefs from Old Kingdom Mastabas

The first part of the paper seeks to define iconoclasm in the context of Old Kingdom funerary chapels. Images and texts within most ancient Egyptian tombs have been interfered with to some degree, but it is not always easy to distinguish between damage at the hands of humans and that caused by nature.

To frame these alterations, it is helpful to consider a series of elements hinting at intentional, human interference; at a later stage of this survey, the actual reasons and objectives behind these acts may also be investigated, and a (hypothetical) dating provided.

The second part of the paper sets down the methodological basis of damage classification in private elite tombs.

The analysis of an Old Kingdom case study provides an opportunity to explore potential

patterns and, where possible, typologies of damage. Statistical analysis of identical traces of damage within the same tomb serves to confirm some of my preliminary conjectures.

A fundamental premise underlies this work: monuments are archives containing the information we have entrusted them with, soundless palimpsests of human agency. We will therefore consider tomb decorations as signs, in a modern, semiotic sense.

Scholars must think carefully when looking at damage. Signs can in fact be easily misinterpreted, especially when the viewer is external to the tomb's indigenous culture.

---

**VICTORIA ALMANSA-VILLATORO**,  
Brown University

## Is Old Egyptian Real? Variation and “Middle Egyptianisms” in Old Kingdom Letters

The division of Earlier Egyptian in Old and Middle Egyptian is purely based on diachronic observations. However, the great degree of heterogeneity across textual genres demonstrates that diachrony is not the only possible dimension of linguistic variation.

In this paper I analyze linguistic variation in Old Kingdom personal correspondence as an indicator of sender's intentions, hierarchy with respect to the addressee, and context's prestige. After defining the concept of linguistic variation and its social variables, I present evidence of archaisms (Pyramid Texts features) and innovations (Middle Egyptian features) in their specific epistolary context. I set

out to answer two main questions: 1) Is it accurate to define Old Egyptian as an unitarian linguistic stage in light of its variability from The Pyramid Texts to 6th Dynasty letters (diaphasic dimension)? 2) Is there a connection between hierarchy and different linguistic expressions (diastratic dimension) in the Old Kingdom letters?

Touching upon the theoretical frameworks of (Im-) Politeness and Speech Acts Theory, I will investigate what other parameters can correlate and predict linguistic variation in context.

My results show that sender's intentions, and their willingness to manifest a specific emotional state play the most crucial role in linguistic choice. I ultimately argue that earlier Egyptian grammatical research and teaching should prioritize social and media variables over diachronic boundaries.

---

**VIOLAINE CHAUVET**, University of Liverpool

## The Mut Temple Precinct: Insight into the City of Thebes

Since 2018, the Johns Hopkins University, in collaboration with the University of Liverpool, has been working in the southern part of the precinct of Mut in Luxor, initiating a new phase in the exploration of the site focusing on the emerging evidence of New Kingdom settlement.

One of the peculiarities of this area is the direct implantation of Late Period buildings on top of New Kingdom occupation layers. This direct stratigraphic sequence has given access to part of an 18th Dynasty elite house with painted walls, columns and cultic niches reminiscent of domestic installations at Amarna and Deir el Medina. This paper will report on the results of the latest, 2022 excavation season, and discuss the different patterns of occupations

emerging to the south of the Mut temple, and initiate a discussion on the nature of the city of Thebes in the New Kingdom.

---

**WALAA MOSTAFA**, Director,  
Greco-Roman Museum Alexandria

## Influences on Egyptian Tomb Stelae

Alexandria was one of the most important centers of the Hellenistic Civilization, with a Mediterranean coast location that helped it become a cosmopolitan city full of different nationalities, cults, traditions, and costumes, as well as a meeting point connecting different cultures. This had a strong influence on the shape, material, and style of stelae produced during the Graeco-Roman period.

My research focuses on analyzing the development of Graeco-Roman stelae in terms of shape and Material, as well as trying to distinguish the different types that were produced by the Greeks and Romans who lived and settled in Egypt for years. This will increase our understanding of the cosmopolitan nature of Alexandria and the culture of tolerance that existed during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

---

**YASMIN EL SHAZLY**, ARCE

## A Stela Dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari from King Farouk's Collection

SR 8F/ 29 is a painted limestone round-topped stela from the collection of King Farouk that was stored in the basement of the Egyptian

Museum in Cairo. The stela was registered in the Egyptian Museum on November 1, 1960, and its Farouk register number is 611. The object was only registered in the Egyptian Museum's Special Register, and the entry mentions neither a provenance and date nor how King Farouk had acquired it. This paper attempts to discuss the authenticity of the stela, provide a possible date, mostly based on style, suggest a possible provenance and reconstruct the inscription. It also attempts to place this stela within a larger context, by discussing the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, who are both honored on this object.

## POSTERS

---

**ALYSON CAINE**,  
University of California, Merced

## Reading the Archive for Demographic Patterns at Lisht

The collection from the site of Lisht, Egypt, was excavated in the early 20th century over the course of fourteen seasons as part of the Met's Egyptian Expedition. In the intervening years since excavation, the human, archival, and archaeological remains have undergone relocation and division of the collection resulting in the de-contextualization of the remains. The cemeteries at Lisht are comprised of elite and non-elite burials, promoting the investigation of individual and collective experiences and identities expressed in mortuary practices outside of the singular elite. This poster recontextualizes archival and human

remains to understand how the type of burial and spatial distribution at the Lisht complex related to age and sex of individuals buried.

From archival remains, 614 tombs are studied for demographic profiles of internments, including number, age, and sex, type of internment (e.g., surface burial, chamber tomb, or mastaba), and position at the Lisht complex (e.g., inside or outside a structure). Human remains were uncovered at approximately 42% (n=258) of the tombs from Lisht totaling 471 individuals, with 94% of human remains in tombs on the landscape and 6% within structures (e.g., pyramid or mastaba). Adults represent 53% of the population (n=250) with males accounting for 48% (n=120) and females accounting for 36% (n=90) of the individuals with estimated sex. Infants (birth to 3 years) and children (4 to 12 years) represented 13% of the human remains (n=61). From this analysis, males have the greatest diversity in burial practices likely representing the greatest social mobility as well.

---

**ELAINE SULLIVAN**, University of California Santa Cruz | **RITA LUCARELLI**, University of California, Berkeley | **JESSICA JOHNSON**, UC Berkeley | **EIMAN MOHAMED AHMED ELGEWELY**, Virginia Tech University

## From the Museum back to the Tomb: An ancient Egyptian sarcophagus at Saqqara in VR

Virtual Reality (VR) headset technologies are increasingly incorporated into university classrooms and public education (galleries, libraries, and museums). The potential to use these technologies to engage students and the

public with archaeological knowledge is exciting, but these forms of representation have frequently prioritized spectacular graphics at the expense of Humanities knowledge. In his book *Critical Gaming* (2015), Eric Champion argued that virtual realities should instead focus on expressing 'cultural presence,' the meaning and significance of a time, place, or object to people of the past.

The project *Return to the Tomb*, an immersive VR headset experience under development, integrates different scales of archaeological and historic information at an ancient Egyptian cemetery in an attempt to offer a significant learning experience. The application allows the user to experience a visualization of the Saqqara cemetery in the first millennium BCE, enter a model of a tomb's burial chamber, interact with the sarcophagus inside, and read translations of the object's funerary texts. The project combines detailed archaeological information on the site of Saqqara with a photogrammetric model of the Late Period sarcophagus of an elite official named Psamtek, now on public display in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley.

In this "hands-on" poster session, the creators will demo the VR headset application (under development), allowing attendees to engage interactively with the 3D content. We will solicit feedback from attendees for improving the educational content and sense of 'cultural presence' of the project.



**U.S. OFFICE**

909 North Washington Street 320  
Alexandria, Virginia, 22314  
703.721.3479  
United States

**CAIRO CENTER**

2 Midan Simón Bolívar  
Garden City, Cairo, 11461  
20.2.2794.8239  
Egypt

**[info@arce.org](mailto:info@arce.org)**