



bulletin

NUMBER 210 — SUMMER 2017

Greetings from the New Executive Director

JANE ZIMMERMAN



Since I started as Executive Director on March 1, I have felt incredibly fortunate to be serving ARCE's mission and members. Like many of you, I fell in love with Egypt at a young age. Over the years, the more I learned, the more I wanted to know about its history and rich cultural heritage. ARCE offers many opportunities for developing our knowledge and understanding of Egypt, and sharing that passion and excitement with others. Whether in-person at the Annual Meeting, a visit to the new office in the Washington, D.C. area, or in a phone



Jane Zimmerman outlines plans for ARCE's future to Cairo staff on a visit in June. Rania Radwan (left) translated for Arabic speakers. Photo by Kathleen Scott

conversation or email, I have enjoyed engaging with ARCE's many stakeholders. I look forward to meeting and interacting with many more of you in the coming months.

ARCE's Mission

What has impressed me most since joining ARCE is the commitment from hundreds of Chapter volunteers, leading historians, conservationists, archaeologists, scientists, and museum curators, and members to ARCE's mission:

- Supporting research on all aspects of Egyptian history and culture,
- Fostering a broader knowledge about Egypt among the general public, and
- Strengthening American-Egyptian ties.

ARCE's mission is enduring. In this fast-changing world, however, there are new opportunities and challenges which will affect this 69-year-old organization as it pursues its mission. For example, technology and innovation are expanding knowledge and leading to new discoveries about Egypt, while worsening budget battles and political uncertainties cloud the future of U.S. government-funded conservation and education programs.

ARCE's Strategic Plan

As a result, in 2015, ARCE's Board of Governors embarked on a series of meetings and conversations about ARCE's future and a strategic planning process. They set forth a vision—to make ARCE the world leader, in partnership with Egypt, for the understanding and preservation of Egypt's cultural heritage.

That vision and ARCE's mission in turn led to the development of the 2017-2020 Strategic Plan, which the Board of Governors formally approved at its meeting in Kansas City this April. That Plan is the road map which ARCE's staff and I will follow as we pursue the objectives under its four Strategic Goals:

- ❶ To build a more effective and relevant organizational structure
- ❷ To enhance/advance ARCE's programmatic offerings
- ❸ To raise ARCE's profile
- ❹ To ensure ARCE's future viability

Yes, There Will Be Some Changes

What does all this mean for ARCE and you? In numerous respects, it means changes. Some

continued on page

BULLETIN OF THE
AMERICAN RESEARCH
CENTER IN EGYPT

Director
Jane Zimmerman

Editor
Kathleen S. Scott

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2 Midan Simón Bolívar
Garden City, Cairo, 11461
Egypt
tel: 20 2 2794 8239
fax: 20 2 2795 6052
email: cairo@arce.org
arce.org

US Business Office
ARCE
909 North Washington Street
Suite 320
Alexandria, VA 22314
tel: 703 721 3479
fax: 703 718 4138
email: info@arce.org

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FROM THE EDITOR

Dear ARCE Members,

Normally this space is reserved for a newsy letter from the ARCE Director. However, as this is my 25th and final ARCE *Bulletin* as editor, I wished to express my thanks to you, the ARCE members, for your kindness and support of ARCE and its publications program.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my tenure as publications director and have had the privilege of working closely with many talented and dedicated individuals both in Egypt and in the United States. It has been a special privilege to visit ARCE conservation projects, RSM expeditions, and other foreign missions' excavations during my time in Egypt and witness and photograph the marvelous transformations and discoveries unfolding over 14 years.

Big changes are happening at ARCE and none of us felt it more than the staff in San Antonio who have spent the last few months preparing for the



Rachel Mauldin packing up San Antonio office.



Good-bye from Maribeth Kalfoglou, Kathann El-Amin, Kathleen Scott, and Rachel Mauldin.

Kansas City Annual Meeting and simultaneously packing up the archives, books, and other items for shipment to the new US offices in "Old Town" Alexandria, VA.

I have treasured the comradery and friendships we developed in the San Antonio office and, since none of these staff will be continuing with ARCE, I wanted to say a special thank you to them—Rachel Mauldin, Kathann El-Amin, and Maribeth Kalfoglou. It has been a real privilege to work with you and witness your dedication to ARCE's mission.

In a final note, the first *Bulletin* that I edited was Number 185 in 2004 and in it I reported, among other things, on ARCE's 55th Annual Meeting in Tucson, AZ. ARCE's 69th Annual Meeting in 2018 will once again be in Tucson—so it seems like we have indeed come full circle. I look forward to keeping up with reports of ARCE news and accomplishments, now in the capable hands of the new US office staff in Alexandria, VA and I wish ARCE and its Members all the best.

Sincerely,
Kathleen S. Scott
Director of Publications

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of these changes are already apparent. Under the Strategic Plan, ARCE's headquarters moved this spring from San Antonio, TX, to Alexandria, VA, a nonprofit hub in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. Our new location has enabled ARCE to deepen its engagement with existing partners, such as the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development. It has also resulted in our team developing new relationships with members of Congress and their staff, the Egyptian Embassy, and the vibrant community of foundations, nonprofits, and businesses involved with Egypt.

The Strategic Plan also led to a restructuring, whereby I serve as the Executive Director of ARCE, based in the U.S. and a new Director for Egypt will reside and serve full-time in Cairo...a search committee and I are in the process of recruiting and considering applicants for that position.

Other changes will take place over time. ARCE's Chapters are key to its mission—fostering broader knowledge about Egypt, and strengthening American-Egyptian ties. The energy and commitment of this all-volunteer network are astounding. In the coming months, I look forward to exploring with Chapter leaders and the Chapter Council opportunities to support further their vital outreach and educational activities and programs.

Similarly, one of my top priorities during this year will be updating and expanding ARCE's platforms for communication and outreach. The look and feel of this bulletin will change. Digital platforms and social media offer the potential to broaden and deepen outreach to the public, especially youth. These and other initiatives will aim to provide greater support

to ARCE's Chapters. Our members are our best ambassadors. They enhance the value of membership and help us forge strong collaboration—especially with our Egyptian partners.

Time To Celebrate!

Next year, ARCE will celebrate its 70th anniversary. As an organization devoted to historical research, there is a lot about our own history we do not know or have not told. Thankfully, we have a team of volunteer researchers and interns who will delve into our archives and begin to explore and share the history of ARCE. The Annual Meeting in Tucson, April 20–22, offers opportunities to reflect on seven decades of partnership with Egypt, and look towards our future. I also hope that as Chapters plan their outreach and programs and our communication platforms expand, we can engage new audiences—especially students and youth—and ignite in them the same interests and passions we feel for “Misr Um al-Dunya.”

I Need To Hear From You

Many of you have devoted not just years but decades to ARCE. That assiduous stewardship has made it a strong and effective organization, with an even brighter future ahead.

I feel deeply privileged to serve ARCE's mission and you. Please know that you are welcome to contact me directly with questions, comments, and feedback as ARCE evolves, and my team and I move forward in implementing the Strategic Plan and its goals. Our members' input and ideas are essential to realizing the vision of making ARCE the world leader, in partnership with Egypt, for the understanding and preservation of Egypt's cultural heritage.



Karim Seikaly, Business and Finance Director



Michelle McMahon, Communications and Marketing Director



Jessica Rosenthal, Development and Membership Manager



Summer interns: Sam Stone, a rising senior from Bates College in Maine, and Jessi Lazaroff, a rising junior from Johns Hopkins

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DR. SHIRLEY
directed the TT110
Epigraphy and
Research Field School
and is the Managing
Editor for the *Journal
of Egyptian History*.

WILL SCHENCK
is an archaeological
illustrator and chief
epigrapher for the
field school.

TT 110 Epigraphy and Research Field School: Training Egyptian Antiquities Officials in Recording and Investigative Methodologies

JJ Shirley and Will Schenck

Introduction

In 2012 the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), with the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), first began excavations in the area of Theban Tomb (TT) 110 as part of ARCE Luxor's larger APS program of work. The tomb is a mid-18th Dynasty tomb located on the

west bank of Luxor/Thebes at the northern end of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Fig. 1). Since 2013, ARCE's archaeology project has located the entrance to the tomb, which was buried under the hillside, carefully excavated the tomb's original forecourt, pillared hall and burial shafts, as well as the shafts located within the forecourt space, and studied the archaeological materials they have found. This project was



All photographs are by
the authors or participants
of the Field School.

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part of an ARCE-sponsored and Egyptian-led archaeological field school for inspectors. Once excavated, the tomb was also consolidated, conserved, and cleaned as part of a conservation field school run by ARCE Conservator Khadiga Adam from 2013–2016.¹

In 2014, following the work done by ARCE in excavating and conserving TT 110, archaeological illustrator William Schenck and I developed a new field school program in TT 110. For the past two seasons, the TT 110 Epigraphy and Research Field School has been financed through the generous support of ARCE via an Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF) grant made possible by USAID funding. Grounded in the models of field schools such as those run by AERA and ARCE, our field school trains Egyptian MoA officials based in Upper Egypt in the documentation of the tomb's scenes, inscriptions, artifacts, and history during a season that runs from mid-February through March. Only five students are chosen after a rigorous vetting process from a group of over 40 applicants from the MoA. Applicants are chosen on the basis of their drawing experience, crucial for successful epigraphy. The number of trainees was limited due to the small size of the tomb, but also to allow for an intensive and personal training for each student in epigraphy and research. In addition, in 2016 we decided to accept an additional three returning students from the previous Field School season so that they could build upon their earlier experience. Both the 2015 and 2016 Field School seasons ran for five weeks and were divided into three parts: one week in lectures; three weeks of intensive epigraphy and research or archaeological illustration; and a final week of review and presentations.²

The current TT 110 project has two main goals: teaching the necessary epigraphy and drawing skills required to record the tomb, and training the Egyptian students in research and library skills that would provide them with the ability to prepare a tomb report or publication, incorporating what they had learned during



Fig. 2

the school. Thus far, this model has worked exceptionally well for both the epigraphy and research portions of the program. In epigraphy, each student now has a fundamental understanding of why epigraphy is important, what the steps are to undertake an epigraphy program within a tomb or on other carved items, and comes away with an “epigraphy tool kit” (Fig. 2) that contains the instruments they need to continue this type of work. Within the context of research, each student was assigned an open, published, tomb to study. They had three main research assignments and at the end of the season, each student presented the results of their independent tomb research to the larger group by giving them a tour of their assigned

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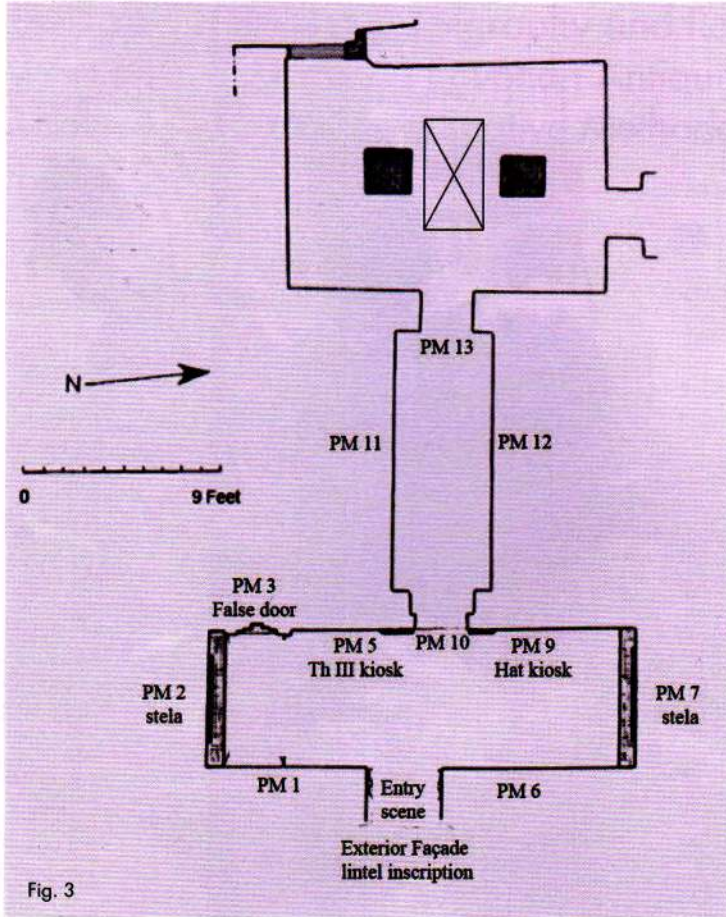


Fig. 3

tomb in Arabic. In the second season (2016) we added a new component to the Field School, a pottery and object drawing course which was offered to our returning students.

As a result of this course, each student will contribute to the future publication of the tomb. Their epigraphic training gave them each the ability to completely record a small section of the tomb and produce drawings of publishable quality. The research project engaged the students with their subject material in a way that expanded their approach to studying ancient Egyptian monuments. Their independent research, combined with their epigraphic knowledge of TT 110, instilled the students with the confidence to have thoughtful and complex discussions regarding the decoration and history

of TT 110, as well as of the tomb's epigraphic documentation program. Finally, the additional drawing course broadened the skill set of the returning students, making them proficient in other areas of archaeological illustration.

TT 110 and its owner, Djehuty³

As noted above, TT 110 is located in the Qurna hillside area of the Theban Necropolis. This area of the necropolis was first significantly developed for burial by ancient Egyptian officials during the reign of Hatshepsut, both because her own funerary temple of Deir el-Bahari is located in the cliff bay just to the north, and because the festival processional routes pass by this area of the necropolis. It is thus the perfect location for TT 110, which belonged to the royal butler and royal herald Djehuty, an important official of the palace administration who lived and worked during the reigns of Hatshepsut and her stepson/nephew and successor Thutmose III, c. 1478-1425 BCE.

TT 110 is relatively typical, if small, for tombs of this period: it faces east towards the cultivation and is T-shaped, with the addition of a pillared hall at the rear where the burial shaft is located (Fig. 3).⁴ Before the most recent work on TT 110, the tomb had been entered in the early 1900s and Norman de Garis Davies recorded what he could, publishing his results in a short article along with several line drawings and photographs.⁵ At that time, the courtyard and original entrance were buried under the hillside, the pillared hall was filled with debris, and the tomb itself entirely blackened from historic use. Despite this, Davies was able to determine with some accuracy the basic layout of the scenes, and also record many of the inscriptions.

From de Garis Davies's work in Djehuty's tomb it was evident that Djehuty represents an especially intriguing official, with unique tomb decoration for the era. In addition to the unusual decoration that seems to separate Djehuty's service under Hatshepsut from his work for Thutmose III, Djehuty has two rare kiosk scenes

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that depict him offering before Hatshepsut on one wall and Thutmose III on the opposite wall. Among the inscriptions and scenes that Davies was able to record, also particularly interesting were the apparent presence of cartouches of both kings on the lunette of one stela, the use of only Thutmose III's cartouches on the exterior lintel of the passage doorway, and the kiosk scenes placed on the rear (focal) wall of his tomb.⁶ The ability to depict one's sovereign in the tomb is clear evidence of royal favor, as this could only be done with the king's permission.

De Garis Davies's work also provided us with Djehuty's two primary positions: royal butler and royal herald. As a royal butler (wbA (n) nswt) Djehuty was part of the more "elite" branch of this position, and while his duties as butler may indeed have concerned oversight of the palace's food and drink, his responsibilities likely went beyond this to include some element of controlling access to the king.⁷ We must thus view him more as an upper-level manager than a lowly servant. Djehuty was also given the title of royal herald (wHm (n) nswt), an important position that indicated he could speak on the king's behalf. Although the title is often connected to the military, it can also be held by officials who are part of the court or civil administration, especially during the reign of Thutmose III when many civilian officials worked in Syria-Palestine as part of the king's war efforts.⁸ These royal heralds can be seen acting as "the mouth of the king," an epithet they often carried, and that was a play on the fact that in this position they often spoke for—and with the authority of—the king.⁹ Another of Djehuty's positions, that of offerer (wdnw) of Amun in Karnak, means he was entrusted with acting on the king's behalf in religious affairs. This was an action he apparently carried out on behalf of both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as well as for the cult of Thutmose I, and further demonstrates his high status.

Using de Garis Davies's work, it was also possible to suggest a tentative progression of Djehuty's career, one that made him especially

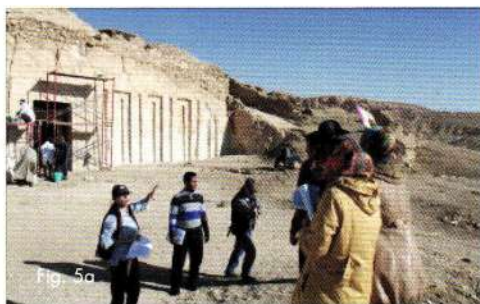
important for understanding the political history of the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III coregency. Initial examination of the inscriptions as copied by Davies gave the impression that royal butler was the title which Djehuty held under Hatshepsut, while Thutmose III elevated him to royal herald. Although Djehuty is not alone in the category of officials who served first Hatshepsut and then Thutmose III, his increased level of importance in the palace sphere suggests he continued for some time under Thutmose III and became a favored official of this king.

With the excavation and conservation of TT 110 complete, the Epigraphy and Research Field School has the ability to study more fully the tomb's decoration and texts. This will enable us to clarify the career and family history of Djehuty, and place him, and the tomb, in their socio-historical context. This is particularly important because of Djehuty's status as an important court and religious official under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. As part of both the Amun administrative elite and the court/civil elite, Djehuty straddled two areas of government whose members played significant roles in Hatshepsut's rise to king and the later transition to Thutmose III's sole reign. In addition, Djehuty is the only official whose tomb carries images of both of these kings, making him unique among his peers; generally only one of these kings was depicted.¹⁰ Thus, a complete investigation of the tomb owner through his excavated and conserved tomb, in conjunction with his other monuments, presents an opportunity to further elucidate a controversial and poorly understood period of ancient Egyptian history.

The Field School

The TT 110 Field School project has as its two main goals teaching epigraphy and training the Egyptian students in advanced research skills. However, we also are trying to create an environment in which the successful students will help and advise one another in the future, creating a natural network of support within the

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MoA for any future project. In order to facilitate the achievement of these goals, our teaching fosters a non-competitive, co-operative approach to the students' training that encourages open discussion in Arabic and English.

The new students spent the first week attending a series of lectures at the ARCE Luxor office (Fig. 4). During this time Will Schenck introduced them to the principles and history of epigraphy, while I covered the history of TT 110 and its owner Djehuty, and the development of the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis. The lectures were complemented by visits to the necropolis and the tomb so that the students could visualize what was being presented and discussed in the classroom (Fig. 5). In addition, ARCE archaeologist Saad Bakhit and ARCE Conservator Khadiga Adam generously provided a tour of the work done at TT 110 by ARCE. This was particularly important as it gave each student a full picture of the tomb's modern history. We were also able to visit the epigraphic work being done by the University of Chicago / Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey, and I would like to especially thank Epigraphers Dr. Brett McClain and Dr. Jennifer Kimpton, artists Jay Heidel, Krisztian Vertes, and Keli Alberts, and Demoticist Dr. Tina DiCerbo for showing our students the different epigraphic methods they are employing to record tomb and temple decoration, as well as graffiti.

Following this initial introduction, the students were divided into two groups. This allowed each new student to spend half their time on an independent tomb research project, individually supervised by me and assisted in 2016 by Mr. Hazem Shared, and half their time learning epigraphy, taught by Will Schenck and assisted by Mr. Sayed Mamdouh. In our second season of work, our returning students similarly divided their time, with half spent doing epigraphy in TT 110 and the other half gaining additional illustration skills through the pottery and object drawing course designed and taught by Mr. Yaser Mahmoud. The small group and individual method of teaching is a hallmark of the school's

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approach and has allowed each student to grow independently and as part of a team.

Epigraphy & Archaeological Illustration

A main focus of the Field School is to teach the necessary epigraphy and drawing skills required to record the tomb. The teaching of these epigraphic skills was handled by Will Schenck and assisted by Sayed Mamdouh.

As noted above, the epigraphy teaching began with lectures in the first week focusing on the materials, equipment, and methodology of the approach being taught in the Field School. During the first actual week at TT 110 the beginning students practiced attaching the acetate sheets safely on the tomb façade and learned how to handle the permanent markers (Fig. 6). Once they showed the necessary skill, the class moved into the transverse hall and individual scenes were assigned to the students, who spent the next three weeks drawing their assigned areas. Because of the small size of the tomb the teaching was necessarily intimate and the students became quite adept at packing themselves into very tight spaces and contorting when necessary into unusual arabesques (Fig. 7). This intimacy allowed for a real one-to-one teaching approach with both Sayed Mamdouh and Will Schenck moving from student to student looking, checking, discussing, correcting and monitoring each individual's progress. That is one of the strengths of the Field School's approach. No student is left behind. They think of themselves as a team and are treated as such by the teachers, helping and sharing with one another.

By the end of the five weeks of training each of the students completed several publishable inked acetate sheets. During the last week of the school the students cleaned, checked, corrected and collated their drawings. The students also critiqued their own and their colleagues' work, in conjunction with their teachers (Fig. 8). At the end of the week, the Field School provided each student with photocopies of their work so that they could assemble an A3 portfolio to showcase.



Fig. 6



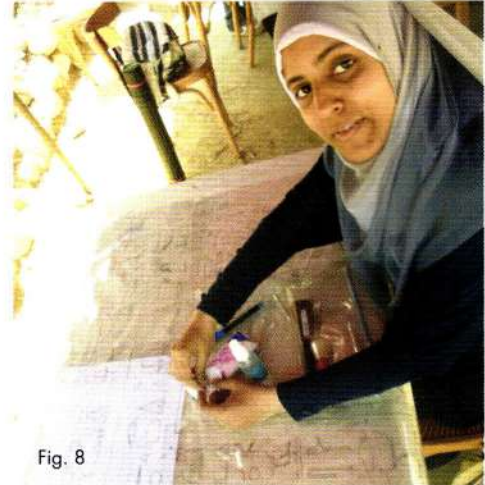
Fig. 7

Their original work on the other hand would be incorporated into the tomb's publication.¹¹ Ultimately, it is our intention that all the student's work, properly attributed, will be included in the publication of the tomb's epigraphy.

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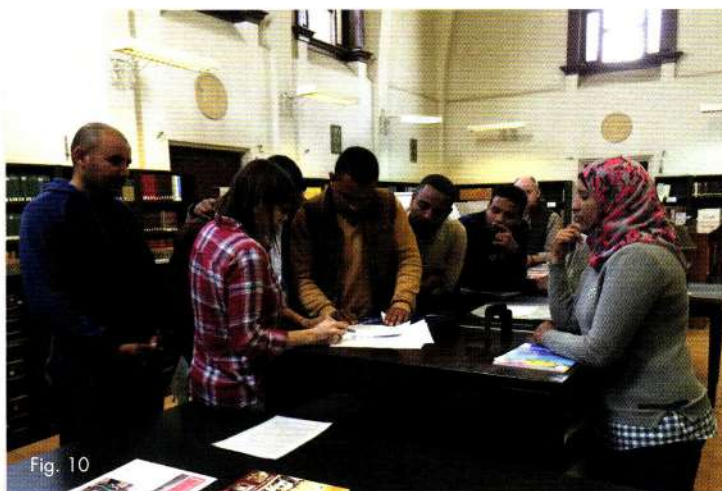
During the second season (2016), three students from the previous field school were invited back to gain more experience copying the newly conserved painted passage walls as well as learning to draw objects and pottery from Yaser Mahmoud (Fig. 9), who had taught illustration at the ARCE field schools and assisted Will Schenck in previous AERA field schools. By the end of the season, these three advanced students had not only advanced their epigraphic knowledge, but also added basic object and pottery drawing skills to their repertoire, hopefully increasing their drawing opportunities in the future. In addition, in 2016 the MoA Inspector assigned to the Field School,



who showed both interest and aptitude, joined the class, learning both epigraphy and pottery and object drawing and becoming an integral member of the team.

Research

As a compliment to the epigraphy skills provided to the students, the research component of the Field School was designed to teach the students the skills necessary to undertake an independent study and prepare a report on their work. In both seasons (2015 and 2016), each new student was assigned an open, published, tomb to study. Although in this case tombs were used as the study object, the goal was also to give them the tools and ability to apply this type of research to any monument. Thus, before beginning their research, the students were first introduced to the Egyptological Library at Chicago House, the research home of the University of Chicago / Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey. Chicago House Director Ray Johnson, Librarian Marie Bryan, and Photographic Archives Head Ellie Smith were incredibly generous with their time and assistance in this process, making our students feel very comfortable visiting and using the library and photo archives. This library contains an excellent and up-to-date Egyptological resource that is open to use by scholars, but often



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under-utilized by our Egyptian colleagues. To ensure that our students understood the library's organization, which is quite different from Egyptian academic libraries, our assistant Sayed Mamdouh gave them an in-depth tour in Arabic (Fig. 10). This greatly facilitated their ability to conduct research in the library and has resulted in increased use after the Field School as well.

For the tomb research project, each new student was required to familiarize themselves with the architecture, decorative program, and history of their assigned tomb and its owner. Part of the research time was spent examining the tombs, and part using the library at Chicago House. The first step in this process was to compare their tomb to the plans and descriptions found in two important source books: F. Kampp, *Thebanische Beamtennekeopolen* (1996) and B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, Vol. I, Part 1 (1960). This initial study taught the students how much can be learned from a close and thorough first-hand examination of the monument, and that what may be found in a publication does not always match what they observe. The students were also given a tutorial in "reading" published epigraphic drawings by Will Schenck to demonstrate what can and cannot be learned from a drawing (Fig. 11). This formed the precursor to the second part of their project: analysing the epigraphy in their tomb's publication while examining the tomb walls. The point here was for each student to determine if what they could "read" from the drawing corresponded to what they could see on the wall (Fig. 12). This often involved using photographs from the Chicago House collection as points of reference for scenes that have changed over time. Finally, at the end of the season, each student presented the results of their research to the larger group, drawing their colleagues' attention to their discoveries, pointing out discrepancies and accuracies in the published documentation, and giving their own opinions on how they would undertake the publication of the monument. The presentations were given in their assigned tombs, in Arabic, to facilitate understanding (Fig. 13).



Fig. 11

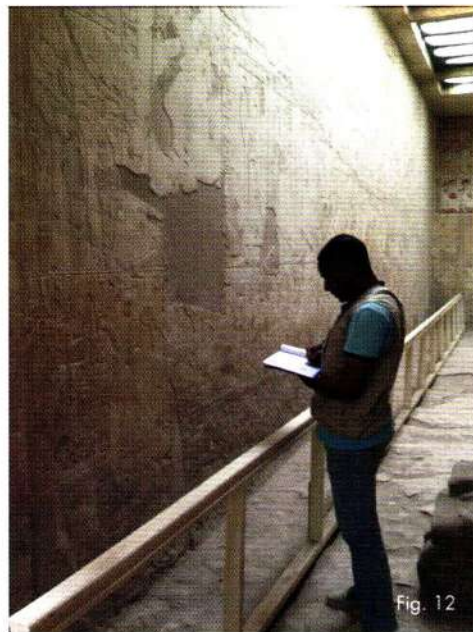


Fig. 12

Since the returning students had already completed an independent research project in their first season, in the second season they conducted focused research on the particular tomb scene each was drawing in TT 110. This gave them the opportunity to delve into comparative tomb research and that would assist in their epigraphic work. Two students were

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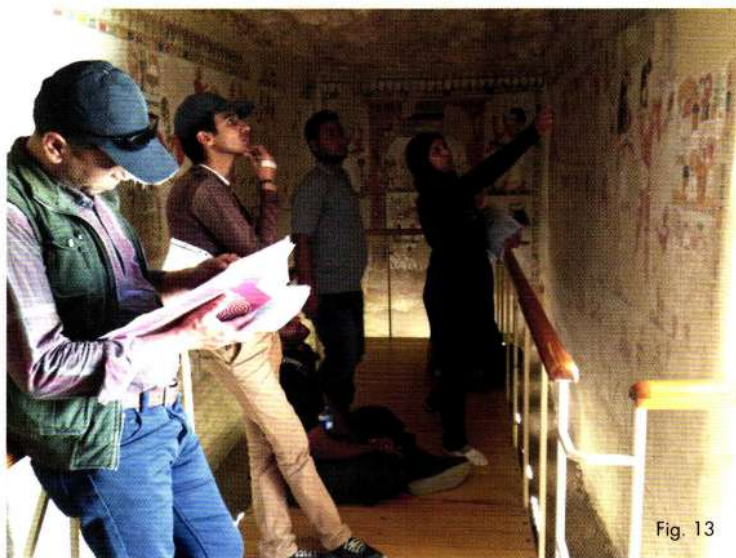


Fig. 13

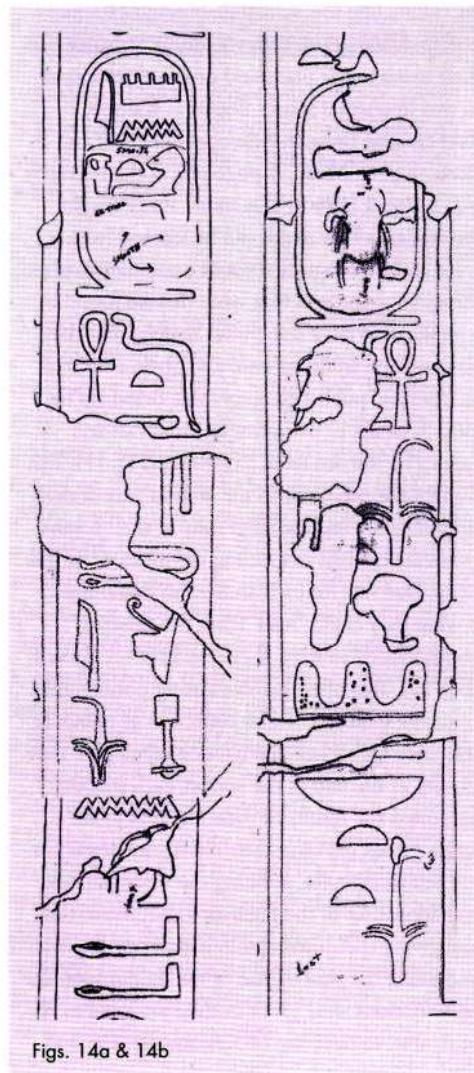
drawing areas that still contained blackened areas obscuring the finer details of the scene, while a third was drawing an incompletely finished scene. The focused research thus enabled them to gain a more in-depth understanding of the tomb's decorative program and clues as to how the scenes each was drawing were intended to appear.

Results & New Discoveries

The work of de Garis Davies in TT 110 gave our teams an excellent starting point for beginning the new epigraphic documentation of the tomb. Rather than starting blind, we could use the de Garis Davies's copies of the inscriptions as an initial guide for our own work. Utilizing the earlier work also afforded our students the opportunity to discover first-hand how important it is to re-check, or collate, older work as they quickly picked up on mistakes and inconsistencies in the earlier publication.

After two seasons of work our students have drawn nearly all of the carved portions of the tomb. They have not only corrected, but also added to the copies published by de Garis Davies, recorded formerly unknown or undocumented areas of decoration and

inscription, and clarified the areas of erasure and re-carving. In addition, we have begun to closely examine the newly conserved painted areas of the tomb and have been able to make some initial progress on collating and drawing these areas. The students' work, combined with that of Chief Epigrapher Will Schenck and our assistants Sayed Mamdouh and Yaser Mahmoud, have allowed several important new discoveries to be made about the decoration program of TT 110 that have enhanced our understanding of Djehuty's career within the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III period.



Figs. 14a & 14b

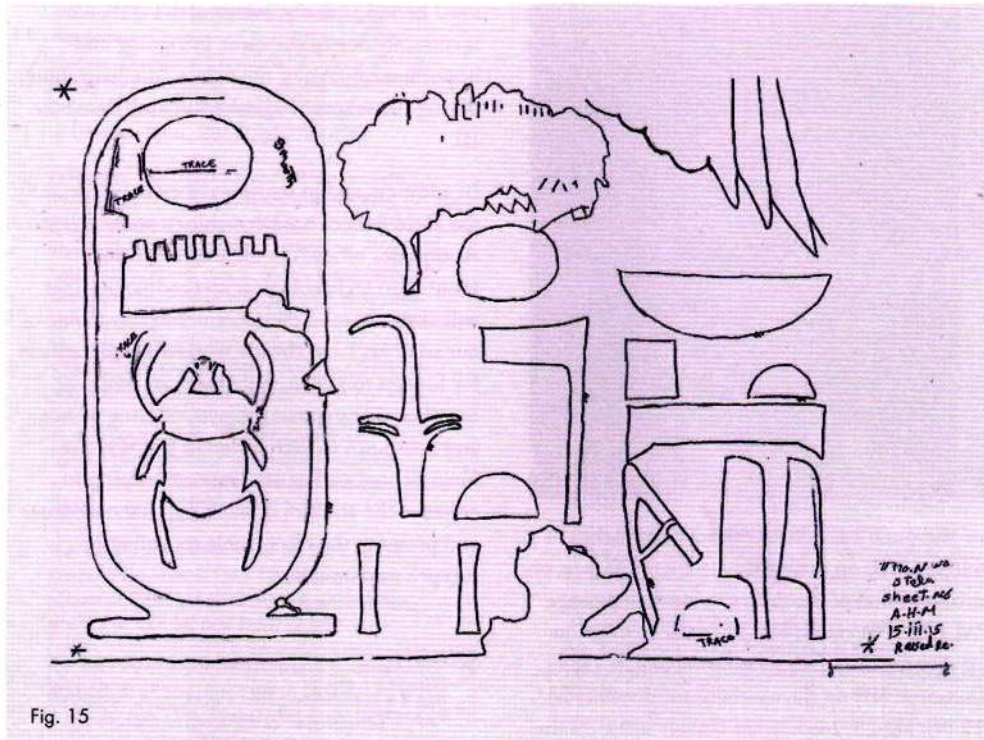


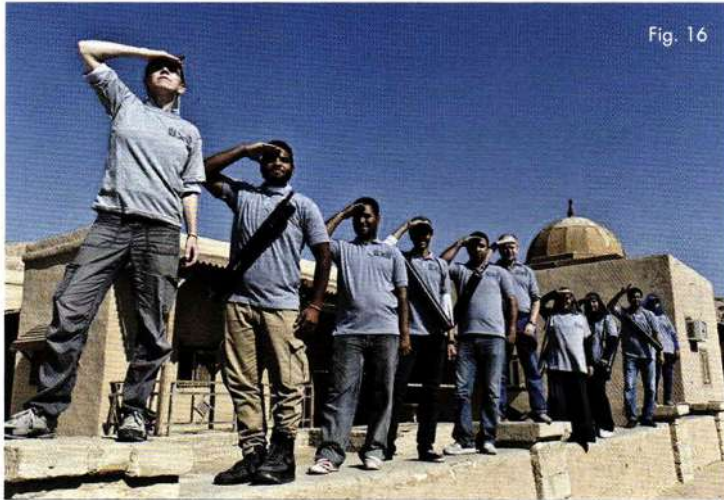
Fig. 15

One area that the students' work has helped to clarify is the progression of Djehuty's career. Above it was noted that Djehuty's main two titles were royal butler and royal herald. Based on de Garis Davies's incomplete copies and my own investigation in 2002, I have elsewhere suggested that Djehuty served as royal butler under Hatshepsut and was only promoted to royal herald by Thutmose III.¹² This has now been confirmed. The new documentation makes it clear that in the transverse-hall Djehuty reports his royal butler title as his highest position only in scenes or inscriptions that relate to Hatshepsut (Fig. 14a). In contrast, those areas of the tomb where Thutmose III's name or image are prominent leave out the royal butler title in favour of royal herald (Fig. 14b). Only the passage entry jambs include both titles, which is certainly because here Djehuty wished to demonstrate all of his positions to visitors.

In addition, we now have a much better understanding of the timing of the tomb's

decoration. Several areas that the students drew indicate that although the tomb began during the reign of Hatshepsut, the decoration was being finished during the beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign. Towards the end of Thutmose III's reign he began a proscription of Hatshepsut—a program to remove her image and name by damaging monuments where she appeared or was mentioned. This resulted, for example, in the erasures at her Deir el-Bahari temple, and often the cartouches of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, or Thutmose III replaced Hatshepsut's name. In TT110 the figure and names of Hatshepsut are erased, and much of this is likely to be a result of the proscription.¹³ However, it is now clear that in TT 110 there is only one place where Hatshepsut's name was changed. Hatshepsut was the originally named pharaoh on the lunettes of both stela, where the cartouches are defaced, and the prenomen of Thutmose III found on the north stela (PM I.12 (7), Figs. 3, 15) was a later addition, as one might expect. Our work has also confirmed

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that the tomb has several original cartouches of Thutmose III: on the newly discovered façade, on the outer lintel of the doorway into the passage (PM I.12 (10), outer; Fig. 3), in the inscription that accompanies Djehuty offering before a king (Thutmose III) on the southern focal wall (PM I.12 (4); Figs. 3, 14b), in the brazier scene on the north side of the eastern wall (PM I.12 (5); Fig. 3), and at the end of the southern stela (PM I.12 (2); Fig. 3). The lack of re-carving or re-painting for these cartouches indicates that Thutmose III must have been sole king when these areas were decorated. This suggests that Djehuty served for some time under Thutmose III and the tomb was still unfinished when Thutmose III's sole reign began. From this we can infer that the tomb's decoration was only begun towards the end of the co-regency, when Djehuty's career was at its height under Hatshepsut. Thus, it is also possible that the sole re-carving of Hatshepsut's name, on the stela, took place at around the same time that the tomb was being finished, with Djehuty wishing to attribute more of his tomb to Thutmose III.

Summation

The amazing work done by the students of the TT 110 Epigraphy and Research Field School over the past two seasons (Figs. 16) has already provided new insight into the royal butler and

royal herald Djehuty, owner of TT 110, who is certainly one of the more intriguing and important officials of the palace administration during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

In addition, and in many ways more importantly, the Field School has been able to assist Egyptian Antiquities officials in gaining additional training in archaeological methodologies that will assist them in their future projects. Some of our students have already worked as epigraphers for foreign missions, and others are working together on Egyptian projects, offering advice and assistance to each other. In this way the Field School and its students are helping to enhance the abilities of our Egyptian colleagues and promote the responsible recording of Egypt's monuments.

Citations

- 1 See the publication of their work by A. Bednarski, "ARCE's Excavation of the Tomb of Djehuty (TT 110)," *ARCE Bulletin* 203 (Fall 2013): Cover; and K. Adam, Dr. El Sayed M. El Banaa and Dr. Shoeab S. Shoeab, "The Conservation Project of TT 110 (Tomb of Djehuty)," *ARCE Bulletin* 209 (Winter 2017): pp. 26-39; and also the ARCE website at: <http://arce.org/conservation/most-recent-developments>, <http://arce.org/conservation/fieldschool/TT110> and <http://arce.org/conservation/fieldschool/blog>
- 2 The 2015 students were: Mr. Abd El-Ghany Abd El-Rahman-Mohamed, West Bank; Ms. Al-Shaimaa Mohamed Mahmoud, Karnak Temple; Mr. Alaa Hussein Mahmoud Meshawy, West Bank; Mr. Peter Fady Hanna, Karnak Temple; Miss Rasha Ahmed El-Ameen Ahmed, Sphinx Avenue. The 2016 students were: Mr. Ahmed Hajaj Hussien, Luxor Temple (Field School Inspector and student); Mr. Abu El Hagag Taye Hasanien, West Bank; Mr. Mohamed Ali Abu El Yazid, Sohag; Mr. Mahmoud Hassan El Azab, West Bank; Miss Nadia Ahmed Abd Ellatef, Luxor Temple; Mr. Sayed Mahmoud Mohamed El Rekaby, Kom Ombo; the returning students were: Ms. Al-Shaimaa Mohamed Mahmoud, Karnak Temple and Mr. Peter Fady Hanna, Karnak Temple. In addition, our assistants Mr. Hazem Helmy Shared Mohamed, Mr. Sayed Mamdouh El-Sayed, and Mr. Yaser Mahmoud Hussein participated in all aspects of the school during both the 2015 and 2016 seasons.
- 3 For a more thorough discussion of Djehuty, see JJ Shirley, "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Co-Regency,"

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- in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut, Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop* (Granada, 3-7 May 2010), edited by J.M. Galan, B.M. Bryan, and P. Dorman, SAOC 69 (Chicago: OIP, University of Chicago Press, 2014), pp. 227-230.
- 4 F. Kamp, *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. Bis zur XX. Dynastie*, 2 volumes, Theben 13 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), pp. 390-392, type VIa; B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 227-28 (this source is hereafter referred to as PM I.12).
- 5 N. de Garis Davies, "Tehuti: Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, edited by S.R.K. Glanville (London: EES, 1932), pp. 279-282.
- 6 The stela is the northern one, at PM I.12 (7), the passage lintel is PM I.12 (10) and the scenes of Djehuty before his respective kings are at PM I.12 (4) and PM I.12 (9).
- 7 On the role of royal butlers, see A.R. Schulman, "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperr," *JARCE* 13 (1976): 117-130 and "The Royal butler Ramessesami'on," *CdÉ* 61 (1986): 187-202; see also A.J. Spalinger, "A Fragmentary Biography," *JSSEA* 10 (1980), 215-228; and B. Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by E. Cline and D. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 95-96.
- 8 JJ Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*, Proceedings of a conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009, edited by S. Bar, D. Kahn, and JJ Shirley, CHANE 52 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 291-319.
- 9 On the role of royal heralds, see E. Pardey, "Der sog. Sprecher des Königs in der 1. Hälfte der 18. Dynastie," in *Essays in Honour of Prof. Jadwiga Lipinska, Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1* (Warsaw: National Museum in Warsaw, 1997), pp. 377-397.
- 10 It was not uncommon to include two kings in one's tomb decoration in the mid-18th Dynasty (TTs 42 (stela), 64, 85, 91, 192, 200, 256, possibly TTs 90, 101, 172, 201). However, with the exception of TT 110, this was never done with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Other than TT 110, only six tombs are known or can be almost certainly conjectured to have depicted Hatshepsut: TT 65 (Nebamun); TT 67 (Hapuseneb); TT 73 (Amenhotep); TT 71 (Senenmut); and TT 125 (Duawyneheh). None have any indication that Thutmose III was mentioned or depicted in the tomb, and all were finished before the end of the co-regency. Similarly, of the 5 additional tombs known or likely to have depicted Thutmose III, it is clear that none included mention of Hatshepsut, and all date to the period of Thutmose III's sole reign: TT 84 (Iamunedjeh); TT 86 (Menkheperresoneb); TT 99 (Sennefiri); and TT 131 (Useramun).
- 11 I mention here the name of each student and the area of the tomb that they drew in 2015: Mr. Abd El-Ghany Abd El-Rahman-Mohamed, south stela, lunette inscription, east side; Ms. Al-Shaimaa Mohamed Mahmoud, half of the false door; Mr. Alaa Hussein Mahmoud Menshawy, north stela, lunette inscription and portion of the stela inscription, east side; Mr. Peter Fady Hanna, south stela, lunette inscription and portion of the stela inscription, west side; Miss Rasha Ahmed El-Ameen Ahmed, passage entry, lintel, south side.
- I mention here the name of each student and the area of the tomb that they drew in 2016: Mr. Ahmed Hajaj Hussien, north and south stelae, lunette winged solar disks; Mr. Abu El Hagag Taye Hasanien, a portion of the north stela inscription; Mr. Mohamed Ali Abu El Yazid, passage entry, north jamb; Mr. Mahmoud Hassan El Azab, half of the false door; Miss Nadia Ahmed Abd Ellatef, passage entry, south jamb; Mr. Sayed Mahmoud Mohamed El Rekaby, a portion of the south stela inscription; Ms. Al-Shaimaa Mohamed Mahmoud, passage, north wall, west end; Mr. Peter Fady Hanna, passage, north wall, east end.
- Our assistants drew the following areas in 2015-2016: Mr. Hazem Helmy Shared Mohamed, north stela, lunette inscription and a portion of the stela inscription, west side; and the tomb entry, north side; Mr. Sayed Mamdouh El-Sayed, passage entry, lintel, south side; a portion of the west wall, north side kiosk inscription; the west wall, south side kiosk scene and inscription; Mr. Yaser Mahmoud Hussein, a portion of the west wall, north side kiosk inscription and adjacent scene of offering bearers.
- 12 See note 3.
- 13 Unless the proscription did in fact begin much earlier than the now generally accepted latter years of Thutmose III. On this see also F. Burgos and F. Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*, Volume II (Paris: Culturesfrance, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2008), pp. 81-89.



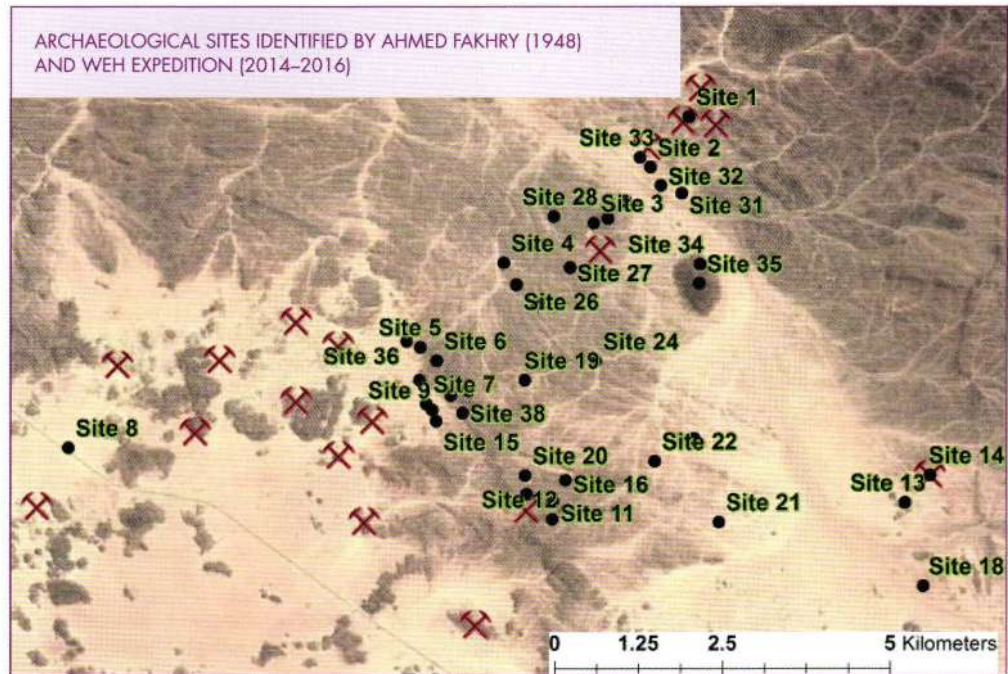
ARCE's Antiquities Endowment Fund was established through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

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DR. LISZKA is Assistant Professor of History at California State University, San Bernardino

Salvaging and Protecting the Archaeology of Wadi el-Hudi, Eastern Desert

Kate Liszka



Unless otherwise noted, all photos courtesy of Kate Liszka

Fig 1: Archaeological sites at Wadi el-Hudi in green and modern mining activities in red.

Since the revolution in 2011, the landscape and environment of Egyptian Eastern Desert have been undergoing a drastic change. Due to financial hardships over the last six years, both the government and individual Egyptians have turned to extracting the Eastern Desert's natural resources. Government supported companies, like Shalateen, Centiman, and others, have reopened old mines and are developing new mines across the Eastern Desert. Simultaneously, individual miners have been illegally exploiting resources throughout the desert for their own gain. The wadis and make-shift roads of the Eastern Desert are now fraught with the activities of legal and illegal miners.

This hubbub of activity in the Eastern Desert is endangering a landscape dotted with archaeology and antiquities, much of which has not yet been found, let alone mapped, studied, or published. Furthermore, these antiquities are often used as treasure maps for both legal and illegal modern miners to find ancient sources of gold or other precious resources, making such sites particularly vulnerable. Individual illegal miners have destroyed priceless sites like el-Hisnein West in 2013 in a matter of days (Harrell and Mittelstaedt 2015, Sudan and Nubia 19: 32-33). While official mining companies are bound by the laws of Egypt not to destroy archaeological sites, almost none of the Eastern Desert has

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been classified as archaeological land, leaving the regional archaeology without legal protection. The mining companies have the problem that they do not know what areas have archaeological remains. It is easy to spot large standing monuments, but small- to medium-sized sites or sites with only foundational levels must first be identified by experts, so the companies know to avoid them. The Ministry of Antiquities is working hard to identify archaeological areas for the companies to circumvent; however, the Ministry faces many challenges. All too often the Ministry does not have the financial resources to complete this work, and mining companies do not pay Ministry inspectors for their efforts. As a result, sites are disappearing.

This modern gold rush is badly affecting Wadi el-Hudi, with its metamorphic gneiss, granites, and Nubian sandstone that form unique minerals, metals, and stones. The ancient Egyptians and Romans mined amethyst, gold, and possibly galena in these veins. Modern miners have already started taking granite, gold, and barite from the same area. Although Ahmed Fakhry identified 14 archaeological sites at Wadi el-Hudi in 1952, the Egyptian government never reclassified this area as archaeological land, and only cursory archaeological work has been conducted there since. During 2015 two modern gold mining companies received permission to work at Wadi el-Hudi and had already started to make an impression on the landscape. In April 2016, officials from the Ministry of Antiquities requested that the Wadi el-Hudi Expedition,

sponsored by the California State University San Bernardino, help them to identify and record as many monuments as possible in Wadi el-Hudi to try to prevent their accidental destruction. Ministry officials also tasked us to make maps of the previously known standing monuments and conduct salvage excavation when necessary to demonstrate the importance of this archaeological zone. We are extremely grateful to ARCE, who generously supported our efforts to record and salvage the archaeology of Wadi el-Hudi with the Emergency Antiquities Endowment Fund, supported by USAID.

The Wadi el-Hudi Expedition worked tirelessly through Fall 2016 to answer the request of the Ministry of Antiquities. This season

Fig. 2: Site 3 on the right with modern mining activities on the left.



Fig. 3: Modern mining activities at Wadi el-Hudi.

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Fig. 4: Modern mining activities at Wadi el-Hudi.

we identified 21 new archaeological sites at Wadi el-Hudi. Many of these new sites were first noticed in satellite imagery and then corroborated on the ground; we also conducted an intensive walking survey of some of the most endangered areas at Wadi el-Hudi to scour the landscape for previously unseen archaeology. Most of these new archaeological sites date to the Middle Kingdom, Greco-Roman Period, or Islamic Period. They typically represent unstudied logistical and technical aspects of the ancient mining processes, such as watch-posts, overnight travel depots, and even test-mines where ancient prospectors searched for precious minerals. Several individual Islamic graves were also discovered across the landscape and left untouched.

Unexpectedly, we also discovered extensive evidence of Paleolithic activity throughout Wadi el-Hudi. Site 1, with Middle Kingdom and Roman mines, stelae, and housing areas, also includes a 287m² Paleolithic stone working surface with axes, blades, and cores strewn all over a once highly active area. Additionally, Paleolithic tools and cores survive at Site 38, east of Site 9, and were also found reused by Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom working at Site 5.

Because of the unique geology of Wadi el-Hudi, almost no windblown sand conceals the ancient structures that still often stand to their full heights across the landscape. The first level of archaeological deposition is often visible on the surface and patterns of use are apparent to the trained eye. Because previous missions produced inaccurate sketch maps of the sites, the majority of our efforts were spent mapping, photographing, and surveying standing monuments. We will soon publish maps of Sites 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, and 36, which have nearly-intact standing architectural remains. We also collected a significant amount of pottery and other artifacts to study in our next season.

Site 5 is a fortified settlement protected by an inner and outer enclosure wall that takes the shape of the steep hill on which it sits. Inscriptions at the site state that it was founded by Montuhotep IV and used throughout the Middle Kingdom in the mining of amethyst. This season, we partially excavated a room (c. 2x6 m) at the very pinnacle of the hill, located



Fig. 5: Site 3 gold mining querns inside of stone buildings.

Fig. 6: Site 5, Operation 63 area of amethyst refinement.



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in a presumably protected administrative area. Despite the fact that this room is more than 80 meters away from the mine and at the very top of the hill, it contained an over 20 cm deposition of broken rock crystal and tools. It seems that the ancient miners were refining amethyst in this room prior to its transport to the Nile Valley. Additionally, the walls of this room were built directly on top of an earlier 30 cm archaeological deposition with production debris, jar sealings, stone pounders, and a wooden stake. Although we could not yet fully excavate these archaeological levels, we could see clearly that Site 5 preserves multiple phases of building and expansion. The narrative of this site is, therefore, much more nuanced than previous scholars gleaned from the inscriptions, for its structure does not represent one phase alone. We look forward to studying the detailed dating of this phasing in future seasons.

Directly to the west and north of Site 5 we found several man-made structures that we numbered Site 36. Some of these buildings had Middle Kingdom pottery, which associated these structures with contemporaneous mining operations at Site 5. Dotted across this zone are also approximately 20 piles of stones that were constructed following four different construction methods. Initially, we thought that they were tumuli built over the graves of unfortunate miners. After careful excavation of three unlooted piles, however, we discovered that they were simply piles of stones stacked on the surface for an unknown purpose. We hope future excavations will provide clues that will clarify this issue.



Six small cairns were built in a line on top of small natural boulders along the west corner of Site 36, approximately 10 meters outside of the exterior wall of Site 5. This line of mini-cairns marks the entrance to a well-trodden path from Site 5 northeast to Site 4. This path is only about 15-20 cm wide, too thin for frequent human traffic, but ideal for donkeys tethered in line, who walk with a thinner gate than humans. This path demonstrates that ancient miners used Sites 4

Fig. 7: Site 5, Operation 63 wooden stake and bone in production deposition.

Fig. 8: Site 36, piles of stones to the west of Site 5.

Fig. 9: Site 6, Operation 64, excavated pile of stones showing natural bedrock.

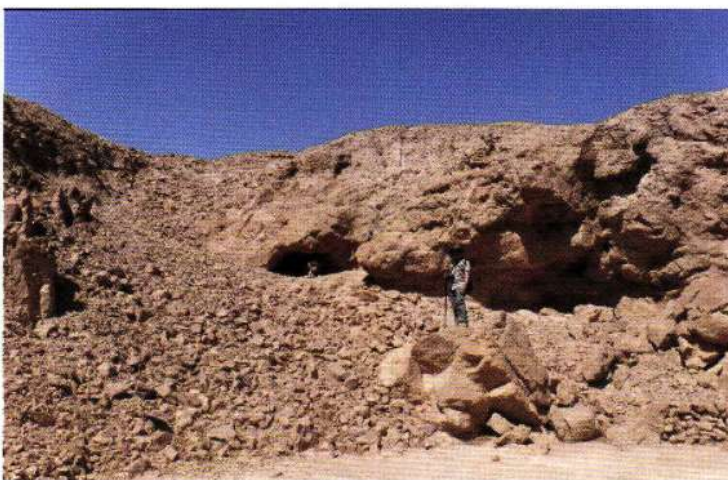


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Fig. 10: "Donkey" path between Sites 4 and 5.

Fig. 11: Site 4, mine on the left, central blocks on the right, southern hillside buildings at the top.

Fig. 12: Bryan Kraemer in the amethyst mine at Site 4.



and 5 at the same time, and possibly as parts of a larger mining network across the Eastern Desert.

Ahmed Fakhry, in the late 1940s, was the last archaeologist to visit Site 4. His brief report dated the site to the Roman Period and stated that it reused Middle Kingdom stelae in the construction of its walls. After several weeks of mapping, survey, and small test excavations, it is clear that Site 4 was perhaps the most important Middle Kingdom and Greco-Roman amethyst mining settlement in all of Wadi el-Hudi. There had once been an extensive Middle Kingdom administrative settlement there. In surface collections and test excavations, we discovered broken Middle Kingdom institutional and private sealings as well as a calcite seal in the shape of a recumbent sheep/ram(?), and an incised pottery sherd etched with an official holding a staff. Additionally, it seems likely that the Middle Kingdom administrators frequently left commemorative stelae at Site 4. In addition to the few that Ahmed Fakhry found here, this year we discovered the remains of six stelae, all of which had been purposely smashed or abraded. In future seasons, we hope to enlist a stone conservator to help us reconstruct these vital pieces of evidence for the history of this site and the Middle Kingdom's activities at Wadi el-Hudi.

Site 4 was abandoned as an active mine at the end of the Middle Kingdom. Yet important Egyptian officials must still have known it. This year we found the only piece of evidence for any New Kingdom activity at Wadi el-Hudi so far: a stela left at Site 4 by the Viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, who lived during the reign of Amenhotep II. This dates to at least 300 years later than all other evidence at Site 4; no other New Kingdom artifacts are found there, not even a pottery sherd. Perhaps Usersatet was a tourist to the area or he had agents visiting there to scout mineral resources for exploitation in the New Kingdom.

During the Greco-Roman Period, Site 4 was once again opened as a hub of ancient mining

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activity. At that time, the miners deconstructed, reused, or rebuilt many of the previous Middle Kingdom walls to suit their own needs. Important administrative activities also took place in the main buildings in the valley of Site 4. Our small test excavations found 45 ostraca written in Greek and Demotic. Many of these are accounts, but some also seem to be letters and other testimonials. They also seem to have expanded the site to the top of a hill on the north side of the site, where we found many other working and living spaces that were covered with broken amphora.



In light of the modern mining activities, much work still needs to be done at Wadi el-Hudi and throughout the entire Eastern Desert to record and preserve little-known and undiscovered archaeological sites. Thanks to the American Research Center in Egypt's Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF), the Wadi el-Hudi Expedition was able to salvage important information from remains that may soon be lost, as well as identify sites and create maps that the Ministry of Antiquities can now use to try to protect these irreplaceable archaeological sites.

Fig. 13: Amphora on the surface of Site 4.

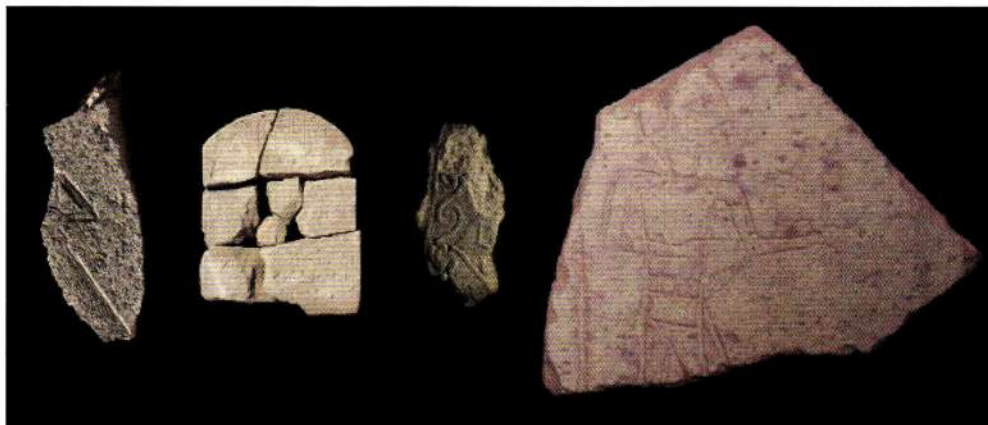
Fig. 14: Magdalena Wlodarska setting up total station over Site 9. Photo by Nicholas Brown.

Fig. 15: Fragment of a red granite stela from Site 4.

Fig. 16: Stela of Usersatet, Viceroy of Kush from Site 4.

Fig. 17: Middle Kingdom Institutional Sealing from Site 4.

Fig. 18: Pottery sherd incised with image of standing official.



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MS. SHEIKOLESAMI
is an Egyptologist and
the project director.

DR. IKRAM
is Professor of
Egyptology at the
American University
in Cairo.

Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasty Mummies from Thebes: X-Ray and CT-Scan Examination Project

Cynthia May Sheikholeslami and Salima Ikram

“Everything in its time!” according to conventional wisdom. Sometimes the time span over which research on archaeological discoveries occurs seems to be measured in decades or centuries. Such is the case with the Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage and the three Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins whose intact mummies were the focus of the ARCE Antiquities Endowment Fund x-ray and CT-scanning project, administered by the Polish Institute of Mediterranean Archaeology, and carried out in 2014–2015. Cynthia May Sheikholeslami was the project director and Egyptologist, and Salima Ikram acted as the bioarchaeologist and radiologist. They were ably assisted by curators, conservators, and inspectors from the Ministry of Antiquities in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, the Luxor Museum, the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization Cairo, and the Ministry of Antiquities Magazine in Sohag, and from Cairo University, among others.¹

Museological and Socio-Historical Background

The unopened cartonnage case containing the mummy of the temple-singer (Hsyt n Xnw n Imn) Shauamunimes was entered in the Temporary Register of the Egyptian Museum Cairo on November 21st, 1916, a century ago.² The three coffin ensembles were discovered in a shaft in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut on the upper terrace of her Deir el-Bahari temple during the 1932–1933 season, 85 years ago.³ Each coffin ensemble consisted of a rectangular orsw-coffin containing an outer and inner anthropoid coffin.⁴ Each ensemble was

accompanied by two shabti boxes full of small uninscribed blue glaze shabtis, and a canopic chest for the storage of the jars containing the viscera removed during the embalming process. The project director has been relocating and studying this burial equipment in various storage places in Luxor and in the Luxor Museum off and on for over 40 years, since 1975.

No provenance is recorded for the cartonnage, but since burial equipment belonging to two of at least three other temple-singers who had (or took) the same name has more recently been recovered from excavations by the Egyptian-Polish mission working at the Deir el-Bahari temple,⁵ it is quite probable that this cartonnage came from the same area. The temple-singers were probably adopted into the elite group by older women already in service, and perhaps took special ‘temple names’. Two of the coffin ensembles belong to male priests of Montu, and the third belongs to a woman named Heresenes, whose relationship to the two priests is not certain, though she must have been the wife of one or the mother of the other.⁶ Heresenes herself was from another elite Theban family, being the grand-daughter of the Theban vizir Djed-Khounsuiuef-ankh (E).

As their beautifully made and elaborately decorated burial equipment indicates, these four persons were members of the upper echelons of Theban society. The temple-singer Shauamunimes (i) was the daughter of the mes Takelot, a high-ranking member of the Libyan tribal hierarchy of the early 22nd Dynasty. The gilded details on her cartonnage

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Fig. 1: Cartonnage of Shauamunimes with gilding. Photo by Ikram

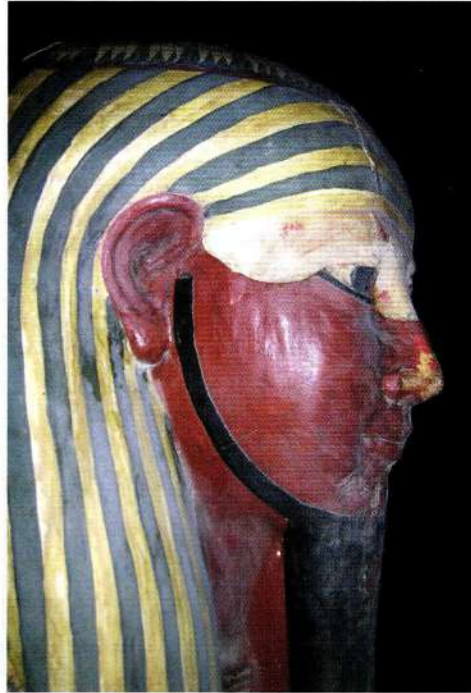


Fig. 2: Detail of Padiamunet's inner coffin lid with red wax covering the face. Photo by Sheikholeslami

(which would have been enclosed in one or two wooden coffins, which have not survived) are an indication of her high status (Fig. 1). The two Twenty-fifth Dynasty priests of Montu Padiamonet (iii) (Fig. 2), a grandson of the Libyan ruler Takelot III, and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi) (Fig. 3), belonged to high Theban priestly and administrative circles. They were descendants of a long line of vizirs to which Takelot III allied himself by marrying two of his daughters into the family. Padiamunet (iii)'s great-grandfather, the Theban vizir Pami (ii), was also the last attested viceroy of Kush before the rulers of Kush Kashta and Piankhy assumed control of first Upper then Lower Egypt ca. 750-723 BC, and established the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (until 664 BC). It is not surprising that, with such connections,

the family prospered under Kushite rule. Its members served the god Montu, who provided divine legitimacy for the foreign rulers in Egyptian eyes, as he had for the Eleventh Dynasty ruler Nephpetra Montuhotep, who reunited Egypt from Thebes after the breakdown in central authority which characterized the First Intermediate Period, and whose funerary temple, dedicated to Montu, is located next to Hatshepsut's Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari.

The AEF Project

We thus developed the proposal, which was funded by ARCE's Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF), for a non-intrusive study of these intact carefully prepared mummies (two female and two male), since very little research has been carried out on well-identified and well-dated mummies of both genders from the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties in Thebes. The cartonnage was made during the reign of the Twenty-second Dynasty pharaoh Osorkon

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Fig. 3: Nespaqashuty's mummy with bead net and the head end of the lid of his inner coffin. Photos by Sheikholeslami



Fig. 4: The NMEC team with Cynthia Sheikholeslami and Salima Ikram P1170476. Photo by Ikram

I (ca. 922-888 BC). The coffin ensembles were produced during the reigns of Shabataqa (707-690 B) and Taharqa (690-664 BC) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. They were used for the burials during the same periods.

Work on the human remains was carried out

in Luxor, Cairo, and Sohag. The mummies and the canopic jars (in which their mummified soft internal organs were placed) were spread between these three cities (Fig. 4). In each of these places, in addition to the work that was carried out on the remains, training sessions on the significance of human remains and how to handle them, were provided for the Ministry of Antiquities personnel who were attached to each institution where we worked. These have generated considerable interest, and it is hoped that a new generation of physical anthropologists and mummy specialists will finally emerge to work on the ancient Egyptian dead (Fig. 5). We hope as well that they will understand the importance of situating their studies in the proper socio-historical context.

The three mummies of Shaamunemes (22nd Dynasty) in the Egyptian Museum (Fig. 6), Heresenes (25th Dynasty) and Padiamonet (25th Dynasty) from the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization collection, stored in the Fustat magazine of the Ministry of Antiquities (Figs. 7, 8), are all located in Cairo. They were

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x-rayed in situ on June 12 and 16, 2014, and all were CT-scanned at the Egyptian Museum's mobile facility (Siemens Emotion 6 machine) on three days between December 21st and 25th, 2014, using a slice thickness of 1 mm. The fourth mummy, Nespaqashuty (25th Dynasty), was only x-rayed (on May 18th, 2014), as it is in Luxor Museum and no scanning facilities are available (Fig. 9). The images were analysed by Ikram, in conjunction with Carlos Prates, Sandra Sousa, Carlos Oliveira, and with discussions with Robert Loynes.

The canopics of Padiamunet and Heresenes in the Luxor Museum were examined in May 2014. Those of Nespaqashuty, now held in the Ministry of Antiquities magazine in Sohag, were studied in September, 2015.

The results of the mummy radiography were most interesting, revealing different aspects of the life and health history of the individuals, as well information about their mummification.

Shauamunimes (i), a 22nd Dynasty temple-singer

A brilliantly coloured cartonnage case with gilded details encloses the mummy of the temple-singer Shauamunimes (i). The mummy is of a woman who was quite tall, at least 1.70 to 1.74 m, well above the average for an ancient Egyptian, but even so, the head was some distance away from the top of the cartonnage case enveloping the mummy. However, she died while a teen-ager (about 17 or slightly older),



as is seen by the fact that her long bones were still fusing and by her dentition. Her arms are extended and her hands rest on her thighs. She was excerebrated via the ethmoid, with possibly some linen introduced into the cranial cavity (Fig. 10). Her mouth was stuffed with some sort of mixture made up of a grainy substance (sand or sawdust), probably to give her face a more life-like appearance, as is commonly seen in 21st Dynasty mummies. As evidenced by Shauamunimes' mummification, the tradition persisted into the 22nd Dynasty. She had been eviscerated from the left side, with the four visceral packages returned to the body, being

Fig.5: Hany Amer and Salima Ikram following a scanning session at the CT facility. Photo by Sheikholeslami

Fig. 6: Shauamunimes (i), Egyptian Museum, being taken to the mobile facility. Photo by Sheikholeslami

Fig. 7: One of the NMEC mummies being carried to the mobile CT facility. Photo by Sheikholeslami

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Fig. 8: Shauamunimes (i) entering the scanner. Photo by Ikkam

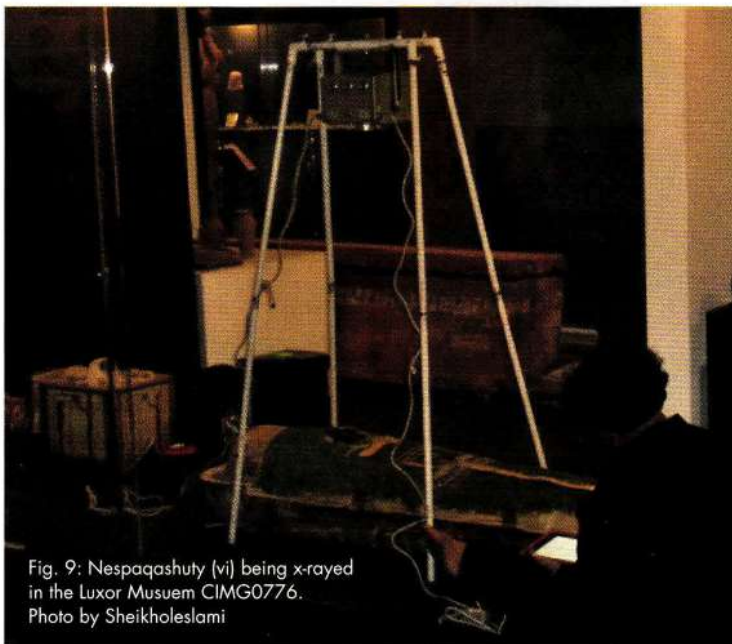


Fig. 9: Nespaqashuty (vi) being x-rayed in the Luxor Museum CIMG0776. Photo by Sheikholeslami

carefully placed in the thorax and abdomen, each with a pierced tab-like metal amulet, presumably bearing the protective likeness of the relevant Son of Horus. She was richly supplied with other amulets as well, with at least 12 adorning her neck (tyt, djed, a foot, wadj, possibly images of standing deities) (Fig. 11), a scarab was placed within the wrappings, in the area at the base of her throat; a winged scarab, possibly of cartonnage, was placed near the bottom of her

sternum, and a few other amulets were scattered in the area of the thorax. Additional linen serves to pack the body. Her heart remained in the body, but also seems to have been wrapped. The visceral incision was covered by a square plate, whose material is still being established, possibly enhanced with a drawing of a wadjet eye. Its four corners are pierced by holes. She was well wrapped in linen bandages, with different numbers of layers depending on the body part. In some portions of the wrapping, one can see several layers of textile followed by a resinous layer, and then completed by more textile layers. A curious feature was noted in her vertebral column: she has a butterfly vertebra, a congenital malformation that causes no harm to its owner (Fig. 12). The cause of death is unclear—although it is possible that she suffered from some sort of a disease related to the malfunctioning of the pituitary gland that caused unnatural growth spurts.

Heresenes, a 25th Dynasty lady

The 25th Dynasty mummy of the curly-haired lady Heresenes also had her arms extended along her sides, with the hands resting on her thighs. When alive, she was between 1.55 and 1.58 m tall, very much in keeping with the ancient Egyptian norm, and probably died when she was in her early 20s. She was not excerebrated, although this might have been intended and never carried out, as is seen by the damage to the ethmoid bone, which was generally broken when excerebration was carried out nasally. Her brain remains in situ. Her eyes were given form by having what are possibly the bulbs of small onions, which might have been covered by a thin coating of wax or maybe even resin, placed beneath the lids. The use of tiny onion bulbs to simulate the eyeball is commonly seen from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward. Artificial eyes, perhaps of stone, are placed over the orbits, above the base wrappings. These false eyes are no longer directly positioned over the eye-sockets, but are slightly displaced. A wedjat amulet is located over the left eye (Fig. 13). The scans did

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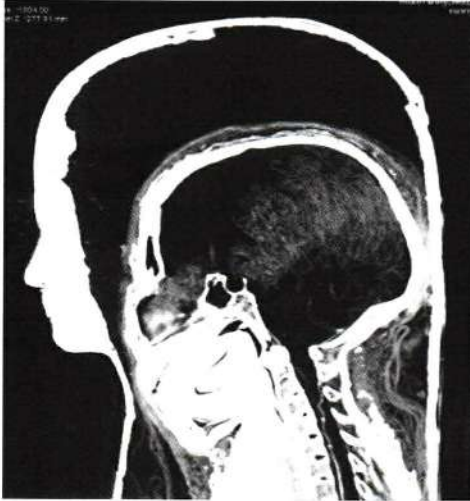


Fig. 10: Empty space above Shauamunimes (i)'s head inside her cartonnage case. Her mouth is stuffed with linen and a grainy substance, and her skull contains linen. X-ray photo by Ikram

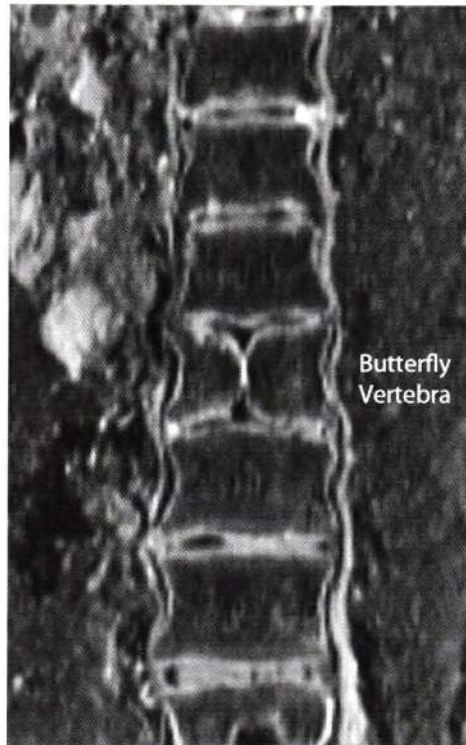


Fig. 11: The butterfly vertebra in the spine of Shauamunimes. X-ray photo by Ikram

Fig. 12: Amulets around Shauamunimes (i)'s neck. Image by C. Prates



not reveal another one near the right eye, but it is possible that one exists and with further examination of the scans will be identified. What is possibly another amulet, maybe a Son of Horus or even a tyt, was situated on her neck under the mandible. She was eviscerated by a cut in the left side, and her body is empty of viscera (some of which were wrapped and placed in her canopic jars). Some filler was used to plump up the body, possibly sawdust, and linen was used near the evisceration cut. The heart remains in the body. Resinous materials were used generously, and some have soaked through the bandages along the back and legs, and dribbles or smears of resin interrupt the wrappings. At least four (faience?) amulets are noted on the lower thorax: a wadjet eye, a possible falcon, and two that are unidentifiable. One finger boasts a ring with a wadjet eye as its bezel (Fig. 14).

Heresenes was generally in good health, although she suffered from some dental attrition, and it is possible that she suffered from an inflammation of the sacroiliac joints, causing pain in her buttocks or lower back. This can be aggravated by standing for long periods of time or climbing stairs.

Her viscera were placed in ceramic jars, with saucer-like lids. Some of these had been attacked by insects, leaving a significant amount of frass.

A great deal of resinous substance was used on two of the viscera (Luxor J 808-4 and 808-1), while the other two showed less evidence of resin. One of the containers appears to contain the remains of the liver (Luxor J 808-3)—presumably the others contained the intestines, lungs, and stomach, but it is hard to determine this without histological work or CT-scans, neither of which were possible at the time of work.

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Fig. 13: Heresenes's amulet and the artificial eye behind. X-ray photo by Ikram

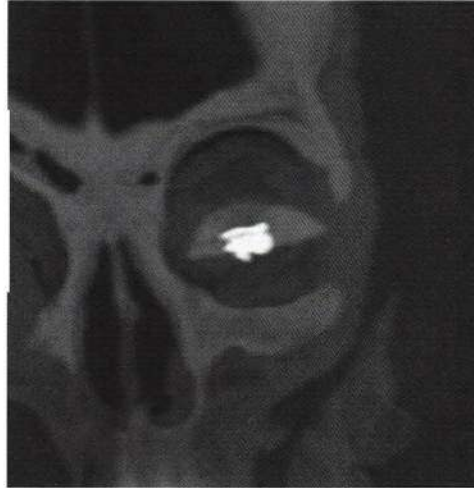
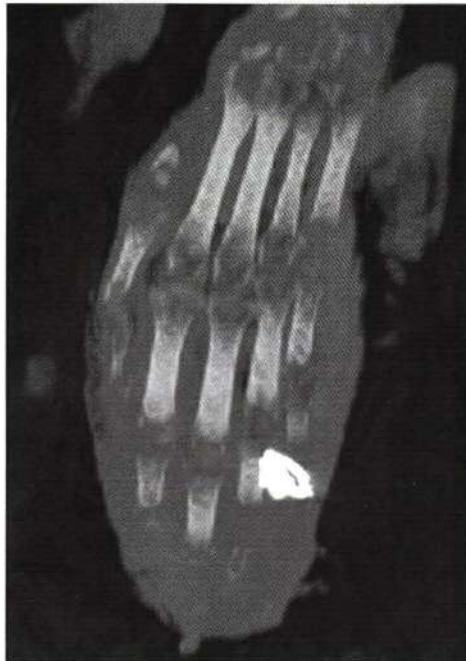


Fig. 14: Heresenes's ring that has slipped off her finger. X-ray photo by Ikram



Padiamunet (iii), priest of Montu

The wrapped body of Padiamunet (iii) was covered with a faience bead net that extends from the shoulders to the ankles, with bead tassels decorating the bottom edge and the two long sides edged by a heavier band of beads. The body was wrapped in several layers of bandages topped by a now tea-colored linen shroud

(probably originally pinkish-red) which, at least at the feet, overlaps in the front. The shroud is kept in place and further adorned by a series of bandages that can be discerned beneath a bead net. A long vertical bandage runs down the centre, flanked by two other vertical bandages. Horizontal bands further secure these on the face, at the shoulders, elbows, wrists, hips, knees, and above the ankles. An X, like the 21st Dynasty leather braces, crosses over the chest and around the neck like a halter (Fig. 15).

Radiography of the mummy of Padiamunet (iii) showed the body, unmistakably of a man, who was about 1.73 m tall. He was elderly, according to the evidence of the state of his vertebrae, which suffered arthritic change in the lower neck area, and the state of his dental health. This included tooth loss (some of the maxillary molars and mandibular incisors), crown wear and alveolar recession. Like his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi) (see below), he lay with his arms crossed over his chest, the hands resting close to the shoulders, with the right over the left (Fig. 16). He was excerebrated nasally, from the left nostril. His eye sockets are packed with linen and some plate or cloth soaked in resin has been placed on top. The mouth is stuffed with linen as well, and his ears sealed with plugs of cloth soaked in a resinous substance. He is eviscerated from the left side, with two visceral packets (possibly false ones) reintroduced into the body in the upper part of the thorax, with the lower portion filled with a granular packing material, less in the left side than the right. His arms are wrapped together with his body, and his legs are wrapped individually, and separated by a linen pad. His genitals were coated with resin, before being wrapped separately. All in all, he is an extremely well made mummy.

Padiamunet was also well supplied with accoutrements, some extremely surprising. As mentioned above, his hands are crossed high on his chest, but along his arms lay a crook and a flail! (Figs. 17, 18). The crook is probably of wood, but it is unclear as to what the flail was made of; it is possibly made of cartonnage or

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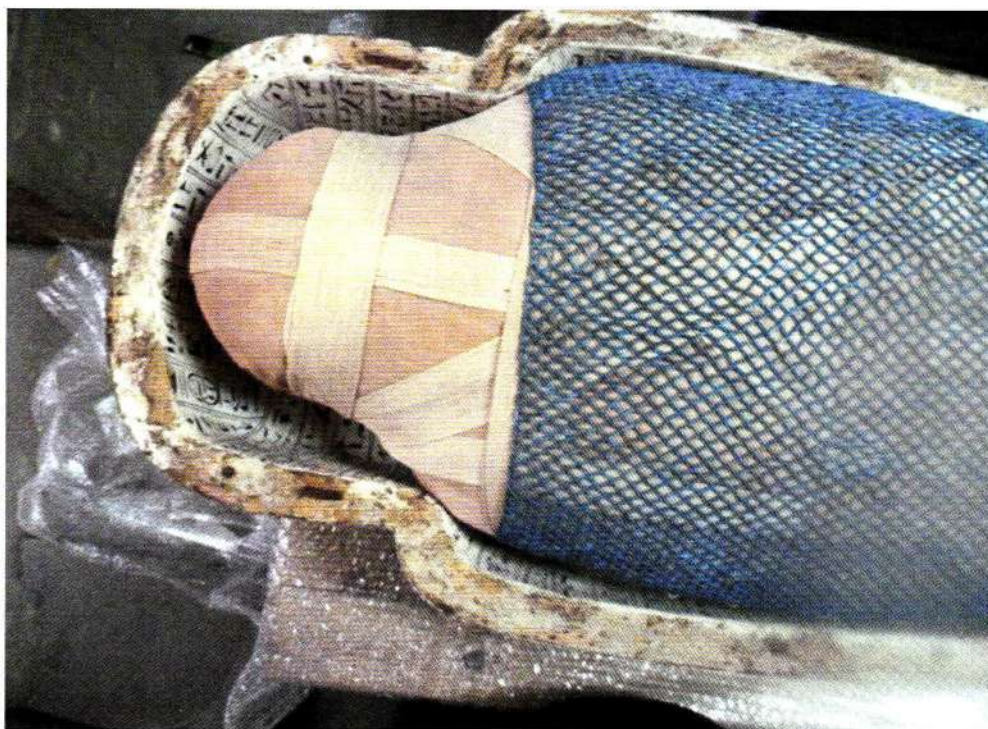
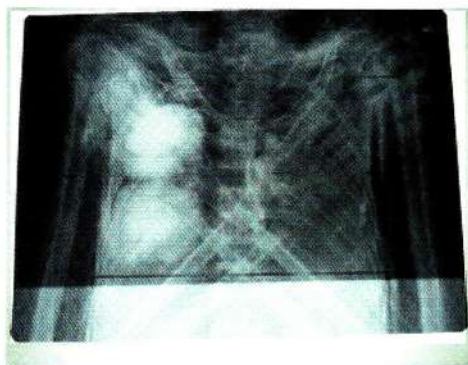


Fig. 15: Padiamunet (vi)'s bandaging crossing over the chest and around the neck, resembling leather braces seen on 21st Dynasty mummies. Photo by Ikram

Fig. 16: Radiograph of Padiamunet (vi) with his hands crossed over his chest. X-ray photo by Ikram

some vegetal material. Both the crook and flail are unusual accessories for a priestly mummy of this—or indeed any—period. Perhaps future work on other mummies will show that this genre of accessory is more common than currently supposed, but until the present moment, these remain a rarity. Padiamunet wears a plethora of amulets around his neck, suspended on a thread. They include: wadjet eyes, tyt amulets, djed pillars, standing figures of deities (or hes vases), and loose, under his neck, a headrest amulet. There is also a wedjat near his left nostril. The amulet in the area of the heart does not look like a heart scarab. There is another wedjat in the area of the right wrist, and two other oval amulets of some sort, possibly small scarabs, in the thorax.

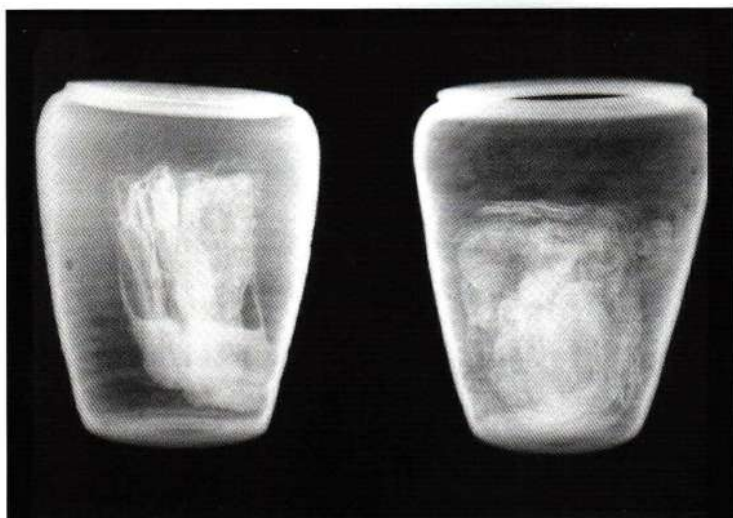
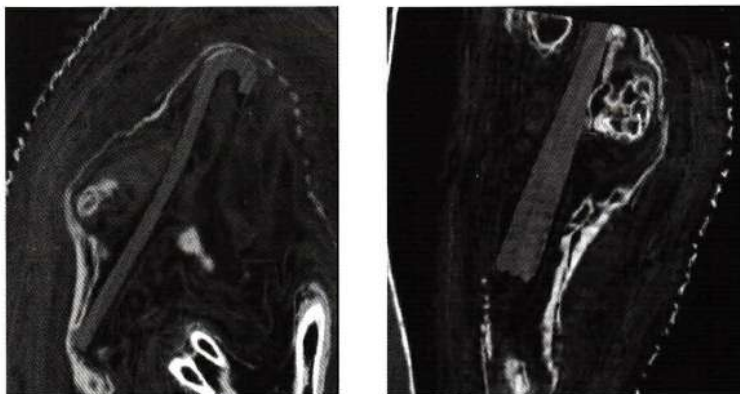
His canopic jars are exhibited in the Luxor Museum. The viscera are in ceramic jars with limestone covers. These were x-rayed, but as one might expect, there was only linen and soft tissue (unidentifiable to precise organ) in the packets (Fig. 19).⁷



Nespaqashuty (vi), priest of Montu

The mummy of Nespaqashuty (vi) belongs to a mature man who was between 1.70 to 1.72 m tall. The mummy was well wrapped in a fine linen shroud secured by vertical and horizontal bandages, as was the case with Padiamunet (iii) (see above). He had crossed linen bands, reminiscent of the leather braces seen on some mummies, mainly during the 21st Dynasty. Although smears of resin are not visible on the

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Figs. 17 and 18:
Padiamunet's crook
(lying by left arm) and
flail (lying by right arm).
X-ray photos by Ikram

Fig. 19: X-ray of two
of Padiamunet (iii)'s
pottery canopic jars,
Luxor Museum. X-ray
photo by Ikram

top of the wrappings, the body was somewhat stuck to the coffin, and as it is quite heavy, it is clear that some resinous/adhesive substance must have been used in its preparation.

Nespaqashuty's wrapped body was covered with an elaborate bead net from the neck to the ankles, terminating in a row of tassels. The net is not plain, unlike that of his uncle Padiamunet (iii) (see above and Fig. 3). It has a central vertical panel with a border of blue, reddish, and white beads, decorated with an image of a black scarab, its wings indicated schematically by rows of chevrons. The sacred beetle holds a blue disk between its black legs. Placed on top of the net, just below the bead scarab, although probably not in its original position, is a faience

scarab set into a larger gold form with outspread wings surmounted by a disk, with a semi-circle below; it looks rather like a schematic ba bird. Beneath this is a standing figure of a goddess with outstretched wings, wearing a Hathoric headdress. She is flanked by two figures, perhaps two of the four Sons of Horus. Directly beneath her feet is a vertical band of text in beadwork of solid black hieroglyphs on a white background, obscured by an inscribed band of gold or cartonnage that is pierced at all four corners.

Beneath the wrappings, Nespaqashuty's arms are crossed, high over his chest, left over right, with the hands extended; his legs are straight and well articulated (Fig. 20).⁸ He appears to be excerebrated; possibly a false eye or amulet was placed over his right orbit. He was eviscerated from the left side and the lower part of the body is packed with something that might be sawdust. His teeth are worn, and there is some lipping in the lower neck and back vertebrae, and some of the lumbar vertebrae appear to have large cavities in their bodies, suggestive of an erosive pathology.

Nespaqashuty's handsome set of limestone canopics, topped with the heads of the Four Sons of Horus, are now in a magazine in Sohag, as they are intended for display in the Sohag Museum, currently under construction. The viscera were desiccated with natron, highly resined, and then wrapped in linen, as per usual (Fig. 21).

Significance of the research

This AEF project has demonstrated the importance of conducting non-intrusive bioarchaeological research using both conventional x-rays and CT-scans. Conventional x-rays record mainly skeletal information, whereas CT-scans show more clearly other features such as types of stuffing of the body, details of the cerebral cavity, the treatment of the abdominal cavity, and much more detail about wrappings and amulets placed protectively on the mummy within the bandaging. Although it is often claimed that temple-singers like

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Shauamunimes (i) were virgins, we were not able to determine whether or not she ever gave birth. Her youth, like that of Heresenes, reveals that women may have had less than a chance than men had of reaching an advanced age, even when all came from a high level in the society. Whether this was always due to the dangers of child-bearing, as commonly assumed, may be questioned, at least in the case of Shauamunimes. Padiamunet (iii) and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi) attained a far greater age than the two women. Their carefully prepared mummies revealed new evidence for hand and arm positioning hitherto not thought to be practiced in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Furthermore, the crook and flail by Padiamunet's crossed arms are possibly (at least to-date) unique accoutrements for a mummy. They, like the crossed bandages reminiscent of leather braces and the bead netting are probably indicators of the increased importance of the identification of the deceased in his coffin with the god Osiris, ruler of the other world. The mummy would be transformed during the night in its coffin, symbolizing the body of Nut, to be reborn with the sun each morning and travel with the god Ra in his solar barque through the daytime skies eternally, as emphasized by the religious texts and iconography with which their coffin ensembles were decorated. Attention to the complete burial as well as the social position of the deceased enables a more sophisticated understanding not only of mummification practices but of the physical condition of the body during life for people of different rank. Such a holistic approach is also more respectful of the ancient dead, and helps us to provide them with a more fully rounded biography, fulfilling the wish of Egyptians of the pharaonic period to live forever and ever. Coupling the research with training sessions for young Egyptian curators, conservators, and Egyptologists enables them to become more actively engaged with and able to properly care for their cultural heritage.

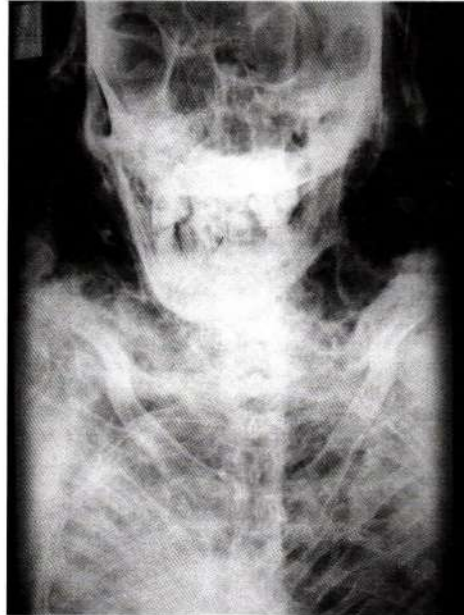


Fig. 20: Radiograph of Nespaqashuty (vi)'s head and shoulders showing arms and hands crossed over chest. X-ray photo by Ikram

Fig. 21: Nespaqashuty's canopic jar, with the lid representing Qebehseuef protecting the intestines. X-ray photo by Ikram

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Citations

- 1 We gratefully acknowledge the help of the following, without whom the project could not have been successful: Egyptian Museum Cairo (EMC): El-Sayed Amer and Mahmoud el-Hawagy (General Directors), Ibrahim Abdel-Gawad, Wafaa Habib, Tarek Abd el-Aala. Luxor Museum: Sanaa Ahmed Aly (General Director of Upper Egypt Museums), Samia Abdel Aziz Abdel Razek, Eman Fares Abadeer, Nesreen Ayaad Armeneos, NakhlaShawky Habeb . National Museum of Egyptian Civilization Cairo (NMEC): Khaled El-Enany (Director), Mohamed Mokhtar, Khaled Sadek, Ahmed el-Said, Somaya Abdel-Khaleq, Kareem el-Said, Tamer Abdel-Fattah, Mustafa Ismail, Yehia Hussein, Mahmoud el-Masry, Ayat Magdy, Mohamed Ragab, Essam Ahmed Soliman, Mahmoud Abdallah. Ministry of Antiquities Museum and Sheikh Hamad/Athribis Magazine, Sohag: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser, Abdellatif Ibrahim, Ibrahim el-Sherif, Talat Abdel Aziz Fawzy, Ragab Fahmy, Gamal Saad, Hamada Immam, Mina William, and Mohammed Yazid. Ministry of Antiquities: Mustafa Amin (General Director, Supreme Council of Antiquities), Mohamed Ismail and Hany Abd El Azm (Directors of Foreign Missions Affairs), Samia el-Merghani (Director for Human Remains). Cairo University: Hany Amer made the CT-scans. Polish Institute of Mediterranean Archaeology: Zbigniew Szafranski (Director), Tomasz Kania, Mariusz Dybich, rais Ragab Yassin Ahmed and Romani provided administrative and logistical support in Cairo and Luxor. In Lisbon, Carlos Prates, Sandra Sousa, and Carlos Oliviero assisted with imaging analyses. R. Loynes (Manchester) and F. Rühli (Zurich) consulted on the interpretation of the x-rays and CT-scans. Mohamed Labib transported the NMEC mummies to the CT-scanner facility at the Egyptian Museum Cairo, and Nicholas Warner for put us in touch with him. Without the help of the following workers, moving the coffins and cartonnage containing the mummies for study would have been impossible: EMC: Said Atta, Ramadan es-Sayed, Ramadan Hamed, Abdel-Rahman Ibrahim, Mounir Loify, Abdalla Hassan, Adel Abdel-Hamid, Alaa Hindawy, Farag Nasser; NMEC: Ibrahim Mohamed, Adel Malak, Mohamed Ismail, Mostafa Magdi.
- 2 See discussion of the dating and decoration by C. M. Sheikholeslami, *A Libyan Singer in the Karnak Temple Choir*, paper presented at the Cambridge Coffins Conference, Cambridge, UK, April 7-9, 2016, forthcoming in the conference proceedings.
- 3 B. Bruyère, *Une nouvelle famille de prêtres de Montou trouvée par Baraïze à Deir el-Bahari*, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 54 (1956), 11-33, pls. IX. The shaft has recently been relocated: Z. Szafranski, *Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010*, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 22 (2013), 136-139 (tomb XVIII).
- 4 The decoration and inscriptions on the coffin ensemble of Padiamunet (iii) have been discussed by C. M. Sheikholeslami, *Resurrection in a Box: the 25th dynasty burial ensemble of Padiamunet*, in R. Sousa, ed., *Body, Cosmos and Eternity*, *Archeopress Egyptology* 3, Oxford (2014), 111-124. Z. Szafranski, C. M. Sheikholeslami, and F. Payraudeau are preparing studies dealing with these three coffin ensembles and other coffin and cartonnage fragments belonging to members of their family from the Egyptian-Polish excavations at the Hatshepsut temple and other earlier finds made by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, as well as other material relating to the use of the temple as a necropolis during the 22nd to 25th Dynasties. In the same context, a more detailed discussion and analysis of the x-rays and CT-scans of the four mummies studied in this project will be presented by S. Ikram.
- 5 M. Barwick, New data concerning the Third Intermediate Period cemetery in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, in N. Strudwick and J. Taylor, eds., *The Theban Necropolis: past, present, and future*, London (2003), 122 ff.
- 6 F. Payraudeau, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII Dynastie bubastite*, *Bibliothèque d'Étude* 160, Cairo (2014), vol. 1, 157, Fig. 47. DNA testing might one day be able to shed light on the of question of the relationship of Heres(enes) to Nespaqashuty (vi), but it was not possible to undertake it in the framework of this project.
- 7 It is hoped that future work on the contents of canopic jars can be carried out, using histology and more refined imaging, following the protocols that are to be established by the Ancient Egyptian Canopics Project, directed by Frank Rühli.
- 8 It has previously been suggested that such a position of the hands and arms was only found in the Ptolemaic period. The evidence from the mummies of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) supports the Twenty-fifth Dynasty dating of the anonymous female mummy (now called "Amunet"), originally from excavations at Deir el-Medina, with the same hand-arm position now in the collection of the Columbus, OH, Historical Society, some of whose wrappings have been dated to ca. 800 BC on the basis of C-14 testing. See the paper "25th Dynasty Coffin Set in Columbus, Ohio and London" presented at the ARCE Annual Meeting in Cincinnati in 2013 by Sheikholeslami, and the museum's website at <https://www.ohiohistory.org/learn/collections/archaeology/amunet-ct-scan-project>



ARCE's Antiquities Endowment Fund was established through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

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The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold

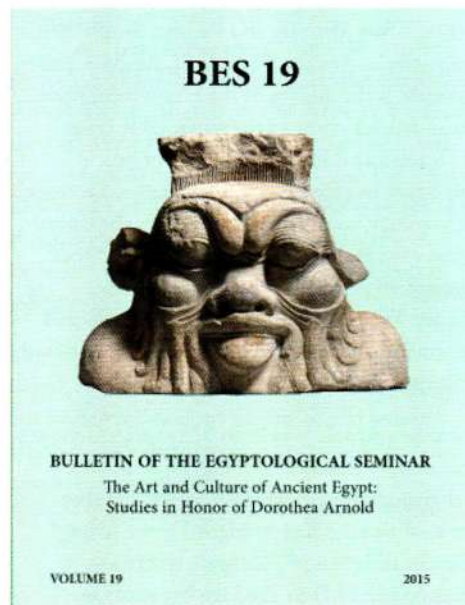
DR. GOELET is co-editor of the *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York (BES)*

Ogden Goelet



Dr. Dorothea Arnold's scholarly contributions to Egyptology are numerous, culminating with the twenty-seven years she spent in the Egyptian Art Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, twenty-four of them as head of the department. In honor of her achievements, the Board of the Egyptological Seminar of New York (ESNY), along with many of Dorothea's friends and colleagues, decided to honor her with a Festschrift that would encompass her multifaceted interests. (Fig 1) The volume, entitled *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold, Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York*, volume 19 (2015), has now appeared. As it quickly became apparent that a great number of scholars

from around the world wished to contribute to what would become a very large book, the Egyptological Seminar decided to apply for a grant from the Antiquities Endowment Fund of the American Research Center in Egypt to cover part of the costs of this undertaking. ESNY is particularly grateful for this funding, as it ensured that the finished volume would be of high quality. Contributions from ESNY members were also essential to the successful completion of the project. Most reports that appear in this Bulletin describe the conclusion of an excavation, the preservation of a valuable archive, or the end of a restoration project, all of which are encompassed by this Festschrift. The volume contains sixty articles written by sixty-



Photos courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Dorothea Arnold

Fig. 1: Cover of Festschrift

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Fig. 2: View of the exhibition *An Ancient Egyptian Bestiary: Animals in Ancient Egypt*, held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 11–October 15, 1995.

four authors and is nearly 700 pages, a fitting tribute to a distinguished scholar and a reflection of her wide-ranging influence on the field.

The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold (Fig. 1) took some time to complete, yet the underlying story is a simple one. An undertaking of this size requires the dedication of many authors and a complex production process. Adela Oppenheim and Ogden Goelet were the chief editors, with invaluable assistance provided by Dieter Arnold, Sara Chen, Marsha Hill, Anna-Marie Kellen, Scott Murphy, and Pamlyn Smith. What ultimately makes any Festschrift distinguished, however, is the quality of the essays it contains. These articles attest to the remarkable range of Dorothea's interests and those of her colleagues worldwide, encompassing art history, archaeology, conservation, language, chronology, pottery studies, literature, and religious belief through all periods of ancient Egyptian history. The Festschrift's table of contents and information about ordering a copy can be found at www.esny-bes.org.

Dorothea Arnold was born in Leipzig, Germany. She studied Classical and Egyptian art and archaeology, first in Munich, where she met her husband the Egyptologist Dieter Arnold (Fig. 3), and then in Tübingen, where she received her PhD in 1963 for her study on

the school of the Greek sculptor Polykleitos. Dorothea was an archaeologist with the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo for sixteen years, where she quickly established herself as one of leading figures among a group of scholars who advanced the study of ceramics in archaeological research. As a result, pottery is now regarded as an essential tool for dating archaeological sites and understanding ancient Egyptian society. She is the author of numerous studies relating to pottery and ceramic technology, notably articles in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* and the book *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (with Janine Bourriau, Paul Nicholson, Colin Hope, and Pamela Rose).

Dorothea is perhaps best known for the twenty-seven years she spent in the Egyptian Art Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, beginning in 1985, when she joined the department as Associate Curator. Her first project, with Dieter Arnold, was the revival of excavation work at the Middle Kingdom pyramid site of Lisht and subsequently at the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, Dahshur,



Fig 3: Dorothea and Dieter in Switzerland.

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projects that continue today. In 1988, she became Associate Curator and Administrator pro-tem, then in 1991 Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Charge. In 2005, she was named Lila Acheson Wallace Chairman of the Department of Egyptian Art, a post she held until her retirement in June 2012, when she became Curator Emerita.

Dorothea organized a diverse group of major exhibitions, which were accompanied by catalogues that have become foundational publications for the field. Among them are: *Pharaoh's Gifts: Stone Vessels from Ancient Egypt* (1994-95); *An Egyptian Bestiary* (1995); *The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (1996); *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (1999); *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (with Marsha Hill, 2000); *Tutankhamun's Funeral* (2010); and *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (with Adela Oppenheim, Dieter Arnold, and Kei Yamamoto, 2015). These exhibitions are a testament to her wide-ranging interests and command of all aspects of ancient Egyptian culture.

Included in the Festschrift is a comprehensive bibliography of Dorothea's publications, which again attest to her vast areas of expertise. She has brought a keen sense of observation and meticulous archaeological reflection to all her publications. Not only is the visual quality of an object considered, but the social, religious, and ritual content are equally explored. Among her most important articles are: "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 26 (1991), 5-48; "The Architecture of Meketre's Slaughterhouse and Other Early Twelfth Dynasty Wooden Models," in *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, ed. Peter Jánosi, Vienna, 2005, 1-75; "Egyptian Art – A Performing Art?" in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. Sue d'Auria, Leiden, 2007, 1-18; and "Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours, East Delta People and the Hyksos," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth*

Dynasties) Current Research, Future Prospects, ed. Marcel Marée, Leuven, 2010, 183-222.

Caring for the permanent collection is another key component of curatorial work, which includes not only ensuring the proper display of artworks already in the Museum, but also identifying and acquiring significant and well-provenanced pieces that enrich the collection. Dorothea secured a great number of important objects for the Museum, including an Old Kingdom recumbent lion (2000.485), Old Kingdom vessels in the shape of a cat (1990.59.1) and a mother monkey with her young (1992.338), a fragmentary head of Middle Kingdom queen (2001.585), a head of Ahmose I (2006.270), a ritual statuette of Thutmose III (1995.21), a hippopotamus head from the time of Amenhotep III (1997.375), an important collection of reliefs from the Amarna Period (1991.237.1-.87, 1991.240.1-.18), a head of an Amarna princess (2005.363), a Late or Ptolemaic Period plaster lion head (2012.235), a Late Period torso of a general (1996.91), a Late Period or Early Ptolemaic kneeling ritual figure (2003.154), and a Roman Isis/Aphrodite figure (1991.76).

During Dorothea's tenure many galleries and displays were reconsidered and reinstalled, including those with objects from the Amarna Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Roman Period. The installation of the Perneb mastaba at the entrance to the Egyptian Department was reconceived in order to better suggest the original appearance of the structure and the mastaba of Raemkai was repositioned with the result that its walls are now in their correct architectural relationship to each other.

Last, but certainly not least, Dorothea has been exceptionally welcoming to colleagues, facilitating fellowships for junior and senior scholars alike and always ready to provide helpful advice to researchers.



ARCE's Antiquities Endowment Fund was established through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

FELLOWSHIP REPORT

MR. WILLIAMS is a Doctoral Student, University of Bonn, and was a 2016-2017 ARCE Fellow sponsored by the State Department's Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA).

Another View from the Edge: The Frontier of Aswan in the Early Islamic World

Gregory Williams

All photos courtesy Gregory Williams

Salvage Excavations Shedding New Light on Medieval Egypt

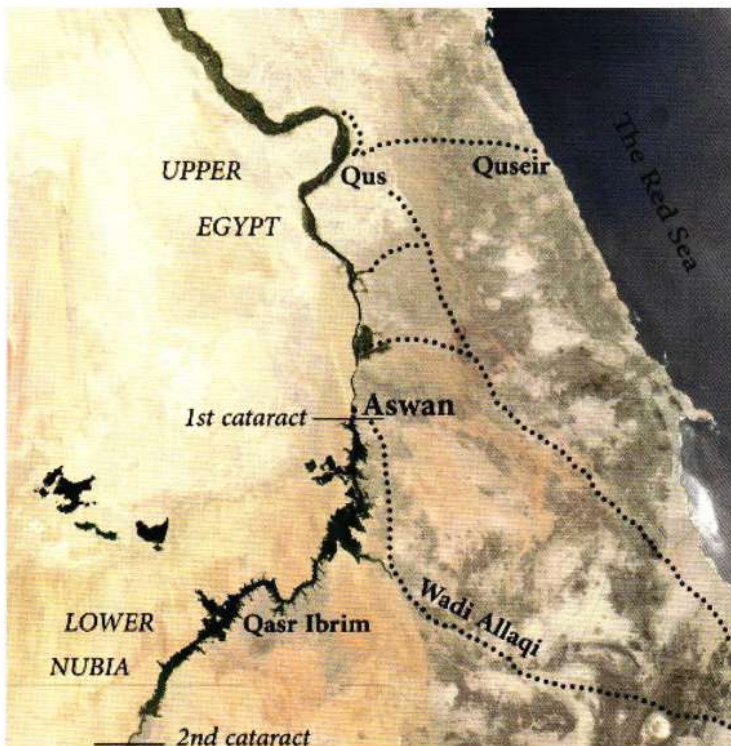
Over the last sixteen years an ongoing joint project in the southern Egyptian city of Aswan has been carried out between the Swiss Institute of Architectural and Archaeological Research on Ancient Egypt and the Aswan Inspectorate of the Ministry of State for Antiquities. The project conducts rescue excavations throughout the modern day city in an attempt to document, where possible, the ancient heritage of Aswan's

long and complex history. Sadly, for many parts of the country the medieval or Islamic remains of a city or site have been less thoroughly documented, if not completely removed. The Swiss-Egyptian mission in Aswan represents a special opportunity where the careful treatment of remains of all periods allows an in-depth study of urban life in medieval Egypt.

As the provincial capital of Upper Egypt in the early Islamic period, Aswan served as an important point along a number of trade and pilgrimage routes, connecting the Nile River with the Red Sea coast. Pilgrims traveling for the Hajj would typically leave the Nile valley at Aswan and cross the desert to Red Sea ports, cross the Sea and then continue on towards Mecca and Medina. The Wadi Allaqi region in those same deserts to the southeast of Aswan were also a well-known source of gold and precious stones, and the region during this period experienced a kind of 'gold rush'.¹ Aswan is situated just north of the 1st cataract of the Nile, and was described by medieval geographers as the final frontier post of Egypt, at the edge of the Islamic world and the border with Nubia.² Given this distinct position geographically and politically, the history of Islamic Aswan has much to contribute to the history of Egypt (Fig. 1).

Much of the ancient kom, or ruins, has been built over and sits beneath the modern downtown area. Remains of what was a vast necropolis can still be seen and visited to the south of the city,³ but many important Islamic monuments have already been demolished

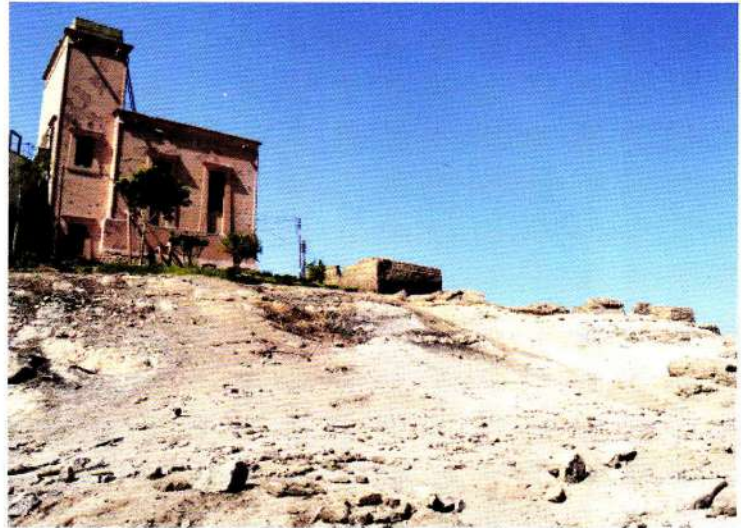
Fig. 1: Map of Aswan region showing cataracts and routes across the Eastern desert



(Fig. 2).⁴ Nevertheless, salvage initiatives in the city provide opportunities for the study of material culture, which can provide otherwise unattainable information on consumption, economic exchange, and daily life. This information can add to, or sometimes even contrast with, the narratives of historical sources.

During the course of my ARCE fellowship I spent time working out of the Aswan Inspectorate magazine in order to continue my ongoing study of medieval ceramic finds from the Swiss-Egyptian rescue excavations. The season's study produced many new insights on medieval Aswan and highlighted the importance of incorporating archaeological evidence into what we know about medieval Egypt. From higher-end products to the most utilitarian of objects, the recent finds from Aswan have implications for how we understand both the provincial regions of Egypt in this period, and the relationship between Islamic Egypt and Christian Nubia.

One of the most recognizable aspects of Islamic art and archaeology is the development of glazing techniques and technologies throughout the medieval world. Glazed ceramic objects were used in a variety of ways, from tiles on mosques to simple bowls and plates used in everyday life. Some of the earliest examples of glazed pottery in Egypt are plainly shaped bowls that combine slip-painted decoration with brown, green, or yellow designs with a lead glaze. Often called 'Aswan glazed wares' because of the fine clay fabric associated with the Aswan region, these types of vessels are well known throughout the region.⁵ Fustat (south of downtown Cairo), which was both the capital and main economic center of Egypt at that time, has long been associated with the production of glazed pottery. Without any glazed examples from the south of Egypt, it was assumed that Aswan clay bowls, or even the clay itself, were sent down the Nile for objects to be glazed at the metropolis.⁶ Due to recent excavations throughout the city, it is clear that Aswan glazed wares, and other Early Islamic glazed pottery (Fig. 3), were also likely

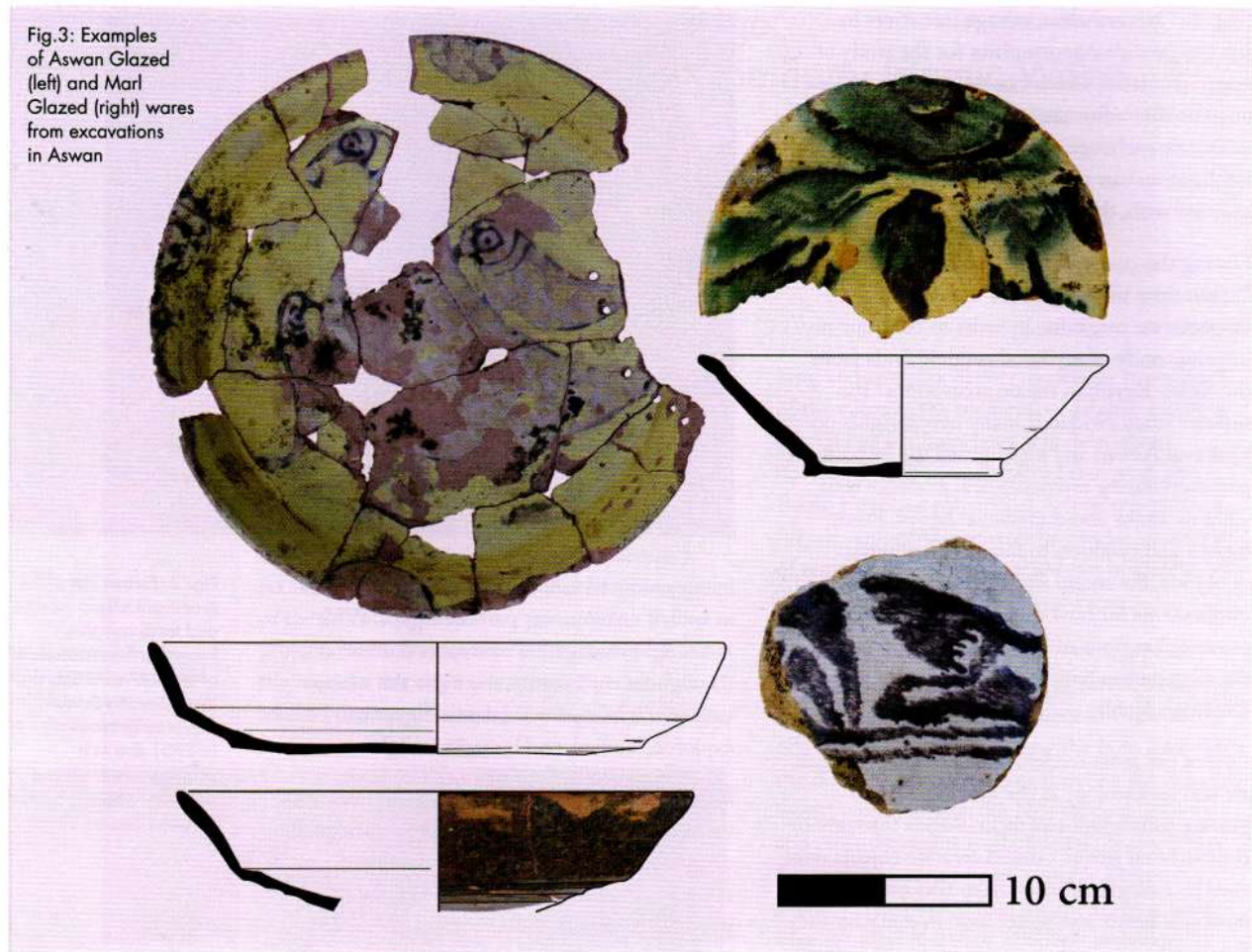


being produced and consumed in the South as well, if not in many parts of Egypt. With increased investigation of medieval urban life throughout the country, the more the vibrant nature of medieval and Islamic Egypt can be explored, studied, and brought to light.

During the 1960s a number of excavations were carried out in the south of Egypt in anticipation of the Aswan High Dam and subsequent creation of Lake Nasser. These excavations provided a great deal information about the history and culture of, among other things, medieval Christian Nubia. During the 11th—13th centuries CE, when Egypt was under the control of the Fatimid and then Ayyubid dynasties, it appears that Lower Nubia up to the 2nd cataract of the Nile imported many domestic vessels from the north. Substantial quantities of the pots people were using to cook with, and the large globular vessels people were using for storage in their homes, for example, were made with this same distinct, Aswan clay.⁷ Originally understood as primarily an export market, the evidence from Aswan, along with more recent studies throughout Upper Egypt and survey in the Eastern desert, shows us that these were the common wares of Aswan and other parts of Egypt as well.⁸ As archaeologists in Egypt continue to find products made

Fig. 2: Former site of the prominent hill-top mosque and tomb complex known as the Mausoleum of the Sab'a wa Sab'in Wali (Seventy-Seven Governors), removed in 1901 due to a public works project, a situation lamented by the architect Somers Clark.

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from the distinct clays of the Aswan region, the salvage excavations there present a unique opportunity to make detailed documentation as to the production and dating of these artifacts. Instead of a city merely at the periphery, Aswan ceramic production was a central node to the region, producing the daily use items of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia throughout during the medieval period.

Perhaps most fascinating is the discovery of the same types of ceramics at sites in the Eastern desert as a result of survey in the region. A number of sites, particularly in the wadis to the south and east of Aswan, show evidence of gold mining and medieval occupation, including

settlements and open-air mosques.⁹ The desert has often been understood as a kind of frontier, away from sedentary, urban life. Being able to demonstrate the shared material culture between places in Egypt, Nubia, and the Eastern desert does show how interconnected these regions were in the medieval period.

So many medieval towns and cities throughout Europe and the Middle East are simply the same cities of today. Rescue excavations allow us to learn about the history and culture of our modern cities by investigating the older phases below, gaining valuable information that would not otherwise be possible to access. While the capital city of Cairo has garnered

much attention in the medieval period for its incredible amount of preserved monuments and collections of historical texts, manuscripts, and rare documents, excavations like those of Aswan do show there is still much to be learned about medieval Egypt beyond the capital, even in the far reaches of the country.

Acknowledgements

My research in Egypt was made possible by many institutions and individuals in Egypt and abroad. I would like to thank the Ministry of State for Antiquities for permission to conduct research in Aswan. I would like to thank everyone at the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research on Ancient Egypt for the opportunity to study material from the salvage initiative Aswan and for their continued support of my research. Finally I would like to thank Djodi Deutsch, Mary Sadek, Jane Smyth and the rest of the ARCE staff for their assistance and support during my fellowship.

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- 2 The use of the term thagr, or boundary, in reference to Aswan can first be found in the anonymous Persian geographical treatise *Hudud al-'alam min al-mashriq ila-maghrib*, see *Hudud al- Alam, The regions of the world: a Persian geography*, 372 A.H.-982 A.D.. English Trans. V. Minorsky (London, 1937). Recent excavations have also been carried out at Hisn al-Bab, the possible location of the historical al-Qasr, which served as the official border or customs post between Egypt and Nubia in this period; See P. Rose, "Hisn al-Bab: A New Project of the Austrian Archaeological Institute/Cairo Branch," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 81 (2012): 137-136.
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- 6 D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at al-Ashmunein V: Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab Periods* (London, 1998), pp 112-113.
- 7 W.Y. Adams, *The Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia* 2 vols. (Lexington, 1986), pp. 553-558.
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FELLOWSHIP REPORT

ANNY GAUL
received a
Pre-Dissertation Travel
Grant in 2015 and is
a doctoral candidate
at Georgetown
University.

In Search of Semna: Studying the Egyptian Kitchen

Anny Gaul

In 1908, the Egyptian women's magazine *al-Jins al-Latif* published an article contrasting the author's vision of the rural Egyptian woman and her urban counterpart. We are told that the country woman, who is praised for her diligence and authenticity, lives a far happier and healthier life than the city woman. Food habits are prominent factors that explain the country woman's superiority: whereas the city woman enjoys baklava and eats only for her own pleasure, the village woman has simpler tastes and the prized ability to feed her family well. Unlike her urban counterpart, the country woman is unconcerned with extraneous kitchen utensils or luxury foods. She wakes up each morning to milk her cow or water buffalo, tend to her poultry, and make her own semna for her family.

As a researcher working on a cultural history of the Egyptian kitchen in the early to mid-twentieth century, this article is precisely the sort of material I spend my days looking for, and I happily set about transcribing it when I found it in *Dar al-Kutub*, Egypt's national library. What made me most excited about this particular article, however, was its mention of *semna*, or clarified butter.

I came to Egypt in September 2016, thanks to an ARCE Predissertation Travel Grant, and continued my research as a CAORC Multi-Country Research grantee and ARCE research associate. A part of that research has been developing themes for the chapters of my doctoral dissertation—and for me, finding *semna* in a text is the equivalent of striking gold. One of my chapters is tentatively titled “Fat as Congealed History: From Semna to Roux in

the Egyptian Kitchen,” and it will explore the concept and substance of fat in all its forms.

The title of the chapter borrows from literary critic Lauren Berlant, who refers to fat as “the congealed form of history that hurts.”¹ While Berlant is referring to the issue of obesity in the contemporary United States, not the cooking habits of mid-century Egypt, her reading of novels that address eating and women's bodies offers a new framework for reading and writing history. This approach entails thinking not only about the archive, but about the body as a site where history can be read—whether through a chronic disease linked to eating or through the tastes of the Egyptian middle classes.

I knew I wanted one of my chapters to hone in on the link between food and understandings of the body, and the more I read, the more “fat” jumped out at me as the ideal lens for thinking through the Egyptian case. *Semna* is an essential ingredient in countless Egyptian recipes; fatness and thinness are key to discussions of women's beauty and health; and fat is a central component of the new paradigm of nutritional science that was introduced into Egyptian magazines and

Photos by author

Fig 1: Foods rich in fats.



cookbooks during the early to mid-twentieth century. The Arabic word for clarified butter, *samn* or *semna*, and the Arabic for fleshiness or corpulence, *siman*, come from the same root. But I also like to think of this linguistic link as a reminder of the connections—linguistic, semantic, symbolic—between what we eat and how we experience or describe our bodies.

So how did I go about locating fat and fatness, semna and siman, in Egypt?

I began with novels. *Bayn al-Qasrayn* (*Palace Walk*), the first novel in Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*, is rich with material for exploring the connection between food and the body. The novel centers on the family of the stern patriarch Ahmad 'Abd al-Gawad. He and his eldest son have a clear preference for full-figured women. The women they desire are described, flatteringly, in terms of their *lahm* and *shahm* and *duhn*—all words for flesh and fat.

This attitude towards women's desirability is reinforced by the fact that the family's maid, Umm Hanafi, is constantly trying to fatten up the daughters of the house, albeit without much success. The more beautiful of the two daughters, 'Aysha, is described as slender and feminine. But this is not because of her eating habits; in fact it's despite them. Although she has a voracious appetite, 'Aysha's figure remains slim. One possible reading of 'Aysha's character within the text might be that her figure is a function not of what she eats, but of generational difference. In other words, rather than using the novel to identify certain eating habits as characteristic of a certain time, I've found fiction to be a productive way to think about the way that attitudes about eating and body type serve as markers of the difference between generations of Egyptians.

To track these attitudes over time, I've turned to the vast repertoire of women's magazines to gather a range of perspectives about fat as it relates to bodies and eating. One typical early example comes from a 1922 article in the



Fig 2: Obesity is a sign of malnutrition.

magazine *Fatat Misr*. The article highlights the dangers of being too thin; its dietary recommendations focus on foods that will fill you out, including copious amounts of milk. The author argues that women with fat on their bodies are stronger and healthier, and better equipped to fight off disease.

In the mid-1920s, we begin to see articles about new advances in nutritional science translated from European languages into Arabic in publications like *al-Siyasa al-Ushwiyya*. Gradually, through the 1930s and 40s, information about new nutritional paradigms dividing food into fats, proteins, and carbohydrates made its way into Egyptian magazines, cookbooks, and textbooks.

By the 1930s, the women's magazine *Fatat al-Sharq* was offering a very different take on fat and diet. A 1934 article in the magazine assumes that body fat is undesirable and attributes it, in part, to excessive eating. It prescribes a strict diet and exercises to address what it describes as the “problem” of fat. Not only does the article recommend strict rationing at meals, it dictates that all fat must be trimmed off meat before it is eaten. By the 1940s and 50s, images of slender European models were offered not only as fashion plates but ideal body types, the direct result of proper eating and exercise habits. In a 1946 article in the magazine *Bint al-Nil*, a woman's *shahm*, or body fat, is described as unattractive and unhealthy—a far cry from the women in Mahfouz's novel whose *shahm* made them an object of desire.

FELLOWSHIP REPORT

Fig 3: Semna mulukhiya in progress.

Cookbooks provide yet another perspective on fat, and are a particularly good source for discerning the role that fat played in perceptions of taste and class. The most famous Egyptian cookbook author, Abla Nazira, published her epic tome of recipes in 1941. In the late 1920s, she had been part of a delegation of Egyptian women sent to the United Kingdom for advanced studies. After two years at the Gloucestershire College of Domestic Science, she transposed the philosophy of continental cooking into an Arabic and Egyptian context—starting with that fundamental component of French cooking, the sauce. Bechamel in particular was destined to become widely popular among the middle classes emerging in Egyptian cities in the first half of the twentieth century, connoting a sense of sophistication connected with a particular class sensibility. The culinary treatment of fat, as a cooking ingredient, was an essential element of this new kind of sauce.

This is highlighted by Abla Nazira in her introduction to a chapter on sauces. She describes the essential elements of a good sauce, following the paradigms of continental cooking: the first key ingredient is a form of fat, followed by a thickening agent, a liquid, and seasoning or flavoring elements. She explains that a good sauce has many benefits—not only can it add to a dish's nutritional value, it can also improve its aesthetics. One benefit she describes in this vein is how sauce minimizes the strong aromas (nakha) of fatty substances found in foods like duck and goose. These are pointed examples of birds associated with the Egyptian countryside; Abla Nazira is essentially arguing that the proper manipulation of fat can produce a sauce that renders even a country bird like Egyptian duck more palatable and sophisticated. Abla Nazira's cookbook might be read as promoting a particular standard of good taste—one that is rooted not only in scientific understandings of nutrition and judgements about class and refinement, but also in the sensory and visceral experiences of tasting itself.



Finally, my exploration of fat in Egyptian cooking would not have been complete without supplementing these rich textual sources with what I have learned from my Egyptian friends and colleagues and their families. I've been lucky to watch cooking demonstrations involving semna and have heard many stories about how families in the city source their semna from the countryside to this day, or make it at home in huge batches twice a year. Egyptians have shared memories about grandmothers who loved sheep fat so much they ate it plain, and others who shunned semna altogether in favor of alternatives they perceived as more sophisticated, healthier, or both. I've wandered through Cairo's Agricultural Museum to see how fat was explained visually and textually in its educational displays about nutrition. Perhaps the greatest benefit of the grants that have supported my research is that they have afforded me the opportunity not only to locate and read so many fascinating texts, but to do so in conversation with the true experts on the Egyptian kitchen—Egyptians themselves.

Citation

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The Complex of Qalāwūn: From Cassas to Creswell

Iman R. Abdulfattah



One of the great advantages to working on the Mamluk period (1250-1517) is the plethora of surviving medieval source materials on the social history of Egypt and Syria. Representative of this bounty is the trove of scholarship available on Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur Sayf al-Din Qalāwūn (r. 1279-1290), and on the complex that he commissioned (1284-1285) on the site of the 10th century Fatimid Western Palace located in the commercial and ceremonial heart of Cairo known as Bayn al-Qasrayn (Between the Two Palaces). To put this complex and surrounding urban fabric in a more familiar context, two of the most distinguished historians of the medieval Islamic world—Ibn Batutta (1304-1369) and Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406)—preserved in their writings rich descriptions of

the area. However, Bayn al-Qasrayn is known to most people today from the first novel in Naguib Mahfouz's (1911-2006) *Cairo Trilogy*, one of the prime works of the Egyptian Nobel Laureate's literary career (Fig. 1).

This urban complex is recognized today, as it was earlier in its history, as one of the finest medieval buildings ever erected and one of the most ambitious architectural projects of the period. Paramount is that it is the first Cairene monument to combine pious, charitable, and civic functions within a single edifice from its inception, a feature that left a lasting mark on the cityscape. Qalāwūn's massive complex



MS. ABDULFATTAH is a doctoral candidate at the University of Bonn. She was an ARCE Fellow in 2015-2016, supported by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Her research topic was: *A Sultan and His Monument: The Role of the Complex of Qalāwūn in the Development of Mamluk Architecture.*

Fig. 1: Bayn al-Qasrayn ca. 1880, J. Pascal Sébah, Somers Clarke MSS. 11.178. (Reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

Fig. 2: Complex of Qalāwūn, K.A.C. Creswell Papers and Photograph Collection of Islamic Architecture (© Rare Books and Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo).

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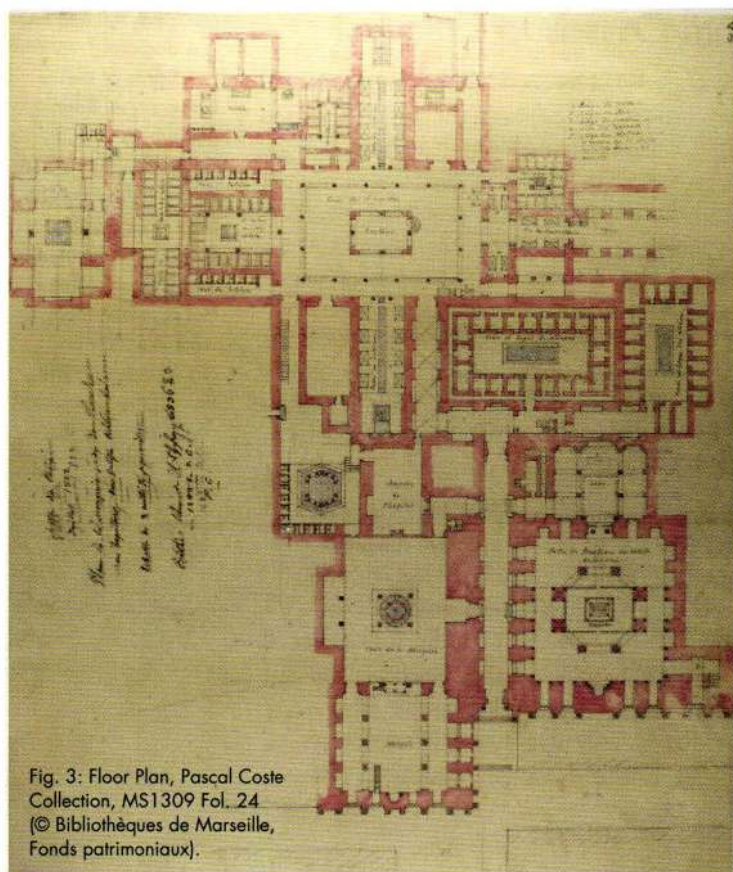


Fig. 3: Floor Plan, Pascal Coste Collection, MS1309 Fol. 24 (© Bibliothèques de Marseille, Fonds patrimoniaux).

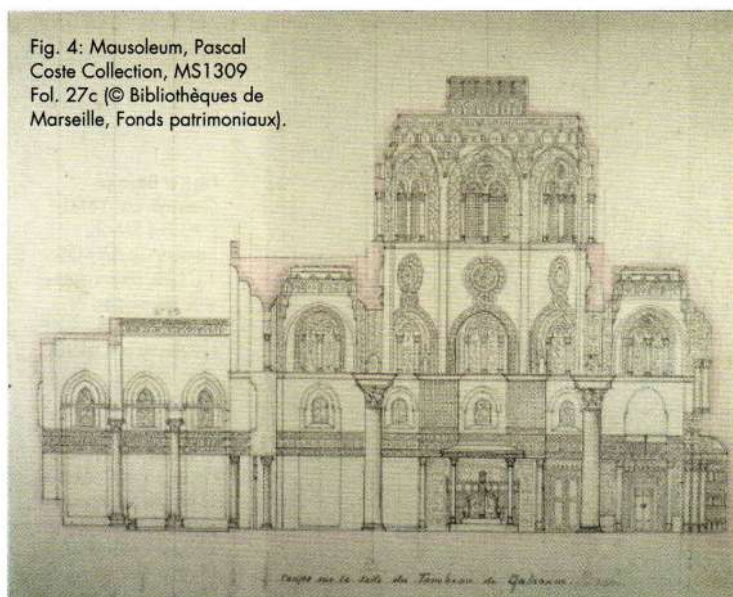


Fig. 4: Mausoleum, Pascal Coste Collection, MS1309 Fol. 27c (© Bibliothèques de Marseille, Fonds patrimoniaux).

(Fig. 2) consisted of a charitable hospital (*bimaristan*), an Islamic college of jurisprudence (*madrasa*), the sultan's mausoleum (*qubba*), as well as a public water dispensary attached to an elementary Qur'anic school (*maktab-sabil*). Each of these units served additional functions that were specifically outlined in the founding endowment deeds (*waqfiyyāt*).¹

Between the extant endowment deeds,² epigraphy (*kitabāt*), regnal histories (*tarāḡim al-mulūk*), topographical tracks (*khitāt*), encyclopedic compendia (*mawsū'āt*), biographical dictionaries (*tabaqāt*), annals/chronicles (*kutub hawliyyāt*), and travel narratives (*kutub al-rahbala*) written by Mamluk and Ottoman scholars, an exceeding amount of data is preserved that gives us a picture of how the complex functioned and appeared until the modern period. More contemporary scholars—from Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhab to K. A. C. Creswell, Michael Meinecke, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Linda Northrup, and Muhammad Hamza al-Haddad—have interpreted these texts to shed light on its historical significance, the origins of the decoration, and the sultan's life and reign.

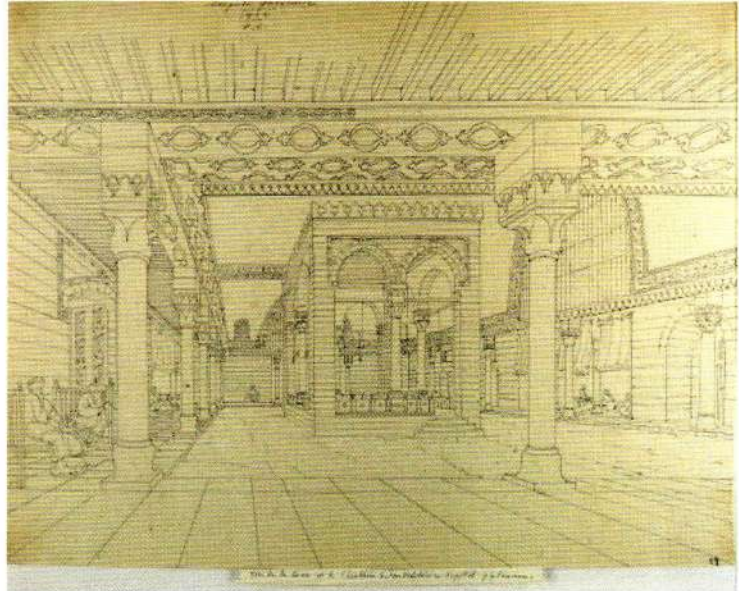
Yet, while studies on the complex's medieval incarnations exist, equally important is an understanding of the major changes that were made to it during the 19th and 20th centuries. Understanding the complex's later history, which has largely been ignored in most research due to a common aversion to incorporating the 'modern' in scholarly studies on medieval topics, is important owing to the tremendous pictorial and scholarly output since the French Occupation of Egypt (1798–1801). One notable exception is the entry on the complex in a two-volume biography by Istvan Ormos about the life and career of an architect who played an important role in modern Egyptian history.³ When studied individually these collections provide a synchronic reading of the complex, and when viewed together they are urban artifacts that record the changes that occurred to it over time.

Visual Representations

Like their ancient counterparts, the impressive medieval monuments of Cairo caught the attention and imagination of many European artists, architects, draftsmen, and photographers, such as Louis Francois Cassas (1756-1827), who illustrated a wedding procession passing by the complex and adjoining monuments in 1785: his engraving is a testament to the important ceremonies that were celebrated along Bayn al-Qasrayn for centuries and which were recorded in the literature.⁴ However, it was not until a French architect named Pascal Coste (1787-1879) gained employment in Egypt as Muhammad Ali Pasha's (r. 1805-1848) chief engineer, from 1817 to 1827, that the complex was surveyed extensively.⁵

He executed a total of 16 detailed study drawings of the complex, including plans of each of its three main units, the facade, and the interior of the *qubba*, *madrasa*, and *bimaristan* (Figs. 3-4). His drawings are quite important because they feature parts of the building that no longer exist; they also corroborate descriptions in the above-mentioned Arabic sources. For example, as backed by the endowment deeds and descriptive accounts, the *bimaristan* was the most lavish and most famous of the three components, often lending its name to the entire complex. The *bimaristan* was the centerpiece of this charitable institution, which served the growing population of Cairo through the post-Ottoman period, at which time it fell into considerable disrepair and was finally demolished in 1910.⁶ Coste's drawings show aspects that are impossible to see today, besides allowing scholars and visitors alike to understand, if not imagine, its former grandeur and the circulation of space within the hospital more accurately (Fig. 5).

With the advent of still photography in the first half of the 19th century, many pioneering photographers staged and took photographs of the complex and its immediate vicinity prior to the major restorations that commenced several decades later. French daguerreotypist



and draftsman Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-1892) captured impressive architectural and landscape views in the Eastern Mediterranean during his 1842-1843 sojourn. Remarkably, his daguerreotypes—the earliest surviving views of the region—were rediscovered in 1920 on his estate in the outskirts of Paris, but only became widely known when auctioned by Christie's in 2003.⁷ One of his daguerreotypes is a full view of the complex's minaret that projects onto Bayn al-Qasrayn, while another is a close-up showing the finely carved details on the minaret's crenelations (Fig. 6).⁸ Besides their historical significance, these daguerreotypes record some of the cosmetic facelifts that were applied in the Ottoman period when many Islamic monuments were painted with the *ablaq* scheme of alternating red and white stripes.

As Egypt continued to hold a special allure for Western viewers and developed as an active field for archaeological discoveries and exploration, many longstanding photographers sought to document the monuments. At the center of much of this activity was Bayn al-Qasrayn and Qalāwūn's complex. Among the prolific names that embraced the medium and complex as a subject are the Beirut-based

Fig. 5: Hospital Court, Pascal Coste Collection, MS1309 Fol. 28 (© Bibliothèques de Marseille, Fonds patrimoniaux).

FELLOWSHIP REPORT

Bonfils family (active 1867-1907), the Sébah family (active 1857-1952), Gabriel Lekegian (active 1870-1890), and the Zangaki Brothers

(active 1870-1890) (Figs. 7-8).⁹ These dated photos have been and can continue to be used today to identify changes that were made to the building and surroundings, as well as reconstruct those parts of the complex that exist only in a partial state. Together with Creswell's (1879-1974) massive photographic collection at The American University in Cairo, we have a better understanding of the longevity, survival, and transformation of the complex through the 20th century.¹⁰

A Brief Introduction to Activities of the Comité

Due to the poor state of many of these buildings, the Comité was established in 1881 by Khedive Tawfiq (r. 1879-1892) to oversee the preservation of Egypt's Islamic and Coptic monuments. They carried out much-needed restoration and repair work in the Complex of Qalāwūn between 1884 and 1961, with the greatest and most intense period of activity occurring during 1903-1914 under the supervision of Max Herz (1856-1919).¹¹ Like many other Islamic monuments in Cairo, Qalāwūn's complex was inhabited by squatters, missing its dome, riddled with cracks, and threatened by the rising groundwater.

In addition to surveying, documenting, and carrying out repairs in the complex, the Comité published some of their findings, interventions, plans, historical summaries, and photographs in several volumes of their bulletins. Less accessible and, therefore, underutilized by scholars today are their unpublished notes and correspondences that are in the Ministry of Antiquities' Department of Islamic and Coptic Archives, and their unpublished plans and photos of the building that are kept in the Center for the Documentation of Islamic and Coptic Antiquities. Assessing both the published and unpublished Comité documents is important because they provide insight into the transformation of the complex from its original function, through periods of neglect and dilapidation, to its reinvention as a registered monument (no. 43). For instance,

Fig. 6: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, Kaire. Moristan, Det. [oil], 1843, 18.7x11.9 cm.

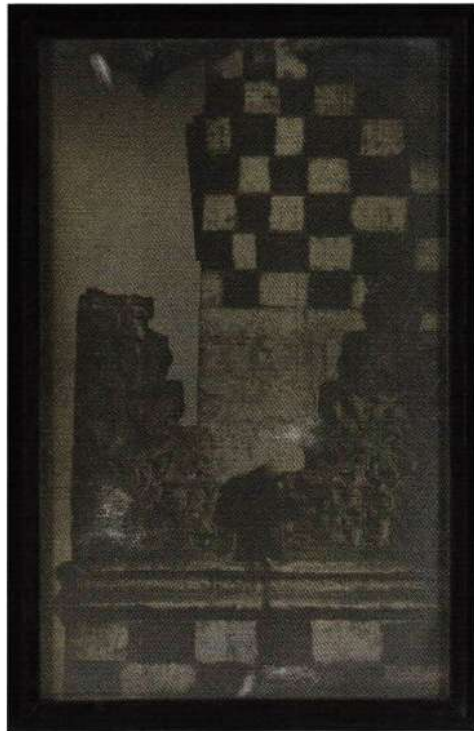
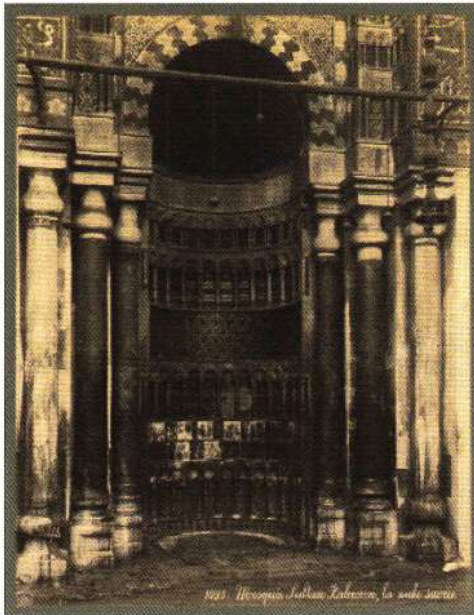


Fig. 7: Prayer Niche, Maison Bonfils (Beirut, Lebanon), Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-04037.



in 1889, a massive urban campaign was launched to clear the stalls and shacks in and around the building, the purpose being its eventual isolation and re-packaging as a major tourist destination. Descriptions of shops and apartments—some privately owned and others *waqf* properties—that obstructed the view of the facade abound in their reports (Fig. 9).¹² In other Comité documents the sanctuary *iwān* (hall) of the *madrasa* is presented as no longer preserving some of its signature features, which is impossible to imagine today after it was significantly rebuilt (Fig. 10).¹³

In 1919, Herz published a monograph on the complex entitled *Die Baugruppe des Sultans Qalāwūn in Cairo*, in which he provided first-hand observations based on the restoration work he supervised, as well as images, a revised plan, and a transcription of some of the epigraphy. In addition to Herz, several other architects and scholars affiliated with the Comité published thematic monographs on Cairo's Islamic monuments that are of significant relevance to any proper study on the complex. Max Van Berchem included a catalogue of the epigraphy in his seminal study of Arabic inscriptions, as did the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) in their chronological series of Arabic inscriptions;¹⁴ both have been supplemented by the more comprehensive *Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo*, an ARCE-funded database that includes images, re-readings and revised translations of all the inscriptions and inscribed artifacts that were transferred to the Museum of Islamic Art.¹⁵ Additionally, some of the elaborately carved and painted wooden beams that decorated the Fatimid Western Palace and that were reused as building material in the complex were published by Edmond Pauty in 1931 and 1933, followed by a more comprehensive study of all the panels that was carried out in 1990 by Sabiha al-Khemir.¹⁶

Despite the specificity of some of these publications, the Comité did not always fully disclose their activities, particularly with regards to changes made to the inscription program



Fig. 8: Mausoleum, Maison Bonfils (Beirut, Lebanon), Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-04039.

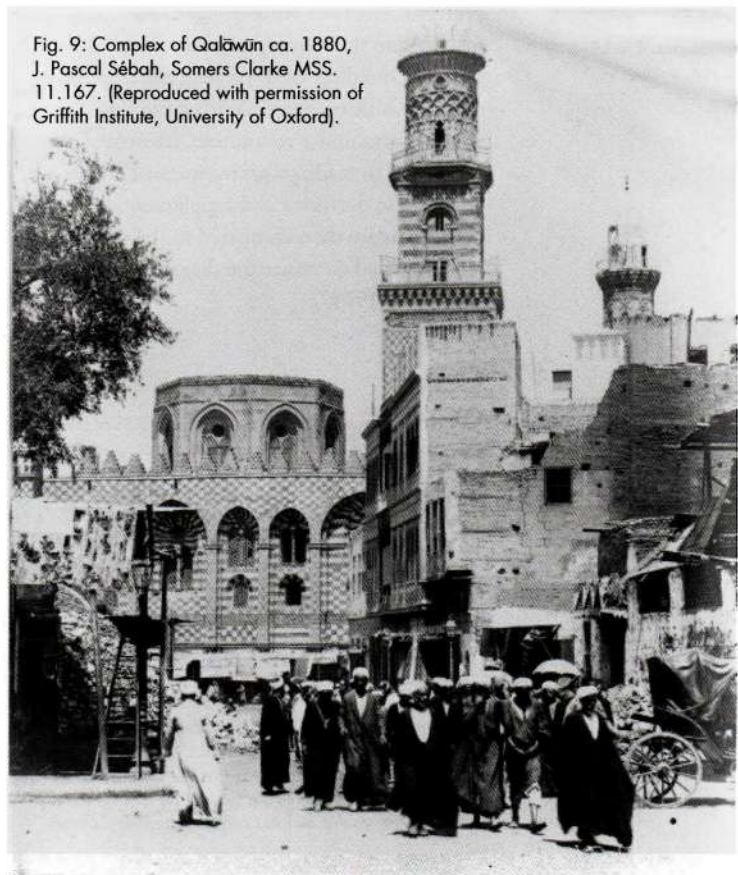


Fig. 9: Complex of Qalāwūn ca. 1880, J. Pascal Sébah, Somers Clarke MSS. 11.167. (Reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

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Fig. 10: Madrasa, sanctuary *iwān* [© Center for the Documentation of Islamic and Coptic Antiquities, The Ministry of Antiquities].

and the arrangement of some of the Fatimid woodwork when it was first discovered in 1910.¹⁷ Nevertheless, their work gives readers today insight into the reinterpretation of an important standing building vis-à-vis their developing decision-making process during the time the complex was under restoration. Moreover, an extra level to reading this monument is possible when these decisions and supplementary collections are then compared to the restoration works carried out since the dissolution of the Comité in 1961.

Citations

- 1 Al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 31: 105-106; and Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2:204.
- 2 There are a total of three *waqf* documents specific to the Complex of Qalāwūn that are currently housed in the Ministry of Endowments: a founding *waqfiyyā* for the hospital, a second one for the mausoleum, and a smaller one for the madrasa. For a list of the numerous additions and new *waf*s that were added to the complex, see: 'Abd al-Jawad, "Ba'd Adwa' Jadidah 'ala Wazifat Nazir al-Bimaristan al-Mansuri," 209-212.
- 3 Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha* (1856-1919), 1:255-260. Herz was a Hungarian architect, conservator and scholar who was appointed as the chief architect and de facto head of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe (hereafter Comité).

- 4 Warner, *The Monuments of Historic Cairo*, 28, Fig. 24.
- 5 Coste bequeathed his papers, including 1051 original drawings of the architecture, landscape and daily life in Egypt, to the Bibliothèques de Marseille, Fonds patrimoniaux.
- 6 Comité, *Bulletin du Comité: Fascicule XXVI* (1909), 66; and Creswell, *MAE*, 2-206.
- 7 Christie, Manson & Woods, *Important daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey* (18 May, 2003), 8-9; and *Idem* (20 May, 2003), 8-10.
- 8 Christie, Manson & Woods, *Important daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey* (18 May, 2003), 97, Fig. 76.
- 9 Felix Bonfils and Gabriel Lekegian donated prints of the prayer niche and interior of the mausoleum to the Comité, which were stored in their photo archives and distributed among their members: Comité, *Bulletin du Comité, Fascicule VII* (1890), 111; *Idem, Fascicule IX* (1892), 40, No. 1096; and *Idem, Fascicule XII*, 67. Other photos of the complex taken by J. Pascal Sébah are in the archives of the Griffith Institute at the University of Oxford.
- 10 The K.A.C. Creswell Papers and Photograph Collection of Islamic Architecture were acquired by AUC in 1956, when the Rare Books and Special Collections Library took ownership of Creswell's Library: Karnouk, "The Creswell Library: a Legacy," 122-123.
- 11 This time frame was identified by culling all of the Comité's published bulletins, as well as their unpublished notes and correspondences that are preserved in the Ministry of Antiquities' Department of Islamic and Coptic Archives in Cairo. Herz headed the Comité from 1890 to 1914: Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha*, 255.
- 12 Comité, *Bulletin du Comité: Fascicule VI* (1890), 27. This campaign lasted through the 1950s, and is one of the reoccurring topics in the Comité archives: Ministry of Antiquities' Department of Islamic and Coptic Archives in Cairo: Qalāwūn file, correspondences no. 129 and 154.
- 13 Ministry of Antiquities' Department of Islamic and Coptic Archives in Cairo: Qalāwūn file, correspondence no. 200.
- 14 Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* I, tome 19, fasc. 4, *Égypte* 1, 125-140 and 730-731; and Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* 13, 30-38.

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- 15 O'Kane, et al., *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo* (The Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. [ARCE] under USAID Grant N. 263-0000-G-00-3089-00).
- 16 In 1910, during the course of routine renovation work, a number of elaborately carved wooden panels were discovered by Herz in the rooms behind the bimāristān's north-east iwān, more specifically the short branches of the T-plan space: Comit , *Bulletin du Comit : Fascicule XXVII* (1911), 15, 144-146 Creswell, MAE, 2:208; Pauty, *Catalogue general du mus e arab du Caire*, 30-52; Idem, "Un dispositif de plafond fatimite," 99-107; and al-Khemir, "The Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:20.
- 17 Al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:53-64.
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- Layla 'Abd al-Jaw d, "Ba'd adwa' jadidah 'ala wazifat Nazir al-Bimaristan al-Mansuri," *Majallat al-Mu'arrikh al-'Arabi*, 3 (1995): 205-255.
- Christie, Manson & Woods, *Important daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey from the Archive of the Artist* (London: Christie's, 18 May, 2003).
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- Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet, *R pertoire chronologique d' pigraphie arabe 13* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut fran ais d'arch ologie orientale, 1944).
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- Sabiha al-Khemir, "The Palace of Sitt al-Mulk and Fatimid Imagery," 2 Vols. PhD Dissertation (London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990).
- Ahmad ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arab fi funn al-adab*, 31 Vols. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Mis ri-yah, 1923-1955).
- Bernard O'Kane, et al., *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo* (The Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. [ARCE] under USAID Grant N. 263-0000-G-00-3089-00).
- Istv n Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha (1856-1919): His Life and Career*, 2 Vols. (Cairo: Institut fran ais d'arch ologie orientale, 2009).
- Edmond Pauty, *Catalogue general du mus e arab du Caire: les bois sculpt s jusqu'  l' poque Ayyoubide* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut fran ais d'arch ologie orientale, 1931).
- _____, "Un dispositif de plafond fatimite," *Bulletin de l'Institut de Egypt* 15 (1933), 99-107.
- Max van Berchem, *Mat riaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* I, tome 19, fasc. 4, * gypte* 1 (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1894-1903).
- Nicholas Warner, *The Monuments of Historic Cairo: A Map and Descriptive Catalogue* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005).



68th ARCE Annual Meeting

APRIL 21–23, 2017 • INTERCONTINENTAL AT THE PLAZA HOTEL, KANSAS CITY

ARCE's 68th Annual Meeting in Kansas City April 21–23 was of a high standard that has become routine in recent years, with more than 330 attendees, 119 papers—three of which were delivered by guests from Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities—and nine graduate student posters. ARCE Chapters were especially well represented at the meeting.

This year's special reception was a lovely event held at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, with all gallery spaces open to ARCE attendees. The Nelson-Atkins was also the venue for a special lecture delivered by French Egyptologist and archaeologist Pierre Tallet, who spoke on his teams' work at the site of Wadi el Jarf. He described the fascinating find of the world's earliest known harbor and the earliest papyri to date, which provided extraordinary details of work carried out during the building of the Great Pyramid at Giza.

The ARCE Chapter Council Fundraiser presented a panel discussion entitled *Hidden Rooms and a Missing Mummy-in-Law: Tut, Tut, What is Really Going On?* moderated by Dr. Kara Cooney and including panelists Dr. James Allen, Dr. Aidan Dodson, and Dr. Salima Ikram. Chapter Council Fundraisers each year raise money for student awards presented at the ARCE Annual Meeting. Meeting registration costs for all 19 student contestants were also covered by the ARCE Chapter Council.

This year, three awards were given out in both the Best Student Paper category and Best Graduate Student Poster category for a total of six awards. These were presented during the Members' Reception on Saturday night to the students by Chapter Council President JJ Shirley and incoming ARCE Director, Jane Zimmerman.

The 68th Annual Meeting was bittersweet in that ARCE both welcomed its new Executive Director Jane Zimmerman to her first ARCE Annual Meeting and said thank you and good-bye to Dr. Gerry Scott after 14 years as Executive Director. With the US headquarters moving to the Washington, DC area, ARCE also said good-bye to long-time staff in San Antonio, including Rachel Mauldin, Assistant Director for US Operations; Kathann El-Amin, CFO; Kathleen Scott, Publications Director; and Maribeth Kalfoglou, Membership Coordinator.

With ARCE headed in new directions and under new leadership, you will no doubt be hearing more about this new phase of ARCE's history during the coming year. We hope you will make plans to attend the 69th Annual Meeting in Tucson, Arizona, April 20–22, 2018 at which ARCE will mark its 70th anniversary.

All photos by Kathleen Scott

Best Student Paper Contest

1ST PLACE—Heba Abdelsalam
Middle Tennessee State University
*Implementing Public History Methods
in Egyptology: Case Study at Mallawi
Museum in Minya*



2ND PLACE—Jen Thum
ARCE Fellow
Funded by the US State Department
Educational and Cultural Affairs
Bureau through a grant from CAORC,
the Council of American Overseas
Research Centers. She is a doctoral
candidate at the Joukowsky Institute,
at Brown University. The paper she
presented was titled, *Adventures in
Living-Rock Stelae*



3RD PLACE—Brendan Hainline
University of Chicago
*Terminology of the Tomb in the Pyramid
Texts as a Criterion for Dating*



Best Student Poster Contest

1ST PLACE—Christian Casey
Brown University
Digital Demonic: New Tools and Methods



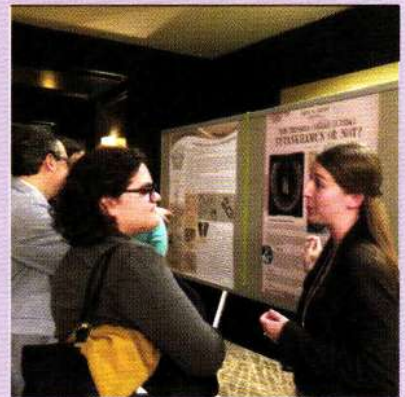
2ND PLACE—Laurel Hackley
Brown University
The Cowrie Shell as a Protective Eye



3RD PLACE—Martin Uildriks
Brown University
*Breaking Down the Walls:
Contextualizing the Cities Palette*



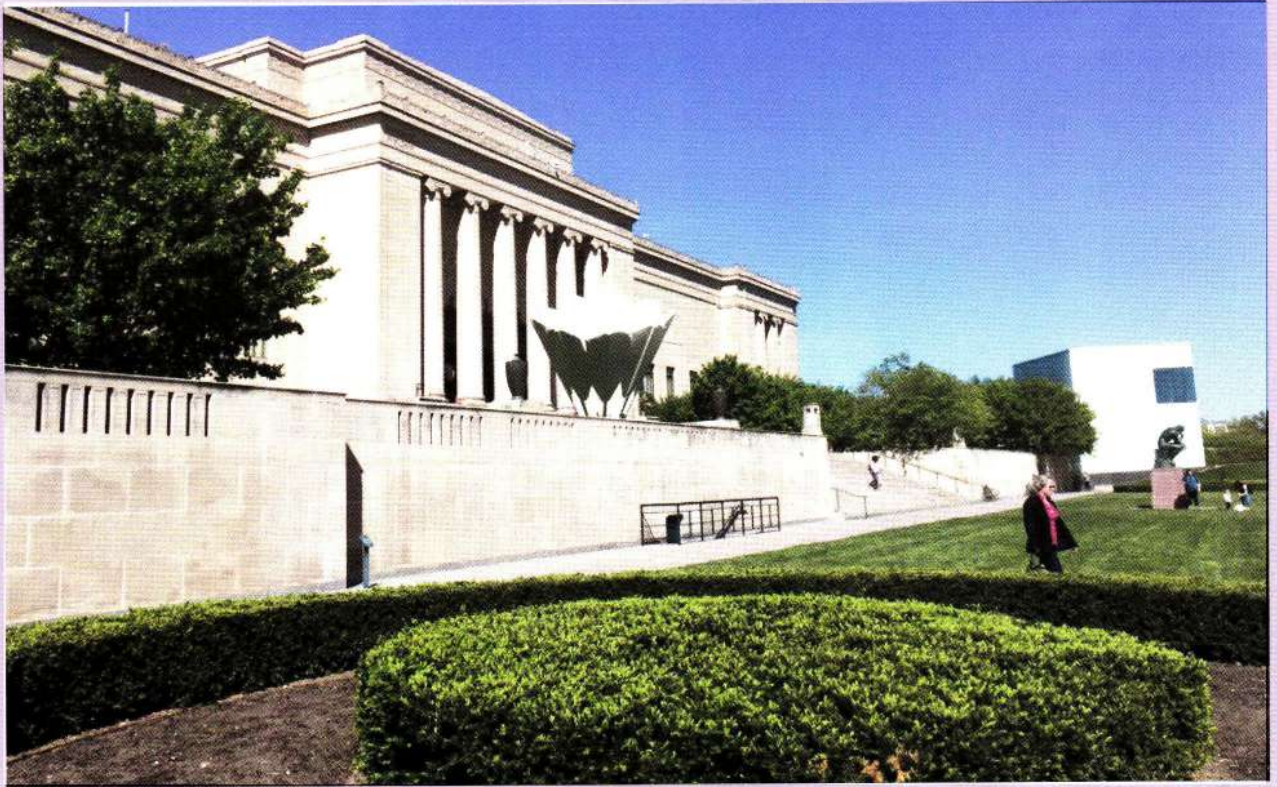
ARCE's new Executive Director Jane Zimmerman speaks to guests at the President's Reception, April 20.



Graduate Student Poster contestants discuss their work with attendees.



Volunteers and staff assist attendees at the registration table.



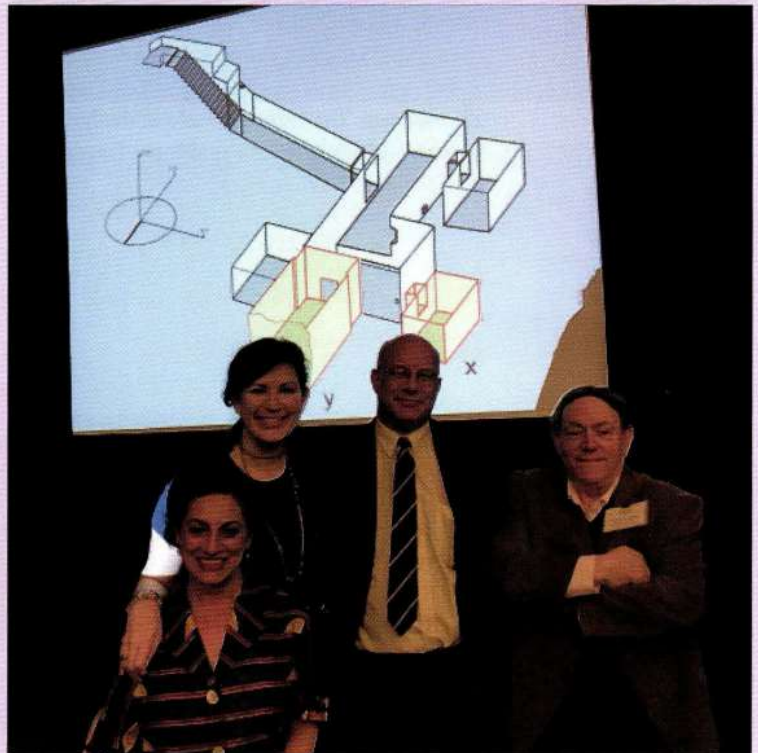
Clockwise from top:

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art was the site for a reception on April 21 and a special lecture on April 23.

ARCE Cairo staff members Rania Radwan and Mary Sadek join the Ministry of Antiquities Inspectors as they enjoy the lovely afternoon at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

Nelson-Atkins Curator of Ancient Art, Robert Cohon (left) with Pierre Tallet and Gerry Scott.

Dr. Scott (far right) recognizes ARCE's special guests from the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities: from left—Ibrahim Mustafa Ibrahim, Inspector, Alexandria; Ahmed Mohamed Gabr, Inspector, Beni Sueif; and Mohamed Abdelaziz Gabr, Inspector, Daqahliya.



Clockwise from top left:

Dr. Gerry Scott reviews the year past and pays tribute to ARCE's San Antonio staff.

Emily Teeter and Carol Redmount present outgoing Director Gerry Scott with a token of ARCE's appreciation for his 14 years of service.

The Chapter Council Fundraiser with Salima Ikram, Kara Cooney, Aidan Dodson, and James Allen.

On Sunday April 23 Dr. Pierre Tallet of the Sorbonne, Paris, delivers a special lecture at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art entitled "The Port, the Papyrus, and the Pyramid".

Steve Harvey presents a paper "In the Shadow of the Last Pyramid: Predynastic Finds Beneath Ahmose's Monuments at Abydos."

ARCE Celebrates in Washington DC

Jennifer Archer, Interim Development Director

On May 24, 2017, ARCE hosted a celebratory reception to mark the move of its headquarters from San Antonio, Texas to Washington, DC and to welcome its new Executive Director, Jane Zimmerman. The event was held at the historic home of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation in Washington, DC which:

- Promotes public understanding of international affairs and diplomacy through scholarships, lectures, publications, and conferences; and
- Preserves the historic DACOR Bacon House, an architectural treasure, as a living testament to America's diplomatic heritage, and a center for educational and cultural activities.

Establishing ARCE in our nation's capital and bringing Jane on board mark the first steps in realizing the organization's vision to be a world leader—in partnership with Egypt—for the understanding and preservation of its cultural heritage. In the months and years ahead, Jane and the rest of the DC and Cairo-based staff look forward to implementing ARCE's strategic plan focused on supporting research on all aspects of Egyptian history and culture, fostering a broader knowledge about Egypt among the general public, and strengthening American-Egyptian cultural ties.

ARCE was honored to welcome His Excellency Yasser Reda, the Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt as well as Professor Mohamed Samid Hamza from the Egyptian Embassy that evening. Ambassador Reda

expressed his great pleasure in welcoming ARCE to DC and a strong interest in working together in the years to come.

In addition, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida attended as did Congressmen Jack Bergman, Bill Huizenga, John Moolenaar, and Tim Walberg. We were also pleased that Assistant Secretary of State Stuart Jones and former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Egypt Anne Patterson, and Deputy Assistant Secretaries of State John Desrocher and Larry Schwartz joined us as did so many of our other friends and colleagues from the State Department, USAID, partner organizations, and ARCE members, chapter representatives and donors. A number of ARCE's Board members were in attendance including Board president Melinda Hartwig (Emory University's Michael C. Carlos Museum), vice president Betsy Bryan (Johns Hopkins University), Jim Allen (Brown University), Dave Anderson (University of Wisconsin-La Crosse), Janice Kamrin (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Erin Mosely (ISM Strategies) and Terry Rakolta.

ARCE is looking forward to hosting many more events in the Washington, DC area in the future to share the work of its institutional members—truly leaders in the field of Egyptology, archaeology, art history and much more—as well as its own efforts in Egypt and across the United States through its network of thirteen chapters. Establishing itself in Washington, DC will certainly help ARCE bring attention to the importance of preserving Egyptian cultural heritage now and in the future.



Clockwise from top left:

From left to right: ARCE Board of Governors President Melinda Hartwig, Egyptian Ambassador Yasser Reda, ARCE Executive Director Jane Zimmerman, and ARCE Board of Governors Vice-President Betsy Bryan.

Left to right: Jane Zimmerman, Betsy Bryan, Melinda Hartwig, Senator Marco Rubio, and Terry Rakolta

Board President Melinda Hartwig welcomed the guests to the ARCE reception, along with Executive Director Jane Zimmerman

ARCE Washington DC Chapter president Carol Boyer and her husband Craig Boyer, ARCE DC board member, visit with ARCE Volunteer Gotthard Szabo (center) at the historic DACOR Bacon House reception.

Egyptian Ambassador Yasser Reda speaks with US Congressman from Michigan, John Moolenaar, and Jane Zimmerman (center).

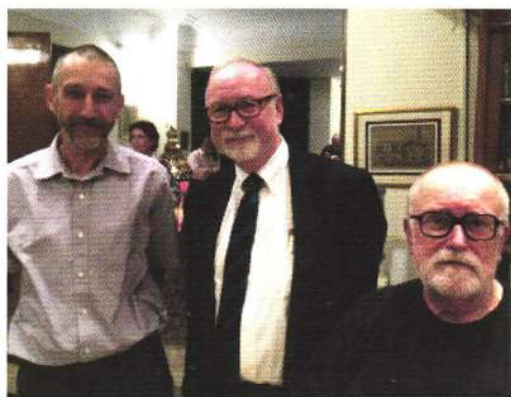
All photos courtesy of John Zimmerman



ARCE IFTAR CELEBRATION 2017

Cairo staff and their families gathered to break their Ramadan fast at the annual ARCE Iftar celebrated on June 14. New Executive Director Jane Zimmerman, along with outgoing Director Gerry Scott welcomed everyone as the sun set over the Nile.

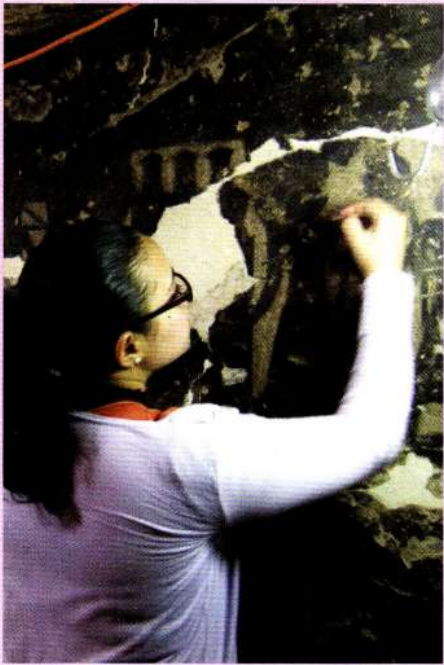
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To become a member call 703-721-3479 or visit arce.org.