



THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

*Annual Meeting  
at the  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor  
April 11-13, 1997*

PROGRAM & ABSTRACTS

**THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT**

**FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING**

**ANN ARBOR, APRIL 11-13, 1997**

**PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS**

## SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to extend our thanks to our hosts for this year's meeting at the University of Michigan: the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, the Department of History, the Department of Classical Studies, the University of Michigan Library, the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the Exhibit Museum of Natural History, the Department of the History of Art, the Museum of Anthropology, the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies, and, in particular, Dr. Elaine Gazda, Director of the Kelsey Museum. Her invitation to come to Ann Arbor this spring gives us the opportunity to view the exhibitions "Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt: From Prehistory to Late Antiquity" and "Death in Ancient Egypt" currently at the museum. We would also like to extend our gratitude to the University of Michigan International Institute for their generous support of the Islamicist panels of Robin Barlow and Juan Cole.

Our special thanks to Janet Richards and Terry Wilfong for arranging the panels for the Egyptological section of the program and to Juan Cole for arranging the panels for the Islamicist section of the program.

We are indebted to members of our host's staffs: Christina McIntosh, Ellen Morris, Helen Baker, Jackie Monk, Becky Loomis and Todd Gerring, who helped so much with the myriad details that go into preparing an annual meeting. We also appreciate the help of the University of Michigan volunteers who helped with registration.

We would like to acknowledge the work of our ARCE staff, Elaine Schapker, Catherine Clyne, and Livia Alexander, all of whom had a hand in making the annual meeting possible.

### *The Cover*

*Design by Claudia Baudo*

*Image: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Accession number 4651. Gilded plaster face mask. Late Ptolemaic-Early Roman Periods (first century B.C. - first century A.D.). From the Kelsey Museum Exhibition "Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt: From Prehistory to Late Antiquity"*

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### MEETING HIGHLIGHTS

**Welcome:** Amphitheatre, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies  
Friday, April 11, 9:30 a.m.

**Business Meeting:** Amphitheatre, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies  
Friday, April 11, 4:00 - 5:00 p.m.

**Keynote Address:** Amphitheatre, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies  
Friday, April 11, 5:00 - 6:00 p.m.

**Reception:** Hall of Evolution, The Exhibit Museum of Natural History  
Friday, April 11, 6:00 - 7:30 p.m.

**Egyptian Antiquities Project Update:** Robert K. Vincent, Jr., Project Director  
Amphitheatre, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies  
Saturday, April 12, 9:00 - 10:00 a.m.

**ARCE Annual Banquet:** Regency Ballroom, Campus Inn  
Saturday, April 12, 6:30 p.m. (reception), 7:30 - 9:30 p.m. (banquet)

**Board of Governors Meeting:** Kuenzel Room, Michigan Union  
Sunday, April 13, 8:00 - 11:00 a.m.

# FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

## AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

ANN ARBOR, APRIL 11-13, 1997

### University of Michigan Co-Hosts :

Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Department of History,  
Department of Classical Studies, University of Michigan Library,  
Department of Near Eastern Studies, Exhibit Museum of Natural History,  
Department of History of Art, Museum of Anthropology,  
Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies

## PROGRAM

### THURSDAY, APRIL 10

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9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Executive Committee Meeting	Kalamazoo Room Michigan League
6:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Advanced registration	Boardroom 306 Campus Inn
6:30 p.m.	Reception for early arrivals hosted by James Harris, Louise Bradbury and Jan Bacchi	Home of James Harris 1918 Scottwood Ann Arbor

### FRIDAY, APRIL 11

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Registration and all sessions will be on the fourth floor of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, 915 East Washington Street, unless otherwise noted.

Registration will be on Friday and Saturday from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

### **MORNING**

8:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.	Egyptian Antiquities Project Oversight Committee Meeting	Kalamazoo Room Michigan League
9:30 a.m.	<b>WELCOME</b>	Amphitheatre

Elaine K. Gazda, Director, Kelsey Museum  
Terry Walz, Executive Director, ARCE

**Panel 1: TEXTS RE-EXAMINED: NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF  
RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY WORKS** Amphitheatre

- 10:00 Robert Ritner (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), "Necromancy at the Heb-Sed?"
- 10:20 Leo Depuydt (Brown University), "On Stars and Cannibals: The Cannibal Hymn and Old, Middle and New Kingdom Astronomy"
- 10:40 Richard Jasnow (Johns Hopkins University), "Remarks on the Book of Thoth"
- 11:00 Briant Bohleke (Yale University), "The Book of the Dead of the Chantress of Amon, Mutem-meres: Mother of All Hieratic BDs or Unique Abbreviation?"
- 11:20 John L. Foster (American Research Center in Egypt), "The Compassion of Amenemopet"

**Panel 2: GRECO-ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT** West Conference Room

- 10:00 Wendy Cheshire (Huntington, NY), "The 'Greek Molds' from Memphis"
- 10:20 Christina Riggs (University of California at Berkeley), "Funerary Reliefs from Roman Egypt"
- 10:40 Vanca Schrunk (University of St. Thomas), "Tableware Assemblages at Akhmim, Seventh to Eleventh Century"
- 11:00 Mark Lawall (University of Manitoba), "Coptos Excavations: Egyptian and Imported Transport Amphoras"
- 11:20 Gay L. Byron (Union Theological Seminary), "Egypt and Ethiopia in Ancient Christian Literature: A Historical Taxonomy of Ethno-Political Rhetorics"

**Panel 3: HEALTH AND DEMOGRAPHY IN  
CONTEMPORARY EGYPT**

East Conference Room

Chair: Robin Barlow  
University of Michigan

10:00 Robin Barlow (University of Michigan), "Determinants of Infant Mortality in Egypt, 1975-1995"

10:30 Joseph W. Brown (University of Michigan), "Maternal Nutrition and Health in Contemporary Egypt"

11:00 Nazek Nosseir (American University in Cairo), "Egypt: Population, Urbanization and Development"

11:30 Discussion

LUNCH

**AFTERNOON**

**Panel 4: EGYPT, CANAAN AND ISRAEL IN THE  
13TH CENTURY B.C.E.**

Amphitheatre

Chair: Peter Feinman  
Columbia University

1:00 Susan Tower Hollis (State University of New York, Empire State College), "Two Hymns as Propaganda, Royal Ideology and History in Ancient Israel and Egypt"

1:20 Michael Hasel (University of Arizona), "The Campaign of Seti I Against Beth Shan in Year I: An Interdisciplinary Study"

1:40 Ellen Morris (University of Pennsylvania), "Puzzling Out Prisoners of War in the Reigns of Ramesses II and Thutmosis III"

2:00 Ogden Goelet (New York University), "Ramesses II's Treaty with Hattusili III: Remarks on Some Linguistic and Religious Aspects"

BREAK

- 2:40 Peter Feinman (Columbia University), "The Historicity of the Exodus from the Egyptian Archaeological Record: A Paradigm Shift"
- 3:00 P. Kyle McCarter (Johns Hopkins University), "The Shasu of Yahweh: A Philological and Topographic Re-evaluation"
- 3:20 Frank Yurco (University of Chicago), "The Rise of Israel from Egyptian Documentation from Ramses II to Ramses VI"
- 3:40 Carolyn Higginbotham (Muskingum College), "On Temples and Taxes in Southern Canaan"

**Panel 5: WOMEN AND GENDER IN ANCIENT EGYPT** West Conference Room

- 1:00 Emily Teeter (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), "Were the *hst hnw n Imn* Celibate?"
- 1:20 Nicole Hansen (University of Chicago), "Moisture and Mirrors: Tracing the Continuity of Birth Related Beliefs and Practices from Ancient to Modern Times in Egypt"
- 1:40 Lyn Green (Royal Ontario Museum), "Gynaecology in Ancient Egypt: Steps Towards Reconstructing a Lost Body of Pharaonic Medical Knowledge"
- 2:00 Denise Doxey (University of Pennsylvania), "Identifying a New Kingdom Woman in the University of Pennsylvania Museum"

BREAK

- 2:40 Ann Macy Roth (Howard University), "Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth"
- 3:00 Darlene Brooks Hedstrom (Miami University of Ohio), "Gender Ascension in Egypt: A Look at Mary Magdala and Her Legacy to the Desert Mothers"
- 3:20 Greg Reeder (KMT Magazine), "The Tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep: New Perspectives"
- 3:40 Robyn Gillam (York University, Toronto), "The Egyptian Ephebe? Another Look at the Art of the Mid-New Kingdom"



**Panel 6: EGYPT IN THE FATIMID, AYYUBID, AND MAMLUK PERIODS:  
ASSESSMENTS AND DIRECTIONS** East Conference Room

Chair: Emil Homerin  
University of Rochester

- 1:00 Paula Sanders (Rice University), "The Future of Fatimid History"
- 1:20 Paul E. Walker (University of Michigan), "Isma'ili versus non-Isma'ili Sources for Fatimid History"
- 1:40 Th. Emil Homerin (University of Rochester), "The Power of Pious Prayer"
- 2:00 Christopher Taylor (Drew University), "Visiting the Holy Dead: Saints, Shrines and Society in Mamluk Egypt"
- 2:20 Anne Falby Broadbridge (University of Chicago), "The Case of the Two Rivals: The 15th-Century Historians al-'Ayni and al-Maqrizi"
- 3:00 Mahmood Ibrahim (California Polytechnic Institute), "The Uses of 'Ta'irikh al-Jazari': Mamluk Folktales"
- 3:30 Discussion

4:00 **Business Meeting** Amphitheatre

5:00 **KEYNOTE ADDRESS** Amphitheatre

**"OPENING THE DOORS: THE RESEARCH CLIMATE IN EGYPT"**

**Ann Radwan, Executive Director**  
Binational Fulbright Commission

6:00 **OPENING RECEPTION: Hall of Evolution, The Exhibit Museum of  
Natural History**

Kelsey Museum evening hours for viewing of "Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt" and "Death in Ancient Egypt"

**SATURDAY, APRIL 12**

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**MORNING**

9:00                                **Egyptian Antiquities Project Update**                                Amphitheatre  
   Robert K. Vincent, Jr., Project Director

**Panel 7: STUDIES IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART**                                Amphitheatre

10:00    Lorelei Corcoran (University of Memphis), “Case Studies in Narrativity:  
Decoding the Decorative Program of ‘Late Period’ (Graeco-Roman) Coffins”

10:20    Peter Lacovara (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), “The Costume of a Kerma  
Warrior”

10:40    Kathlyn Cooney (Johns Hopkins University), “The Cost of Art in the New  
Kingdom: An Analysis of Prices and Wages from Deir el Medina”

11:00    Stephen Harvey (Walters Art Gallery), “A New Look at Egyptian Art in the  
Walters Art Gallery”

11:20    James Allen (Metropolitan Museum of Art), “A New Middle Kingdom Coffin  
from Dashur”

11:40    Earl Ertman (University of Akron), “An Heir to the Throne: A Prince (?) and  
Overseer of Troops”

12:00    Ted Brock (Cairo), “The Opening Vignette of the Litany of Re’  
Reinterpreted”

**Panel 8: HOUSE, CHURCH AND MONASTERY: COPTIC USES OF SPACE  
FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT DAY** West Conference  
Room

Chair: Sheila McNally  
University of Minnesota

- 10:00 Helen Saradi (University of Guelph), "Transformations of the Domestic Space in the Early Byzantine Period"
- 10:20 Elizabeth Bolman (Bryn Mawr College), "Mimesis, Metamorphosis and Representation in Coptic Monastic Cells"
- 10:40 Rebecca Krawiec (Yale University), "Space, Distance and Gender: Authority and the Separation of Communities in the White Monastery"
- 11:00 Sheila McNally (University of Minnesota), "Transformations of Ecclesiastical Space: Churches in the Area of Akhmim"
- 11:20 Elizabeth Oram (Princeton University), "Return to the Desert: The New Role of Egyptian Monasteries in the Construction of Coptic Christian Identity"

**Panel 9: THE COMITE DE CONSERVATION DES MONUMENTS DE L'ART  
ARABE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY,  
ART, AND ARCHITECTURE IN EGYPT** East Conference Room

Chair: Jere Bacharach  
University of Washington

- 10:00 Alaa El-Habashi (University of Pennsylvania), "The Revitalization of Arab Art and Architecture in Egypt: The Intervention of the Comité"
- 10:30 Donald Whitcomb (University of Chicago), "The Comité and the Archaeology of Quseir Fort"
- 11:00 Donald Reid (Georgia State University), "Islamic Archaeology, Politics, and Professionalism in British-Occupied Egypt: The Comité and the Career of Aly Bahgat"
- 11:30 Discussion

LUNCH

## AFTERNOON

### Panel 10: REPORTS FROM THE FIELD

Amphitheatre

- 1:00 David Anderson (University of Pittsburgh), "Recent Investigations at the Predynastic Settlement at el-Mahasna"
- 1:20 Donald Redford (University of Toronto), "The 1996 Excavations at Mendes"
- 1:40 Sara Orel (Truman State University), "A Preliminary Report on the 1996 Season at Kom el-Hisn"
- 2:00 Peter Dorman (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), "A Reconsideration of the Kushite Additions to the 18th-Dynasty Temple of Medinet Habu"

### BREAK

- 2:40 Peter Piccione (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), "Report on the 1996 Field Season of the Theban Tombs Publication Project: The Tombs of Ray (No. 72) and Ahmose (No. 121)"
- 3:00 David Silverman (University of Pennsylvania Museum), "The 1997 University of Pennsylvania Museum Expedition to Saqqara"
- 3:20 Krzysztof Grzymski (Royal Ontario Museum), "Recent Field Work in the Letti Basin (Upper Nubia)"
- 3:40 Stuart Tyson Smith (Institute of Archaeology, University of California), "The 1997 UCLA Dongola Reach Archaeological Survey"
- 4:00 James Harrell (University of Toledo), "The Tumbos Quarry at the Third Nile Cataract, Northern Sudan"

### Panel 11: STUDYING EGYPTOLOGY: HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL APPROACHES TO THE DISCIPLINE

West Conference Room

- 1:00 Jason Thompson (Western Kentucky University), "A Gardner Wilkinson Bicentenary"
- 1:20 Aidan Dodson (University of Bristol), "The Eighteenth-Century Discovery of the Serapeum"
- 1:40 Alexandra O'Brien (University of Chicago), "*Dissecta Membra in Araneo* (Scattered Remains on the Web)"

- 2:00 Linnea Dietrich (Miami University of Ohio), “Contemporary Pedagogies for Ancient Egyptian Art and Architecture”
- 2:20 Dan Reyes (Miami University of Ohio), “Post-Antiquarian Studies of Antiquity”

**BREAK**

**Panel 12: TOPICS IN EGYPTOLOGY**

West Conference Room

- 3:30 Peter Brand (University of Toronto), “The ‘Lost’ Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I”
- 3:50 Carolyn Routledge (University of Pennsylvania Museum/University of Toronto), “Did the Ancient Egyptians Have a Word for ‘Ritual’?”
- 4:10 Anna Louise Pearman (George Mason University), “A Survey of Ancient Egyptian Oracles”
- 4:30 James K. Hoffmeier (Wheaton College), “Ancient Tjaru: Tell Abu Sefeh or Tell Hebua?”
- 4:50 Elaine Taylor-Vereb and Earl L. Ertman (University of Akron), “An Analysis of Form in the Rendering of Two-dimensional Female Body Types in Ancient Egypt”

**Panel 13: RETHINKING THE STATE, MODERNITY AND GENDER**

East Conference Room

Chair: Amira Sonbol  
Georgetown University

- 1:00 Hibba Abugideiri (Georgetown University), “Egyptian Women and the Science Question: Gender in the Making of Colonized Medicine, 1893-1919”
- 1:20 Mamoun Fandy (Georgetown University), “Marginal Males and the Politics of Dress in Egypt: Constructing the Marginal as Feminine”
- 1:40 Mervat Hatem (Howard University), “A’isha Taymur’s Tears and a Different Reading of the Modernist and the Feminist Narratives of 19th-Century Egypt”
- 2:00 Amira Sonbol (Georgetown University), “Egypt’s Legal Reform, a Re-reading”
- 2:20 Discussion

**Panel 14: RETHINKING OTTOMAN EGYPT**

East Conference Room

Chair: John Dunn  
Valdosta State University

- 3:15 Jane Hathaway (Ohio State University), "The Yemeni Element in Ottoman Egyptian History"
- 3:35 Juan R. I. Cole (University of Michigan), "The Critique of the Other in the French Republic of Egypt, 1789-1801"
- 3:55 Melanie Byrd (Valdosta State University), "The Napoleonic Institute of Egypt"
- 4:15 Kenneth Cuno (University of Illinois), "The History of the Family in 19th-Century Egypt: Sources and Methods"
- 4:35 Discussion

6:30-9:30 p.m.

**RECEPTION AND BANQUET**

Regency Ballroom  
Campus Inn

**SUNDAY, APRIL 13**

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**MORNING**

8:00 -11:00 a.m.

Board of Governors Meeting

Kuenzel Room  
Michigan Union

**Panel 15: ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS** Amphitheatre

- 10:00 Josef Wegner (University of Pennsylvania), “The Development of the Old Kingdom Necropolis at Meidum”
- 10:20 Salima Ikram (American University in Cairo), “Animal Mummies in the Cairo Museum”
- 10:40 Meg Abraham and Stuart T. Smith (Institute of Archaeology, University of California), “Metal Objects and Evidence of Metal Working from Askut”
- 11:00 Lynn Swartz (University of California), “Finery on the Frontier: Jewelry from the Border Fortress of Askut”
- 11:20 Jennifer Houser Wegner (Yale University/University of Pennsylvania Museum), “Sculptors’ Models from Mit Rahineh”
- 11:40 Susan Allen (Metropolitan Museum of Art), “Funerary Pottery of a 12th-Dynasty Lady”

**Panel 16: TECHNOLOGY** West Conference Room

- 10:00 Donald Ryan (Pacific Lutheran University) and Thor Heyerdahl (Kon-Tiki Museum), “The ‘Ra Expeditions’ Revisited”
- 10:20 Russell Rothe (University of Minnesota, Duluth), “Tin Smelting/Bronze Alloying Experiments Using Cassiterite (Tin Ore) from the Egyptian Eastern Desert”
- 10:40 John Seeger (American University in Cairo), “Technological Development in Graeco-Roman Egypt”
- 11:00 Edward Johnson (La Canada, CA), “Basic Wallpaintings Conservation or What to Do Until the Conservator Comes”
- 11:20 Ronald E. Zitterkopf (Shawnee Mission, Kansas), “Ancient Water Supply in the Eastern Desert”

## Forty Eighth Annual Meeting 1997

### ABSTRACTS

**Meg Abraham, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and Stuart Tyson Smith, Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles:** *Metal Objects and Evidence of Metal Working from Askut*

The late Dr. Alexander Badawy excavated the fort of Askut, as part of the Aswan dam salvage project, in the 1960s. The provenance of the objects from this excavation, currently housed at UCLA, are well documented and offer important insights into the structure of the provincial Egyptian communities in the Nubian desert. In addition to the large number of personal items, decorative items and weapons, the metals collection from Askut includes the remains of metal working implements from the Middle and New Kingdom levels. Unlike the recent finds at Buhen, these implements do not seem to be associated with a large state run enterprise. As such, they raise interesting questions about the social and economic statuses of the people engaged in metal objects production at Askut. An alternative view of the role of the craft production in the communities along the southern border, and what this indicates about the function of the fort of Askut, will be discussed.

**Hibba Abugideiri, Georgetown University:** *Egyptian Women and the Science Question: Gender in the Making of Colonized Medicine, 1893-1919*

This foray into gender relations demonstrates how Egyptian women were “colonized,” not simply by British ideas of gender and woman, but also by indigenously sanctioned perceptions of woman’s nature, both of which found their justification in Victorian science. Beginning with the British takeover of Egypt’s institutional medicine in 1893 until the 1919 Revolution, this study explores popular medical discourse on newly emerging gender values and social behaviors expected of upper-class women, as published in the Egyptian Arabic scientific review, *al-Mugtataf, An Arabic Scientific Journal*. In analyzing the articles treating motherhood, domesticity and female grooming, it is science that provided the justification for “republican motherhood.” In short, the newly emerging gender values in turn-of-the-century Egypt, as influence by Victorian science, found their *raison d’etre* in the nationalist cause.

What this paper ultimately shows to be at stake is how woman’s body and mind, and the ways in which they resemble or differ from man’s in medical discourse, have challenged the norms of scientific objectivity. What this clearly demonstrates in that, based on the studies of gender in Western science as well as those treating the long-standing problematic of the Arab woman’s body, the female body, as the prime site of sexual difference in a masculine, political and sexual economy, is peculiarly the arena in which struggles other than the woman’s own, have been waged.



**James P. Allen, Metropolitan Museum of Art:** *A New Middle Kingdom Coffin from Dahshur*

In 1995, the Metropolitan Museum's expedition to Lisht and Dahshur discovered the undisturbed burial of Sit-werut, wife of a hitherto unknown vizier of Senwosret III, beneath her husband's mastaba north of the king's pyramid at Dahshur. Though badly damaged by an earthquake in antiquity, the woman's coffin is well-enough preserved to reveal its decorative scheme and texts. Because the burial can be dated rather narrowly, these provide new evidence for the development and chronology of coffin decoration in the late Middle Kingdom.

**Susan J. Allen, Metropolitan Museum of Art:** *Funerary Pottery of a 12th Dynasty Lady*

Recent excavations at Dahshur by the Metropolitan Museum of Art have provided an opportunity to study the funerary traditions, both royal and private, of the 12th Dynasty. The discovery in 1995 of the unrobbed burial of the lady Sit-Werut, wife of a vizier of Senwosret III and/or Amenemhat III, included a large corpus of funerary pottery. This group and the royal funerary pottery recovered from the burials of the Queen Mother Weret and the other royal ladies around the pyramid of Senwosret III give us a good picture of what was considered a proper funerary assemblage for these royal and private burials.

**David A. Anderson, University of Pittsburgh:** *Recent Investigations at the Predynastic Settlement at el-Mahásna*

During the 1900-01 season, the Egypt Exploration Fund conducted work in the area of el-Mahásna and Bêt Khalláf, north of Abydos. Under the direction of John Garstang, numerous Old Kingdom tombs were excavated at el-Mahásna and the large Old Kingdom *mastabas* of Bêt Khalláf were explored. Between the Old Kingdom tombs at el-Mahásna, Garstang recognized and excavated the remains of Predynastic settlement. In addition to numerous artifacts associated with Predynastic daily life, Garstang exposed the remains of wind-breaks and structures, storage pits, hearths and what Garstang interpreted as "pot-kilns" and now believed to be brewing facilities. At the time of Garstang's work at el-Mahásna, very little was known of Predynastic settlements. While the early work of Garstang was important and provided needed information on daily life during the recently recognized Predynastic period, the site did not receive further attentions until the early 1980s.

In 1982-83, the University of Pennsylvania-Yale University Expedition to Abydos, under the field direction of Diana Craig Patch, conducted a regional survey of the low desert plain in the Abydos region. As part of this survey, Patch conducted controlled surface collections at el-Mahásna. These data together with data from other sites

identified by the survey allowed a reconstruction of the settlement system of the region during the Predynastic, as well as el-Mahâsna's place within that system.

It was not until 1995 that el-Mahâsna was once again the focus of archaeological attention. In order to further assess appropriateness for more detailed archaeological investigations, several of the Predynastic settlements identified during the 1982-83 survey project were re-visited during the fall of 1995 by myself as part of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition's 1995 field season. The purpose of the initial visit was to conduct limited surface collections. However, upon arrival at the site it was immediately apparent that the settlement had been impacted by recent agricultural developments associated with the cultivation of areas of the low desert. In order to access the degree to which the settlement remains were impacted, limited "salvage" and test excavations were conducted in the areas under imminent danger of destruction. These excavations revealed that significant Predynastic remains still survived, even in those areas which had been plowed, farmed, and irrigated. The Supreme Council of Antiquities took action to stop the agricultural activities and protect the archaeological remains.

This paper presents some results of the excavation work conducted at el-Mahâsna during the 1995 season, as well as some further surface investigations and detailed topographic mapping during the fall of 1996. From these results, preliminary conclusions concerning the nature, size and dating of the settlement will be discussed. Plans for a future large-scale investigation of the site by the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Abydos will also be presented. Finally, larger issues associated with the destruction of archaeological sites along the low desert margin by the continued development of the zone for agricultural purposes will be addressed with a ray of hope offered based on results from el-Mahâsna.

**Briant Bohleke, Yale University:** *The Book of the Dead of the Chantress of Amon, Mutem-meres: Mother of All Hieratic BDs or Unique Abbreviation?*

*A Book of the Dead* once having belonged to Egyptologist Edouard Naville, and now in the possession of Yale University and the Musée Champollion, has been thought to constitute the oldest *Book of the Dead* in hieratic and assigned to the middle of the 20th Dynasty. Analysis of the document tends to support the conclusion that it belongs among the idiosyncratic examples from the end of the 21st Dynasty or the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty.

**Elizabeth Bolman, Bryn Mawr College:** *Mimesis, Metamorphosis and Representation in Coptic Monastic Cells*

In the early Byzantine period, the term *bios angelikos*, or angelic life, was used to refer to a Christian life of asceticism and retreat from the world. Practitioners of it often lived in the desert, and were called angels by themselves and by their contemporaries.

Its purpose was the transformation of the monk or hermit into progressively holier states of being, in order to achieve the ultimate reward, salvation. Numerous textual sources describe aspects of this existence, particularly as it was lived in Egypt. They identify a specific physical space, a cell, as the site of this process, along with an essential method for its achievement, *mimesis*.

Corresponding to the textual record is a rich visual record of the *bios angelikos* in Egypt. When the monasteries of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara and Apa Apollo at Bawit were excavated earlier in this century, enormous numbers of intact images were found in cells. Some of them were preserved, and many more were photographed. This paper will demonstrate a relationship between the spiritual methods and goals expressed in the textual sources, and the subjects and locations of the paintings from Bawit and Saqqara. It will show that the paintings in these monastic spaces were used by the monks as an integral and active part of their spiritual development.

**Peter Brand, University of Toronto:** *The "Lost" Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I*

In two inscriptions from Aswan dated to his year nine, Seti I recorded the opening of new quarries for the production of a "multitude," *ḥsꜥw*, of obelisks and royal colossi. Only one obelisk, the Flaminian obelisk in Rome, and no colossi seem to have been inscribed for this king. There are fragments of at least two other obelisks inscribed for Seti, one of these having been found recently in the Qait Bay harbor in Alexandria.

It has also become apparent that the two obelisks and four seated granite colossi from the Ramesside court at Luxor temple were commissioned by Seti but were not decorated until after his death. Comparison of the texts on the two Aswan stelae with various textual, iconographic and geological features of the Ramesside court and its colossi and obelisks indicates that construction of this portion of Luxor temple was at least planned, and likely initiated, by Seti I. In particular, one of the monolithic black granodiorite colossi has a band of red granite at the level of its crown, a feature described in one of the Aswan texts. Moreover, both Luxor obelisks were inscribed in part with the shorter form of

Ramesses II's prenomen which was used only during the first year and a half of the king's reign. That these monuments could have been commissioned, extracted, transported to Luxor and decorated before the end of Ramesses II's second year suggests that they may have been commissioned by his predecessor Seti I.

**Anne Falby Broadbridge, University of Chicago:** *The Case of the Two Rivals: the Fifteenth-Century Historians al-'Ayni and al-Maqrizi*

During the Mamluk era, the military elite and the ulema were interdependent, the elite receiving legitimation and the scholars material support through an overarching system of patronage. For the ulema, success could be seen in terms of financial and material achievement, often attained through the auspices of the patronage system. Many

scholars, however, were also influenced by the ideal of purely academic success, freed from corrupt political ties.

This paper is a preliminary case study of the rivalry between the fifteenth-century historians al-'Ayni and al-Maqrizi, in which I investigate the impact that both the patronage system and the two definitions of success had on their lives, their rivalry and ultimately, their writing of history.

**Ted Brock, Cairo:** *The Opening Vignette of the Litany of Re', Reinterpreted*

The Litany of Re', which describes the 75 forms of the sun god and recounts the identification of the deceased king with this deity as well as Osiris the ruler of the netherworld, like the Book of the Imy-Dwat, is one of the earliest of a series of funerary texts utilized in the decoration of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom in the Wadi el-Muluk (Valley of the Kings). The opening vignette of the Litany has usually been taken to be a depiction of the solar disk containing figures of a scarab and a ram-headed man flanked by two reptilian images, namely a snake and a crocodile, which have traditionally (?) been interpreted as the forces inimical to the solar deity and being dispersed by his entry into the realm of the dead. It may be possible by comparing the iconography of this image with similar elements in other funerary contexts to come to an entirely different interpretation. It is also possible to propose the scene often preceding this, depicting the king offering to the avatar of the sun god as a hawk-headed man, as another integral part of the Litany. It might be possible even to extend the inter-relationship even further to include the depiction of the same image-filled disk that appears over the entrance of royal tombs from Ramesses II onwards.

**Melanie Byrd, Valdosta State University:** *The Napoleonic Institute of Egypt*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the structure and output of the Napoleonic Institute of Egypt created by Napoleon Bonaparte during the Egyptian Campaign, 1798-1801. Bonaparte deliberately established a scholarly body, which included some of France's leading luminaries, to study both ancient and contemporary Egypt. The work undertaken by the scholars reveals much about French attitudes toward Egypt. The study of antiquity was intended to reflect the glory of Egypt's past onto France, while descriptions of contemporary Egypt were used to justify turning Egypt into a French colony. The French savants emphasized that they were bringing "progress and enlightenment" to Egypt, and they implied that their study of ancient Egypt was "scientific." Though different from the imperialism of the later nineteenth century, the work of the French scholars shows a nascent "mission to civilize" which was linked to enlightenment and revolutionary culture.

**Gay Lynne Byron, Union Theological Seminary: *Egypt and Ethiopia in Ancient Christian Literature: An Historical Taxonomy of Ethno-Political Rhetorics***

The references to Egypt and Ethiopia in ancient Christian literature call attention to the rhetorical and polemical significance of these two ethnic groups within early Christianity. These places and people south of the Mediterranean, served as symbolic representations or tropes for an ideology of difference within the writings of ancient Christian authors. Tertullian, writing in the second century, says "when God threatens Egypt and Ethiopia with extinction, he pronounces sentence on every sinful nation." (*De spectaculis* 3). An anonymous desert father of the sixth century reports how an Ethiopian woman tempts a troubled monk: "I am she who seems so sweet to the hearts of men; but because of your obedience and the trials you have borne, God would not allow me to lead you astray. All I can do is let you smell my foul odor." (*Vita Patrum* 5.5). Such depictions of Egyptians and Ethiopians open a window onto how ethnicity functioned in the discursive strategies of ancient Christian authors.

The purpose of this study is to examine the uses and functions of Egypt and Ethiopia in early Christian literature and to assess the ethno-political rhetorics associated with these terms. My major objectives are 1) to provide a taxonomy of "ethno-political rhetorics" related to cultural and religious forces which made such rhetorics acceptable in the Greco-Roman world. This study of ethnic rhetorics used within ancient Christian literature point to several possible threats which "Egypt" and "Ethiopia" presented to the early Christian authors. In this study I will isolate the demonic/sinful threat, the sexual/bodily threat, and the religious/pious threat.

In 1994, Robert Hood provided a cursory study on the presence of blacks (i.e., Ethiopians) in Christian literature (see *Begrimed and Black: Christian Traditions on Blacks and Blackness*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994). His study clearly demonstrates that there was stereotypical bias against blacks in Christian literature. One of the limitations of Hood's study is that he does not provide an analysis of the rhetoric related to blacks. He merely identifies the occurrences of blacks in "Christian traditions" and offers a general assessment of the different perceptions of blacks. This proposed study will provide a more comprehensive understanding of ethnicity and cultural bias in the ancient world by examining the use of the terms "Egypt" and "Ethiopia." I will also explore the significance of gender as it relates to ethnicity, which has been ignored by previous scholars.

This is an historical-rhetorical study which surveys a sample of literature from the first through the sixth centuries of the common era. I will demonstrate how Christian writers "signified" on Egypt and Ethiopia by developing a discursive strategy of marginalization which functioned to keep "Egyptians" and "Ethiopians" in their place — remote and different.

This study is an attempt to uncover two important "voices" — or at least geographical areas and groups — around the Mediterranean and isolate the rhetorics associated with their use. The taxonomy presented in it allows the texts to speak for themselves. I will

examine the language related to Egypt and Ethiopia and assess the functions of this language in early Christian literature. This study proposes an ethnocritical theoretical framework which points to a new trajectory of New Testament studies based upon the identification of submerged voices. Without a critical framework for assessing the impact of ethnicity in early Christian literature, scholars inadvertently omit important insights when analyzing the texts and traditions of early Christianity.

**Wendy Cheshire, Huntington, New York: *The "Greek Molds" from Memphis***

In 1903, C. C. Edgar published a volume of the Catalogue General in Cairo entitled *Greek Moulds*. It comprises slightly over 300 plaster molds which Edgar found packed in cartons in a storeroom of the Cairo Museum. Five of the pieces were marked with the provenance "Memphis," but it is clear from technical reasons that most — if not all — of the pieces belong together. In the years following, the Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim acquired a group of over 80 plaster casts of metalwork and 85 plaster molds, which the dealer claimed to have come from Mit-Rahine (Memphis), while the Kestner-Museum in Hannover accessioned 200 plaster molds with the same provenance. Subsequent acquisitions of the Cairo Museum and the discoveries from Wm. Flinders Petrie's excavations at Memphis show the findspots of the plasters to have been Kom el-Arba'in and Kom el-Nawa in Mit-Rahine. The plasters constitute the most important group of Graeco-Roman finds in the ancient city of Memphis

In the very scant literature pertaining to the molds, it has been maintained that these were piece-molds which were used to mechanically reproduce wax casting models for bronzes. This was not the case, as can be proved by an examination of the ancient molds and modern casts. To determine the function of the molds, the ancient plaster casts from metalwork in Hildesheim are instructive. These were directly cast mainly from precious toreutic originals, sometimes from wax models. The plaster reliefs were far too fine and breakable to be used to mechanically emboss or imprint reproductions, instead they will have served as models for free-hand copying. On one of the casts is painted a grid to assist the copyist.

The casts of the third century B.C. are mainly from decoration for drinking vessels, and the earliest molds are also for figurative parts of drinking vessels (rhyta). The extremely sketchy condition of the patrices, as seen in modern casts from the molds, shows them to also be sculptor's models rather than casting models for bronze works. Speaking against this last function is also the fact that such rhyta were more commonly wrought out of thin metal sheets rather than cast.

In the following centuries, a large number of the molds were for parts of statuettes. Although a few molds exist of which several pieces fit together to encompass an entire figure, most are single pieces only of the most important part of a figure, usually a face or the front or front profile view.

Furthermore, unlike casting models or finished bronzes, the Hellenistic molds reproduce compact figures which contain no undercutting. Strands of a beard or hair lie flat, directly against the hair or chest, as if sketched onto the body in low relief. On bronzes or on wax models to be cast into bronze, the hair is raised up, attached in separately modeled strands, and touches the neck or chest only at intervals.

In the Roman period, however, the patrices of the molds give the appearance of wax casting models. They are as sharply cut as cast bronzes, they show the same detail work, and there is some undercutting. The models are seen to be in a nearly finished state, that is, they required only minor last-minute retouching before casting. Again the molds are only taken from faces or the most important section of a figure, however, so they are evidently not intended to mechanically reproduce whole wax models as in the case of "piece-molds." Instead, a single plaster mold is made over the most important part of a complete wax model just before casting this into bronze; the wax model is destroyed during the casting process, while the mold may be used to reproduce an element of the model, which would then be copied freehand. This will have been the case with many of the Ptolemaic molds, but there were also many of which the wax patrices were never intended to be cast into bronzes.

**Juan R. I. Cole, University of Michigan:** *The Critique of the Other in the French Republic of Egypt, 1789-1801*

This paper examines the military and cultural history of the French invasion of Egypt. It attempts to read the French *mémoire* literature against the Arabic writings of al-Jabarti in order to understand the nature of French-Egyptian interactions and perceptions. Attention is paid to the ways in which the Republican French construct the Egyptian Orient, and to the ways in which al-Jabarti depicts the Europeans. But an attempt is also made to analyze the military encounters during the course of the invasion in order to decolonize the history of this conquest and show the material and organizational bases of the French successes against the Mamluks. Attention is paid to the aporia in French discourse about bringing "liberty" to Egypt at a time when they were often burning towns and villages that resisted them, and making the whole of the country pay for the conquest with high taxes. Since Napoleon had the archives of the French expedition burned, this study is based on numerous published French memoirs and the few Arabic materials that exist about the invasion.

**Kathlyn M. Cooney, Johns Hopkins University:** *The Cost of Art in the New Kingdom: An Analysis of Prices and Wages from Deir el Medina*

The art of ancient Egypt can be analyzed from an economic perspective, thereby shedding light on the motives for purchasing art, the transactions, prices, and the value of skilled labor. In order to examine the economic aspects of art, a suitable corpus of material must be found, and more than any other type of art in Egypt, economic records exist for the purchase of tomb goods by private individuals. Material created for the

funerary setting represents a selection of objects and architectural features which scholars call "art" and that all of Egyptian society, on both private and royal levels, was encouraged to acquire. This paper will examine economic evidence in the form of wages and transactions in the private sector involving the purchase of art during the New Kingdom. As might be expected, almost every piece of relevant evidence finds its origin in the workmen's village of Deir el Medina, where thousands of ostraca and papyri detailing economic aspects of art purchase were uncovered. An economic study of art necessitates an analysis of the wages and prices paid to artisans in order to ascertain exactly what determined the value of art for the purchaser, be it the skill level of the craftsman, the materials used, the size of the piece, the amount of decoration, or the time spent on a project. This study of artisans' wages in the private sector during the New Kingdom reveals the following conclusions: Utilizing the source material from Deir el Medina, it is feasible to separate the standard price of a coffin into different components: the cost of wood, labor for the decoration, and labor for the construction. It is also possible to determine that expensive materials, a larger size, and more elaborate decoration warranted increases in price. Furthermore, price analysis reveals that the carpenters and draftsmen of Deir el Medina were valued more or less as equals, for the cost of woodworking and that of decoration is found to be analogous. Finally, a comparison of state papyri to the private transactions from Deir el Medina indicates that the salaries provided by the state were comparable to the artisan's earnings in the private sector.

**Lorelei H. Corcoran, University of Memphis:** *Case Studies in Narrativity: Decoding the Decorative Program of Late Period (Graeco-Roman) Coffins*

The oft-repeated cliché that "Egyptian art is Egyptian language writ large" presents the "reader" with a challenging problem when the "translation" of a work involves not the interpretation of a single figure or a simple independent scene but the comprehension of the "grammatical" structure of complex and interrelated imagery arranged overall on a three-dimensional object. Scenes arranged in horizontal registers have historically been read according to our modern linear thought processes and the sequence of patterns has been traditionally approached in accordance with a modern preference for organization from top to bottom. This paper will address the issues of time and sequence in the decipherment of the decorative program of coffins, using three examples from the Ptolemaic and Roman eras (Roemer-und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, Germany, Inv. 1954; University of Memphis, Memphis, TN, Inv. 1985.3.1 A-F; and Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, Egypt, Inv. 27808). A "case" will be made for a more sophisticated approach toward the decoding of multiple images which is more compatible with ancient thought processes: on the one hand, a linear reading which references events in the present and, on the other hand, a cyclical sequence which emphasizes the involvement of the viewer and the parity of the philosophical frameworks that structured Egyptian language as well as the artistic programs and the religious beliefs the visual images actualize. The conclusions will serve to prove the old cliché more fundamentally relevant to the understanding of Egyptian art than has been generally acknowledged.



**Kenneth M. Cuno, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign:** *The History of the Family in Nineteenth-Century Egypt: Sources and Methods*

This paper reviews the different approaches taken so far in studies of the history of the family and discusses the sources available for the study of family history in nineteenth-century Egypt in relation to these approaches. This is a relatively new field, and to date very little work on family history has been done by Middle Eastern specialists. Three approaches have developed in studies of the family in the West, according to Michael Anderson. The first is the "demographic" approach, associated especially with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, which has devoted much attention to the size of households and their morphology and other quantitative questions. Second, the "household economics" approach, exemplified by Jack Goody, has sought to understand household formation, marriage, the number of children, and so on, in terms of "strategies" aimed at insuring the survival and well-being of the family. Third, the "sentiments" approach has examined the changing culture of the family, including such things as privacy, childhood, sexuality, and spousal relations. In Egypt, the periodical press, including periodicals with domestic themes aimed at women, flourished from the last decade of the nineteenth century and should provide much material for studies using the "sentiments" approach. For the earlier part of the century, there are a variety of sources for replicating at least the "demographic" and "household economics" approaches: administrative records such as the land-tax and census registers, and legal records such as the Sharia court registers and fatwas. The paper describes these sources and concludes with some results already obtained from their use.

**Leo Depuydt, Brown University:** *On Stars and Cannibals: The Cannibal Hymn and Old, Middle, and New Kingdom Astronomy*

"In a clear night one observes in the sky a host of shiny dots," writes Ludwig Ideler in 1825 in the beginning of his classic manual of mathematical and technical chronology. The fact is obvious. The phenomenon mesmerizes. Not surprisingly, the Pyramid Texts of the third millennium B.C.E., the earliest large corpus of Egyptian religious texts, are full of references to the starry sky. Together, these references constitute a veritable star religion.

Once remarkable text is found in Spells 273 and 274. Its traditional name, Cannibal Hymn, remains appropriate. Its contents are harsh. There is mention of eating organs, slaughtering firstborns, lassoing victims, slitting throats, removing vitals, cooking body parts in kettles, and lighting fires with thighs. A voracious king devours everything coming into sight — gods and people.

The paper addresses three matters. First, an explanation involving properties of the star sky is suggested for the Cannibal Hymn. There have been attempts to soften the hymn's apparent implications for Egyptian civilization during the Old Kingdom. This is yet another.

Second are general remarks on Egyptian astronomical thought in 3000-1000 B.C.E., that is the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. It is generally assumed that ancient Egypt has contributed hardly anything to the history of astronomy. It is as if it has disappointed. But this view is more astronomical than historical. In 3000-1000 B.C.E., Egyptian knowledge of the star sky was altogether where one might have expected it to be in the evolution of human thought. If the wheel of science now seems to have come into motion very slowly, since what took centuries to master can now be learned in a matter of days, this is a matter of hindsight. The development of, say, modern physics was hardly slow because students now acquire the basics in months.

Third, the most sophisticated expressions of ancient Egyptian engagement with the star sky in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms are examined. They are the star clocks found on coffin lids dating to 2100-1900 B.C.E. and in Ramesside rock tombs dating to the twelfth century B.C.E. There is much controversy about their structure and purpose.

**Linnea S. Dietrich, Miami University of Ohio:** *Contemporary Pedagogies for Ancient Egyptian Art and Architecture: Sifting Through Found and Built Visions of Egyptian Antiquity*

I would like to address some pedagogical issues in the teaching of ancient Egyptian art and architecture: the balance of theory and actual discussion of art objects; the balancing of research to amplify what is known with the need to thinking creatively about it; what is important about ancient Egyptian art that students need to explore and learn; how ancient Egyptian art addresses issues of gender, ethnic identity and difference; the importance of nomenclature, chronological systems, finding useful textbooks, and so on.

My interest is primarily in the importance of ancient Egyptian art for a contemporary audience. As the fields within art history broaden to include non-Western areas, the arts of formerly marginalized peoples, linguistic, literary, and philosophical methodologies, new technologies — all of which Egyptology does — we have the opportunity to revitalize academic discourse to make it relevant in today's visual culture. We have biases to overcome: that ancient Egyptian art was obsessed with death, that the ancient Egyptians always worshipped animals, that Egyptian art never changed in 3000 years.

I was intrigued by a letter to the editor in the Fall 1995 *KMT* asking for a standardization of Egyptian names, since it is a problem to call a pharaoh Senwosret or Sesostri or "whatever he was called." At first, I was in real sympathy with the letter writer, but, on reflection, I believe there is a reason, or a whole raft of them, why the same individual or place has more than one name, and that multiplicity is part of the successive layerings of history. With this anecdote as a guide, I would like to discuss the ways in which teaching ancient Egyptian art can become even more meaningful by utilizing new methodologies coming from the late twentieth century, thinking about ancient Egyptian art in a broad interdisciplinary context, and with some connection to

contemporary Egyptian art (since the ancient art is seen as a valuable heritage but also a burden to some contemporary artists), share nuts and bolts with students and each other, without losing the solid scholarship of the past and present.

One of the biggest obstacles in teaching ancient Egyptian art is the dominance of the Western tradition itself and the notion that Greek and Italian Renaissance art are the most important in history — after all, we call them “classical.” If we want to praise something outside that tradition, we call it “classical,” like the Middle Kingdom statue of Senuwy. This must be confusing for students. More insidious is the scholarly community’s assertion that whatever contributions the ancient Egyptians (or other ancient peoples) may have made, it was the Greeks who invented philosophy. And that’s true, since they named the activity, they have ownership, or so it would seem. I think there is no doubt that Greek sculpture derives from Egyptian (Ranofer and the Metropolitan kouros), but if only we could prove that Plato did spend time in Egypt! That would help, but it would be like adding women to art history and stirring. That does not change the construction of Western history and that is a major task that still lies ahead. And, of course, such a view clearly privileges philosophy and marginalizes art, which after all, looks good over your sofa or around your neck, but in the West, people have not wanted to live (and die) with art, as so many non-Western peoples do and did. The answers here are not to spend our efforts merely valorizing Egyptian art, nor simply to deconstruct the Western patriarchy, but to build new attitudes for the present and future.

The philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, speaking about the rigidity of academics in his day (when many academic disciplines were founded), criticized his peers for their Egypticism, by which he meant that they mummified concepts and impeded dynamic thinking. While we might deplore his term, and suggest that he misunderstood the Egyptian concept of the afterlife which is so close to his own idea of “eternal recurrence,” we can affirm his desire to keep the search for knowledge and truths open.

We can neither teach ancient Egyptian art in isolation from other cultures as the great thing we think it is, nor endlessly compare it to Greek or other art, hoping that the votes may change and people will suddenly prefer it. Double projection of slides in classes often perpetuates that dualism. Rather we must create a new paradigm of inclusion in a melting pot big enough to hold all.

How and what we teach can really make a difference, and teaching may be rather different from doing research to add to our knowledge.

**Aidan M. Dodson, University of Bristol:** *The Eighteenth Century Discovery of the Serapeum*

While Auguste Mariette is remembered as the discoverer of the Serapeum at Saqqara, it is clear that parts of the underground complex had been entered soon after the year 1700. This paper examines the account of Paul Lucas, and considers it in connection with aspects of the archaeology of the earlier interments in the Serapeum.

**Peter Dorman, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago:** *A Reconsideration of the Kushite Additions to the 18th Dynasty Temple of Medinet Habu*

Conservation and architectural surveys undertaken by the Epigraphic Survey at the 18th Dynast Temple of Amun at Medinet Habu during the last year have prompted a thorough reconsideration of Uvo Hölscher's original reconstruction of the Kushite additions to the small temple, which in his opinion consisted of a pylon and a long, windowless gallery. The gallery itself, according to Hölscher, was dismantled during the Ptolemaic period, when the structure was expanded into a pillared, roofed hall.

In the spring of 1994, the foundation courses of the present Ptolemaic walls of the temple were exposed by Egyptian conservators, in an effort to permit the blocks to dry out. After more thorough clearing in the fall of 1996, undertaken by the Survey with the assistance of the Egyptian Antiquities Project of ARCE, these courses are now known to consist largely of reused blocks, executed in both sunk and raised relief, that belong to the original 25th Dynasty structure. Several blocks contain scenes that are identical in theme and scale to those extant on the pylon; others are new, including the only Kushite example of the *Vogellauf* ritual. A careful remapping of the pavement behind the pylon has also shown that Hölscher's windowless gallery did not really exist: the original 25th Dynasty structure consisted of the pylon (the only portion still extant), a small vestibule, and an open colonnade with intercolumnar screen walls.

This paper describes in a preliminary manner the revised Kushite monument, as well as the unexpected discovery of a priest's statue of the Ptolemaic period in one of the foundation trenches.

**Denise Doxey, University of Pennsylvania Museum:** *Identifying a New Kingdom Woman in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*

A fragmentary limestone pair statue in the Egyptian collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (number E 466) depicts the Singer of Amun, Isis. The figure of her husband, the Inspector of the Storehouse of Amun, Riya, is now missing. The statue was donated to the museum in the late nineteenth century, without any information regarding its original location. This paper suggests a possible provenience and date for the piece, and attempts to identify the couple depicted with other known monuments.

**Alaa El-Habashi, University of Pennsylvania:** *The Revitalization of Arab Art and Architecture in Egypt: The Intervention of the Comité*

The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de L'Art Arabe has had an enormous impact on the status of Arab monuments in Egypt during the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. There is no single work, as far as I know, from the pre-modern periods, not studies an/or conserved by the Comité. The Comité became such an important phase in the history of each monument that arguably what we experience in the mediaeval sectors of the Egyptian cities at the present day is in fact the interpretation of the Comité and the manifestation of its preservation philosophy and technology. The common perception of the work of the Comité as a maintainer of the genuine image of Arab monuments should be shifted to recognizing the fact that their intervention reached different levels of reconstructing, relocating and even inventing. Moreover, it was through the Comité's interventions, studies and analysis that a new understanding of Arab art and architecture was explored.

This paper focuses on the study of the influence of the Comité on the evolution of Arab art and architecture, and consequently defines a new profile for this institution. The study, hence, affirms that the Comité's specialty was not only conservation of Arab monuments, but a broad aspect of "protection" which embraces the local contemporary art and architecture. The research explores the efforts devoted by several of the Comité's architects — for example Julius Franz and Max Herz — in reviving Arab architecture and explains the rise of a new architectural mode which had never existed before the time of the Comité, the so-called neo-Mamluk style. It also rationalizes the fact that at the turn of the century Arab art and architecture became so highly appreciated that in the World's Colombian Exhibition in 1893, the members of the Egyptian government chose to represent the nation with a replica of a Cairene mediaeval street — a completely different position than the experiences in earlier World Exhibitions where Egypt was represented primarily with replicas of Pharaonic monuments.

**Earl L. Ertman and Otto J. Schaden, University of Akron:** *An Heir to the Throne: A Prince(?) and Overseer of Troops*

This paper will examine a sandstone block, with two decorated faces, stacked along the west side of the Temple of Amun at Luxor. The main side of this block has portions of two registers on it. Two feet with sandals on them remain from the top scene. Below, the face and upper torso of a prince(?) wearing a very elaborate wig and carrying an ostrich feather fan looks left. Many princes carry this type fan and have a similar side look in scenes from the New Kingdom. A portion of an inscription can be interpreted more than one way; it reads, son of Menkheperre or Menkheperre. While a prince of Tuthmosis III with this name is known, the details of wig and clothing do not correspond to an early Eighteenth Dynasty date.

This study will analyze the figure's style and iconography, plus the partial inscription, in order to suggest a date that would enable this figure to be placed in a specific dynasty and family.

**Mamoun Fandy, Georgetown University:** *Marginal Males and the Politics of Dress in Egypt: Constructing the Marginal as Feminine!*

A great deal of scholarship has discussed the politics of the hijab and the covering of the female body. No discussion has emerged on the politics of male dress. This paper attempts to investigate official and informal discourse on male dress, the politics of this discourse, and the extent to which the image of the male as an urban social construct was central to political inclusion and exclusion. The paper looks at the intricate ways through which the state has used its disciplinary power to alter the male body contours to fit its notion of the masculine. It appears that there is a correlation between dress and political inclusion as well as dress and resistance. Most of those who resist the government in Southern as well as Northern Egypt defy the official westernized dress code (i.e., Jallabias are becoming more and more symbols of resistance).

Looking at the dress of men and the state's concept of maleness has the potential of clarifying the discourse on the female body. This paper will argue that the state and society's disciplinary power not only works on the female body but on the male as well. This is why the politics of dress on both fronts, the feminine and the masculine, are central to state and society resistance in contemporary Egypt. Shifting the gaze from female dress (i.e., hijab) to a general category of dress that includes male dress and the male body in the argument has the potential of nuancing our understanding of disciplinary power and the centrality of the human body to the politics of domination and resistance.

**Peter Feinman, Columbia University:** *The Historicity of the Exodus from the Egyptian Archaeological Record: A Paradigm Shift*

The first recorded mention of Israel in secular or extra-biblical history continues to be in the victory stele of Pharaoh Merneptah, a 19th-Dynasty son of Ramses II, the traditional Pharaoh of the Exodus. Exactly who and what Merneptah meant by this term continues to be fiercely debated among biblical scholars.

The first recorded mention of the Exodus in secular or extra-biblical history occurred with Manetho's version as told by Josephus. Manetho, with access to a 3000 year Dynastic history in Egypt, was not a biblical minimalist who denied the historicity of the Exodus. Far from it! He went to great lengths to describe the event in history but according to Egyptian values, both traditional Egyptian values and the contemporary political situation in Alexandria which was home to a large Jewish contingent. His efforts in history-writing provide an important clue in understanding historical writings regardless of their time of origin — the setting in which they are written contributes to

the selection of both the topic and the approach. This applies to earlier Egyptian texts as well.

A contemporary historian, Donald Redford, offers a possible way to unravel both Egyptian and Israelite records of the Exodus. He suggests that the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Egyptians provides the basis for the historical memory of a more glorious departure from Egypt by the West Semites. This suggestion should be pursued further since to date the Hyksos remain the strongest and most vivid people in Egyptian records of direct contact and conflict at the highest levels of society between Egypt and West Semite. There is no alternative in the Egyptian record for the kind of face-to-face confrontation contained in the Israelite record save that of the Hyksos.

However, although Redford refers to one such Jacob-Pharaoh showdown, the Israelite record contains two such encounters, the first by Jacob and the second by the sons of Jacob. The ongoing excavations of Manfred Bietak at Avaris are adding to the realization that the Hyksos did not simply disappear from history at the onset of the 18th Dynasty; that Dynasty adopted much of the military technology of the Hyksos as evidenced by Semitic loanwords in the Egyptian language and it included Semites in positions of prominence as well.

This paper will address the issue of the possible ongoing presence of the Hyksos in the 13th century by focusing on the Apophis image in the time of Merneptah and Ramses II in "The Quarrel Story of Apophis and Seqenere" and Leiden Hymn 30. As with Manetho's history, the challenge today is to determine how much of those writings were about the historical and mythical contexts in which they were set and how much they are about the present in which they were written.

**John L. Foster, American Research Center in Egypt:**      *The Compassion of Amenemopet*

*The Wisdom of Amenemopet*, generally dated to the New Kingdom, is particularly interesting for its emphasis upon the pursuit of "the way of life" and certain moral values at the same time that it is suggesting rules of conduct and patterns of behavior to the fledgling scribe aspiring to a place in the hierarchy of officialdom. One of the values advocated is compassion, which seems to strike a new note in the genre of the wisdom text. Several relevant passages will be examined, and the source of such thinking tentatively traced back, not to earlier wisdom texts like *The Maxims of Ptahhotep* but to the Old Kingdom "catalogue of virtues."

**Robyn Gillam, York University, Toronto:** *The Egyptian Ephebe? Another Look at the Art of the Mid-New Kingdom*

Although in Greek culture the ephebe was technically an adolescent young man eligible for military service, the word is redolent with the romantic associations of a pederastic culture, both in art and literature. Although next to nothing survives in Egyptian New Kingdom texts, I believe a similar figure can be found in mid-18th Dynasty art and in some isolated later instances. I will argue that this figure was part of a sophisticated male-centered urban culture that developed during the New Kingdom. A theory for its sudden disappearance will also be suggested.

**Ogden Goelet, New York University:** *Ramesses II's Treaty with Hattusili III: Remarks on Some Linguistic and Religious Aspects*

The Treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusili III has received much attention in recent years, chiefly from the point of view of its implications for the political history of the era. As important as the Treaty may have been in contemporary international relations between the major powers of the ancient Near East, the pact also provides us with significant insights into contemporary religious developments. Particularly interesting is a phrase describing the divine inspiration for the pact: "Now as to the beginning of the limits of eternity, as to the regulation (*shr*) of the great ruler of Egypt with the great prince of Hatti, the god does not allow an enemy to come between them by means of stipulations (*nt-`*)." These words, especially in their reference to what might be called "the template deity," *p3 ntr*, recall some of the language associated with the Ramesside religious phenomenon known as "personal piety." Although "personal piety" is usually considered to belong to the realm of non-official religion, its presence in the Treaty and the connection with a divine plan, to which even the king himself is subject, shows that this phenomenon had an important royal dimension as well.

Another aspect of the Treaty which has not received the attention it deserves is the question of its "register." The Treaty proper is among one of the first texts written in the documentary form of Late Egyptian studied in Cerny-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*. Some of the Treaty's choice of words and awkward diction reflect the exigencies of writing a lengthy text in "legalese" rather than foreign influence.

**Lyn Green, Royal Ontario Museum:** *Gynaecology in Ancient Egypt: Steps Towards Reconstructing a Lost Body of Pharaonic Medical Knowledge*

It is often asserted in secondary literature that the high status of women in ancient Egypt is attested by the existence of a body of medical texts devoted to gynaecological and obstetrical problems. However, only a small number of these texts are still extant, although a larger body of work is hinted at, and modern medical historians must reconstruct ancient gynaecological knowledge largely from inference, and from non-



textual sources. This paper will review the information available and the interpretations made of it by scholars like Paul Ghalioungui, and suggest possibilities for future research using newly published gynaecological material from the Hippocratic Corpus.

**Krzysztof Grzyski, Royal Ontario Museum:** *Recent Fieldwork in the Letti Basin (Upper Nubia)*

The Letti Basin is a region on the right bank of the Nile extending for about 25 kilometers between 18°13' to 18°30'N and 30°41' to 30°47'E. It lies at the headway of routes leading to Darfur and Chad through Wadi Howar, to Kordofan through Wadi el Milk and to Central Sudan through Wadi Muqaddam.

This paper will present some of the results of the Letti survey conducted by the Royal Ontario Museum. The latest discoveries suggest that during the New Kingdom the Letti Basin was not occupied by the Egyptians, but was inhabited by a native population which used a distinctive type of pottery that shows certain affinities to the C-Group, Kerma as well as Napatan ceramics. Since there is presently an insufficient amount of material to speak of the "Letti Culture", terms like the "Letti Variant" or "Letti Group" are tentatively proposed to describe this material.

**Nicole B. Hansen, University of Chicago:** *Moisture and Mirrors: Tracing the Continuity of Birth-Related Beliefs and Practices from Ancient to Modern Times in Egypt*

Egyptologists have long noted in passing what are viewed as isolated survivals of ancient Egyptian beliefs and practices in modern Egypt. Often, the source of the information pertaining to modern times is Winifred Blackman's 1927 publication, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. While this book is undeniably a valuable source, particularly for the practices and beliefs of women, it represents but a minute fraction of the post-Pharaonic sources available for the study of continuities of Egyptian culture.

Because the quest for children has always been of utmost importance to Egyptian women, it is not surprising to find abundant evidence for beliefs and practices in this realm of Arabic medical and magical manuscripts and books, accounts of early travelers, as well as studies in ethnography, folklore and medical anthropology carried out in Egypt in this century. From ancient times, we possess relevant papyrological and inscriptional evidence, as well as artistic and archaeological remains.

In spite of this ample evidence, no systematic studies of the continuity of beliefs and practices that have their origins in ancient times have been undertaken by Egyptologists. In this paper, I will give two examples of how such sources can be combined to provide new insights.

First, I will identify the three prescriptions to "stop liquid in a woman" from the Demotic P. Magical as cures for infertility by tracing their diagnosis, techniques and ingredients through Coptic and Arabic manuscripts to present-day Egypt.

Second, I will examine the close connection that mirrors, kohl tubes and kohl applicator sticks had to the new nursing mother throughout ancient Egyptian history, and will suggest an interpretation of their frequent appearance in such a context based on the important role these implements play in milk-protection rituals in Egypt, Nubia and the Sudan in modern times, and across the ages.

**James A. Harrell, University of Toledo:** *The Tumbos Quarry at the Third Nile Cataract, Northern Sudan*

It has long been recognized that an ancient quarry exists in the vicinity of Tumbos village at the south end of the Third Cataract on the Nile River in northern Sudan. With the exception of an unfinished colossal statue lying in the quarry (possibly of King Tanwetamani of the 25th dynasty) and numerous 18th-dynasty rock-cut stelae (including the "great Tumbos inscription" of Tuthmosis I), this site has not been previously described by archaeologists or geologists.

A topographical and petrological survey of Tumbos was undertaken by the author in March 1996. It was determined that two varieties of very different-looking stone were quarried: (1) light pinkish-gray, medium- to coarse-grained (1-10 mm), well-foliated granite gneiss; and (2) moderate gray, fine- to medium-grained (0.5-3 mm) granite. The granite gneiss was quarried in two areas on the east bank of the Nile and also on the adjacent Dabaki Island. This stone is the so-called, but incorrectly named, "Tumbos granite" of earlier workers. The second variety of stone, the true Tumbos granite, was quarried only on Tumbos Island. Numerous statues and stelae in both stone varieties are known from the 18th and 25th dynasties, and the later Napatan-Meroitic kingdom. These come from the Tebo, Kawa and Gebel Barkal temple complexes between the Third and Fourth cataracts.

**Stephen P. Harvey, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore:** *A New Look at Egyptian Art in the Walters Art Gallery*

The Walters Art Gallery's distinguished collection of ancient Egyptian art was formed mostly through purchase by Henry Walters in the early decades of this century. In a relatively short period and with the guidance of the dealer Dikran Kelekian, the Walters family was able to amass a remarkably representative and fine collection of Egyptian art, purchased from sales of the Hilton Price, MacGregor, and Lady Meux collections (among others), and through various dealers in Egypt, Europe, and the United States. While scholars have long been aware of part of the collection through Georg Steindorff's 1946 publication *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, more than 700 additional works of Egyptian art are represented in the museum's holdings,

including major and little-known pieces of sculpture, jewelry, faience, and glass. The process of evaluating and reinstalling the Walters Egyptian collection is bringing to light a great number of interesting objects which are either entirely unpublished or insufficiently known to the Egyptological community. In many cases, reattribution, scholarly advances, and archaeological discoveries made in the past fifty years can vastly contribute to our appreciation of the context, date and meaning of the Walters' holdings. Some highlights of the collection which deserve to be widely known will be discussed, including a unique and intriguing sculpture of Middle Kingdom date depicting prostrate high officials, a richly decorated coffin of the Twelfth Dynasty, and an important and nearly life-sized bust of a high official of the late Twenty-Fifth/early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

**Michael G. Hasel, University of Arizona:** *The Campaign of Seti I Against Beth Shan in Year I: An Interdisciplinary Study*

The Bronze Age came to a violent end in a series of severe destructions that are attested at sites throughout the southern Levant for a period of about a century. Theories of causation include: (1) A military invasion by foreign people such as the Israelites (Albright 1939; 1956; G. E. Wright 1962; P. W. Lapp 1967; B. Mazar 1981; Yeivin 1971; Malamat 1979; 1982a; Bright 1981; Yadin 1982; 1992; Ussishkin 1987); the "Sea Peoples" (Malamat 1971; A. Mazar 1985; Stager 1985b; 1995: 336-337; Wood 1991: 52; but see Cifola 1994); and the Egyptians (Helck 1971; Yadin 1975; Ahituv 1978: 105; Weinstein 1980; 1981; Singer 1988); (2) Natural causes such as seismic activity (Schaeffer 1948; Kilian 1980; 1988; cf. Drews 1993: 33-47); (3) A systems collapse with numerous factors that included the decline of Egyptian domination, exhaustion of natural resources, the cessation of international trade, technological decline and innovation, as well as ethnic movements (Dever 1992d: 104-108); (4) Ecological factors such as drought or famine (Klengel 1974; Weiss 1982; Stiebing 1989; 1994); (5) Conflagration of cities for disease control (Meyers 1978); (6) Internecine warfare among competitive city-states (for MB-LB, cf. Hoffmeier 1989: 190; Drews 1990); and (7) Changes in warfare tactics that allowed the penetration of city-state defensive systems (Drews 1993).

This paper presents the results of an extensive study of Egyptian military terminology, iconography, and archaeological data pertaining to Egyptian military action in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (XIXth Dynasty). Due to time constraints, the particular case study investigated will be the campaign of Seti I to Beth Shan in Year I. Data that apply to this campaign will be addressed from a holistic research design encompassing archaeological, textual, iconographic, and anthropological perspectives.

**Mervat Hatem, Howard University:** *A'isha Taymur's Tears and a Different Reading of the Modernist and the Feminist Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Egypt*

The nationalist and feminist discourses share a familiar construction of A'isha Taymur's life and its representation of the advancement of women in nineteenth-century Egypt. They highlight the important role played by her father in her education as a child, the opposition of her mother to the change and the dramatic emergence of Taymur as a well known woman poet in the nineteenth century. I suggest in this paper a different reading of these facts. I also highlight the role that other women (specifically her daughter and female teachers) played in her adult literary education. In this interpretation, a critique of modernity is offered. It focuses attention on the masculine character of the modern roles of women, the conflicts they produced among women and the personal sacrifices they demanded of Taymur.

**Jane Hathaway, Ohio State University:** *The Yemeni Element in Ottoman Egyptian History*

While scholarship on various features of pre-nineteenth century Ottoman Egyptian society has steadily expanded in recent years, hardly any studies have squarely addressed Egypt's close — indeed, almost symbiotic — relationship with Yemen during this period. Yemen was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire fifteen years after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, when the admiral Suleyman Pasha conquered the Arab Tahirid dynasty at Aden in 1538. From that date until the Ottoman expulsion from Yemen by the Zaydi Qasimi dynasty in 1636, Yemen's fortunes were inextricably linked to those of Egypt. The two provinces shared the same distinctive subprovincial administrative divisions imposed under the Mamluk sultanate. Ottoman governors of Egypt were frequently assigned to Yemen after completing their terms in Cairo, while troops from Egypt were frequently dispatched to fight the Zaydi imams and to perform garrison duty in Yemen. Even after 1636, the Red Sea trade in Yemeni coffee, which was at its peak in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, continued to link Yemen to Egypt. Coffee traders in Egypt had to maintain favorable ties with the various tribal groups in Yemen's northern coffee-growing regions, as well as the regional authorities near the ports of Mocha and Aden. It seems likely, in fact, that there was considerable exchange of tribal populations between Yemen and Egypt over the centuries. The Yemeni connection plays a key role in the emergence and conflict of two political factions in Egypt in the seventeenth century: the Fiqaris (from Dhu'l-Fiqar) and the Qasimis (from Qasim). Although the various origin myths of these factions ascribe their appearance to Sultan Selim I's conquest of Egypt in 1517, both were allied with Bedouin tribal blocs whose roots lay in Yemen. In addition, the Qasimi factions appear to derive from Yemen's Qasimi dynasty.

This presentation examines this long-neglected symbiosis between Yemen and Egypt, paying particular attention to the rather tortuous Yemeni strands in the origin myths and political allegiances of the Fiqari and Qasimi factions. A particularly intriguing feature of the factions' conflict is competing claims to symbols of Islamic legitimacy, most

notably the caliph 'Ali's sword Dhu'l-Fiqar. While the Fiqaris seem to identify with the Ottoman Janissaries' 'Alid allegiances and heraldic use of the Dhu'l-Fiqar sword (from which their faction takes its name), the Qasimis tap the tradition that the Zaydi imams of Yemen were actual keepers of the sword until the fourteenth century.

**Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom, Miami University of Ohio:** *Gender Ascension in Egypt: A Look at Mary Magdala and Her Legacy to the Desert Mothers*

The Desert Mothers have traveled on a common trajectory with Mary Magdala, which only allowed women to be spiritual authorities if they abandoned their femininity. For the Gnostics, Mary represented a woman who had been defeminized spiritually. Through the conflagration of New Testament texts, the Western church transformed Mary Magdala into the deprived woman, a prostitute, who desperately needed forgiveness and thereby emphasized her sexuality and the clear dangers of uncontrolled femininity. For Latin Christendom, Mary was a submissive model for women to follow. The figure of Mary Magdala in Coptic Egypt was more positive. She was, nevertheless, replaced by the Desert Mothers who served as a more contemporary role model of how women should practice their spirituality. However, these independent virgins were female men of God and they, too, needed to be defeminized in order to practice true asceticism. This need for gender ascension is a trajectory that is also found in the writings of Philo, Clement and Origen and suggests that this view of women's sexuality was not spawned in Gnosticism, but may have been a reflection of Egyptian intellectual thought.

**Carolyn Higginbotham, Muskingum College:** *On Temples and Taxes in Southern Canaan*

This paper will examine both the hieratic ostraca from Southern Canaan and the section of papyrus Harris detailing the founding of a temple of Amun in PaCanaan. The paper will question the assumption that PaCanaan is to be identified with Gaza, but will argue that a location in Southern Canaan still makes sense in light of the ostraca. Finally, it will suggest that the ostraca are votive inscriptions intended to be used in a ritual of presentation at the Temple of Ramesses III in PaCanaan.

**James K. Hoffmeier, Wheaton College:** *Ancient Tjaru: Tell Abu Sefêh or Tell Hebua?*

Since the early part of this century, Ancient Tjaru, Egypt's border town with Sinai with its strategically situated fortress, has been thought to have been located at Tell Abu Sefêh. This suggestion was first made by C. Kùthmann, and championed by Sir Alan Gardiner, and few questioned this identification. However, this identification was based on surface epigraphical finds and without the benefit of excavations. No thorough investigation of this site took place until 1994. Based upon the preliminary results, Tell

Abu Sefêh appears to be a Hellenistic and Roman period settlement. On the other hand, nearby Hebua, likewise being excavated by Dr. Mohammed Abdul Maksoud, has an impressive fort and remains that span from the 19th Dynasty back to the Second Intermediate period. Excavations at Hebua were conducted from 1987 through 1994. It will be suggested, based on the new archaeological evidence, coupled with long-known epigraphical sources, that Tell Abu Sefêh cannot be Tjaru while Hebua quite likely is Egypt's long-lost frontier town.

**Susan Tower Hollis, State University of New York, Empire State College:** *Two Hymns as Propaganda, Royal Ideology, and History in Ancient Israel and Egypt*

Among the kings of ancient Israel, David stands out for the hymns attributed to or praising him. Although no single Egyptian king carries the same recognition, many hymns derive from or eulogize various Egyptian rulers. While a broad generalization about similarities and differences between Davidic and Egyptian royal hymns is ill-advised, a comparison of specific hymns from each culture may prove to be an interesting exercise. Such may also illuminate some similarities and differences in the purposes of the hymns in question.

The so-called Israel Stele (Cairo 34025), containing the only known extra-biblical mention of Israel, hymns the nineteenth-dynasty Egyptian Pharaoh Merneptah. A contrast of this document with a Davidic hymn, in this case II Samuel 22 (see also Psalm 18), provides some interesting insights into the two rulers' views of themselves and their activities. For the modern critic, such a comparison questions the effect of propaganda and royal ideology on one's understanding of what history is.

**Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester:** *The Power of Pious Prayer*

This presentation will critique the pervasive two-tier model of religion which relegates vital elements of the Islamic mystical tradition to an amorphous "popular" faith at odds with a literate religion of an august elite. In fact, a closer, more nuanced reading of Arabic primary sources reveals that Sufism's important contributions to Muslim life were rarely challenged by religious authorities in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. A case in point is the central role played by prayer, particularly as embodied in the institution of the *ribat/khanqah*, whose constitution and mission are more clearly defined when we read their *waqf* deeds not only in economic or architectural terms, but within their original religious context, as well.

**Mahmood Ibrahim, California Polytechnic Institute:** *The Uses of Ta'rikh al-Jazari: Mamluk Folktales*

This will be a presentation about the manuscript *Ta'rikh al-Jazari* and the attempt to collate its various fragments with the intention to re-examine the content of the manuscript for the social and economic history of the Mamluks. Moreover, several folktales found in one fragment will be highlighted to illustrate the varied use of Jazari's History.

**Salima Ikram, American University in Cairo:** *Animal Mummies in the Cairo Museum*

A variety of animal mummies were created by the ancient Egyptians. These can be broken down into four different categories. The first is mummified pets, the second is mummified food offerings, the third is mummified votive animals as offerings, and the fourth and last is mummified sacred animals. The Cairo Museum houses examples of all these types of mummies. Some of these have been studied in the past (Cat. Gen), around the turn of the century. However, since that time many other mummies have been deposited in the museum. My project consists of making a catalogue of these mummies, and studying them. The method of study consists, first, of macroscopic examination of the mummy and wrappings. This is followed by closer investigation, depending on the wrappings. If the mummy is fully wrapped, it is x-rayed, if partially wrapped, an identification of the animal is made using the bones, fur, or feathers visible. The method of wrapping and a correlation with dating will be attempted, and fragments of material will be chemically analyzed in order to determine the types of embalming materials used and whether one can determine if they change over time (e.g., from resin to bitumen). The paper will outline the methodology and the early results of this project.

**Richard Jasnow, Johns Hopkins University:** *Remarks on the Book of Thoth*

In this talk I shall discuss the Demotic text being studied jointly by Professor Karl-Th. Zauzich and myself, to which we have given the working title of "The Book of Thoth." The composition, first presented at the 1995 ICE in Cambridge, contains some 20 columns. The text seems to be largely in the form of a dialogue between a man "who wishes to learn" and the god Thoth. The priestly authors treat a great variety of subjects, including the nature of sacred animals, the search for the "secret chambers" (Épt.w), wisdom, ethics, mythological geography, and the underworld. In this talk I shall concentrate on the geographical "Vulture-list."

**Edward D. Johnson, La Canada, California:** *Basic Wallpaintings Conservation or What To Do Until the Conservator Comes*

Archaeologists in Egypt are often faced with having to deal with wallpaintings in various stages of preservation and deterioration. These conditions can range from excellent to those in extreme jeopardy of complete loss.

This talk will emphasize basic conservation techniques which can be employed by non-specialists during field work. The aim is to be able to perform some basic conservation on such paintings when a conservator is unavailable, or there is no time to obtain the services of a conservator.

The review will cover basic techniques used in wallpaintings, emphasizing paintings on plaster, as opposed to those directly on stone, although that will also be discussed. Common problems, such as cleaning, consolidation, first aid for delaminating layers, and the like, will be reviewed, along with basic materials which may be safely utilized for such conservation, as well as materials which should not be used in any circumstances.

Cleaning will cover mechanical cleaning, various solvents that may be applied, and materials to avoid; consolidation will include a brief review of polymers, such as B72, as well as other lesser known materials that have been successfully used for the conservation of polychromy, e.g., Isinglass. Mechanisms of deterioration, including biodeterioration and its prevention will also be briefly reviewed.

**Rebecca Krawiec, University of Minnesota:** *Space, Distance and Gender: Authority and the Separation of Communities in the White Monastery*

One aspect of space in Coptic monasticism is the space between communities, even those communities that proclaimed themselves followers of the same rule. This distance often indicates a gender boundary, which is necessary for the community to maintain for the integrity of the monastery. Such "space," perhaps better termed "distance," exists between the male and female communities of the White Monastery under its third head, Shenute, in the fourth and fifth centuries. The women's houses that made up their community were situated close to, or perhaps even in, the nearby village. Under the first two male heads of the monastery, the female community had a material interdependence with the male community but had independent authority in matters of discipline. Shenute, as third head of the monastery, sought to become an authoritative presence in the female community, in direct contrast to the relationship that had existed under his predecessors. At first, Shenute visited the female community in person but these visits created problems, in part due to confusion about Shenute's motivation. Shenute then sought to use his epistolary correspondence with the women, as well as male envoys, to extend his authority over the female community and draw it more firmly into the monastery as a single body with a single head.



**Peter Lacovara, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston:** *The Costume of a Kerma Warrior*

A study of models and representations of *Medjay* warriors may help to clarify the political and cultural affiliations of a number of Bronze Age Nubian groups. This study will begin with a Middle Kingdom model of a Nubian bowman recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and review both representational and archaeological evidence to understand the Egyptians' perceptions of their southern neighbors.

**Mark Lawall, University of Manitoba:** *Coptos Excavations: Egyptian and Imported Transport Amphoras*

The first century B.C. Hellenistic Type II, in Nile silt, resembles amphoras published from Naukratis from the second and first centuries B.C.; these dates hold true for the examples from Coptos. Type III, again of Nile silt, has a tall neck, cylindrical body, and handles placed high on the neck. This type appears in the last Hellenistic phase and continues through all subsequent Roman phases. Finds at other sites suggest a range in dates between the first and third centuries A.D., but the evidence for Coptos might imply an earlier starting point. After an apparent break in the ceramic sequence in the fourth century (also seen in the household pottery), Nile silt amphoras reappear in Riley's LRA 7 form, Coptos Type IV. These jars are usually dated between the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., though evidence from the Dakhleh oasis and Baquaria may place their origins in the fourth century.

Despite the position of Coptos along a major trade route, non-Egyptian amphoras are not commonly found at the site (more are found in the desert survey, though these await a more complete study). Excavations at the site of Coptos in Upper Egypt, carried out by the University of Michigan between 1987 and 1992, aimed to develop a local ceramic chronology for the analysis of material recovered in the accompanying Eastern Desert survey. The project recovered stratified ceramics dating from the Middle Kingdom to c.600 A.D. The ceramic sequence was developed through the presence of known types and changes in the forms and fabrics present in each assemblage. Coins and stamped amphora handles helped refine the chronology of the sequence. Fifteen ceramic phases include one from the Middle Kingdom, two from the Late Period, five Hellenistic phases, and five Roman phases.

This general ceramic sequence provides a framework for the study of the transport amphoras at Coptos. All amphoras come from the Hellenistic and Roman phases. Most jars are of Egyptian manufacture, produced from Nile silt fabrics or a finer, calcareous clay. This calcareous fabric appears in the Hellenistic period for a series of rounded-rim amphoras, Type I; the type is rare outside Egypt, and Coptos provides evidence for the type's development from the third century B.C. through the Hellenistic period. There are Rhodian fragments, including a number of stamps; Koan and Knidian material is also present, though not as common. Roman amphora types include Greco-Italic, Brindisian, Italian Dr 1 and 2-4 forms, African, Aegean MRA 7, and others from

uncertain sources. The importance of these imports for Coptos is reinforced by the presence of imitations of some of these Mediterranean forms in Egyptian fabric.

The lengthy occupation of Coptos has permitted the development of the site's ceramic chronology, for both household wares and transport jars, and the chronology of imported materials. Such evidence is useful for refining the history of Egyptian commerce and Egypt's participation in trade linking the Mediterranean to trade routes through the Red Sea.

**P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., Johns Hopkins University:** *The Shasu of Yahweh: A Philological and Topographic Reevaluation*

This paper will explore the references to "the Shasu of Yahweh" (*šsw yhw3*) and other Bedouin groups found in New Kingdom topographic lists from Soleb and Amarah.

**Sheila McNally, University of Minnesota:** *Transformations of Ecclesiastical Space: Churches in the Area of Akhmim*

This paper discusses relationships between ten churches that survive today in or near Akhmim (Panopolis). It relies on observation of standing remains, which needs to be supplemented by excavation. Although preliminary, it draws attention to overlooked material: studies of Coptic architecture tend to stop after the Early Christian period, but these churches indicate the vitality and creativity of the later communities. Grossmann had divided the development of Coptic church architecture into three stages: basilican, centralized, and "broad churches," emerging in the Early Christian, Fatimid, and Mamluke periods, respectively. These buildings illustrate the course of development, as well as the emergence of local variants. One, possibly two, of the churches began as basilicas, showing influence from the White and Red Monasteries across the river. Then the basilicas were truncated, and two more short churches appeared. Later, three of these churches were broadened. Six new "broad churches" were built; most belong to a local type characterized by breadth, by being wider than it is deep. Local peculiarities appear also in the arrangement of the domes, the shaping of sanctuaries, and the placement of corridors behind sanctuaries (also found at the White and Red Monasteries). The most recent construction in Akhmim has returned to the basilican form of the earliest churches.

**Ellen Morris, University of Pennsylvania:** *Puzzling Out Prisoners of War in the Reigns of Ramesses II and Thutmosis III*

Under Thutmosis III an unprecedented number of foreign captives were brought from the Syro-Palestinian area to Egypt in order that they might serve as labor for the temples, estates and state building projects of the country. Although textual evidence for this practice has been well studied in the past, relatively little attention has been

paid to artistic evidence, which should provide a further understanding as to the nature and purpose of these mass deportations. This paper examines a number of individuals, present in the tomb paintings of some of the highest officials in the reigns of Thutmosis III and his immediate successors, who share particular physical characteristics which mark them as definitively un-Egyptian. These individuals appear in Egyptian art suddenly during the reign of Thutmosis III and within a few reigns are no more to be identified. It will be argued that these peoples represent a distinct population group first encountered by the Egyptians during the reign of Thutmosis III. Further, a case will be made that an individual belonging to this group resurfaces once more in a line of prisoners carved at Abu Simbel.

**Alexandra A. O'Brien, University of Chicago:** *Disjecta Membra in Araneo*  
(*Scattered Remains on the Web*)

The publication of Egyptian language material on the Web brings exciting possibilities for the future of Egyptian papyrology. Many of the electronic images presently available are far superior to photographs published in journals. Indeed, computerization enables high quality color reproduction of documents on a scale that would be completely impractical on paper.

This paper is a discussion of the collection of Egyptian language material published online and how to facilitate use of this scattered, yet potentially rich, resource. This paper will include a computer demonstration of an experimental Web site intended to bring together these materials.

**Elizabeth Oram, Princeton University:** *Return to the Desert: The New Role of Egyptian Monasteries in the Construction of Coptic Christian Identity*

In approximately the past twenty-five years, the Coptic monasteries in Egypt have been transformed. Once they were located in remote places, difficult to reach, sparsely populated, and financially dependent on charity either from individuals or the Church. During the reign of the current Pope, Shenouda III, roads have been built out from the monastic sites to meet the new highways being built by the government, making places like St. Anthony's and the monasteries of Wadi Natrun easily accessible. Cash generating projects such as hi-tech farming, computer assisted publishing, and the production of decorative wood and marble pieces for other churches have converted the monasteries into more than financially self-sufficient institutions. In addition, the numbers of men seeking entrance to the monastic life have soared, as have the numbers of pilgrims, who currently reach into the tens of thousands yearly. Thus, Coptic monasteries founded on the principle of poverty and withdrawal from the world and constructed as private spiritual spaces are being transformed into largely public ones. From the perspective of the 'average Copt,' too, the monasteries have been altered from being primarily imagined sites to places which s/he visits with some frequency.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how this new physical contact between the monasteries and pilgrims has generated a range of new meanings for these sites. On the one hand, I will look at some of the ways in which the monks themselves have constructed/reconstructed their monasteries for 'viewing.' Here I will concentrate on the establishment of museums in the monasteries, the refurbishing of ancient buildings unused by the monks, and the marking off of areas where the public may not enter. Second, I will focus on how pilgrims move through the space of the monastery and experience it. Here I will draw on field work and interviews with pilgrims, which suggest that as the monasteries have grown both physically and financially, they have come to stand as a representation of the Coptic spiritual past and a symbol of a continued physical presence in Egypt, despite the growing Islamist pressure on the community.

**Sara E. Orel, Truman State University:** *A Preliminary Report on the 1996 Season at Kom el-Hisn*

In the summer of 1996, an Egypt Exploration Society expedition began survey and excavation at the site of Kom el-Hisn, capital of the Third Nome of Lower Egypt from the New Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period. The survey focused on the identification of areas previously excavated (particularly the work of Hamada and Farid in the 1940s) as well as the mapping of the enclosure wall of the temple of Sekhmet-Hathor noted by Gardner in the 1880s.

Although it has suffered from sebakh-diggers and the site is rather badly pitted, examination of the site through coring and excavation has indicated that there may be significant remains dating to the Old Kingdom and later above the water table. As part of the survey, a series of cores was drilled across the site in a line from east to west, complementing the coring done by Robert Wenke's expedition in the 1980s. Excavation in areas of the highest elevation revealed pottery of the Middle Kingdom, including sherds of Kerma and Pan-Grave type pottery, as well as New Kingdom and Late Period remains.

This presentation will offer a report on the work from the 1996 season, as well as a discussion of the current conditions of Pharaonic remains at the site, including the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Hsr-wr*.

**Anna Louise Pearman, George Mason University:** *A Survey of Ancient Egyptian Oracles*

This paper offers a concise chronological survey of oracles in Ancient Egypt. An oracle was inherently complex: by definition it could have been a divine utterance, a medium, or a place of numinosity; it could have been multi-functional, i.e., cathartic or purifying, advisory or mediating, political, cultic, and/or charismatic. Apart from Cerny's extensive excavations at Deir el-Medina, the archaeological evidence is generally scarce

until the Graeco-Roman period; prior to then, few papyri have survived and sites are even more scarce. However, the direct evidence is sufficient for the purpose of this paper.

Beginning with the Old Kingdom and progressing through to Graeco-Roman times, oracles made their way into every level of Ancient Egyptian society: Pharaohs lived by prophecies of order and prosperity as well as by predictions of chaos and economic disasters. The cult of the oracle was a temple institution. Even villagers relied upon dream books to deal with their anxieties about the future. And from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, an outstanding feature of the Theban administration was its recourse to oracular decisions on all occasions.

Oracles maintained a strong influence from the Late Period into Ptolemaic times, then by royal decree were suppressed and, as a result, disappeared under Roman rule. The Graeco-Roman period provides an interesting backdrop for points of comparison and contrast before the demise of the Ancient Egyptian oracle. Unlike other periods of Ancient Egyptian history, that time frame provides a number of historical records that serve as a basis for this research.

**Peter A. Piccione, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago:** *Report on the 1996 Field Season of the Theban Tombs Publication Project: The Tombs of Ray (No. 72) and Ahmose (No. 121)*

The fourth field season of this project included the continuation of epigraphic photography inside the tomb of Ray (no. 72), and the re-clearance of the doorway and threshold of the tomb of Ahmose (no. 121) in preparation for the construction of a new iron door. Issues and findings pertaining to these and other activities of the project will be presented.

**Donald Redford, University of Toronto:** *The 1996 Excavations at Mendes*

This past season, the University of Toronto excavations at Mendes (June-July 1996) concentrated for the first time in five years on the main temple of the Ram and environs. Excavation units were opened up immediately north and west of the naos court, and the area of ram sarcophagi over 200 meters to the west was cleared. New light was shed on the Roman history of the temple as well as the layout of the antechamber giving on to the naos court. The late Old Kingdom necropolis which underlies the temple was far more extensive than first believed, and may contain upwards of 5,000 interments. Several mud-brick burials were detected, as well as a destruction level with sprawled corpses.

**Greg Reeder, KMT Magazine:** *The Tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep: New Perspectives*

Since its discovery in 1964 in the necropolis of Saqqara and its subsequent restoration and publication by the German Archaeological Institute, the Fifth Dynasty "tomb of manicurists" Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, has presented many problems of interpretation. The two men are shown throughout their shared tomb in a series of affectionate poses, from merely holding hands to close embraces, culminating in their offering chamber where the two stand in a rare and intimate embrace for mortal men. In the past, arguments have been advanced that the two men were twin brothers. However, this paper will argue that the various pairings of the two men as shown on the walls of their tomb compare most favorably with the portrayal of husband and wife embracing in the nearby contemporaneous tomb of Ka-Hay. The erasure of the wife of Niankhkhnum from a banquet celebrated by the manicurists and the absence of both wives from key areas of the tomb will be examined. Evidence will be introduced suggesting what the craftsmen who designed the tomb may have understood about the nature of the relationship between the two men. Concluding remarks will focus on the embracing scenes, bringing attention to active and passive positioning of the two companions.

**Donald M. Reid, Georgia State University:** *Islamic Archaeology, Politics, and Professionalism in British-Occupied Egypt: The Career of Aly Bahgat (1858-1924)*

Western-Egyptian interaction in the development of Egyptology, Coptology, and classical and Islamic archaeology — and the roles of these disciplines in constructing modern Egyptian identity — has received little scholarly attention. As for other parts of the globe, scattered studies highlight the clash in archaeology of Western imperialism and indigenous nationalism. In Israel and the occupied territories, archaeology is one of many arenas contested within Israeli nationalism and between it and Palestinian nationalism

The career of Aly Bahgat has been briefly treated within such an imperialist/nationalist framework (Reid, 1992). In a career spanning the forty years of intensive British occupation, he worked for the Egyptian Ministry of Education, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), and the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. While with the Comité, he became assistant curator, curator, and director of the Museum of Arab Art and pioneered the excavation of Fustat. Europeans for whom he worked awakened his interest in Islamic art and archaeology, yet their presence in Egyptian government posts delayed his advancement. Though from an upper-class Turkish family uninvolved in Egyptian nationalism, Bahgat's struggle for professional advancement became a form of nationalist struggle. In this his career resembles that of his contemporary Ahmad Kamal (1851-1923), pioneer Egyptian Egyptologist.

An imperialist/nationalist dichotomy, even if refined to reflect competing imperialism (French, British, German, Italian, Austro-Hungarian) and varieties of Egyptian nationalism — as well as a range of individual commitments to imperialism or nationalism, captures only one dimension of a complex scene. This paper draws on new archival sources in using the career of Aly Bahgat to explore how commitment (in varying degrees) to objectivity, professionalism, and “scientific internationalism” complicates the imperialist/nationalist framework of analysis.

**Dan Reyes, Miami University of Ohio:** *Post-Antiquarian Studies of Antiquity: Reframing the Pyramids*

*Pyramid. Paramour of structural unity, stability and competency. This way of resting firmly and squarely upon the earth, this way of gesturing confidently toward the heavens, suggests (at least a noble aspiration of) life in cosmic (cosmological) accord.*

*This cultural ontological inscription of aspirations toward harmony, might be the great retort to Thoth's trickster motivated gift of language, might be the affirming statement of language's positive positing possibilities. Might be the great denial of the inherent implicit undertones of linguistic and expressive uncertainty and instability. The great refusal to become betrayed by the medium of our becoming.*

While the scholarship on studies of antiquity has continually been marked with advances in our modern era, it seems to me a relatively unexplored wealth of additional dimensions might be unearthed through a post-antiquarian study of antiquity. In these inquiries into the sites of our cultural origins it seems fitting to begin anew with a reconsideration of the philosophical underpinnings of our practices.

I plan here to employ postmodernist and post-structuralist cultural historical criticism (drawing from ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche and Jacques Derrida) to explore affirmative alternatives to the collection of interpretations delimited by a logocentric bias. Both Nietzsche, in his critique of what's wrong with an antiquarian form of Egypticism (*Twilight of Idols* and *Untimely Meditations*), and Derrida in his theorization of Egyptian connections in his supplementation of Platonism (*Plato's Pharmacy*), offer intriguing possibilities for our Egyptology today. I will endeavor to explore the connections these texts have to the disciplinary subject of Egyptology, and also, in terms of the moves they make to reconceptualize historicism, differentiating interpretive and metaphorical layers from traditional literal historical grounds.

While Nietzsche is expressing his disdain for philosophers' inability to recognize the world, to engage *being*, to historicize in a critical, interactive and dynamic way, his words may also touch us as historians. We might argue whether Nietzsche is right or wrong, whether his metaphors about “Egypticism” are poignant or misconstrued, but regardless of which side we might take, we would be turning down an invitation to reconsider our habits in historicism. The traditional evaluation of propositions, the

sizing up of argument and evidence, the making of conclusions toward the taking of sides would confirm his accusations. The trueness or falseness of the proposition is not inherently, decontextually determinable. The questions raised concern the possibility of some account of being and becoming in history and places our considerations into the field of life, into dynamic worlds of being and of competing impulses toward becoming. The question of Nietzsche's account of history seems necessarily considered in being — the truth or falseness emerges only in use. While this is not intended as a denial of more or less valuable interpretations, a pre-narrowing of plausible interpretive possibilities toward a foundation of knowing manifests a historical vision which erases the world, which obscures the multi-faceted basis (with perhaps only four sides but nearly limitless dimensions) for the sake of polishing the pyramid's apex. In our constituting of coherent historical narratives, we tend to honor the dead though we deny the antecedent *being* of life. The challenge in our historical endeavors would seem to be that of restoring the corpse, of breathing back life and complexity into the shell of the past which physically presents itself to our inspection.

As Jacques Derrida warns, we are extremely *enmeshed* in logocentric propositionality. This fabric of thinking may extend back to the beginnings of our self-consciousness (or at least to our earliest writings). Derrida's curiosity with the Western philosophical traditions, customarily located as originating in Greek antiquity, takes us to stories of origins of writing, of inscription (and of consciousness) as sketched out in Plato's narratives of Socrates dialogues. Paradoxically, Plato is traditionally *interpreted* as arguing for the primacy of *logos* through a grounding in Egyptian *mythos*. Derrida suggests that this interpretation appears plausible because of our particular ontological filter, and it is through this filter that we see the *Phaedrus* dialogue as a weak argument, as internally contradictory. In attempting to recuperate linguistic complexities and ambiguities, Derrida attempts to make room for the possibility that this story of origins is (within its native ontological frame) a story necessarily and perhaps purposefully concerned with the ambiguity of being. The gift of language, as formulated by Thoth and as evaluated by Ra, is a one of mixed omens which permeate the beginnings of our culture and the condition of our consciousness.

While I will not claim any single "right path ahead," I hope to contribute to our realm of options. I look for ways to expand the realm of our understandings of past and current cultural historical world views. Such goals should be pursued through dynamic and pluralistic premises.

**Christina J. Riggs, University of California at Berkeley:** *Funerary Reliefs from Roman Egypt*

Between the third and fourth centuries C.E., some of the elite citizens of Roman Egypt, like their counterparts elsewhere in the Roman Empire, adorned their tombs with limestone reliefs carved in very high raised relief as a single unit consisting of an arched, aedicular niche in which stood a figure of the deceased. In addition to



representing the deceased in some semblance of his or her living form, these reliefs employed a sophisticated iconographic program symbolizing the apotheosis of the dead. Study of the niche reliefs has been encumbered, first of all, by the presence of many forged examples among the corpus of more than seventy known specimens and, secondly, by the need to examine the authentic reliefs within the broader cultural context of the Late Roman Empire and its funerary art. Instead, literature on the subject has consistently addressed the reliefs in conjunction with "proto-Coptic" or "Coptic" art.

The approximately thirty niche reliefs which can be safely considered authentic are the largest private sculptures known from Roman Egypt, with full-length adult figures ranging between one and one-and-a-half meters high. At least four or five reliefs can be linked to excavations carried out at Oxyrhynchus. When Grenfell and Hunt recovered papyri from the site in the 1890s, they described finding fragmentary niche reliefs re-used in Byzantine tombs as stone slabs covering the later burials, a situation encountered again by Petrie and Breccia in the 1920s and 1930s, respectively.

Beginning around mid-century, similar reliefs began to appear on the art market. This trend peaked in the early 1970s when about a dozen full-length niche figures were purchased by the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, the Louvre, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and other museums. Around the same time, forgeries like those of the "Sheikh Ibada" group were also being sold in Europe and the United States, and as many as two dozen of these fakes, if not more, imitated niche reliefs depicting young boys. Further complicating the problem is the possibility that some niche reliefs offered through the art market may be re-worked and re-painted originals.

The difficulty of authenticating the niche reliefs risks overshadowing their art historical importance, for the genuine examples possess a fluidity of carving and a balance of composition that reveal the sculptors' skill and familiarity with the norms of Roman art. In both iconography and style, the Egyptian niche reliefs mirror developments throughout the Roman Empire. Elements such as shells, garlands, and bowls symbolize the apotheosis of the deceased, a theme increasingly central to funerary practices in the Imperial period. When understood in their cultural context, these reliefs complement contemporary written sources and offer significant evidence for the religious beliefs espoused in Egypt's flourishing urban centers during the first centuries of our era.

**Robert K. Ritner, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago:** *Necromancy at the Heb-Sed?*

A new analysis of the jubilee reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis may provide clarification for an obscure scene including "gibberish" words and a masked Bes figure. While the scene has long been suggested to be a type of magical rite, it seems possible to specify the precise nature of this ritual using later Demotic parallels invoking Bes as a liminal deity, patron of dreams and revelations. The previously untranslated label for the scene directly invokes the speech of the dead, suggesting a formal "seance" by which deceased royal ancestors might confer renewed legitimacy upon the monarch at his jubilee.

**Ann Macy Roth, Howard University:** *Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth*

During the New Kingdom, spells from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead were often inscribed on four mud bricks, which were placed in niches in the walls of the burial chamber of royal tombs, each guarded by a corresponding protective figure. These magical bricks are clearly to be identified with the four bricks that women crouched upon to give birth and upon which their newborn babies were placed to have their fate decreed. As with the *psš-kf* knife and the *ntrwj* blades of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual, these bricks were used metaphorically in mortuary rituals, mimicking earthly bricks of birth in order to ensure the deceased's successful rebirth into the other world.

Such bricks also appear in other contexts. They were used in temple foundation ceremonies, where they functioned similarly, and were also associated with an 'opening of the mouth' ritual. In addition, bricks of birth also appear in scenes depicting the divine judgment a person faced after death. Like other artifacts surrounding birth in Egypt, these bricks and the beliefs about them may have had parallels in Mesopotamian society.

**Russell D. Rothe, University of Minnesota, Duluth:** *Tin Smelting /Bronze Alloying Experiments Using Cassiterite (Tin Ore) from the Egyptian Desert*

During the past four seasons, the University of Minnesota, Duluth, Egyptian Eastern Desert Expedition has been conducting research on Pharaonic activity in the southern Eastern Desert. It is possible that some of that activity was connected with the cassiterite deposits in the vicinity of Bir Mueilha. There is a group of inscriptions in the dead end wadi in which the cassiterite mine is located, and last year we found Roman pottery at the mine site itself. As part of our effort to understand ancient Egyptian mineral exploitation we have built a comparative collection of cassiterite ( $\text{SnO}_2$ ) from both Egypt and Northern and Eastern Europe. A good many of these samples, including those from the Eastern Desert, have been analyzed for trace elements using Neutron Activation (NAA). This has allowed us to source samples to those mines for which we have a database with a 95% probability (Rothe and Rapp, 1994).

In the summer of 1996, as a continuation of this aspect of our work, we began a series of experiments designed to determine the parameters for smelting tin and alloying bronze using ancient technology. These experiments, using cassiterite which we collected from Mine Mueilha in the Eastern Desert, have shown that it is not necessary to smelt the ore into tin as a preliminary to making bronze. On the contrary, our work has shown that by simply adding the cassiterite to copper scrap and then heating the mixture in a reducing atmosphere, bronze could be made at a temperature substantially below that required to melt copper and considerably below that at which cassiterite can be easily smelted into tin. The ancient metalsmiths no doubt soon discovered the efficacy of this method which allowed them to skip a preliminary step, and this probably explains the near absence of tin metal in ancient Egypt.

Once the lab work had delineated the temperature and atmosphere requirements, the experiments were moved outside. Using a back yard charcoal grill of a type that could be bought in a hardware store for \$20 and a simple hair dryer to emulate blowpipes, we made bronze from lab grade copper shot and Egyptian cassiterite and poured it into a mold to make a simple tool.

We think it is possible that the ancient Egyptians collected the cassiterite from the wadis draining the deposits at Mine Mueilha, as we did, and carried it across the desert along the route that we walked last year. Cassiterite is 78% tin by weight so there was no need to purify the ore before transporting it. Once in the Nile valley where there was a readily available supply of charcoal, the cassiterite could be alloyed into bronze at a temperature nearly 200°F lower than the melting point of copper, substantially reducing the level of pyrotechnology required.

**Carolyn D. Routledge, University of Pennsylvania Museum/University of Toronto:**  
*Did the Ancient Egyptians Have a Word for "Ritual"?*

One common strategy that Egyptologists employ in order to gain a clearer understanding of a specific social activity is to investigate ancient Egyptian terminology for that activity. As of yet this approach has not been applied to abstract terms for ritual, but only to terms relating to specific rites and practices. The value of conducting such a study might be questioned since Egyptologists often indicate that the ancient Egyptians had no word for "religion" and one might assume that an abstract term like "ritual" would be similar. Further doubt is cast on this project when it is considered that some scholars question the importance of whether a word for something exists in the language of any specific culture because we are seeking to understand that culture only in terms of our own definitions. The specific problem of ritual in ancient Egypt will be addressed in this study along with the more general issues of the value of word studies.

This paper presents the results of a search for an abstract term for ritual in ancient Egyptian language through a study of the words *irt-ht* and *nt-*, sometimes translated as "ritual." The results of this study indicate that the semantic field of the words *irt-ht* and *nt-* is comparable to the modern English usage of the word "ritual"; not as "a prescribed order of performing religious or other devotional service" (OED), but rather in the more general meaning of repetitive, formal, rule-bound action. The implications of this finding are: 1) the words *irt-ht* and *nt-* can be translated as "ritual" more often than is the current practice, 2) the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual included a wider range of activities, including ceremonies, and habitual actions, than usually is considered, 3) the re-enforcement of the usefulness of considering ancient Egyptian terminology when studying a specific aspect of their culture.

**Donald P. Ryan, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, and Thor Heyerdahl, Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway:** *The "Ra Expeditions" Revisited*

In 1969 and 1970, Norwegian explorer and archaeologist Thor Heyerdahl led two expeditions during which reed boats were sailed across the Atlantic Ocean. In its aftermath, there have been a variety of misunderstandings regarding the intent and results of these expeditions, for example, that the expeditions were meant to prove that the ancient Egyptians somehow were responsible for the Mayan pyramids. To the contrary, Heyerdahl has stressed that there is insufficient evidence to indicate that the Pharaonic Egyptians were transoceanic voyagers. The Ra Expeditions were not specifically Egyptological, but were intended to test the seaworthiness of the reed boat, a kind of vessel with a wide international distribution in ancient times. The expeditions were, in fact, a classic case of experimental archaeology. The results of these experiments demonstrated the inherent seaworthiness of this type of vessel and reinforced the idea that the oceans were not necessarily barriers to ancient people.

**Paula Sanders, Rice University:** *The Future of Fatimid History*

The presentation will summarize the state of Fatimid history and will explore possible new directions for research on Egypt during the Fatimid period. The major emphasis will be on the possibilities for reconceptualizing the history of the Fatimid period by focusing on social and economic history and by incorporating in a serious way the information that archaeological excavations have contributed to the body of knowledge about Egypt in the middle ages.

**Helen Saradi, University of Guelph, Ontario:** *Transformations of the Domestic Space in the Early Byzantine Period*

This paper will examine transformations in the early Byzantine domestic architecture according to the papyrological evidence. It will survey the trend of progressive subdivisions of houses, individual rooms and open space, such as porticos around courtyards. Particular emphasis will be placed on the transformation of the triclinium which was gradually losing its ancient function and was subdivided into smaller dwelling units. The evidence will be evaluated in the context of changes of domestic architecture documented in the archaeological excavations from all over the empire.

**Vanca Schrunk, University of St. Thomas:** *Tableware Assemblages at Akhmim, Seventh to Eleventh Century*

In our *First Report on Excavations at Akhmim*, published in 1993, we presented a summary classification of all utility and tablewares and a detailed classification of Egyptian red and white slip tablewares. A separate chapter addressed a preliminary

statistical analysis of the ceramic material, which indicated some overall changes during the history of the site.

Recent pottery projects involved design and implementation of a new computerized system for recording and analyzing the data on a Fox Pro system. A computerized record of the ware, shape, and rim diameter of all catalogued rims of the slipped and painted wares from the statistical zone has been completed. This has enabled analysis of the interrelationship of those tablewares within certain time frames, when they were concurrent in the urban environment, which was undergoing political and social transformation in the post-conquest period. The third concurrent category of tableware, the glazed wares, have not been fully recorded in the data base or studied, but are considered here as a significant element of change in otherwise tenaciously traditional ceramic market.

**John A. Seeger, American University in Cairo:** *Technological Development in Graeco-Roman Egypt*

During the Graeco-Roman period there were a number of important technological developments that took place in Egypt. The famous Lighthouse of Alexandria is an example of the methods used in construction; there must have been innovative methods used to build such a large structure that stood for some 1,500 years. This paper will examine some of the other technological developments in Graeco-Roman Egypt for which there is written or archaeological evidence.

Ctesibius, who worked in Alexandria during the early Ptolemaic period, is known for his invention of several mechanical devices. One was a mechanical force-pump using pistons and valves. This pump was described by Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 10. 7. 1-3). There is a well preserved example of a force-pump from the Roman period in the British Museum. Ctesibius also developed an improved form of the water clock that was probably the earliest device using feedback. This was also described by Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 9. 8. 2-7).

Archimedes spent some time in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy II and is credited with the invention of the screw-pump used for irrigation in the Delta (*Diodorus Siculus* 1. 34.2). There are a number of Egyptian terracottas from the Roman period that show their use. Besides the screw-pump, various types of water wheels were used in Egypt for improving agriculture. They were probably introduced during the early Ptolemaic period, but most of the written records and archaeological evidence are of Roman date. A wall painting in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria dating to the first century A.D. shows a water wheel powered by oxen. Water-powered wheels, still used in the Fayoum, were also probably introduced during the Ptolemaic period.

There are a number of other examples of technological achievements that could be cited. These include the construction of very large warships and completing a canal with locks during the Ptolemaic period. Hero of Alexandria in the first century A.D. wrote his

work on pneumatics describing many ingenious mechanical devices. Also in the Roman period, methods were developed for quarrying, shaping, and transporting large blocks of stone from remote sites.

**David P. Silverman, University of Pennsylvania Museum:** *The 1997 University of Pennsylvania Museum Expedition to Saqqara*

This year the expedition worked in the vicinity of the pyramid temple of Teti, and it located and entered a shaft in the axial corridor leading to the temple. This shaft and another nearby (three meters to the south) descend approximately six meters down and open onto several rooms. The only two that were well preserved to any extent were Middle Kingdom burial chambers, the remaining areas clearly being intrusive burials from a later period. The chambers represent a rediscovery since they were cleared originally earlier in the century by Firth and Gunn. No account of them appears in the publication of their work on the site, but the Griffith Institute at Oxford University has Gunn's hand copies of some of the texts. De Buck used part of the textual material in several of his Coffin Texts volumes. Subsequent French and British expeditions entered the tombs, but to date no attempt has been made to map the plan, to record the text and decoration, or to analyze the information.

One of the chambers, Sq15q, belongs to Sekweskheth and the other, Sq25q, to Sahathoripy, and much of the original painted and carved texts and decoration on the walls of the chambers and the sarcophagi are still in good condition. Funerary texts occur in both chambers and on one of the sarcophagi. The plan of these burials has many similarities to that of Ihy and Hetep, who were interred nearby (to the north of the pyramid of Teti). In fact, a single corridor, extending southward from the chambers of Sahathoripy and Sekweskheth, is similar in shape, dimensions, and construction to the corridors used by Ihy and Hetep. In the case of the latter two, the corridor linked the mortuary chapel to the burial, and it is likely that when this new corridor is fully cleared, it will end in a shaft that leads up to the original site of the mortuary chapel of Sekweskheth and Sahathoripy.

**Stuart Tyson Smith, Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles:** *The 1997 UCLA Dongola Reach Archaeological Survey*

A new UCLA archaeological expedition to Sudanese Nubia will examine the nature of the Egyptian-Nubian interactions before and after the Egyptian New Kingdom conquest. What was the effect of this violent intrusion on the native Kerma culture? Did they assimilate to Egyptian norms, as did their neighbors in Lower Nubia, or did they retain their native culture in spite of their absorption into the Egyptian New Kingdom empire? These questions bear on the origins of the Napatan kingdom, whose rulers became Pharaohs as the 25th Dynasty of Egypt. O'Connor has suggested that Egyptianized native bureaucrats provided the foundation for the rise of this powerful and sophisticated Nubian state. Morkot, on the other hand, attributes this development to

internal competition between native polities which had quickly lost any veneer of Egyptian civilization after the collapse of the New Kingdom empire.

The UCLA Sudanese-Nubian expedition will address these issues through a reconnaissance survey of the west bank between Dongola and Khandag, the last part of the Kerma heartland to remain uninvestigated. The area opposite Kawa, ancient Gematon, should be of particular interest. This important New Kingdom colonial settlement was probably founded by Akhenaton and later became an important Napatan center. Excavations at the site, however, never penetrated below Napatan strata. The survey will complement the work already undertaken by Derek Welsby on the east bank, which indicates both Kerma persistence after the New Kingdom conquest and a lack of Egyptianized colonial sites. The Dongola-Khandag reconnaissance will establish whether the same or a different pattern exists on the west bank, allowing for an assessment of the nature of Egyptian imperial control and its aftermath in the Third Intermediate Period.

**Amira Sonbol, Georgetown University: *Egypt's Legal Reforms: A Rereading***

Based largely on court records dating from the Ottoman and modern periods, and focusing on the issue of ta'a, my paper argues that the nineteenth/twentieth-century reform of laws has yielded mixed results for Egyptian women. Even though the legal basis of gender laws in Egypt has always been the shari'a, their application after the legal reforms beginning in the 1880s differed significantly from their application before. The differences are so significant as to warrant calling the shari'a practiced today "a new shari'a" to differentiate it from what was practiced before. However, since no one questions the fact that personal status laws applied by the state today are part of a permanent and unchanging shari'a, personal status laws have been given a holy appearance, making it almost impossible to change them. But one should ask why the state should be interested in changing the laws anyway, it is a male-dominant state and one method of continuing hegemony is by allowing males to participate in control of the other half and the shari'a as interpreted by the state justifies this.

**Lynn Swartz, University of California at Los Angeles: *Finery on the Frontier: The Jewelry from the Border Fortress of Askut***

The fort of Askut, once part of Egypt's Nubian exploitation and defense system, was excavated in the 1960s by the late Alexander Badawy and will soon be published by Stuart T. Smith of UCLA. The vast collection of artifacts returned to the United States after the excavation included a diverse group of well stratified beads, amulets and other jewelry. These remnants of personal adornment were left by the Egyptian and Nubian soldiers, colonists, traders and families stationed at Askut. They were discovered in a wide variety of living areas and activity spaces. This situation creates the possibility of using the ubiquitous Egyptian faience bead and its fancier cousins as an indicator of spatial access restrictions and organization in this fort on the frontier. The jewelry

collection from Askut includes both Egyptian and native-Nubian-style pieces from the Middle and New Kingdoms. These artifacts raise interesting questions about group identification and personal differentiation in this area of intense interaction on Egypt's southern border. Based upon this excavated material, the archaeological reality of Nubian and Egyptian personal adornment fashions will be discussed and illustrated.

**Christopher Taylor, Drew University:** *Visiting the Holy Dead: Saints, Shrines, and Society in Mamluk Egypt*

A central organizing feature of the medieval cult of Muslim saints was the *ziyara*, the act of visiting the graves of the holy dead: visits which were accomplished both by individual pilgrims, as well as by organized groups of pious visitors. This presentation will be concerned with the *ziyara*, and the cult of the saints more generally, as they represent important facets of Muslim piety which offer us critical insight into the actual contextual meaning and articulation of Islamic faith; not necessarily as it should have been, according to the great medieval jurists and theologians, but rather, the everyday faith of contemporary Muslims throughout the Middle Ages.

**Elaine Taylor-Vereb and Earl L. Ertman, University of Akron:** *An Analysis of Form in the Rendering of Two-Dimensional Female Body Types in Ancient Egypt*

This paper will outline the progress made to date in our attempt to establish the criteria and "norms" for dating ancient Egyptian female body types. The focus is on the upper torsos of two-dimensional representations of adult females that can be used when no inscription is present and where no provenance is known, which would otherwise assist in dating. By drawing and analyzing inscribed and datable portrayals of women, we would then apply the information gained to uninscribed examples. Believing that medical nomenclature existed which would accurately describe individual breast shapes, it was our hope to be able to apply these terms and illustrate the form a typical female's upper torso took in each dynastic period. The question of why the form used to render the upper torsos changed in some periods and between periods is not an easy one to substantiate, although some suggestions will be put forward.

**Emily Teeter, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago:** *Were the hst hnw n Imn Celibate?*

Yoyotte (CRAIBL 1961: 43-52) and Naguib (OLA 38) have argued that priestesses with the title *hst n hnw n Imn* (Singers in the Interior of the Temple of Amun) were celibate. However, there is evidence that indicates that this was not always the case. Genealogies from coffins of the Third Intermediate Period have several references to women who appear to be the offspring of *hst n hnw n Imn*, and a Demotic marriage contract (p. Louvre 10935) involves a *hst n hnw n Imn*. Re-examination of the evidence



employed by Yoyotte and Naguib reveals that much of it can be dismissed, suggesting that celibacy was not a requirement for the *hst n hmw n Imn*. Final comments will deal with celibacy in ancient Egypt, namely, that it was a function of political control (as with the descent of the God's Wives of Amun) rather than a reflection of cultic purity.

**Jason Thompson, Western Kentucky University: *A Gardner Wilkinson Bicentenary***

This year is the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875). Described as “the real founder of Egyptology in Great Britain” by *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, Wilkinson exerted a powerful influence on the discipline’s development during its formative years. In the course of his major field work in Egypt, 1821-1833, he visited most of the major archaeological sites then known in Egypt, documenting them in words and pictures. His special genius was inferring evidence for everyday life in ancient Egypt from artistic representations. When he returned to Britain, Wilkinson communicated his vision to the English-speaking public in *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), easily the most widely-read book about ancient Egypt during the nineteenth century. As the late John A. Wilson observed, “One might say that Wilkinson took the mummy wrappings off the ancient Egyptians and made them human beings who had loved and labored, fought and played, like other peoples in less remote lands.”

Knighthood for his accomplishments in 1839, Wilkinson was hailed as his country’s leading scholar of ancient Egypt. Yet a strange gap developed between Wilkinson, who was essentially an amateur, and the first generation of professional Egyptologists in the second half of the nineteenth century. More at home in their libraries and collections, they failed to appreciate the value of Wilkinson’s experiences on the ground. He, for his part, had fallen behind in other areas as Egyptology progressed. By the time Petrie and other British scholars took the field again, it was a new beginning, not a continuation of Wilkinson’s work. *Ancient Egyptians* continued to be read by the general public until the century’s end, but it was thereafter supplanted by more up-to-date books of others, and Wilkinson fell into obscurity. A casual visitor to the Egyptian Museum in 1950 who happened to glance up and see Wilkinson’s name on the building’s facade must have wondered who he was. During recent decades, however, Egyptologists have begun to make systematic use of Wilkinson’s work, and he is increasingly mentioned in the growing popular literature dealing with the rediscovery of ancient Egypt. Wilkinson’s personal papers, mostly unavailable for more than a century, are now open to scholars at the Bodleian Library, and a comprehensive catalogue to them is being prepared. This large, varied collection of notebooks and sketchbooks, which records monuments that were often damaged or destroyed after he studied them, is Wilkinson’s most enduring legacy to scholarship.

This paper demonstrates the astonishing variety of Wilkinson’s field work, while suggesting standards for assessing its reliability. It shows the qualities that once made his work so popular as well as the limitations that prevented him from proceeding yet

further. The conclusion recognizes, as Wilkinson himself did, that the full potential of his accomplishment, bound up in his unpublished papers, is yet to be realized.

**Paul E. Walker, University of Michigan:** *Ismaili Versus Non-Ismaili Sources for Fatimid History*

In contrast to the North African period, Ismaili sources provide relatively little information about ordinary events inside Fatimid Egypt. As a consequence, the religious dimension of Fatimid rule remains difficult to analyze. And yet, obviously, any study of the Fatimids must take religion into account. Without Ismaili sources, historians have had to rely on later non-Ismaili chronicles, particularly those written in the period of the Mamluks after the Ismailis were long gone and poorly understood. This dilemma contributes to and may even be the reason for the relative neglect of this period as a whole. Ordinary specialists in Egyptian history have trouble breaching the forbidding wall protecting Ismaili doctrinal literature and experts in Ismaili dogmas and its texts stay away from Fatimid Egypt because its history must be reconstructed from unsympathetic or even hostile sources from a much later period. Nevertheless, new discoveries, better editions of standard histories, adequate and more comprehensive access to Tayyibi Ismaili texts, plus an emerging sense of the limitations and the possibilities of both kinds of sources should begin to correct the situation.

**Jennifer Houser Wegner, University of Pennsylvania Museum/Yale University:** *Sculptors' Models from Mit Rahineh*

Objects known as "sculptors' models" or *ex-votos* are fairly common during the Late and Ptolemaic Periods; however, their purpose remains unclear. Because of the unfinished nature of some of these pieces, they are often referred to as sculptors' models or trial pieces. Since many examples have come from temples or animal cemeteries, it has been suggested that they may have functioned as votive offerings. Because of the uniformity of these models, it has also been noted that there may have been standard types that were produced at one central location, such as the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and distributed to workshops throughout Egypt. Unlike other ancient Egyptian works in limestone, these "models" usually remained unpainted, with the exception of occasional red or black guidelines.

This paper will examine a group of these sculptors' models from Mit Rahineh excavated by Clarence Fisher of the University of Pennsylvania Museum during the years 1915-1920 and will examine the archaeological context in which they were found. Several of the models from this group have unusual features which may help shed some light on their meaning and function.

**Josef W. Wegner, University of Pennsylvania:**     *The Development of the Old Kingdom Necropolis at Meidum*

This paper will examine the chronological and spatial development of the Old Kingdom royal residence cemetery at Meidum. The skeletal picture provided through Petrie's early work at the site is substantially augmented through the much more extensive 1929-1931 excavations of the Coxe Expedition (currently being prepared for publication). The characteristics of the various Old Kingdom tomb groups which compose Meidum will be discussed. Evidence for the intended layout and structure of the necropolis will be presented alongside indications for the abandonment of Meidum as the royal residence cemetery under Sneferu in the early Fourth Dynasty.

**Donald Whitcomb, University of Chicago:**     *The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe and the Archaeology of Quseir Fort*

The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe concentrated its energies on the monuments of Cairo, with obvious justification, and secondarily on monuments in major towns in Egypt, as summarized in Massignon in 1908 and 1911. Specific monuments focused on Islamic architecture, especially mosques and other religious monuments; on the other hand, there was a growing appreciation of objects of Islamic art, which led to the excavations at Fustat and the creation of the forerunners to the Museum of Islamic Art. During the early activities of the Comité, objects of art and buildings belonging to the Ottoman period, the period in which they were living, would naturally be considered contemporary or "modern" art and architecture. Archaeology to scholars, no less than to the public mind, was a matter of remote times and forgotten, generally buried cultures.

There appears to be no record that the Comité noticed Quseir, a small port on the Red Sea with a number of small shrines, a mosque, and a small fort. The author has had occasion to criticize the articles on Quseir in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the first edition (1927) for claiming a non-existent Abbasid period and the second (1982) for ignoring the Roman period, when this port was the famous Myos Hormos. Indeed, this latter article suggests that "'the revival' of Quseir began after 1365 and continued to grow throughout the fifteenth century." The history of Quseir during the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is quite as opaque as its more remote eras. These 400 years deserve archaeological investigation no less than that devoted to earlier periods. The fort at Quseir provides an appropriate example: the Portuguese provide accounts of this coast and fail to mention the fort "recently" left by sultan Selim I. Indeed this attribution to Selim seems a similar phenomenon to similar castle foundations in the Levant attributed to al-Walid in the eighth century.

As in the earlier parallel, the problem of function is not so obvious as might be assumed. One methodology yet to be advanced is that of context. Notices such as those of Klunzinger and da Castro indicate commonalties might be sought connecting Quseir with ports on the Hijaz, especially that of Vanbo. These observers point the direction to

look for structure in regional archaeology. Fortunately, there is a growing mass of information from other forts and Ottoman period settlements, the sites of al-Tur and Aqaba are but two rich excavations. Other remains may be seen in surveys in Egypt, in the new field of underwater archaeology (e.g., the Sandahana Island shipwreck), and surveys in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. This paper will briefly outline these resources for the development of Ottoman archaeology and the understanding of the fort at Quseir.

**Frank Yurco, University of Chicago:**      *The Rise of Israel from Egyptian Documentation from Ramesses II to Ramesses VI*

The rise of early Israel can be circumscribed by significant data from Egyptian documentation. First off, any settlement prior to the reign of Ramesses II is unlikely, given that Papyrus Anastasi I describes the hill country of Canaan as wild, and the hill country was where the earliest Israelite settlement occurred. This started to change in late Dynasty 19, and prompted Merenptah's campaign to Canaan, where he defeated Ashkelon, Gezer, Yano'am and Israel, as documented on the Cairo stela and the battle reliefs at Karnak, on the outer western wall of the Cour de la Cachette. Those documents indicate that an entity called Israel had emerged by the reign of Merenptah. The arrival of the Sea Peoples in Canaan under Ramesses III are the other governing factor. They were settled by Ramesses III along the Levantine coast, and as the Story of Wenamun in Late Dynasty 20, indicates, they entrenched themselves there. The Biblical Book of Judges largely agrees with this picture. After Ramesses VI, the last vestiges of Egyptian control vanished, and it is in this period that the story of Deborah, the judge, can be set. It marks the emergence of the Israelites out of the hill country, and their arrival in the low, plains country. This brought them in direct contact with the Philistines, as the descendants of the Sea Peoples were known, again recounted in the Book of Judges. Archaeological investigation by Dr. Lawrence Stager in the hill country has likewise confirmed this picture of Israel's emergence, between the reigns of Merenptah and that of Ramesses VI, the last pharaoh attested in Canaan.

**Ronald E. Zitterkopf, Shawnee Mission, Kansas:**      *Ancient Water Supply in the Eastern Desert*

The archaeological survey of hydraulic ruins at more than 80 way stations and other sites in the Eastern Desert over a 13-year period has produced pertinent information on the hydraulic engineering involved in the acquisition, storage, and distribution of water. There is significant evidence that human activity in the Eastern Desert in the Ptolemaic, Roman, and early Byzantine periods existed at a level not again reached until recent times. A necessity for the trade, military presence, and operation of mines and quarries was the management of a sufficient water supply — for human and animal consumption, as well as agricultural and other uses.

Water was obtained from surface sources and wells, the latter often protected by fortification. It appears that the approach may have been influenced by climatic

changes. Water was generally stored below ground level in cisterns and tanks whose construction evolved over the period in question. Distribution was usually by manual means, but there is ample evidence of earthenware conduits and channels, as well as hints at the use of simple mechanical devices.

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