

Program and Abstracts

The 51st Annual Meeting of the



American
Research
Center in
Egypt

April 28-30, 2000
University of California
Berkeley



THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

BERKELEY CA

APRIL 28-30, 2000

PROGRAMS AND ABSTRACTS

ARCE 51ST ANNUAL MEETING

Acknowledgements

The American Research Center in Egypt expresses its deep appreciation to Carol A. Redmount, Associate Professor of Egyptian Archeology at the University of California, Berkeley, for her indefatigable efforts in organizing this conference. We also wish to thank Dr. Theresa Moore and Mark Pettigrew for proofreading the Ancient Egyptian abstracts and the Islamic Egypt abstracts, respectively; and to Dr. Margaret Larkin who took charge of the Islamic program. For logistical and other support, our thanks go to the staff of the Near Eastern Studies Department, and especially Judy Shattuck; the staff of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, especially Jane Turbiner and Preeti Chopra; and the Board (Nancy Corbin, Al and Barbara Berens, Bob and Betty Bussey, Jo Anne Stefanska) and members of the Northern California Chapter of the American Research Center in Egypt. Finally, ARCE wishes to express its appreciation to the directors and staff of the A.P. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, and Robin Stephenson in particular, for facilitating the free museum admission and arrangements for the Saturday evening reception.

Cover

The image featured as the logo for this year's Annual Meeting is the painted limestone funerary stela of the Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor, Setnetinheret, Commissioned by the Mayor Sole Companion, Lector Priest, Heni (PAHMA 6-19881). The provenance of this piece is Naga ed-Deir (tomb unknown), First Intermediate Period (c. 2181-2040 B.C.E.). The format is typical for the Abydos stelae of this period with its horizontal text on top and vertical text along the right side. The deceased is standing left, facing right, with offerings before her. Setnetinheret holds a mirror, an object that held magical associations for the ancient Egyptians. ARCE wishes to thank the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology for permission to reproduce this image.

Cover design and Program Booklet layout provided *gratis* by Al Berens of *Suredesign Graphics*.



From the Valley Life Sciences Building, Berkeley

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ARCE 51ST ANNUAL MEETING

MEETING HIGHLIGHTS

Welcome and Business Meeting **Friday, April 28, 4:15 p.m.**
Lipman Room, 7th Floor, Barrows Hall
Nezar ALSayyad, Director, Center for Middle Eastern Studies; and
Richard Fazzini, President of ARCE

ARCE Reception & Banquet **Friday, April 28, 6:30 p.m.**
Reception on the lawn of the Faculty Club
followed by the ARCE Banquet in the Club at 7:30

Greetings and Keynote Address **Saturday, April 29, 4:15 p.m.**
2050 Valley Life Sciences Building
Greetings by Mme. Hagar Islambouly, Consul General of Egypt
at San Francisco
followed by ARCE Update by Mr. Mark Easton, Cairo Director

UC Berkeley Reception & Special Viewing **Saturday, April 29, 6:30-9:00 p.m.**
P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Kroeber Hall

**FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM of
THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT
BERKELEY, APRIL 28-30**

University of California at Berkeley Hosts:

The Center for Middle Eastern Studies
The P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology
The Department of Near Eastern Studies
The Graduate Division of U.C. Berkeley

The Graduate Program in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archeology

AFFILIATED MEETINGS

Wednesday, April 26, 9:00 a.m.

Thursday, April 27, 9:00 a.m.

Thursday, April 27, 1:00 p.m.

Thursday, April 27, 6:00 p.m.

Friday, April 28, 8:00 a.m.

Saturday, April 29, 12:30 p.m.

Sunday, April 30, 1:00 p.m.

Executive Committee

Oversight Committee

Long-Range Planning Committee

Executive Committee

Endowment Committee Meeting

ARCE Chapter Luncheon Meeting

Board of Governors Meeting

Note: Wednesday-Friday affiliated meetings will take place in the Hotel Durant. See the detailed schedule for locations of the Saturday-Sunday affiliated meetings.

THURSDAY, APRIL 27

7:00-9:00 p.m., Advance Registration

Lobby of the Hotel Durant

ARCE 51ST ANNUAL MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 28

Registration will be on Friday from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. at Kroeber Hall in front of the P.A. Hearst Museum Gift Shop and on Saturday from 8:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. in front of 2040-60 Valley Life Sciences Building (VLSB). All panels and events take place on campus.

MORNING

Panel 1: First Millennium Egypt

160 Kroeber Hall

Chair: Joan Knudsen, UC Berkeley

9:00 Cynthia May Sheikholeslami (American University in Cairo) *Some Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun and Osorkon of Teudjoi*

9:20 Gayle Gibson (Royal Ontario Museum, Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities) *Tails of Western Thebes*

9:40 Nozomu Kawai (Johns Hopkins University) *Coffin Fragments from the Area around Theban Tomb 92: An Aspect of the Theban Necropolis in the First Millennium B.C.*

10:00 Mariam Ayad (Brown University) *Some Reflections of the History, Transmission and Use of the Book of Day in the Third Intermediate Period*

10:20 D. L. MacLaughlan (UCLA) *Divine Therapy: The Late Period Apis Cult in Egypt*

10:40 BREAK

11:00 Renate Mueller-Wollermann (University of Tübingen) *The Use of Coins in Late Period Egypt*

11:20 Elizabeth Bettles (University College, London) *A Phoenician Amphora in Late Period Iconography*

11:40 Jean Revez (Université du Québec à Montréal) *The 25th Dynasty "King's Brothers" (snw nsu)*

12:00 – 1:30 LUNCH

PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS

AFTERNOON

Panel 1 (cont'd): First Millennium Egypt

Lipman Room, 7th Fl. Barrows Hall

Chair: Joan Knudsen, UC Berkeley

1:30 Eugene Cruz-Urbe (Northern Arizona University) *Some Thoughts on the Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses*

1:50 Stanley Burstein (California State University, Los Angeles) *Pharaonic Epilogue: The Reign of Khababash*

Panel 2: Graeco-Roman and Coptic Egypt

Lipman Room, 7th Fl. Barrows Hall

Chair: Birger Pearson, UC Santa Barbara

2:10 John A. Seeger (Northern Arizona University) *The 1999 Field Season at Marsa Nakari*

2:30 D.J.I. Begg (Trent University) *Tebtunis: The Insulae 1934 - 1999*

2:50 BREAK

3:10 Barbara Mendoza (UC Berkeley) *Heritage of the Egyptian Mummy Mask Tradition: Two Plaster Masks from the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

3:30 Robert K. Ritner (The Oriental Institute) *A Healing Stela of Bes Pantheos in the Brooklyn Museum*

3:50 John Gee (Brigham Young University - Assistant Research Professor) *Stylistic Dating of Greco-Roman Period Egyptian Stele*

Panel 3: Ancient Egyptian Literature and Language

50 Birge Hall

Chair: David Larkin, UC Berkeley

1:30 Harold M. Hays (University of Chicago) *The Historicity of Papyrus Westcar*

1:50 Lloyd Kropp (Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville) *Some Comments on the Narrative Structure of Ancient Egyptian Tales*

2:10 Ronald J. Leprohon (University of Toronto) *What Wenamun Could Have Bought: The Value of his Stolen Goods*

2:30 Steve Vinson (University of Oregon) *Tragedy, Comedy and Reconciliation in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas*

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2:50 BREAK

3:10 Ogden Goelet (New York University) *Anaphoric Elements in Egyptian Literature and Inscriptions*

3:30 Kasia Szpakowska (UCLA) *"qd": To Sleep, Perchance A Dream*

3:50 Monica Bontty (UCLA) *Some Observations on "hp"*

4:15 Welcome

Lipman Room, 7th Fl. Barrows Hall

Nezar ALSayyad, Director, Center for Middle Eastern Studies

Richard Fazzini, President, ARCE

4:30 Business Meeting

6:30 RECEPTION, lawn of the Faculty Club
followed by the BANQUET at 7:30

SATURDAY, APRIL 29

Panel 2 (cont'd): Graeco-Roman and Coptic Egypt

2040 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Janet Johnson, University of Chicago

9:00 Jessica Nager (UC Berkeley) *Ancient Writers, Ethnicity and Modern Scholarship: What the Literary Sources Really Say About Greeks and Egyptians in Hellenistic Egypt*

9:20 Richard Jasnow (Johns Hopkins University) *"O Solon, Solon, You Greeks are always Children." Didactic Statements by Egyptians to Foreigners*

9:40 Birger A. Pearson (UC Santa Barbara) *The Coptic Inscriptions in the Old Church of St. Antony*

10:00 Teresa Moore (UC Berkeley) *Coptic Ostraca from Deir el-Ballas in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

10:20 Susan H. Auth (The Newark Museum) *Egyptian, Classical and Christian Themes in Coptic Art*

10:40 BREAK

PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS

Panel 4: Ancient Egyptian History & Religion

2040 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Thomas Logan, Monterey Peninsula College

11:00 Sarah Parcak (Yale University) *The Old Kingdom Empire?*

11:20 Mark C. Stone (Yale University) *Identifying the *i3w.t wdb.(y)t 'ab.w* in the Hymn to Re of Wahankh Antef II's Stela (MMA 13.182.3)*

11:40 Kerry Muhlestein (UCLA) *Asiatic Influence in Egypt: Finding the Footprint of Foreign Intellectual Influence in the Middle Kingdom*

Panel 5: Ancient Egyptian Art and Museum Studies

2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Marian Feldman, UC Berkeley

8:40 Jay Enoch (UC Berkeley) *Ingenious Optical Elements and Schematic Eyes: Old Kingdom Statues and the First Known Lenses*

9:00 David O'Connor (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) *Context, Function and Program; Understanding Ceremonial Slate Palettes*

9:20 Bruce Williams (Oriental Institute) *Interpreting the Serekh*

9:40 Karin Kroenke (UC Berkeley) *A Selection of Wooden Tomb Models and Servant Statuettes in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

10:00 Gay Robins (Emory University) *Reexamining the Phenomenon of the Husband's Absence from his Wife's Monuments*

10:20 BREAK

Panel 6: Islamic History, Law, & Culture

2060 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Everett Rowson, University of Pennsylvania

9:00 James A. Harrell (University of Toledo) and Michael D. Lewan (USGS) *Discovery of a Steatite Baram Industry of the Medieval Islamic Period in Egypt's Eastern Desert*

9:20 Sumaiya Abbas Hamdani (George Mason University) *State, Sect, and the Formation of a Madhhab in the Fatimid Period*

9:40 Rachel T. Howes (UC Santa Barbara) *The Relationship Between the Chief Judge, the Chief Propagandist, and the Wazir in the 11th Century Fatimid Court*

10:00 BREAK

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10:20 John Calvert (Creighton University) *The Individual and the Nation: Sayyid Qutb's Tifl min al-Qarya (Child from the Village)*

10:40 Ahmed Ali Salem (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) *"Islam and the Bases of Governance": Review and Reflection of an Intellectual Debate*

11:00 Charles D. Smith (University of Arizona) *Egypt, Islam, Nationalism, and State Formation in Recent Years*

11:20 DISCUSSION

Panel 7: Excavation & Survey

2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, American University in Cairo

10:40 Edward D. Johnson (UCLA) *The 1999-2000 Field Season at Hierakonpolis*

11:00 Gregory Mumford (UCLA) *Investigating a 'Dark Age' in Egypt's Delta: Archaeological Work in the Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period (ca.2200-2040 BCE) at Tell er-Ru'ba (Mendes) and Tell Tebilla.*

11:20 Janet E. Richards (University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum) *The Abydos Middle Cemetery Project, 1999*

11:40 Josef Wegner (University of Pennsylvania) *1999 Excavations at the Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III at South Abydos*

12:00 Vanessa Smith (University of Pennsylvania) *Excavations in the Production Area of the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple*

12:00 – 1:30 LUNCH

12:30 p.m., ARCE Chapter Luncheon
O'Neill Room, Faculty Club

AFTERNOON

Panel 4 (cont'd): Ancient Egyptian History & Religion

2040 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Ronald J. Leprohon, University of Toronto

1:30 Chris Bennett (UC San Diego) *The Missing Titles of Queen Sitdjehuti and the Genealogy of Kamose*

1:50 Carolyn Routledge, Richard Stockton (College of New Jersey) *Ritualization and Identity in Egyptian Imperial Strategies*

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2:10 Peter Feinman (Columbia University) *The Merneptah Stele: Egypt in Transition from the Age of Bronze to the Age of Iron*

2:30 Patricia Blackwell Gary (New York University) *Touched by the Hands of God: Joy in the Court of the Hwt-Benben at Akhetaten*

2:50 BREAK

3:10 Geoffrey Graham (Yale University) *Scepters and Staves for Osiris*

3:30 Shang-ying Shih (UC Berkeley) *Death in Deir El-Medinah: A Psychological Perspective*

3:50 Heather Lee McCarthy (Institute of Fine Arts at New York University) *A Discussion of Cosmological Aspects of the Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*

Panel 7 (cont'd): Excavation & Survey

2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Janet E. Richards, University of Michigan/Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

1:30 Thomas Logan (Monterey Peninsula College) *Soundings South of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak: 1999-2000*

1:50 Stuart Tyson Smith (UC Santa Barbara) *The UCSB Dongola Reach Expedition: Excavations at Tombos and Hannek*

2:10 Sara E. Orel (Truman State University) *Only Part of the Story: A Reexamination of the Egyptian Excavations at Kom el-Hisn, 1943-1952*

2:30 BREAK

Panel 8: Women, Law, & Reform in Modern Egypt

2060 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Amira Elazhary Sonbol, Georgetown University

1:30 Amira ElAzhary Sonbol (Georgetown University) *Women and Legal Reform: A Rereading*

1:50 Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot (UCLA) *Women and Property in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Egypt*

2:10 Haifaa Khalafallah (Georgetown University) *Reclaiming the Islamic Legal Method in the Twentieth Century*

2:30 Khaled Abou El Fadl (UCLA School of Law) *A Secured Marriage: The Use of Conditions in Islamic Marriage Contracts*

2:50 DISCUSSION

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3:15 Islamic Tea
254 Barrows Hall

Panel 9: Mitigation, Geoarchaeology & Archaeometry

2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Greg Mumford, UCLA

2:50 James A. Harrell (University of Toledo) and V. Max Brown (University of Toledo) *Ancient Petroleum Seep at Gebel Zeit, Egypt*

3:10 James McLane (McLane and Associates, Architects) and Raphael A.J. Wüst (University of British Columbia) *A First Step Toward Preserving the Tomb of Seti I, Valley of the Kings: Findings and Recommendations of a Geotechnical Evaluation*

3:30 Russell D. Rothe Ph.D. (Archaeometry Laboratory, University of Minnesota, Duluth) *Using GIS to Examine Spatial/Temporal Distribution of Inscriptions From the Southern Eastern Desert*

3:50 Raphael Wüst (University of British Columbia) and Garniss Curtiss (Berkeley Geochronology Center) *The Hydrogeologists of the 18th Dynasty Tomb of Tuthmosis III (KV34) in the Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt: Dilettantes or Genii?*

4:15 p.m. Greetings and Keynote Address **Saturday, April 29,**
2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Greetings by Mme. Hagar Islambouly, Consul General of Egypt at San Francisco followed by ARCE Update by Mr. Mark Easton, Cairo Director

6:30-9:00 Reception and special viewing of the Egyptian exhibit at the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Kroeber Hall

SUNDAY, APRIL 30

Panel 10: Transformative Egyptology

2040 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Cathleen Keller, UC Berkeley

8:40 Rockwell Townsend (Independent) *A Newly Discovered Year-Record Label from the Time of King Narmer*

9:00 Charles R. Jones (ARCE/SC) *Egyptian-Early Zhou Chinese Word Comparisons*

9:20 Jonathan Van Lepp (Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology) *And the Gods Created Mankind*

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9:40 Minoru Kodera (Comet Research Institute) *A Discovery in the Great Pyramid Complex at Giza*

10:00 Peter Mendez (California State University at Long Beach) and Jonathan Van Lepp (Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology) *Between the Moon, Nile, Royal Cubit and Sothic Year*

10:20 James Evans (Consulting Engineer, United Technologies) *Empire Chronology of Amarna Period in Egypt*

10:40 BREAK

Panel 11: New Kingdom Art & Archeology

2050 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Betsy Bryan, Johns Hopkins University

9:00 Christine Lilyquist (Metropolitan Museum of Art) *Pottery from Wady Qabbanat el-Qirud, the Tomb of Tuthmosis III's Three Foreign Wives*

9:20 Deanna J. Kiser (UC Berkeley) *New Kingdom Domestic Painting and its Relationship to Decorated Pottery*

9:40 Heidi Saleh (UC Berkeley) *Products of an International Age: An Overview of the Relationships between Aegean and Egyptian Paintings in the Late Bronze Age*

10:00 Marian Feldman (UC Berkeley) *Who Wants to Marry an Egyptian Princess: Status and Identity in Late Bronze Age Diplomatic Marriages*

10:20 BREAK

10:40 Doha M. Mostafa (Helwan University) *Remarks on the Architectural Development in the Necropolis of Deir el-Medinah*

11:00 Kristin Thompson (Trustee, The Amarna Research Foundation; University of Wisconsin) *The Problem with Frontal Shoulders, Part 2: Amarna Royal Offering Scenes*

11:20 Earl Ertman (University of Akron) *The Identity of the King and Queen on Tutankhamun's Golden Throne*

11:40 Donald P. Ryan (Pacific Lutheran University) *Tomb KV 21 revisited.*

Panel 12: Arabic Literature

2060 Valley Life Sciences Building

Chair: Margaret Larkin, UC Berkeley

9:00 Mark Pettigrew (UC Berkeley) *Imagining Egypt's Past: Constructions of Ancient Egypt in a Medieval Treasure-Hunting Manual*

9:20 Elliot Colla (Brown University) *Zaynab and the Limits of Nationalist Print Culture*

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9:40 Adriana Valencia (UC Berkeley) *The Location of Power in Gamal al-Ghitani's "Az-Zayni Barakat"*

10:00 Michael Cooperson (UCLA) *Risaala ilaa al-waalii": A Recent Egyptian Time-Travel Film*

10:20 BREAK

10:40 Noha M. Radwan (UC Berkeley) *When Sexuality Translates into the Non-Sexual: A Reading of "Ayyam al-Insan al-Sab'ah"*

11:00 Ray Farrin (UC Berkeley) *Hard Times: Egypt During al-Infitaah as Depicted in Naguib Mahfouz's "Love on Pyramid Plateau"*

11:20 Shaden M. Tageldin (UC Berkeley) *Disembodied Voices, Dismembered: Colonial Translations in Naguib Mahfouz's Zuqaq al-Midaqq*

11:40 Nader Khalaf Uthman (Emory University) *Between the Palaces of Naguib Mahfouz' bayn al-qasrayn: The Present as Modern*

12:00 DISCUSSION

Panel 13: Egyptomania and Outreach
2050 Valley Life Sciences Building
Chair: Lyn Green, Royal Ontario Museum

11:00 Robyn Adams Gillam (York University) *The Mysteries of Osiris: A Student Performance*

11:20 D.C. Woodcox (Truman State University) *Egyptomania in the Rural United States*

11:40 David Pinault (Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, Santa Clara University) *The Amarna Age at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum*

12:00 – 1:30 LUNCH

AFTERNOON

1:00 Board Meeting, Lipman Room, 7th Floor, Barrows Hall

Panel 14: Medicine and Mummies
2050 Valley Life Sciences Building
Chair: Terry Moore, UC Berkeley

1:30 Mohamed El-Shafie (The Medical College of Ohio) *Medicine in Ancient Egypt*

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1:50 Lyn Green (Royal Ontario Museum) *Spices and Herbs in Pharaonic Medicine*

2:10 Gonzalo M. Sanchez (University of South Dakota) and Tamara L. Siuda (University of Chicago) *A Case of Mistaken Identity - Ebers Papyrus Case 873: The First Known Description of von Recklinghausen's disease*

2:30 BREAK

2:50 Salima Ikram (American University in Cairo) *Animal Mummies and Experimental Archaeology*

3:10 William Clifford (University of Missouri, St. Louis) and Matt Wetherbee (UC Santa Cruz) *Experimental Archaeology :Animal Mummification in Ancient Egypt*

3:30 Francis W. Niedenfuhr (President of the Washington DC Chapter of ARCE) *Preservation of the Body: Sterilization and Dessication*

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From the Valley Life Sciences Building, Berkeley

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ARCE ABSTRACTS

Khaled Abou El Fadl, UCLA School of Law: *A Secured Marriage: The Use of Conditions in Islamic Marriage Contracts*

This paper will focus on the Islamic juristic discourses on the permissibility and role of conditions in a marriage contract. I will focus on conditions which transfer the right to divorce to women, limit polygamy or attempt to re-distribute the power balance within a marriage. The paper will evaluate whether the juristic discourses on conditions in a marriage contract should be viewed simply as the product of patriarchal social constructs. The paper will then explore the extent to which the text and the internal dynamics of the juristic culture influenced the doctrinal positions on conditions. Furthermore, the paper will examine the correlation between particular legal theories of contract and the specific positions adopted by jurists on the subject of conditions.

Susan Auth, The Newark Museum: *Egyptian, Classical and Christian Themes in Coptic Art*

This paper will deal with the subject matter and significance of artistic themes in Coptic art, primarily in textiles. Egyptian, classical, and Christian themes can all be found in Coptic art. After six hundred years of Greek and Roman rule, it is not surprising that classical motifs form a large part of the Coptic artistic vocabulary. Egyptian and Christian themes were also in use.

Some Egyptian motifs evolved from their traditional appearance in earlier Egyptian art. For example, the Nile is now shown in the guise of a Graeco-Roman reclining male river god. He is always surrounded by symbols of the agricultural bounty of the land. Egyptian flora and fauna are often combined with classical motifs, such as nereids.

There are many scenes from classical mythology. Some are very specific, such as Apollo and Daphne, or the labors of Herakles. However, a much larger group of scenes comprises generic representations of the god Dionysos and his retinue. These scenes probably conveyed to the viewer ideas of fruitfulness, celebration, and the promise of rebirth after death. This is suggested not only by the promise of re-

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birth in Dionysos' Graeco-Roman mystery cult, but by the identification in Egypt of Dionysos with Osiris.

The many horsemen in Coptic art, from Horus killing the crocodile to St. George slaying the dragon, are powerful symbols of the conquest of good over evil. Specifically Christian themes include crosses in a variety of forms, and scenes from both the Old and New Testaments.

What was the significance of these designs, on garments in particular, to their wearers? Some were meant to ward off evil. Whereas Egyptians in earlier times wore an *udjat*-eye amulet, the people of Coptic Egypt wore on their clothing an image of a conquering horseman or a Christian cross. Other motifs were believed to attract prosperity. Images in this category include representations of Dionysos and of Nilus. Although the content of the images changed, the thought patterns behind their use continued in the late antique world of Coptic Egypt.

Mariam Ayad, Brown University: *Some Reflections of the History, Transmission and Use of the Book of Day in the Third Intermediate Period.*

Having no original title, the *Book of Day* is so designated because it describes the daily journey of the newly born sun god from the vulva of the sky goddess Nut to her head, which swallows the sun again in the evening. Since the book describes the diurnal rather than the nocturnal journey of the sun, the sun god appears here as a falcon-headed god. Although the *Book of Day* differs in this respect from other books of the afterlife in which Re appears as a ram-headed god, the *Book of Day* is similar to the other books in that it, too, is divided into twelve hours. Each hour contains liturgical hymns to the sun.

A. Piankoff's work *Livre du jour et de la Nuit* continues to form the basis of any study of the *Book of Day*. Although the copy inscribed in the tomb of Ramesses VI is the only surviving complete New Kingdom version of the *Book of Day*, selections from the book, especially the hymns to the hours, were employed in other New Kingdom monuments, including the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, and the tomb of Tuthmosis III. The *Book of Day* continued in use through the Third Intermediate Period and into the Ptolemaic Period. Excavations at Tanis revealed that both Osorkon II and Sheshonq III used it in

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their funerary programs. Selections from the book were also found on certain Late Period sarcophagi and papyri, and several hymns to the hours were inscribed in the temple of Edfu.

Research by this author has shown that the Nubian God's Wife of Amun Amenirdis I employed the hymns to the first and twelfth hours of the *Book of Day* in the decoration of her mortuary chapel at Medinet Habu. The selection in the Chapel of Amenirdis remains unique, paralleling only the selection made by the Chief Steward Nebsumenu (TT 183). While many studies have dealt with the dispersion and use of the *Amduat* after the New Kingdom, very little has been done to trace the transmission and use of the *Book of Day* in the Third Intermediate Period. Basing his analysis of the *Book of Day* on the text of Ramesses VI, Piankoff ignored Third Intermediate Period versions of the book. In this paper, I will outline the history and origins of the Book of Day in the New Kingdom, and trace its transmission during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, with particular emphasis given to documents dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

D.J.I. Begg, Trent University: *Tebtunis: The Insulae 1934 - 1999*

The unpublished notebooks, diaries, correspondence, and photographs of the Italian excavations in the 1930s at the Greek and Roman site of Tebtunis in the Fayum were discovered in 1998 among papers in the Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani archives at Trent University in Peterborough, Canada. Only preliminary reports for the first few seasons were ever published about these excavations. At the invitation of Professor Claudio Gallazzi of the University of Milan, who has been directing the current excavations at Tebtunis for the French Institute in Cairo since 1988, a study season was conducted at the site. The town consisted of a large Ptolemaic sanctuary of the crocodile god Soknebtunis approached by a long processional avenue or dromos. Most of the houses were on the east side of the dromos and various public structures were on the west. The comparison of archival documentation and photographs with still standing walls in the two large blocks of Roman buildings or insulae west of the dromos has enabled various rooms to be identified and described.

The Insula of the Papyri was so named because of a massive deposit of papyri found in a basement room in 1934. It contained houses

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of various sizes, styles and periods, in addition to magazines, granaries and courtyards. The amalgamation of these structures into a rectangular insula took place above earlier remains that included a colonnaded peristyle once overlooking the sacred dromos. Bagnani noted that the Southeast House was unusual in having courses of limestone blocks, which were probably the cause of the subsequent demolition of the walls of this house. He discovered and photographed the column of a peristyle court below the southwest corner of this house. Although the precise location and orientation of the peristyle is not certain at present, stereoscopic examination of the aerial photos suggests that the most likely spot was below the external southwest corner. It is conceivable that the limestone blocks might have derived from the peristyle building.

Three similar suites of well built rooms along the northwest side of the insula provide evidence for three storeys. They each preserve traces of reed flooring running east-west over a basement room beside remains of small stairways to an upper floor. The so-called “grapheion” and the adjacent basement room containing the papyri have been identified in this area.

The North Insula was also a large rectangular structure, possibly constructed all at once. Bagnani found a series of single rooms, each with one entrance onto the street behind the deipneteria. He identified these as a series of shops based on the finds from their last period of use, in particular shop 2 which had been converted into a Roman thermopolium. It is not certain that this was their originally intended function. The southwestern quarter of this block had once been a Ptolemaic bathing establishment.

Chris Bennett, UC San Diego: *The Missing Titles of Queen Sitdjehuti and the Genealogy of Kamose*

The head of the coffin of Sitdjehuti-Sitibu, exhibited in Munich in early 1999, describes her as a king's daughter and king's sister, and names her mother as the king's wife Tetisheru. Although the coffin was evidently made for a queen, and Sitdjehuti is very reasonably to be identified with the well-known wife of king Seqenenre Ta'o, she is not called a king's wife and Tetisheru is not called a king's mother. It is argued that these omissions were deliberate, and most likely reflect a

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reduction of status for king Seqenenre Ta'o as seen immediately after his death, in the reign of king Kamose. Consequently, we may infer that Sitdjehuti was a half-sister of Kamose, and that her father was also Kamose's father and a husband of Tetisheri. Also, in light of this conclusion, the genealogical significance of the titulary of queen Ahhotep on the coffin found in Dra Abu'l Naga, in which she is only called a king's wife, is reexamined. This coffin is widely regarded as evidence for a second queen Ahhotep different from the mother of king Ahmes, largely on the basis of this titulary, and she is usually regarded as a wife of Kamose. But the description of queen Ahmes Sit-kamose as a king's sister is best explained by assuming that she was the daughter of Ahhotep, the mother of king Ahmes, by Kamose; Ahmes' mother therefore married both Seqenenre Ta'o and Kamose. It is then argued that the Dra Abu'l Naga coffin was made for queen Ahhotep in the reign of king Kamose, and that the omission of the titles "king's sister" and "king's daughter" from it reflects the same posthumous (and temporary) loss of royal status accorded to Seqenenre Ta'o immediately after his death which explains the omissions of titles of the coffin of queen Sitdjehuti. A genealogy for king Kamose is presented.

Elisabeth Bettles, University College, London: *A Phoenician Amphora in Late Period Iconography*

This paper examines aspects of economic interdependence that existed between Egypt and Phoenicia in the fifth century BCE, when the Achaemenid empire encompassed the Near East. It assesses particularly the extent to which conspicuous consumption may have affected their economies. The paper focuses on a Phoenician amphora, examining its iconographic representation, assessing the level of standardization of its formal attributes, and proposing a determination of provenance through scientific analysis. Reference is made to written sources relevant to the import of Phoenician amphorae into Egypt.

The amphora in question is depicted on a funerary stela of the fifth century BCE, discovered in 1994 at Saqqara. On the stela a Persian dignitary of very high status is portrayed receiving offerings from two noblemen in Persian attire. Amphorae of non-Egyptian

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shape are shown in a stand nearby. One amphora is identified as a *fossil directeur* of the Persian period at sites along the southern coastal Levant.

Petrographic and chemical analysis of amphorae from coastal southern Levantine sites reveal two distinct fabrics. Comparison among geological maps, thin-section collections and sherd and clay samples from the manufacturing site of Sarepta suggests the fabrics derive from two sources along the southern Levantine coast. In the fifth century BCE this area of the littoral was controlled predominantly by the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon. It is therefore proposed that the amphora depicted on the stela is a Phoenician commodity.

Examination of the kiln remains at Sarepta reveal the Phoenicians were capable of mass-manufacture of pottery using fast-wheel technology. Image analysis of the amphorae from Levantine sites, using the 'envelope' method, shows they are highly standardized in shape, size and volume, indicating amphora manufacture was under centralized control and conducted by skilled, specialist craftsmen. Their shape allows them to be stacked in ships' holds, reflecting their suitability for bulk maritime trade.

Textual sources indicate that Phoenician amphorae were imported *en masse* into Egypt, raising diverse tax revenues, and that the Persian elite, who held wine in great esteem, had a preference for Phoenician wine. The presence of the amphora on the stela from Saqqara pictorially confirms that Persian elite consumption was a contributory factor in the level of importing Phoenician amphorae into Egypt. Conspicuous consumption by the Persian elite and local emulation of their habits and tastes raised taxes for the Egyptian economy and also encouraged a thriving amphora manufacturing industry in southern Phoenicia.

Consequently, it begs the question as to what were the ramifications on this economic inter-dependence when Egypt forcibly extricated itself from the Persian empire in the fourth century BCE, while Phoenicia remained under its dominion.

¹ Mathieson, I., E. Bettles, S. Davies, and H.S. Smith, 1995. "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara," *JEA*, 81, 23-41.

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Monica Bontty, UCLA: *Some Observations on "hp"*

Hp is a term occurring in Egyptian texts from the Middle Kingdom until the Christian era. There are even references to different kinds of *hp*—such as *hp.w 'rrj.t* or *hp.w n hnrt* as well as *hp sm 'w* and *hp.w hntj.w-š*. Diverse aspects of law such as “written stipulation,” or “sanction,” have been postulated by Egyptologists as answers to the question: What is *hp*? I will argue that *hp* means normative expectation. It does not mean written law.

Stanley Burstein, California State University Los Angeles: *Pharaonic Epilogue: The Reign of Khababash*

Manetho ended his history of Egypt with Artaxerxes III's reconquest of Egypt and the exile of Nectanebo II to Nubia in the late 340s BCE. Both ancient and modern historians accepted Manetho's view that the history of Egypt ended with the fall of the Thirtieth Dynasty. The gap between the end of the thirtieth dynasty and Alexander's conquest of Egypt was assigned to a supposed thirty-first dynasty consisting of Artaxerxes III and his successors. For almost a century, however, it has been clear that this account is incorrect, and that some time between the flight of Nectanebo II and the advent of Alexander the Great Egypt enjoyed a brief period of renewed independence under the rule of a king named Khababash. The purpose of this paper is to offer a new assessment of the reign of Khababash and its implications for Egyptian history during the years immediately preceding the Macedonian conquest.

The dossier of evidence concerning Khababash includes seven items. Although few in number, these documents allow no doubt that Khababash was recognized as king and ruled all Egypt for at least two years before succumbing to a Persian counter-offensive. Two questions dominate scholarship on Khababash: his ethnicity—was he Libyan or Nubian—and the chronology of his reign. On the former question scholarly opinion has been evenly divided, although Khababash's Memphite ties suggest that he is more likely to have been Libyan than Nubian. The situation is different with regard to the chronology of his reign.

Egyptian evidence only permits the reign of Khababash to be assigned to the period between the final flight of Nectanebo II in 341

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BCE and Alexander's invasion of Egypt in 334 BCE. The Greek evidence for Persian activity in the eastern Mediterranean in the early 330s BCE, however, narrows the range considerably, since it indicates that the Persians had regained control of Egypt by summer 336 BCE. Khababash's reign, therefore, must date to the period between the assassination of Artaxerxes III in 338 BCE and spring 336 BCE. Equally important, the ease with which Persian authority in Egypt was reestablished suggests that scholars have exaggerated the depth of Egyptian hostility to Persian rule on the eve of the Macedonian conquest. That conclusion is supported by the prominence during Alexander's reign of Egyptian officials who had previously served the Persians.

John Calvert, Creighton University: *The Individual and the Nation: Sayyid Qutb's "Tifl min al-Qarya" ("Child from the Village")*

This paper focuses on Sayyid Qutb's autobiographical account of his childhood, *Tifl min al-Qarya* (Child from the Village), published in Cairo in 1946. Although Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) is well known today as one of Egypt's leading Islamist ideologues, he was originally a secular-oriented thinker with literary interests, and it was during the latter part of this secular phase of his career that he composed his childhood autobiography. The work provides an impressionistic, anecdotal account of Egyptian village life told in the third person singular, which concludes with the author's departure to the bustling metropolis of Cairo at the age of fifteen. Like many Egyptian autobiographies of the time, including Taha Husayn's *al-Ayyam*, Qutb's autobiography documents its hero's "awakening" from the unreflective slumber of customary rural life to a new kind of existence lived within the context of the modernizing nation-state.

The paper takes *Tifl min al-Qarya* as a textual source for exploring Qutb's views on the question of Egyptian national identity during the tumultuous last years of Egypt's Old Regime. It argues that Qutb's highly personalized account of tradition and change in a rural community is constructively linked to the expression of Egyptian nationalism that was pervasive among *afandi* intellectuals in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. As the paper explains, this *afandi*-driven nationalism sought to resist the westernizing trends current in Egypt at the time by investing the

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interior spaces of the state with contents indigenous to the Egyptian historical and cultural experience.

The paper shows how the stories and anecdotes scattered in Qutb's autobiography echoed this effort to create a modern national community that was recognizably different, in cultural terms, from the western model. Drawn from the remembered experiences of Qutb's childhood, they meld the Enlightenment view of history as a trajectory of progress with fragments culled from a memory of cultural belonging. Thus, while *Tifl* documents its young protagonist's growing awareness of the new opportunities that were afoot as the village was pulled into the orbit of the modernizing state, it at the same time highlights the customs, folklore, and moral systems of the rustic community as elements foundationally constitutive of Egypt's collective personality.

The paper places *Tifl min al-Qarya*, within its multiple contexts, including its place within Qutb's corpus of written work. Theoretically, it takes cues from that school of thought, represented, for instance, by Partha Chatterjee, that recognizes the centrality of culture in the formation of collective identities.

William Clifford, University of Missouri-St. Louis, and Matt Wetherbee, UC Santa Cruz: *Experimental Archaeology: Animal Mummification in Ancient Egypt*

This animal mummification project was run in conjunction with the rabbit mummification project sponsored by Dr. Salima Ikram of the American University in Cairo. The parent project involved testing various techniques of mummification in ancient Egypt based on the extent of textual and physical evidence. This was done to determine the most successful, and therefore the most probable, techniques used. All applicable materials—natron, linen, oils, resins, etc.—were obtained in the same form as used by the ancient Egyptians. The aim of this project was to take preliminary results from the parent project, (in which we fully participated), or mainly the most successful technique, and duplicate it while testing a separate variable, that of feathers versus fur. The parent project involved the use of rabbits, while this project involved the use of a duck. As an additional bonus for this project, there are known specimens of mummified ducks from ancient Egypt to which the results of this project can be compared.

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Elliott Colla, Brown University: *Zaynab and the Limits of Nationalist Print Culture*

In light of the many prose narratives published in Egypt from the late nineteenth century onward, it is striking how a consensus emerged that a single text—Muhammad Husayn Haykal's *Zaynab*—was their origin. Contrary to the usual claims of critics, my research in *Dar al-Kutub* shows that the publication of *Zaynab* in 1913 was neither extraordinary nor did it transform the Egyptian literary field. Rather, I will contend, it was merely one among a wide array of novelistic experiments, a work that was not singled out for special attention until much later. The two questions that arise from this observation are thus: how was it that *Zaynab* became the focus of literary histories of the novel? and why, despite all evidence to the contrary, did it later become known as the *first* Egyptian—even Arabic—novel?

My paper does not seek to answer the question about the origins of the Egyptian novel in a traditional way. On the contrary, I see that in this case the philological pursuit (or invention) of textual origins obscures rather than illuminates the heterogeneous and uneven character of early novelistic production in Egypt. Instead, I will look at such claims with the understanding that they were part of an ongoing process of literary canonization, a process which, like others related to nation-state formation, attempts to posit clear origins in places where they otherwise do not exist.

The process of how *Zaynab* became the first novel is, paradoxically, one which postdates the text's first appearance on the literary market of Cairo. It is a process that has more to do with later editions of the work, subsequent film adaptations, and, most especially, a long history of critical writing—both Orientalist and nationalist—which insists upon reading *Zaynab* as an origin. To make my claims, I will rely on materials gathered during archival research on twentieth-century print media of Egypt—critical reviews of the novel, press clippings, film reviews—in addition to relevant secondary sources.

Michael Cooperson, UCLA: "*Risaala ilaa al-waalii*": A Recent Egyptian Time-Travel Film

The 1999 Egyptian film *Risaala ilaa al-waalii* (Letter to the Wali) is the most recent of a series of Egyptian and Arabic works of time-

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travel fiction—that is, works in which the protagonist moves physically from one historical period to another. The tradition begins with al-Muwaylihi's *Hadith 'Isa b. Hisham* (1888) and continues through Tawfiq al-Hakim's *Ahl al-Kahf* (1933), Khulusi's *Abu Nuwas fi Amirka* (1955), al-Ghitani's *Muqtabas min 'Awdat Ibn Iyas* (1969), and Shalabi's *Rihlaat al-Turshaji al-Halwaji* (1991). *Risaala's* Mamluk-era protagonist, Harfuush ibn al-Raakibdaar (Adil Imam), leaves Alexandria to warn Muhammad Ali of an anticipated British invasion. On the way, he is transported to Cairo circa 1999. Stranded in the capital, he suffers a series of comic misadventures before returning to his proper century. Despite his temporal displacement (manifested in his terror of modern technology), Harfuush displays impressive martial prowess and a nationalist zeal lacking in his twentieth century counterparts. This paper will discuss the film's literary antecedents and analyze its representation of Egyptian history.

Eugene Cruz-Urbe, Northern Arizona University: *Some Thoughts on the Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses*

The account by Herodotus of the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, the Persian emperor, has long been known to contain some information that may not be entirely accurate from a modern historian's point of view. One of the primary items is the notion that Cambyses was mad, an attribute that has continued throughout the ages because of this account. This paper will analyze several items dealing with that time period, including the crossing of the Sinai, the siege of Memphis, and the general chronology of the reign of Cambyses. Particular attention will be paid to some of the physical and geographical constraints (such as rainfall, tectonic activity, sand dunes, etc.) that affected the Persian invasion and its successful outcome.

Mohamed El-Shafie, The Medical College of Ohio: *Medicine in Ancient Egypt*

In its ancient glory, Egypt was the medical Mecca of the world and its physicians were renowned for their experience and wisdom. This was a few thousand years ago, though, and to reconstruct what was happening then is not an easy matter. However, we have a few sources of information to help us in our effort, e.g., the medical pa-

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pyri, palaeopathology, archaeological artifacts, and the accounts of Greek historians.

The major medical papyri are the papyrus Smith, which is a surgical text, and the papyrus Ebers, which is a compilation of several treatises on internal medicine and materia medica. These papyri reflect different aspects of ancient Egyptian medicine.

Sir Marc Armand Ruffer, the founder of paleopathology, and other scientists in that field contributed a great deal of information about the diseases that afflicted the ancient Egyptians.

Some modern historians are skeptical of what Herodotus and other Greek historians told us, but, in large part, archaeological discoveries have confirmed their testimony.

Three types of healers practiced medicine in ancient Egypt: magicians, priests and physicians. Unlike the other healers, the physicians developed a rational approach that was based on sound clinical observations. The concept of putrefaction was the basis of one of their rational theories, and so was their belief that food and water were sources of sickness. Their materia medica was extensive and included many local plants of proven value. Specialization was common among these physicians, and some limited themselves to dealing with specific organs or systems as we do today.

In the words of Henry E. Sigerist, “much time has passed since Imhotep—but Egyptian culture is by no means dead. The impetus that it has given us in the arts and crafts, in literature, medicine and science was carried into younger civilizations.”

Jay M. Enoch, UC Berkeley School of Optometry: *Ingenious Optical Elements and Schematic Eyes: Old Kingdom Statues and the First Known Lenses*

The earliest known lenses had their origin in Egypt at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty when they were employed in Egyptian statuary. These lenses were of amazing quality and complexity with no known precursors. The first lenses in this group are dated (about) 2620 BCE. These were constructed of fine grade rock crystal or crystalline quartz (#7 on the Mohs hardness scale). Examples of these lenses were used until about 2400 BCE, after which they disappeared. Oddly, they reappeared briefly about seven hundred years later during the

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Twelfth Dynasty, after which they were gone forever in this form. Today, they can be seen in Egyptian statues in museums in Cairo, Paris and Leipzig. The lenses had a front (rather flat) convex surface simulating the cornea of the associated "virtual" or schematic eye, and they were parts of distinguished funerary statues. The same optical elements also had a small high power concave lens ground into the middle of the flat rear lens surface located in the plane of the aperture of the pupil. Associated with these lenses was a strong optical illusion causing the eye to appear to follow the viewer as he/she moves about the statue in any direction. This illusion has been characterized (and now measured) by the author. Two lenses in this series at the Louvre (the right eye of Le Scribe Accroupi, E3023, and Reserve eye, E3009) were recently optically assessed by him and coworkers.

Earl Ertman, University of Akron: *The Identity of the King and Queen on Tutankhamun's Golden Throne*

The golden throne of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 62028) has been known for seventy-seven years since its discovery in the antechamber of KV 62. Cartouches identifying the king as Tutankhamun and the queen as his wife, Ankhesenamun, are placed behind each of their heads. Some Egyptologists can more readily accept the inscriptional evidence rather than investigating the stylistic form of this royal pair which they feel is more subjective. More recently, a few researchers such as Claude Vandersleyen have questioned the identity of the royal couple. At the Highclere Castle conference in 1980 on the Valley of the Kings, Vandersleyen discussed these figures in his paper, "Royal Figures from Tut'ankhamun's Tomb: Their Historical Usefulness." He also commented on another figure, noting "...that a figure is more reliable than an inscription." I agree with his comments. In this study the male figure will be analyzed, illustrating that specific characteristics are indicative of a king other than Tutankhamun and proving that the throne was not originally created for Tutankhamun, but for another ruler. Once the identity of the king has been established it is somewhat easier to identify the queen. Comparisons will be furnished to support this thesis.

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James Evans, United Technologies: *Empire Period Chronology of the Amarna Period in Egypt*

The Amarna period in Egypt is the height of the Empire period, and one of religious leadership, as shown by the tomb painting called "The Parade of Foreign Tribute." The entire ancient world worshipped the ideas of cycles. The Amarna durbar was when many of the cycles came together, and an epiphany was expected. The city was built for just this purpose, and authorities from all the known world were present. When nothing happened, the city was soon abandoned. The exact chronology is important to understand the Amarna Letters. Tutankhamun was the immediate successor of his father Amenophis III; Akhenaten overlapped both and had no independent reign. Smenkhkare overlapped Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, Aye overlapped Tutankhamun and died shortly after. Tutankhamun 's widow ruled alone for about two years, until Haremhab took over, ruling from 1348-1313 BCE.

Sociometric and econometric data in modern times show cyclic behavior. These cycles are the same as those known and worshipped in ancient Egypt and Israel. Astronomic linkages were initially sought in lunar and solar motions. During the Old Kingdom, jubilees were celebrated in pairs of $6 \frac{1}{16}$ year intervals. From 2000 BCE on, this was downgraded to the mere title, "Repetitions of Birth" and two new series of jubilees were started. The first had been initially at intervals of 30 cycles of 226.175 days, and became sometime in the thirtieth year following the position of the lunar nodes cycle of 18.6 years . The second series was based on the triple coincidence of 44 Egyptian years of 365 days, 71 cycles of 226.175 days, 39 cycles of 411.79 days, the period of rotation of the lunar orbit. This latter was celebrated with jubilees in three parts, every $14 \frac{2}{3}$ years. These enable us to independently date each reign by its key events.

Amenophis III 's coronation was -1396.0925, dated by the 18.6 year cycle. His earlier accession on the death of Thutmose IV was -1396.0610. The coincidence of the 226 day cycle and the Autumnal Equinox was the occasion for the Pleasure Lake scarab of Amenophis III $11\frac{3}{1}$, -1386.09225 and credited to the Aton. He died shortly after -1359.0717. Tutankhamun was the immediate successor of Amenophis III. The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun, X/4/19, is

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here placed at year 7,-1353.11015, shortly after the death of Akhenaten, on 'repetition of Births" and 2/3 of a lunar rotation from the nodes of Dec. 8, 1360 BCE.

Akhenaten founded Akhetaten in year 5, day 222 , on Feb 28, 1366 BCE, as dated by the 226.175 cycle. In 1360 BCE, an almost coincidence of the lunar nodes at the Winter Solstice position, the Winter Solstice and the 226.175 day cycle on Dec. 21 was the occasion of the "Parade of Foreign Tribute" in year 12/5/8 of King Akhenaten. Akhenaten died circa -1353.1014; Smenkhkare ruled as king from Akhenaten's death to shortly before the taxing inscription of Maya on Tutankhamun 8/7/21, an act of sovereignty at the midpoint of the 226.175 day cycle. Aye's latest inscription, 4/4/1, Oct 14, 1351 BCE, is at a full lunar rotation of 3231.6 days from the nodes of 1360 BCE. Tutankhamun's widow was 'solo' from Aye's death in the fall of 1350 BCE until Haremhab, dated by the renewal inscription of 1/4/22 to -1335.1030, an 'elliptic' date and also "Repetition of Birth."

Ray Farrin, UC Berkeley: *Hard Times: Egypt During al-Infitaah as Depicted in Naguib Mahfouz's "Love on Pyramid Plateau"*

In this paper I would like to examine Naguib Mahfouz's *Love on Pyramid Plateau and Other Stories* (1979) in light of the economic and social changes that characterized Sadat's *siyaasat al-infitaah*, or economic liberalization program, in the 1970s. I will draw upon the historical background to illuminate the stories and to locate and explain Mahfouz's commentary on societal developments in Egypt during this turbulent period.

Under the new economic conditions of the mid-1970s, capital began streaming into Egypt from multiple sources, including foreign investors, Egyptian workers living in the Gulf States, and proceeds from Egypt's oil fields. Following the peace accord with Israel, foreign aid, Suez Canal revenue, and tourism added to this capital inflow. Yet the boon was not accompanied by a commensurate increase in local production, so inflation resulted, eroding the buying power of Egyptians. Government workers on fixed incomes, a group which had expanded and prospered during the Nasser years and comprised much of the middle class, were particularly hard hit, while laborers who trav-

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eled to the Gulf returned a few years later significantly enriched and relatively unaffected by the higher prices. The economic turbulence wreaked havoc on traditional values and confuted conventional wisdom that held that education and government employment would lead to a stable and comfortable life.

Naguib Mahfouz registers many of these social and economic changes in his story *Love on Pyramid Plateau*. The protagonist, a recent college graduate with a law degree, does not earn enough income from his public-sector job so that he can settle down and marry. He is deeply in love with a government bureaucrat's daughter (whose family is in also in straitened circumstances), but her parents will not hear of their marriage since he cannot provide an apartment and furnishings—the traditional preconditions for marriage. Meanwhile, a plumber who has recently returned from the Gulf courts the protagonist's sister, and, despite the family's objections to his uncouth behavior, they accept his proposal.

Thus the story dramatizes some of the social traumas of the mid-1970s, among them frustrated and disaffected youth and an older generation which hangs on to traditional values amid new economic realities. By pointing to the economic and social changes underway during the period, I will try to bring the social commentary of Mahfouz into clear focus. In turn, it is hoped that a historically-informed reading of *Love on Pyramid Plateau and Other Stories* will enable us to better imagine what life was like in Egypt under Sadat's *infitaah*.

Peter Feinman, Columbia University: *The Merneptah Stele: Egypt in Transition from the Age of Bronze to the Age of Iron*

From the moment of its discovery, the Merneptah Stele has held a prominent role in Egyptology, not simply for what it said about Egypt, but for the mention of the people (and not state) of Israel. But what about Egypt? What does it have to say about the historical context of Egypt at the time when the Late Bronze Age was ending and the Iron Age was beginning?

This paper will examine that issue from three perspectives of long, recent, and current durations.

1. In the long run, there were certain obligations incumbent upon Merneptah as Pharaoh. He was not a "big man" of Mesopotamia, an

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anointed of Yahweh of Israel, or an elected president of "We the People" America; he was Pharaoh of Egypt with a two thousand year old tradition behind him.

2. More recently, he was the fourth king of the Nineteenth Dynasty in the New Kingdom. So while he was Pharaoh, he was also the son who finally succeeded Ramses II and who needed to demonstrate in his own right that he had the right stuff to go into the arena and prevail as commander in chief and leader of the Egyptian world.

3. In the immediate present, he had to deal with an increasingly threatening situation that would intensify by the time of Ramses III. Instead of venturing abroad to mark with stelae the extended domain of the Egyptian gods, the Egyptian king was being put more and more on the defensive to the point where he would be fighting the enemy on Egypt's own turf.

Merneptah the individual had to deal with this geopolitical reality and to express himself according to Egyptian conventions. This paper will address how Merneptah dealt with the real world on the field of battle and how he represented that effort for the record.

Marian Feldman, UC Berkeley: *Who Wants to Marry an Egyptian Princess? Status and Identity in Late Bronze Age Diplomatic Marriages*

A fragment of an alabaster vase found in the royal palace at Ugarit (present-day Ras Shamra on the coast of Syria) bears an incised representation of an encounter between a man and a lady. The man is identified by a hieroglyphic inscription as Niqmaddu, ruler of Ugarit. The lady, who is dressed in Egyptian style, faces him and pours liquid from a small vessel. While the man is clearly identified as Syrian both in the inscription and in his rendering, the lady and her surroundings remain ambiguous with respect to identity. The scene is often interpreted as depicting the marriage between Niqmaddu and an Egyptian court lady. If the lady is Egyptian, she would have been given by the Egyptian king, probably Amenhotep III or Akhenaten, as part of the diplomatic gift exchange documented in international letters such as those found at Amarna. However, the possibility of this occurring has generally been questioned on the basis of correspondence between an Egyptian and a Babylonian ruler in which the Egyptian king claims that no Egyptian princess has ever been sent to a foreign court (EA 4).

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A clue for understanding this representation may lie in the very same letter. The Babylonian king responds that the Egyptian king can send anyone, for who in Babylonia will question whether she is truly the daughter of the king. This passage highlights the concept of mutable identity in which meaning is ascribed to individuals or objects rather than residing in intrinsic features. When significance depends on agreed opinions, ambiguous meaning introduces the possibility for manipulation of the system. I propose that the scene on the alabaster vase played a role in the aspirations of the Ugaritic king to acquire status through emulation. The lady may or may not be Egyptian, but her appearance suggests that she is and thereby confers status on the clearly identified Syrian ruler Niqmaddu.

Patricia Blackwell Gary, New York University *Touched by the Hands of God: Joy in the Court of the Hwt-Benben at Akhetaten*

Akhenaten, in a dramatic transformation of the divine temple, or “house of god,” its activity and setting, essentially “swept away” the traditional coded idea of the sanctuary considered the “holy of holies.” In doing so, he “unveiled god.” Even if direct access was limited in the temple proper, the reversal of the code may have registered with a larger community. In terms of the general public, we can reasonably say that, just as there was in traditional periods, the coded mental vision of the temple and what it means, its interior, both in ritual and in notion, the impact of the transformation would have corresponded to a dramatically changed mental vision in the minds of the people. Akhenaten not only transformed the structure of the temple, but in the same way he also reversed the coded idea that was used in regards to light and dark. Now, instead of the traditional notion of passing from “lightland to the netherworld,” the sense of the journey is re-oriented from the darkness to the “beautiful light.” Although the sanctuary, which remained in the rear of the temple in relative seclusion, is now in the open, the movement of messages through the contextual boundaries would alter the transfer process of the embedded coded meaning.

There is evidence that coded mental processes were not detached from the Egyptian social and cultural realities. This paper will examine some remarkable clues that speak to the importance of the *Hwt-*

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Benben at Akhetaten. These clues offer insights into how to interpret its relationship to the *Gampaaten* and the prominent role of the sacred *benben* maximized by Akhenaten. The idea that the *benben* stone was an important symbol is not a new concept in the Amarna period; rather, it was more likely that Akhenaten was giving it an importance it had not had in a long time. Because of the reversal of the code, at Akhetaten the transformation and divinity of Akhenaten could be expressed more fully in the form of the *Aten*, where he was represented as both omniscient and omnipotent at the same time. The close interrelationships inherent in the dualistic nature of kingship, the creator gods, and sacred domains existed throughout the dynastic periods. According to one inscription, even the founder of the Twenty-fifth dynasty, Piye, “set off to Heliopolis to worship the sun and celebrate his coronation. The rites included an intimate moment with the sacred *ben-ben*” (Lehner, 1997). It is possible that the *Hwt-Benben* was made more monumental in importance at Akhetaten due to its divine and cosmological nature. Here the temple becomes the cosmos. Here the interplay of light and dark, coupled with the transmission of various levels of meaning encoded in visual images, most likely culminated in the occurrence of one specific event that could be defined as one of the most astounding in Egyptian history—perhaps parallel only to the pyramids of Giza.

John Gee, Brigham Young University: *Stylistic Dating of Graeco-Roman Period Egyptian Stelae*

Although stylistic dating has been used in Pharaonic periods of Egyptian history, in Graeco-Roman times native Egyptian monuments are generally dated (if they are at all) using stylistic criteria from Greece and Rome. This paper will seek to establish native Egyptian stylistic criteria for Graeco-Roman period Egyptian stelae. Even the application of relatively crude criteria, such as script used and styles of winged solar disks, provides helpful indices for dating stelae. Finally, application of this analysis to the large corpus of late period stelae from Abydos provides some helpful results.

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Gayle Gibson, Royal Ontario Museum/Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities: *Tails of Western Thebes*

This paper will examine the iconography of the coffin of Nesmut, of the Royal Ontario Museum. This unvarnished coffin, of which only the bottom survives, was decorated by an artist who was familiar with the repertoire of the best of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty coffins and stelae, but who, in this case, employed his talents on a 'bottom-of-the-line' model. The same hand appears to have drawn the pictures and written the text. The images were drawn directly onto the wood in black ink and were merely highlighted with a thin solution of pale blue and red paint. The drawings, never corrected or revised, possess the freshness and beauty of sketches. The lack of formality and constraint in the drawing, as in his drawing of Anubis, reveals several peculiarities of the artist. These peculiarities may lead to an identification of the Nesmut painter as the artist of more expensive products, some more securely dated. This, in turn, could allow a closer dating of several other coffins now attributed to periods from Dynasty Twenty-one to Twenty-five.

Robyn Adams Gillam, York University: *The Mysteries of Osiris: A Student Performance*

This presentation describes how a group of arts undergraduates perform the *Mysteries of Osiris* in a public setting as their major assignment in a course about Egypt and the Classical world. Previous activities have utilized Fairman's *Triumph of Horus* and *The Golden Ass*. The development of this kind of activity will be explored from a pedagogical and experiential viewpoint.

Ogden Goelet, New York University: *Anaphoric Elements in Egyptian Literature and Inscriptions*

An interesting and fairly common feature of Egyptian inscriptions and literary works is the use of an anaphoric or repeated element. This talk will examine a number of examples appearing in papyri, private tombs, and royal inscriptions from the Old Kingdom through the Ramesside Period. Some well-known Egyptian texts contained anaphoric units: the Autobiography of Weni-wer, the Hymns to Sesostris III, and the so-called "Poetical Stela" of Tuthmosis III.

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Sometimes anaphoric elements indicated a line of verse perhaps repeated orally for a choral or antiphonal effect. In other cases anaphora were used in royal or religious inscriptions to serve as a form of punctuation, as an element of graphic design, or as an indication of a metrical arrangement, or all these. A few particularly interesting anaphoric verses employed certain grammatical features that cast interesting light on the function of Second Tenses or “Emphatic” forms.

Geoffrey Graham, Yale University: *Scepters and Staves for Osiris*

The iconography of Osiris was one of the richest in the repertoire of Egyptian symbolism. Osiris embodied the life force of the universal creator, master of the underworld, and source of all life in the upper world. He also came to represent a wellspring of legitimation to kings upon the Egyptian throne. The raiment of Osiris was inextricably connected with his roles in all of these functions. His garments, crowns, scepters, staves, and weapons constituted a definable corpus of Osirian regalia necessary for the resurrection.

Each Egyptian planning an afterlife wished to emulate the regalia of Osiris. Those who could afford to outfit their burials imitated his equipment in models, graphic representations, and spells designed to make them function. Middle Kingdom Egyptians placed regalia in their coffins or represented them in paint above their Coffin Texts. Egyptians of the New Kingdom and later depicted Osirian regalia beneath scenes of Osiris awakening in a prone position from his bed, often accompanied by a figure presenting a Was- or Djam-scepter to his face. This “Osirian Regalia Scene” seems to have appeared in the Nineteenth Dynasty and lasted through the Graeco-Roman Period, working its way from mortuary to cultic contexts.

This paper will give a brief history of the development of Osirian regalia scenes, discuss the symbolism and function of the scepters and staves employed therein, and propose a Coffin Text parallel which may elucidate their meaning.

Lyn Green, Royal Ontario Museum: *Spices and Herbs in Pharaonic Medicine*

In previous papers I have dealt with the use of various substances in the Egyptian pharmacopeia and with the attitude of pharaonic

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medicine towards food. This paper essentially attempts to continue from these earlier studies and look at the ways in which spices, herbs and a few related substances such as resins or incense appear in pharaonic medical texts. Naturally, studies of this type will focus on the pharmacopeia, but this paper will use unpublished and newly published studies to continue the exploration of the theory behind the use of various plant materials in Egyptian medicine. Amongst the problems considered will be: 1) the identification of pharaonic plant terminology and of plant materials recovered archaeologically; 2) the various ways in which spices and herbs are used (e.g., diagnosis vs. treatment); and 3) the way in which these substances are delivered to the patient (e.g., external application, ingestion, and so forth).

Sumaiya Abbas Hamdani, George Mason University: *State, Sect, and the Formation of a Madhhab in the Fatimid Period*

The formation of *madhahib* or legal schools in Islam is one of the most widely researched aspects of Islam generally. Much of this research, however, assumes that the collapse of the moral and ethical role of the state (or caliphate) in the classical period of Islam led to the need for alternate moral authority. The loosely-constituted social group known as the '*ulama*' emerged as this alternate moral authority, and eventually defined both the sources and substance of Islamic law, or *Shari'a*.

While this understanding may seem to accurately reflect the emergence of Sunni legal schools, and the differences between them, it does not explain the emergence of their Shi'i counterparts. Shi'ism was thought to spawn sects rather than schools because its leaders or imams were ultimate religious (rather than political) authorities and thus their followers had no need of alternate sources of guidance. However, the religious leadership that the imams were supposed to provide did in many cases devolve onto a select group of their followers. The eventual death or disappearance of the *Zaydi* and *Ithma 'Ashari* imams, for example, gave rise to the need to provide some record of previous imams' guidance, and to construct the bases for future guidance of the community. Thus both these branches of Shi'ism are acknowledged to have developed the exceptional (the *Zaydi* and *Ja'fari madhahib*, respectively).

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Another Shi'i branch also developed a *madhhab* despite the presence of a living imam, thereby problematizing the notion that legal schools develop in the gap created by a "separation of church and state," or that the rule of a living imam mitigates the need for an alternate, textual source of guidance. The Isma'ili Shi'i *madhhab* emerged when this sect's religious leaders, the Fatimid imams, acquired political power in North Africa in 297/909. They established a Shi'i state in a Sunni milieu, and this necessitated a move from the oppositional discourse of their revolutionary period to a state-legitimizing one, and thus to a *madhhab* that developed as a further extension of the religious and political authority of the state.

The Fatimids employed a North African convert, Qadi al-Nu'man, whose career spanned the rule of the first four Fatimids. During this time, al-Nu'man devised the legitimizing narrative that they required as ruling imams, anchoring it in a legal discourse accessible to both the Isma'ili Shi'i followers of the imams, as well as their Sunni subjects. This paper will review his legal works and examine in particular his most important legal work, the *Da'a'im al-Islam*, which addresses the imam's authority as ruler rather than revolutionary, and reflects the encounter between Sunni and Shi'i legal traditions caused by the establishment of the Fatimid state.

Ultimately al-Nu'man's legal works represent not only the formation of a *madhhab* in support of, rather than in opposition to or autonomous from, the state, but also one whose formation challenges our notion of sectarian boundaries in the medieval period of Islam. As such, the emergence of an Isma'ili Shi'i *madhhab* in the fourth/tenth century helps to shed light on the dynamic processes behind Islamic legal discourse then and today.

James A. Harrell and V. Max Brown, University of Toledo: *Discovery of a Steatite Baram Industry of the Medieval Islamic Period in Egypt's Eastern Desert*

Barams are stone cooking and serving vessels carved from steatite, a talc-rich rock that is often referred to in the archaeological literature as soapstone or chlorite schist. These vessels were used in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East mainly during the eighth through twelfth centuries CE and also, to a lesser extent, in later cen-

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tures. Steatite is initially very soft and easy to carve, but hardens and becomes more durable upon exposure to fire. The vessels are slow to heat up and also slow to cool down, making them ideal for certain kinds of cooking and also for serving hot foods. Previously, the closest known centers for steatite *baram* production were in the Arabian Peninsula, but now another, more extensive, *baram* industry has been discovered in Egypt's Eastern Desert.

Four steatite quarries of the medieval Islamic period have been found in the southern part of the Eastern Desert just north of the Marsa Alam–Edfu Road, between latitudes 25.08 and 25.28 north, and longitudes 34.00 and 34.45 east. These are at Wadi Umm Selim, Gebel Rod el-Baram, Wadi Abu Qureya, and Wadi Mubarak. The latter three quarries each contain from a few to several hundreds of individual excavations. Littering the ground in these quarries are thousands of broken, partially worked steatite *barams*. From these it is evident that the preliminary carving was done in the quarries. The roughly shaped *barams* were then sent to another site for the final carving. Where the finishing work was done is unknown, but it may have been at al-Hawra, a known Abbasid-Fatimid steatite carving center on Saudi Arabia's Red Sea coast, directly opposite from Marsa Alam and the Egyptian steatite quarries. The shapes and styles of the *barams* are different in each of the quarries and this suggests that they represent different periods of activity. Pottery from these sites is currently being analyzed and should provide firm dates in the near future, but on present evidence the quarries appear to date from the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. In addition to the quarry workings, the sites also contain the remains of the quarrymen's huts and, at Wadi Mubarak, rock-cut petroglyphs and inscriptions. From conversations with Bedouins, it appears that there are yet other Islamic steatite quarries in the Eastern Desert and these will be investigated during the 2000 summer field season.

James A. Harrell, University of Toledo and Michael D. Lewan, USGS:
Ancient Petroleum Seep at Gebel Zeit, Egypt

Petroleum-related bitumens were used in ancient Egypt for embalming mummies and for other applications. It was previously thought that all such bitumens were imported into Egypt from the Dead Sea

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in Palestine. Although this may have been the primary source, an indigenous source of bitumen was also available to Egyptians at Gebel Zeit on the western shore of the Gulf of Suez, 70 km north of Hurghada.

A surface petroleum seep occurs at the southern end of Gebel Zeit and here there are two ancient wells. These are horizontal tunnels cut through limestone 15 m inland from the shore. They are subcircular in cross section, with diameters of 1.5-2 m and lengths of 3 and 6.5 m. The floors are about 0.3 m below current sea level and are flooded with a mixture of petroleum and seawater. Littering the ground around the two wells are fragments of the ceramic pots used to store and transport the petroleum. These date mainly from the early and late Roman periods with some later Islamic material. The petroleum would have been thickened to asphalt or tar by either solar evaporation or petroleum-fired heating. Close by are the remains of two ancient furnaces used to manufacture either ceramics or glass, and apparently fueled by petroleum from the wells.

Bitumen samples from four mummies in the British Museum were analyzed by gas chromatography and mass spectrometry, and in this way the distinctive molecular signature of each bitumen was obtained. When these are compared with the molecular signatures of bitumens from Gebel Zeit, the Dead Sea, and other known sources of petroleum in the Gulf of Suez-Sinai-Palestine region, it is found that the bitumen from the oldest mummy, that of the Libyan Paserhor from Thebes dating to the Twenty-second Dynasty (about 900 BCE), could only have come from the Gebel Zeit seep. The other three mummies, all dating to the Graeco-Roman period, contain bitumen that could have come from either the Dead Sea or the Sinai Peninsula, where the same petroleum source rocks occur. Other archaeological bitumen samples are currently being analyzed for their molecular signatures with results expected in the near future.

Harold M. Hayes, University of Chicago: *The Historicity of Papyrus Westcar*

Despite apparently intentional errors in fact and in the spellings of proper names, the literary text pWestcar has been and continues to be regarded as a legitimate source in reconstructing the history of the

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transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty, a period some centuries before pWestcar was composed. It has been held that the text gives a fictionalized account of the real rise to supremacy of the sun cult at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty—a rise supposed to be evident in contemporary documents through the consistent use of Re in the construction of royal names, through the introduction of the regular use of the royal honorific “Son of Re,” and through the advent of temples devoted to the sun god.

This presentation will evaluate the evidential basis for this position, taking into account the text of pWestcar, inscriptional material from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and secondary works interpreting the phenomenon of the sun temples. It will be seen that pWestcar is an unrestrained fiction, not only deviating from the historical facts, but doing so in a playful manner, even to the point of self-reflexively calling into question the veracity of all accounts of the past—thus subtly casting doubt even upon itself as to its value as a historical trace.

Further, it will be observed that the contemporary evidence, after all, does not support the notion of a solar cult beginning to rise only in the Fifth Dynasty, for in fact royal names were regularly compounded with Re beginning with the offspring of Khufu, and the honorific “son of Re” is attested more regularly with his Fourth Dynasty successors than it is with the kings of the Fifth Dynasty. As has been pointed out by Begelsbacher-Fischer, Winter, and Kaiser, the so-called “sun temples” are better understood as royal monuments of a significance resonating with that of the pyramids, with which they were administratively, economically, and presumably noetically bound. The actual evidence, then, shows pWestcar to be a fiction taking delight in its departure from the facts, and the rise of the sun cult to have taken place in the Fourth Dynasty—if it is evidentially possible to support the notion of such a rise at all.

In a final analysis, reading history into the tale of pWestcar will be compared to a similar situation from Assyriology, where apocryphal stories of the Akkadian Sargon were once accepted as reflecting actual facts about his reign, but are now coming to be regarded more as reflective of the much later times in which they were written, and more for their literary merits. For the reasons outlined above, it will be proposed that a similar approach to pWestcar is in order.

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Rachel T. Howes, UC Santa Barbara: *The Relationship between the Chief Judge, the Chief Propagandist and the Wazir in the Eleventh Century Fatimid Court*

Throughout the period of Fatimid rule in Egypt there was a close relationship between the two very powerful positions of chief judge and chief propagandist, and often the two were held by the same person. They were the two most powerful positions in the early Egyptian period of the caliphate, second only to the caliph and superior to the *wazirate*. In the late Eleventh century however, the power of both positions was decreased significantly by the installation of the Armenian warlord Badr al-Jamali as *wazir* in 1074. What I propose to explore in this paper is the relationship between these two positions in the years leading up to the consolidation of power under the *wazirate*.

Both of these positions were held in the mid-Eleventh century by influential men. Al-Yazuri was from a family of *qadis* from Palestine. He came to Cairo and worked his way up through the *diwan* of the mother of the caliph. He gained first the chief judgeship and then the position of chief propagandist. Finally, al-Yazuri was appointed *wazir* along with these two other positions which he held until his death in 1058 CE. Muayyad fi al-Din al-Shirazi was a propagandist who had a career in Persia and then immigrated to Cairo. He also worked his way up through the ranks of the queen mother's service. He eventually gained the position of chief propagandist and then chief judge. He held both positions until his death in 1078.

Both al-Yazuri and al-Shirazi continued the tradition of powerful judges and propagandists. However, despite the power and influence of these two individuals, the prestige of the positions of chief *qadi* and chief propagandist was markedly decreased by the time of al-Shirazi's tenure in the office. Al-Shirazi was arguably the most influential Ismaili author after al-Qadi al-Nu'man, and he certainly held considerable sway within the Fatimid court of that period. He was still unable to exert enough influence to stabilize the situation in the Fatimid court, which deteriorated dramatically during his period in office. He, and the offices that he held, became subject to the whims of a series of *wazirs* whose tenure in office was never very long and who lacked any real political or military ability or desire to help the Fatimid state regain its former glory.

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It is my conclusion that the combination of the offices of the chief judge and the chief propagandist with the office of the *wazir* under al-Yazuri was ultimately fatal to the prestige and position of these two offices. This combination meant that after this point the leadership of the domestic court was no longer in the hands of men whose loyalty to the court was bound by long service in the ranks of the propaganda organization or the lower judiciary. Thus loyalty to the caliph at the highest level declined and the Fatimid state lost the cohesion that had kept it strong.

Salima Ikram, American University in Cairo: *Animal Mummies and Experimental Archaeology*

A variety of animal mummies were created by the ancient Egyptians. These can be divided 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 Animal Mummy Project at the Cairo Museum has been examining and x-raying animal mummies in an effort to better understand the relationship in techniques between human and animal mummification. An associated part of the project has consisted of carrying out experimental work in an effort to see how the different techniques of mummification actually work on animals, and whether these differences are detectable on the mummies. The different methods of mummification that might have been used on animals are: killing the animal and then burying it in natron; eviscerating and exsanguinating the animal before treating it with natron; eviscerating the animal and immersing it in natron; using turpentine to clear out the internal organs and then dessicating the animal in natron. This paper will present the results of these four different mummification experiments carried out on rabbits in the context of what is currently known about techniques of mummification.

Richard Jasnow, Johns Hopkins University: *"O Solon, Solon, You Greeks are always Children" Didactic Statements by Egyptians to Foreigners.*

Taking as my cue the scene in Plato's *Timaios* wherein the aged priest instructs Solon about the myth of Atlantis, I collect and comment on other cases of native Egyptians informing foreigners on as-

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pects of Egyptian culture. I am interested in how such didactic situations are presented, in what type of knowledge is transmitted, and the reasons for this kind of interaction. My sources will primarily be from the Egyptian textual corpus, although I will include a few remarks on relevant information to be gleaned from the Greek papyri.

Edward D. Johnson, UCLA: *The 1999-2000 Field Season at Hierakonpolis*

The Hierakonpolis expedition under the direction of Barbara Adams and Renee Friedman returned for the fifth season of renewed work at the site in October, 1999 through March, 2000.

In the first part of the season Barbara Adams continued excavations in the predynastic and proto-dynastic cemetery at HK6 and recovered more pieces of the intriguing funerary masks.

In the second half of the season, professional surveyors created the first accurate plan of the mudbrick enclosure of King Khasekhemwy (Dynasty 2). Magnetic anomalies suggestive of domestic habitation and pottery kilns detected during the magnetometer survey of 1999 at the predynastic settlement at HK 11 were examined. Middle Paleolithic localities were explored and work also continued in the predynastic cemetery at HK 43.

Final conservation work, enabled by a United States Agency for International Development grant, administered by ARCE's Egyptian Antiquities Project, was undertaken within the decorated rock cut tombs of Hormose, Chief Prophet of Horus of Nekhen (reign of Ramses 11, Dynasty 20) and Djehuty (reign of Tuthmosis I, Dynasty 18). Conservation work in the tomb of Ny-ankh-Pepy of the late Old Kingdom, usurped in the Second Intermediate Period, and that of Horemkhawef of the Second Intermediate Period was also completed.

Charles R. Jones, ARCE-SC: *Egyptian-Early Zhou Chinese Word Comparisons*

The possibilities of recognizing regular patterns of sound change in the history of the Chinese language can be made with emphasis on the reconstructed Early Zhou dynastic words. An intricate phonological system may emerge that in a realistic way shows similar values with Middle Kingdom Egyptian. Selected Zhou Chinese words will

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be compared with Middle Kingdom Egyptian words that have similar phonologies.

A comparison of ancient Egyptian words and Early Zhou Dynastic (China 1100 BCE) words are strikingly similar. Out of two hundred word comparisons, an analysis of approximately forty words will be presented. Reconstructions of Zhou words will be compared with Old and Middle Chinese, and Mandarin and Cantonese. The reconstruction of a Sino-Egyptian relationship in the Late Kingdom could be realized by evidence of these words in the ancient Chinese syllabary. An example of the findings includes the words “ba” spirit (Zhou) and “ba” (Egyptian); “mao” cat (Zhou) and “mau” (Egyptian); “shi” (pig) and “shai” (Egyptian); and “sha” sand and “shay” (Egyptian). Coptic reconstructions, when found, will also be compared.

Nozomu Kawai, Johns Hopkins University: *Coffin Fragments from the Area around Theban Tomb 92: An Aspect of the Theban Necropolis in the First Millennium BCE*

This paper discusses the coffin fragments uncovered in the area adjacent to Theban Tomb 92. During the 1996, 1997 and 1999 seasons, the Johns Hopkins University Expedition to Thebes recovered a number of coffin fragments in a tomb next to TT 92. That tomb had been buried under debris since ancient times. Almost all of the coffin fragments date to the first millennium BCE. The focus of the discussion will be on the decoration, color patterns, and texts of the coffin fragments, in an attempt to suggest the most precise date for these burials. In light of these coffin fragments, this paper will also consider burial in the Theban Necropolis during the first millennium.

Haifaa Khalafallah, Georgetown University: *Reclaiming the Islamic Legal Method in the Twentieth Century*

This paper explores the commotion and dynamism in the present Egyptian debate over Islamic legal principles and their applications. It highlights change and continuity in the traditional constructs as presented in the case of the twentieth century figure of Muhammad al-Ghazali (1917-1996). It also discusses how this Egyptian *‘alim* argued for and applied the “Islamic legal method” to argue for radical changes

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in both the law and norms governing society. Of particular focus will be the process of change undergone by al-Ghazali in his ideas regarding women in Egyptian society. Starting off as a conservative who saw women's role as primarily in the home and the necessity of veiling, al-Ghazali's application of the "Islamic legal method" in his later years led him to accept the ability of women as political leaders and court judges.

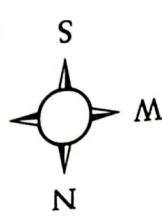
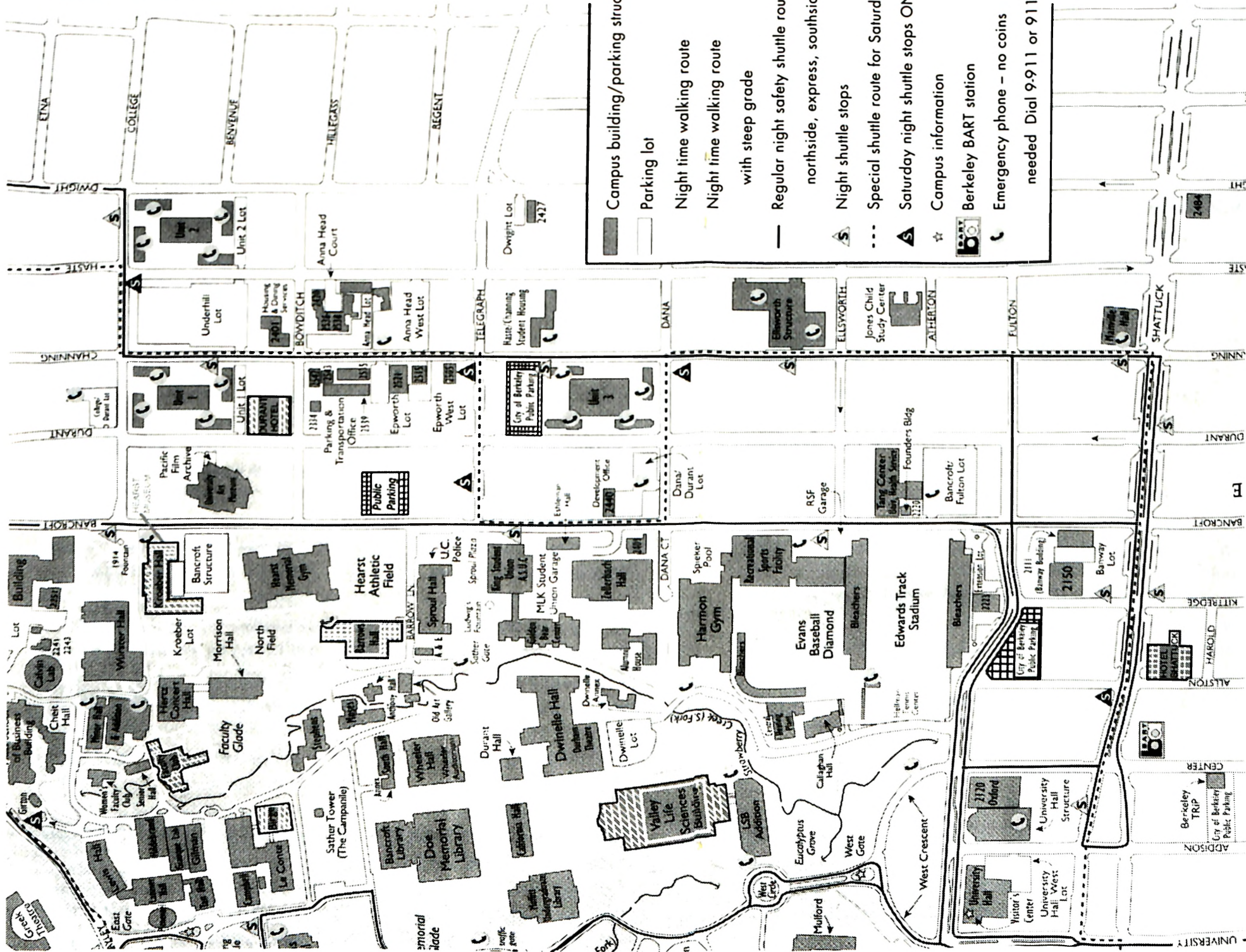
Deanna Kiser, UC Berkeley: *New Kingdom Domestic Painting and its Relationship to Decorated Pottery*

Much interest has been devoted to tomb paintings in the field of Egyptology, but images appearing in the context of residential decoration have received little attention by comparison. This is due, in part, to a disproportionately small number of preserved paintings from living spaces when viewed against the corpus of tomb illustrations. However, several royal and private monuments of the New Kingdom, such as the palaces of Malkata and Amarna, reveal a body of motifs that shed light upon the decorative elements employed during this period. Such motifs include the well-known images of cows or calves capering among marsh plants, waterfowl, floral garlands and geometric shapes. Of relevance to this paper are the many instances in which such motifs are mirrored on painted pottery, in particular what is known as "Blue-Painted Pottery" and "Polychrome Decorated Pottery."

This paper will identify the motifs shared between these two differing media and explore the causal possibilities for this phenomenon. Among the possible reasons for the similarities in decoration are: the desire to portray motifs associated with festive activities in a domestic environment; the existence of a body of images known to be suitable or even expected for use as outright ornamentation; and the painting of both media (somewhat similar in technique) by the same artists or their acquaintances.

Minoru Kodera, Comet Research Institute: *A Discovery in the Great Pyramid Complex at Giza*

In the previous presentation made at the ARCE annual meeting at the St. Louis Museum, 1996, it was concluded that the Great Pyramid Complex (GPC) on the Giza plateau, Egypt, had been designed



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by one person, based purely on geometrical analysis. In this report the conclusion is tested by the map and proven right. When and if the satellite images which are to be available commercially through the EKONOS satellite are obtained by April, 2000, the same test will be performed on the satellite images and be reported here for further confirmation.

This conclusion clearly indicates that it is the Fact contained in the GPC. It also means that there had been a master plan of the GPC before Pharaohs Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura started construction works for their tombs, as is often referred to by Egyptologists without definite clear academic evidences. Since in Old Kingdom days they did not have such a high level of mathematics as is shown in the Fact, the master-plan must have been made in the earlier civilization. It can be estimated that it came from Atlantis as one of the assumptions which were brought down to the earth through the channeled information.

Actually this explanation can best fit to the Fact, according to the study made by this report. Orthodox Egyptology must face this Fact first and start its future research works of the GPC based on it. Accordingly, it is quite difficult to assume that the GPC is the tombs of the Pharaohs, once this Fact is accepted academically. To reach this understanding commonly and widely, scholars and experts from various fields should organize a team and study it from all phases, even from different dimensions. This is not just a simple research subject of conventional orthodox Egyptology.

Egyptology, with its wider definition, should include the prehistoric era, especially when Egypt has the mysterious remains which must have been left from the previous civilization. Current civilization has not recognized it yet so far on the academic level. Now is the best time for them to expand their wing towards it not only in the time-axis, but also into the higher dimension. Without these efforts, this subject can not be solved.

The time of the GPC construction is not dealt with here. It will be discussed on other occasions. Starting from this Fact, the next research target is directed to find and to define who the original designer was. This paper calls for setting up a session and/or the research team that will focus on:

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1. Finding and defining the original designer of the GPC; and
2. Through the geometrical analysis of the GPC, the mathematically meaningful point G is found and defined in the Pyramids Layout Chart-PLC—shown at the St. Louis presentation (ref. “Geometrical Analysis of the Great Pyramid Complex” M. Kodera, 1997). By excavating the point G, research item 1 may be solved, which can be estimated from the designer’s intention for a master plan of the GPC.

Karin Kroenke, UC Berkeley: *A Selection of Wooden Tomb Models and Servant Statuettes in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology houses a collection of wooden tomb models and servant statuettes that were recovered from thirty-five tombs at Naga ed-Dêr during the excavations led by George Reisner between February 1901 and August 1904. Reisner’s excavation team also recovered numerous fragments from both surface finds and unrecorded contexts at the site. There are over 260 pieces in the Hearst Museum. Seventeen of these models and statuettes, which came from a total of ten tombs, are complete or almost complete. Two additional servant statuettes excavated at Naga ed-Dêr during this period and now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, must be added to this list.

These wooden models and servant statuettes represent a variety of activities, including not only the “core” repertoire of models denoting travel, the production of staple and high-status foods and the storage and transport of these products, but also more unusual pieces such as a brick-making scene and a female dancer. None of these objects has been adequately studied until now. Reisner never fully published the results of his work at Naga ed-Dêr; the excavations of the First Intermediate Period tombs that contained wooden models were published only in one preliminary report (Reisner 1904). The models and statuettes from this site were not included in Breasted’s (1948) corpus of servant statues because they were still in storage on the San Francisco campus at that time. They were also left out of Tooley’s most recent (and comprehensive) study of Middle Kingdom burial customs (1989).

Utilizing Reisner’s vast photographic record and unpublished field notes, I will present a selection of the wooden tomb models and servant statuettes from Naga ed-Dêr. Because the corpus consists of a

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large number of fragments, only the most complete pieces will be discussed. In addition, only those pieces with a secure provenance will be presented. This paper will therefore deal with the set of seventeen complete wooden tomb models and servant statuettes housed in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, in addition to the two complete statuettes in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This presentation will include such aspects as manufacturing techniques, stylistic attributes, and the range of activities represented. I will also briefly discuss archaeological context, names and administrative titles of the owners, and relative chronology. This corpus of material is invaluable for expanding our understanding of burial practices of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr.

Lloyd Kropp, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville: *Some Comments on the Narrative Structure of Ancient Egyptian Tales*

I propose to do a preliminary analysis of narrative structure in ancient Egyptian tales based on the work of James Mellard, Northrup Frye, Kenneth Burke, John Foster, Leo Depuydt, and Wolfgang Iser. The main thrust of this paper will be to explore the question of whether or not an analysis of Egyptian tales from the perspective of modern theory reveals anything interesting about the difference between modern literary sensibilities and structures and those of the ancient world.

One important preoccupation in my paper will be the concept of action. Many critics of the forties, fifties, and sixties took their cue from the Aristotelian idea that "poetry," in the largest sense, is the imitation of an action. Kenneth Burke, for example, begins with the tension between action and setting (the so-called "act-scene ratio") to which he appends the concepts of agent, agency, and purpose. On the other hand, Iser, as a phenomenologist, sees the response of the mind as the central action in art, and is thus preoccupied by the narrative cues that "move" an audience in one direction or another. Northrop Frye's seminal essay on "The Archetypes of Literature" emphasizes the relationship between action, which comes out of *ritual*, and abstract meaning, which comes out of *oracle*.

The analysis of action in ancient and modern tales can be discussed on this level of literary criticism, but it can also be discussed on a linguistic level. John Foster's brilliant 1988 article on "The Ship-

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wrecked Sailor” in *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* and Leo Depuydt’s equally brilliant (but I suspect seldom read) *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency* are two examples. The first discusses, among other things, verb structures in “The Shipwrecked Sailor,” while the second discusses “relationships between events” in Egyptian and Coptic verbal systems. My presentation will suggest approaches from both literary and linguistic perspectives.

My preliminary study of Old and Middle Kingdom tales suggests that although modern fiction moves away from the oral structures that tend to dominate ancient fiction, in that it is often more complex in its imagery, its point of view, its delineation of exterior and interior worlds, and its relationship between scenic and narrative development, ancient tales have a power and a beauty that is quite independent of these considerations. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it achieves many of the same effects through what I call *the aesthetics of absence*.

Ronald J. Leprohon, University of Toronto: *What Wenamun Could Have Bought: The Value of his Stolen Goods*

The mention in a recent publication that Wenamun’s stolen goods were of little value has prompted me to evaluate these goods and what “buying power” they might have represented to Wenamun. Using J. J. Janssen’s work on commodity prices in the Ramesside period (1975) and calculating tables of equivalences (e.g., the ratio of copper to gold and silver was 120:1 and 60:1, respectively) enable us to determine that Wenamun’s missing five deben of gold and thirty-one deben of silver could have bought substantial amounts of goods of various nature. We should therefore not underestimate the full measure of anxiety caused by this theft when we consider Wenamun’s plight and his subsequent behavior on his ill-fated journey.

Christine Lilyquist, Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Pottery from Wady Qabbanat el-Qirud, the Tomb of Tuthmosis III’s Three Foreign Wives*

In Autumn 1988, the tomb that yielded many items published as belonging to “three Egyptian princesses” was cleared for a fuller publication of the material and the find. About 120 ancient forms were recorded, most typical of the Tuthmoside period, some of foreign origin, and a few sherds with hieratic labels. The provenances will be

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illustrated, the wares described, the corpus illustrated, and the labels discussed.

Thomas Logan, Monterey Peninsula College: *Soundings South of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak: 1999-2000*

This report will cover work done during the fall of 1999 and the winter of 1999/2000. Charles C. Van Siclen III leads the expedition. The goals of the expedition are to locate the original site of the Edifice of Amenhotep II that was moved and re-erected in its present location by the pharaoh Horemhab; to determine the Edifice's original shape; and to finish the epigraphic work. We can now say that the original building of Amenhotep II formed three sides of a court that once stood to the south of the Eighth Pylon, a focal point for that king at Karnak. In addition to New Kingdom material, we have found occupation levels dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Roman/Byzantine Period.

The work this season is designed to further define the road in the center of the courtyard and the reason for its bend and to link up the west portico of the Edifice with a small pylon that once stood athwart the road.

D.L. MacLaughlan, UCLA: *Divine Therapy: The Late Period Apis Cult in Egypt*

Although the Apis bull was a cult figure in the earliest dynastic period, its popularity during the Late Period and Hellenistic times was profound; this is the point where ritual and cult observance attain a particularly notable florescence both in royal and public worship.

Was the bull cult taking on aspects of a purely Greek oracular tradition during this period, or is there a distinction to be made in the way the Apis cult provided a spiritually therapeutic outlet for the religious petitioner? If so, there may be more value in looking at the function of the Apis as a "*whmw*," a "repeater," whose more important function is to transmit or repeat a prayer from the petitioner to the greater pantheon of gods, rather than as a "*hr.tw*," an oracle proper to whom one looks for an absolute answer.

In the Apis cult, the essential focus may not have been on the resolution of the problem, but in its articulation and transmission to a

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divine authority. There are some possible parallels as well with Coptic traditions of hesychastic prayer.

These nuances of ritual expression, as well as Egyptian use of specific vocabulary to distinguish the concept of "oracle" from the titles associated with the living Apis, will be explored in this paper.

Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, UCLA: *Women and Property in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Egypt*

This paper first discusses the differences in the legal condition of women in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries. Particular emphasis will be placed on women as holders and executors of private property and as being central to agency in regards to the legal system during the eighteenth century, functions that they all but lost during the nineteenth. The second part of the paper will discuss in detail the socioeconomic reasons for the changes experienced by women during this period, drawing connections between changes in the legal system and the changing historical context.

Heather Lee McCarthy, New York University: *A Discussion of Cosmological Aspects of the Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*

The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II, like the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, can be envisaged as a condensed form of the Egyptian temple. It contains the fundamental architectural components of a standard god's temple and a decorative program that relates complex cosmological ideas about the relationship of god, pharaoh, and cosmos at different stages and in different parts of the temple.

This paper will focus upon the manner in which the architecture and decorative program of the Beit-el-Wali temple of Ramesses II express the temple's function as a microcosmos, and, in its cosmophanic aspect, as the dwelling of the god. In addition, the decorative program will be examined from the perspective of the two different "audiences" who used the temple: the "primary" audience, the divine being that was the focus of ritual attention; and the "secondary" audience, which consisted of the living audience who performed cultic rituals.

The perspectives of these two audiences appear to be made manifest in two distinct "routes" through the temple, which are suggested by its reliefs, statuary, and architecture. The outward route, which can

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be envisioned as that taken by the “primary” audience, suggests the emergence of the deity (as creator and solar god) and the unfolding and development of the cosmos. The inward route suggests a movement from the periphery of cosmos to the realm of the gods and from real, historical time to sacred, eternal time. Within both routes, the distribution of scenes on the walls of the temple is influenced by the geographic (and, in some cases, historical) dimension of the subjects depicted.

This interpretation of the Beit el-Wali temple is based upon the model proposed by R.B. Finnestad in *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconographical Values of the Temple at Edfu*. Although Finnestad’s study focuses upon a Ptolemaic temple, one contention of this paper is that the cosmological interpretation of the Edfu temple can be extrapolated and applied to earlier temples, including the Ramesside temple discussed here. The discussion of audience is based both upon Finnestad’s discussion of the Edfu temple and upon the work of David O’Connor.

In summary, the paper will examine the entirety of the decorative program and architecture of the Beit el-Wali temple and offer an interpretation of its cosmological value and how the different levels of meaning are made manifest for the different “audiences” who use the temple.

James McLane, McLane and Associates, and Raphael A.J. Wüst, University of British Columbia: *A First Step Toward Preserving the Tomb of Seti I, Valley of the Kings: Findings and Recommendations of a Geotechnical Evaluation*

Observations of deterioration of the tomb of Seti I (KV17) led to the closing of the tomb to tourism in 1991. ARCE initiated this project in 1998 in order to document the extent of deterioration and to understand the geotechnical conditions. Two processes of deterioration were observed, and their causes appear to be related. The painted plaster decorations show discoloration, cracking, and spalling. The tomb’s rock structure shows instability, in cracks that telegraph through the decorated surfaces, as well as fracturing of pillars, and rock fragments dropping from ceilings.

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Through their involvement in a broader study of the Valley of the Kings, the authors have identified flooding as one of the causes of deterioration of KV-17 (Valley of the Kings Tomb Flood Protection Project, ARCE Egyptian Antiquities Project, Valley of the Kings Project, Phase I; ARCE Subgrant No. 263-0000-G-3089-00). Another cause of deterioration, brought to light by this study, is fluctuation of internal humidity and temperature, which may have intensified since the tomb was opened by Belzoni in 1817.

The authors surveyed cracks and joints and compared the data to the photographs taken by Burton between 1921 and 1928. The decoration in the vaulted burial chamber (Chamber K) was found to have deteriorated severely since 1928.

Rock mechanic analyses revealed that the swell pressure capacity of the underlying Esna Shale might exceed the strength of the marls of Member I into which most of the tomb was cut. Abundant horizontal cracks in the lowermost chambers appear to have been caused by swelling and desiccation of the underlying shale in the period since 1928. Plaster surface repairs and mud brick wall reinforcements made in this century may have also contributed to the cracking. During a flash flood in November 1994 a small amount of water entered the tomb, most of which was caught in the shaft, but which could cause further long-term damage.

The specific objectives of the project were to:

1. Assess the structural stability of the tomb of Seti I in geological terms.
2. Examine the geotechnical behavior of the Esna Shale and lower part of Member I of the Thebes Formation.
3. Create an accurate geological map of the tomb interior and surrounding area.
4. Evaluate damage potential due to internal (desiccation of the rocks, tectonic) and external factors (flooding events, humidity fluctuation caused by visitors).
5. Provide preliminary concepts for a subsequent structural engineering study of how to repair or stabilize the tomb's rock structure, including:
 - a. Areas requiring repair of fractured walls or columns, swelling floors, or fractured ceilings. Special attention was paid to the

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vault in the burial chamber (Chamber K).

b. Areas requiring new structural supports or reinforcing elements.

c. Engineering design criteria, such as bearing capacity of marl and Esna Shale floors.

d. Description of a preliminary design concept for protecting the tomb from further deterioration that also accommodates tourism

This report provides technical data and recommendations that would support new preservation measures, including an integrated system of tomb preservation and exhibiting. The authors propose a transparent exhibition tunnel that would facilitate control of the tomb's internal climate and add support to the rock structure, while providing access to visitors.

Peter Mendez, Cal State Long Beach, and Jonathan Van Lepp, Jet Propulsion Laboratory/California Institute of Technology: *Between the Moon, Nile, Royal Cubit and Sothic Year*

According to Plutarch, the ancient Egyptians believed that the moon's phases controlled the inundation of the Nile. They also believed that they had received their numbers, knowledge and wisdom from the moon god Thoth. This has prompted an inquiry into the possible extent that the Egyptians may have applied practical information derived from lunar observations into their concepts of time and measurement.

By using the lunar cycle as the primary model, it was recognized that ratios between certain specific lunar days were the same ratios between the extremes and average of the Nile inundation. The symmetry found between the waxing and waning moon may have been translated into unit fractions found on the Royal Cubit. Thus, it appears that there are relationships between time intervals of natural events and units of measure employed by the ancient Egyptians.

Furthermore, this may have resulted in the ancient Egyptians formulating the use of specific days in the lunar cycle for determination of the 365 day Sothic year.

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Barbara Mendoza, UC Berkeley: *Heritage of the Egyptian Mummy Mask Tradition: Two Plaster Masks from the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

The annexation of Egypt into the Roman Empire in 30 BCE resulted in the adaptation and adoption of several aspects of ancient Egyptian culture, such as religion, art, and funerary practices. One example of the “fusion” of styles, rather than styles simply co-existing within the cosmopolitan culture, is the Roman mummy mask or plaster mask. This paper focuses on two unprovenanced plaster masks currently housed in the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. These masks are a part of the Museum’s rich yet unresearched Græco-Roman Egyptian collection. In my previous efforts to determine the tradition of the plaster mask, whether Greek, Roman, or Egyptian, or an amalgamation of the three, it became clear that the plaster mask was a unique type of object in its own right. Previous research by Günter Grimm (1974) has produced a valuable resource largely on provenanced Roman mummy masks from Egypt; however, information on the two masks from the Hearst Museum is virtually non-existent. Museum records list cursory information and a general date of the third century CE. Utilizing Grimm’s stylistic typology of plaster masks, contemporary Fayûm mummy portraits, Roman portrait busts, and style of jewelry, it is possible to determine more closely the period in which these plaster masks were manufactured than previously indicated by museum records. Furthermore, as Grimm’s stylistic typology is site-oriented, it may be possible to determine the region in which the two masks were produced.

The Hearst Museum plaster masks are interesting as a pair, since they appear to be closely related in method of manufacture, technique, and chronological date. The Roman mummy mask or plaster mask appears at the end of the Egyptian mummy mask tradition and provides evidence for the changing beliefs in burial practice in late antique Egypt as well as for the willingness of the Romans to consider another method for burial. Furthermore, the mask exemplifies the new Egypto-Roman tradition at its fullest: 1) Egyptian: the custom of covering the head of the deceased for burial to protect it, the coloring of the male and female flesh (red and yellow, respectively), and the outlining of the eyes in black; and, 2) Roman: the fashion of the time

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in hair, dress, and jewelry, and the tendency to render facial features in a more naturalistic fashion than previously attempted. Therefore, the two masks that will be discussed exemplify an amalgamation of and compromise between the two cultures concerning the burial practices of this period.

Teresa Moore, UC Berkeley: *Coptic Ostraca from Deir el-Ballas in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology*

In the spring and fall of 1900, the Hearst-Reisner expedition of the University of California excavated the site of Deir el-Ballas, across the Nile from Coptos. Best known of the finds are the remains of two mud-brick palaces dating to the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, when this strategically significant spot (located at the terminus of one route through the Western Desert and close to the gold mines, quarries, and Red Sea trade accessible through the Wadi Hammamat) apparently served as a military command center for Theban campaigns against the Hyksos. After the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, however, there is little sign of occupation at Deir el-Ballas until it was settled in Roman and Byzantine times, as witnessed by evidence from the site of the North Palace: the remains of houses and three Christian chapels, Roman and Coptic pottery, Byzantine coins, fragments of a decorated leather book, and a number of Coptic burials.

Among the finds recorded by F.W. Green in his field notes are Coptic ostraca originating from two findspots on the northern kôm. The ceramic ostraca, some sixty-five in number, now form part of the Egyptian collection of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology. This paper will present the results of a preliminary study of these hitherto neglected documents.

Doha M. Mostafa, Helwan University: *Remarks on the Architectural Development in the Necropolis of Deir el-Medinah*

After a study based on examining each of the fifty-four decorated tombs of Deir el-Medinah listed in Porter-Moss, it is evident that only a small number of them belong to the Eighteenth dynasty (before Akhenaton) and the majority belong to the Ramesside period. After studying also the history of the site and the distribution of the tombs of each dynasty on it, it will be possible to point out that a

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certain number of factors, both religious and social, affected the situation occupied by each tomb and its architectural development. We shall also be able to draw some conclusions concerning the orientation of the tombs, their method of construction and the building materials that were used.

Renate Mueller-Wollermann, University of Thbingen: *The Use of Coins in Late Period Egypt*

It is a well known fact that Egypt had no common coined money before the Ptolemaic period. Since the sixth century BCE, however, Greek coins came into the country in the course of trade relations. Therefore, the question arises how a society without its own coined money deals with foreign coins.

Apart from individual finds, Greek coins are mainly known from coin hoards. These were found throughout the Delta with the exception of hoards in Beni Hasan and Asyut. The circumstances under which they were found are often unknown, but some were discovered during systematic excavations. In these cases, coin hoards were found, for example, in the temple enclosure of Prah in Memphis, or in a craftsmen's quarter in Naucratis. Former Egyptologists considered these hoards as hoards of silversmiths, but numismatists rejected this idea, referring to lumps of silver found together with these coins and quoting comparable hoards outside Egypt. They, instead, interpreted these hoards as privately owned treasures. The circumstances of their discoveries do, however, point to hoards of metalworkers. Houses of better-off people, in general, did not contain any treasures. In Pharaonic times, Greek coins were not considered as prestige objects, nor as a measure of value, nor as a medium of exchange. Only the silver itself was seen as useful, so that coins were hacked and smelted. The merit of coined money was not recognized.

So, the question arises why this was not the case. The answer may be found in the circumstances under which the Greeks invented coins. The Greek city states had a lot of foreign contacts among themselves, contacts relating not only to trade. Official coins offered a guarantee for the quality of the exchanged silver pieces. Egypt, however, had comparably few contacts with its neighbors so that a widely recognized currency was superfluous.

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Kerry Muhlestein, UCLA: *Asiatic Influence in Egypt: Finding the Footprint of Foreign Intellectual Influence in the Middle Kingdom*

A careful analysis of the evidence reveals that there was much opportunity for an international cultural exchange during Egypt's Middle Kingdom. There is archaeological, monumental and textual evidence for an Egyptian presence in the Levant. Likewise, there is a substantial amount of evidence pointing to an Asiatic presence in Egypt. This presentation will illustrate the many opportunities that Egypt and her Levantine neighbors had for a cultural flow. We can see that there was opportunity for an intellectual exchange, but it is a much more difficult thing to establish that it actually took place. The last part of the presentation will amplify a subsection of a paper I have written which was recently accepted for publication in *Lingua Aegyptia*. It will be demonstrated that there are clear marks of a foreign influence in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. Primarily we can see un-Egyptian elements of repetition, imaginary settings, and personal piety. These common Levantine patterns showed up in Egyptian literature hundreds of years later, but were unheard of during the Middle Kingdom. It leaves us with the impression that at least some of the Egyptian elite were influenced by Levantine culture. In this way the Shipwrecked Sailor gives us even more insight into the Middle Kingdom relations between Egypt and her neighbors.

Using Corel Presentations, I have put together a computer show which moves the audience through the presentation in a logical manner, helping them to both see the textual points and providing visual pictures of some of the images being spoken of.

Gregory Mumford, UCLA: *Investigating a 'Dark Age' in Egypt's Delta: Archaeological work in the Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period (ca.2200-2040 BCE) at Tell er-Ru'ba (Mendes) and Tell Tebilla.*

Our knowledge of the First Intermediate Period (FIP) is based largely upon variously excavated and published burials, inscriptions, some cultic installations, and small portions of settlements in Upper Egypt (e.g., Elephantine, Abydos, Karnak, Gebel Djehuty, Dakhleh Oasis, Ashmunein, and Saqqara), but still requires much work to understand this enigmatic period of transition between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In contrast, far less is known of this period in Egypt's

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delta—an area to which a few texts (e.g., Admonitions of Ipuwer; Prophecies of Neferti; the Instruction for Merikare) ascribe Asiatic incursions. Although some late FIP remains are now appearing at such delta sites as Tell Ibrahim Awad and Tell ed-Daba, it is with a view to clarifying this often neglected period and region that work is under way on FIP settlement and mortuary contexts at Mendes (under the directorship of D.B. Redford) and a newly established project at Tell Tebilla (directed by this writer). These investigations aim to clarify (1) the relative and “absolute” (C14) date sequence of stratified pottery types, (2) East Delta (i.e., Mendesian) settlement patterns, (3) material cultural relations between Tebilla, Mendes, and sites in the Delta, Nile Valley, and outside Egypt; and (4) other aspects of Egyptian life and death during this time. Prior to initiating the Tebilla Project, this writer began a postdoctoral study at Mendes (directed by Redford), excavating a two-period FIP structure (Area HF) and a mortuary and occupation area (ALK-M) with thirty-two layers spanning the late Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom.

For example, excavation in Area HF revealed part of a street and two rooms in a large, well-preserved structure. The structure has a lower floor covered by a layer of ash and soot, broken pottery, and other artefacts (the east room contains a hearth and soot-coated wall in one corner). A second occupation phase is attested by a new floor laid 25 cm. above the lower surface and adjacent to red burn stained walls and the soot-coated corner (above the hearth). The exterior street was narrowed by the addition of a wall against the structure’s northern, red-burnt wall face. A second destruction period is apparent through ash deposits, burn stains, and a pottery scatter upon and above the floor (i.e., vessels from shelves or an upper floor). The west room yields a stairway with a landing and blocked-up doorway against the south wall; the east room has a doorway in the south wall and a niche with pottery in the east wall. The mudbrick wall collapse debris in the rooms and street contains matting fragments, soot-coated broken vessels, numerous flints, some grinding stones, pounders, clay jar seals, faience beads, and other items. The pottery forms date to the FIP (C14: 2350-2025 BCE and 2205-1880 BCE). Although the destructions of the building may represent isolated accidental or natural fires at Mendes, they also span the periods of “Asiatic incursions” (unveri-

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fied), Herakleopolitan expansion into the delta (ca. 2200-2100? BCE), and Mentuhotep II's reunification of Egypt (ca. 2040 BCE) during the early and late FIP.

Jessica Nager, UC Berkeley: *Ancient Writers, Ethnicity and Modern Scholarship: What the Literary Sources Really Say about Greeks and Egyptians in Hellenistic Egypt*

For the student or educated layman who wishes to initiate a study of the history of Egypt under the Ptolemies, whether on its own or in the greater context of the Hellenistic world, the corpus of easily accessible literature on the subject is rather restricted. And if he or she wishes to read the ancient testimonia of this period, he or she is restricted (unless a member of the small group of demoticists and papyrologists), with some exception, to the literary sources of the Greeks and the Romans, particularly the Greeks. It follows that many of the historical accounts written about this period in the modern era are heavily reliant on these literary sources, often much more so than on the documentary evidence.

One of the big questions about this period in Egyptian history, and one which has been in vogue in recent times, is that of the relationship between the indigenous Egyptians and the newly arrived Greeks. The older view, which is commonly known, asserted a decline in Egyptian culture and an assimilation into Greek culture, and placed the blame for the decline of Greek culture on the influence of a supposedly degenerate Egyptian culture, among other things. There are several reasons for this perception; one that is commonly put forth is the testimonia of the literary (Greek) writers. Despite the huge advances in our understanding of the complex relationship among the Egyptians, Greeks and other ethnic groups occupying Egypt at this time, this older view still continues to appear sometimes in modern literature on Egypt and the Hellenistic world. Given that there is no new, up-to-date history of Ptolemaic Egypt which considers all the evidence together (literary and non-literary) in answering the question above, and given the prominence that these writers have had in works dealing with Egypt in the Hellenistic period and continue to have in the modern understanding of Hellenistic Egypt, it would be useful to reexamine the ancient literary testimonia with an eye to ex-

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actly how they represent the Egyptians in this period to see what, if anything, we can objectively say about the relationship between Greeks and Egyptians. Given the limits of time, I will limit my inquiry to a few passages in Polybius and Diodorus, the two writers probably most important for the reconstruction of the history of this period, to see what they mean when they say "Egyptian," and what this can tell us compared with interpretations made in the past.

Francis W. Niedenfuhr, ARCE Washington D.C.: *Preservation of the Body: Sterilization and Dessication*

To better understand the physical processes of mummification, strips of flesh have been experimentally embalmed by desiccation in granular materials and by treatment with anti-bacterial media. The relative efficacy of these modes of preservation are assessed. Of the three ways of embalming which were described by Herodotous, the first and most expensive has been relatively well studied, but the second and third ways have seen little experimentation. This study illuminates the less and least costly methods.

David O'Connor, New York University: *Context, Function and Program; Understanding Ceremonial Slate Palettes*

The ceremonial slate palettes of late prehistoric Egypt have excited much discussion, but also many different interpretations as to the subject matter and meaning of the reliefs decorating these palettes. To resolve these differences is probably impossible, since none can be confirmed by other contemporary data. However, in this paper I suggest that careful attention to the contexts (temple) and function (preparing cosmetic for application to divine images) of these palettes provides a new perspective on the subject matter of the reliefs, and indicates that to a significant degree the motifs chosen were arbitrary, and related more to the palette's function, and less to its role as a conveyor of information.

Sara E. Orel, Truman State University: *Only Part of the Story: A Reexamination of the Egyptian Excavations at Kom el-Hisn, 1943-1952*

This paper will review the Egyptian excavations at Kom el-Hisn in the Delta between 1943 and 1952. The first four seasons were

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published as preliminary reports in the *ASAE*, but the last three (in 1948, 1949, and 1952) remain unpublished. Headed by A. Hamada, the excavation focused on tombs the excavators suggested came from the Second Intermediate Period or later, although the material found indicates that the excavations included a large First Intermediate cemetery as well, as noted by G. Brunton. The number of graves (at least 1220 of seven types, classified according to architectural form), the richness of the finds, and the position of the site as the capital of the westernmost nome of Egypt from the New Kingdom onwards makes this an important cache of information.

As the field notes and letters associated with the excavation are not available, the only information for the further analysis of this cemetery comes from the published articles and the records of objects deposited in the Egyptian Museum after each season. The *Catalogue Général* includes illustrations and short descriptions of objects from 286 tombs from all seven seasons. The objects include pottery, beads, scarabs and other amulets and jewelry, mirrors, weapons, and tools of stone, ivory, bone, and metal. This discussion of the fieldwork at Kom el-Hisn in the 1940s and 50s will include a review of the excavation procedures, discussion of the dating, and examination of the architecture of the tombs. There will be a presentation on a variety of possible approaches to the material from partially-recorded excavations and/or problematically-available field records, some of which will be used in the analysis of the cemetery at Kom el-Hisn.

Sarah Parcak, Yale University: *The Old Kingdom Empire?*

The idea of “empire” has caused a great deal of debate among scholars of both the modern and ancient worlds, due in part to a dearth of properly excavated material, in part to differing historical interpretations of empire. Whether or not the Old Kingdom was an empire has long been the subject of debate, and it is necessary to incorporate the debate over the meaning of empire and Egyptological evidence. By examining imperial theorists such as John Hobson, Wolfgang Mommsen, Joseph Schumpeter and Eric Hobsbawn, and the models that help to explain their theories, it becomes possible to provide a consistent definition of “empire.” When modern imperial studies are

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incorporated along with a thorough analysis of archaeological and historical evidence, it is possible to view the Old Kingdom as an empire.

The goal of this paper is to provide a comparative framework in which to understand the Old Kingdom as an empire. While Hobson felt that imperialism was the product of a capitalistic society, Hobsbawn claims that he did not prove that capitalist interest manipulated public interest. Hobsbawn saw the ancient world as a type of commercial capitalism. Mommsen proposed that in the ancient world specific cultures, in order to grow, had to expand to virgin territories. Others have viewed imperialism as a search for markets, and more specifically, natural resources. Basic models for empire suggest that political states have needed certain natural resources and were driven to expand into the areas which contained them. They then co-opted the native population and used military force, when necessary, to control it.

During the Old Kingdom, there was an increasing need for natural resources, caused by the importance of pyramid complexes and numerous other building projects that required them; and also by an increase in demand by the populace for statues, furniture, jewelry and innumerable day-to-day objects. Copper was rare in Egypt, so the Egyptians turned to the Sinai for copper; they also turned to Nubia for gold and other natural resources. According to the archaeological evidence, they co-opted the natives in the Sinai to mine copper and sent many military expeditions there to pacify the natives, similar to modern-day imperial models. An evolution of the Egyptian Old Kingdom into an empire can be seen, as time passed and the need for natural resources grew. Caravans sent to the Sinai on mining expeditions were accompanied by an army. They appeased the leaders of the natives with gifts and titles, again quite similar to modern models.

This paper will expand upon the ideas presented here, and give a comprehensive evaluation of theorists' definitions of "empire." An outline of preliminary developmental Old Kingdom "empire evolution" will be discussed, along with how Old Kingdom historical and archaeological evidence meets the criteria set forth by modern imperial theorists.

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Birger A. Pearson, UC Santa Barbara: *The Coptic Inscriptions in the Old Church of St. Antony*

One of the projects of the Antiquities Development Project (ADP) of the ARCE is the restoration of the beautiful wall paintings in the Old Church at the Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert, near the Red Sea. This project has been carried out by a team of restorers from Italy. The results will appear in a forthcoming book to be published by Yale University Press, edited by Elizabeth S. Bolman. The paintings date from the thirteenth century CE, and are accompanied by Coptic inscriptions in the Bohairic dialect. The inscriptions, keyed to the paintings in the various sections of the church (Nave, *Khurus*, Sanctuary, *Deesis* Chapel, and Annex) will be published in a lengthy chapter in the forthcoming book, and will include the Coptic texts, English translations, and commentary. The inscriptions are of several different kinds: inscriptions accompanying and identifying the figures portrayed in the paintings; inscriptions describing or commenting on aspects of narratives portrayed in the paintings or aspects of the figures' stories; inscriptions with biblical and/or liturgical texts; donor inscriptions; and "signature" inscriptions. Examples will be discussed in this paper. Of special interest are the donor and "signature" inscriptions. The donor or dedicatory inscriptions commemorate the persons who contributed to the cost of the paintings (N31.2; K4.1; S1.14; S33-36.2), and follow a pattern established at other monastic sites in Egypt. Two of them supply a date: A.M. 949 (=1232/33 CE). In the "signature" inscriptions (N35.3; S38.7) the master painter identifies himself: Theodore, "son" (disciple) of Abba Gabriel, bishop of Petpeh (Aphroditopolis). The inscriptions express the painter's humility and piety in terms that are typical of such inscriptions elsewhere in Egypt, and in the Byzantine world in general. The recent restoration work has revealed traces of an earlier set of paintings in the church, perhaps as early as the sixth century CE. Paintings of Christ and the Apostles in the arch at the entrance of the Chapel include traces of inscriptions identifying Christ and three of the apostles.

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Mark Pettigrew, UC Berkeley: *Imagining Egypt's Past: Constructions of Ancient Egypt in a Medieval Treasure-Hunting Manual*

The anonymous *Kitab al-durr al-maknuz* (The Book of Hidden Pearls) is the most famous representative of a genre of treasure-hunting manuals that flourished in medieval Egypt. This work has received considerable interest from Egyptologists, who have seen in it a source of inspiration for countless would-be vandals and tomb-robbers. The many "recipes" for success offered by the book, however, provide little practical advice for unearthing real treasures. Rather, *The Book of Pearls* represents a form of popular speculation about the past that mirrors that of higher literary genres.

The Book of Pearls is surrounded by mystery. The identity of its author and date of its composition are unknown (although similar works were certainly in wide circulation by the thirteenth century CE). Its relation to the actual enterprise of treasure-hunting is also unclear. Elite authors, such as Ibn Khaldun, 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jawbari, would have us believe that the actual *matalibun*, or treasure-hunters, of the Middle Ages were either deluded fools or con-men. Al-Jawbari describes invented treasure-hunting directions used to trick the gullible in his own time, the form of which closely resembles the directions in *The Book of Pearls*. On the other hand, not all treasure-hunting was the result of swindling: the Caliph Ma'mun himself forced an entryway into the great pyramid, and there is evidence that the leaders of the *mutalibun* were sought out by legitimate scholars (such as Abu Ja'far al-Idrisi) for precise information on ancient monuments. It is difficult to determine, then, what purpose *The Book of Buried Pearls* was intended to serve. Was it a list of potential con-game opportunities? Was it a compilation of folk-traditions, a sort of treasure-hunter's "wish list?"

What is clear is that the construction of the ancient past presented in *The Book of Pearls* has much in common with literary genres ranging from history and geography to anthologies of marvels and compilations of folk-tales (like *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah*). All of these works employ a 'discourse of wonders' when dealing with the ancient peoples of the Near East. According to this construction, it is technical superiority (both magical and technological) that distinguishes past civilizations. Unlike the Hellenistic conception of wonders in antiq-

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uity, the medieval Arab discourse on ancient wonders did not stress their artistic merit, but rather their practical applications. The tombs of the ancients were storehouses for magical talismans, weapons that never rust, books of hermetic lore, and so on. The ancient temples were described as great alchemical laboratories, with the secrets of transmutation inscribed on their walls. In a sense, *The Book of Buried Pearls* represents the furthest logical extension of this discourse: exact instructions on gaining access to the wondrous treasures of the past. On the other hand, if *The Book of Pearls* can be placed in the larger context of this discourse, it is also distinct from it in some ways. What is most interesting about the work is its selective assimilation of themes and motifs from the high literary discourse.

David Pinault, Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum/Santa Clara University: *The Amarna Age at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum*

This talk traces the history of the development of the Amarna gallery at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum in San Jose. I will begin with a brief discussion of the interest in ancient Egypt shown by the Rosicrucian Order (also known as the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis, AMORC). Particular attention will be given to AMORC's understanding of pharaoh Akhenaten and Atenist theology.

This interest led AMORC to sponsor excavations at Amarna by the Egyptian Exploration Society after World War One. I will outline AMORC's relationship with the EES from this period and describe the artifacts on display in the Museum's Amarna gallery that were donated by the EES from its excavations in 1921-1922. For this part of the talk I will make use of correspondence between the EES and AMORC dating from the 1920s and 1930s. I found this material when doing research in the EES archives in London in 1998. Additionally, as acting curator of the Rosicrucian Museum, I have been given access to AMORC's files pertaining to Amarna and the EES excavations there.

Following this will be a description of the further development of the Rosicrucian Museum's Amarna gallery, focusing on some of our more remarkable acquisitions, including a limestone torso of Akhenaten inscribed with cartouches and a faience ring, bearing the throne-name of Tutankhamen, that was formerly in

the private collection of Howard Carter.

The talk will conclude with an overview of future projects to be undertaken by the Museum.

Noha M. Radwan, UC Berkeley: *When Sexuality Translates into the Non-Sexual: A Reading of "Ayyam al-Insan al-Sab'ah"*

Hardly a new theme to Arabic literature, sexuality, as well as the social norms regulating it, has been amply represented in both poetry and prose. The modern novel is no exception. Although it is difficult to assign any one function to the representation of any subject in a literary work, I would argue that the representation of sexuality in Arabic fiction underwent a significant change at the hands of the writers of the sixties, who infused it with political significance.

Prior to the writings of the sixties, the representation of sexuality in fiction was either omitted or confined to the subtlest of references, as in the works of the romantics, or it was included as part and parcel of reality, in the realist novel. Novelists also included representations of sexual desire and behavior in order to represent some related social problems. With the writers of the sixties, and perhaps due to a multiplicity of influences including Marxist as well as Freudian theories, the representation of sexuality in the novel took on new significance as it became embedded in the representation of the power structure in the society.

The first part of this paper will be a preliminary investigation into this development in the Arabic novel. The second part will be a reading of 'Abd al-Hakim Qasim's *Ayyam al-insan al-sab'ah* to illustrate how the 'sexual' scenes provide a key to the interpretation of the novel as a whole, an interpretation which incorporates both social and political as well as personal dimensions.

Jean Revez, Université du Québec à Montréal: *The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty «King's Brothers» (snw nsu).*

The king's brothers play a predominant role in the transmission of power during the Twenty-fifth dynasty and the Napatan period. As a stark contrast to their like from earlier classical pharaonic times, king's brothers are granted the title *sn nsu*; they are mentioned in monumental stelae and they generally appear in an unvarying *Sitz im*

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Leben. These facts illustrate how far king's brothers have gone in becoming part of the royal institution and ideology.

The aim of my paper is to examine the position of «king's brothers» as heirs apparent to the crown during the Twenty-fifth dynasty and the Napatán period, and to analyze the reasons why the title *snw nsw* only appears regularly then. Earlier case studies of king's brothers will be looked into in order to approach this question in a comparative perspective.

Janet E. Richards, University of Michigan/Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: *The Abydos Middle Cemetery Project, 1999*

From September to December 1999, a team sponsored by the University of Michigan and the Pennsylvania-Yale-New York University Expedition conducted excavations in the Middle Cemetery at Abydos. The work focused on the area of Mariette's "necropole du centre," the source of inscriptions for several important late Old Kingdom officials, including that of the Governor of Upper Egypt, Weni the Elder. During the season, both elite and non-elite activity was documented from the late Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period, including two very large mastaba complexes, subsidiary mastabas and shaft graves, and surface burials. One of the large mastaba complexes can now be identified as the tomb of Weni the Elder, based upon new inscriptions recovered from that context.

Also documented was a previously unsuspected period of Middle Kingdom votive activity, and widespread, non-intrusive re-use of the cemetery in the Late Period, implying the persistence of a tradition of respect for the original occupants of the cemetery. Finally, the archaeological remains of the Ptolemaic-Roman and Coptic periods in the cemetery demonstrate the end of that tradition, overlying the remains of all preceding periods. The results of this season have allowed us not only to study these diachronic use patterns in the Abydos cemeteries, but also to begin building a more coherent picture of the character and importance of the Middle Cemetery during the late Old Kingdom.

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Robert K. Ritner, University of Chicago: *A Healing Stela of Bes Pantheos in the Brooklyn Museum*

Unpublished Brooklyn Museum Stela 37.229 preserves an elaborate depiction of the composite deity with multiple heads, arms, and wings traditionally designated "Bes Pantheos." Purchased from a Cairo dealer, the anepigraphic stela measures 79.3 cm in height, 60.5 cm in width, and 12.5 cm in depth, and is divided into two unequal registers, with an opening cut from the middle of the lower register to form a shallow arch. On the dividing baseline, a large striding figure of Bes with four arms and as many wings sprouts a series of animal heads from his palm crown. Flanked by images of Thoth as baboon and ibis, the pantheos stands above a series of hostile images (threatening animals and bound prisoners) that he dominates both visually and magically. The relief is Hellenistic in date and related to the popular cippus or "Horus on the Crocodile" amulets, which confer protection by ritually charged water. The opening carved at the base of the relief suggests that the stela was installed above a water channel, probably as a public benefaction.

Gay Robins, Emory University: *Reexamining the Phenomenon of the Husband's Absence from his Wife's Monuments.*

It has recently been suggested by Ann Roth (*JARCE* 36, 1999, 45-52) that there was a taboo in force from the Fourth to the Twenty-sixth dynasty, by which a husband would be omitted from the funerary monuments of his wife in order to avoid "an unnecessary and potentially confusing reference to his wife's earthly sexual role." This was necessary because "[w]omen...when they died...became Osiris, and thus took on an active male sexual role in begetting their own rebirth." This hypothesis, however, needs to be reexamined to see if there really was a single taboo, lasting nearly two thousand years, that required the absence of the husband from his wife's funerary monuments.

There is evidence from the Old Kingdom that husbands were not always absent from their wives' monuments, so that, if there was a taboo, it was not rigorously applied. The context in which the husband is most conspicuously absent is in the tomb complexes of king's wives. This may be due to the restricted contexts in which the king

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could be depicted and named in the Old Kingdom, so that the husband's absence here would stem from a different cause than his absence from the non-royal monuments of elite women.

In the New Kingdom, in addition to a small number of funerary stelae, in which a woman takes the principal compositional place and her husband is absent, there are votive stelae, which show a woman in the primary place, without her husband, even when she is accompanied by her children. Since votive stelae are not funerary monuments, the husband's absence cannot be explained by the needs of rebirth.

From the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, one cannot rule out the possibility that, in some examples, funerary or votive, where there is no husband, the absence may have been because the woman was unmarried or divorced and did not have a husband.

Changes in burial practices at the end of the New Kingdom caused changes in the design of funerary stelae. It was now most usual for stelae to have only one person, male or female, shown on them, and it was no longer uncommon for women to own funerary stelae. Since wives were not shown on their husbands' stelae, the fact that husbands were not depicted on their wives' stelae would seem unlikely to have had the same significance that it did in earlier periods. Similarly, if the tomb decoration of both men and women who served the god's wife during the Late Period generally omitted the owner's spouse, can we be sure that the omission of the husband was for the same reason as his omission on earlier monuments?

In this paper I present evidence to suggest that there was no overarching taboo in place for 2000 years that demanded the absence of the husband from his wife's funerary monuments and that the phenomenon of the absent husband should not be treated as arising from a single cause.

Russell D. Rothe, University of Minnesota, Duluth: *Using GIS to Examine Spatial Distribution of Inscriptions from the Southern Eastern Desert*

The University of Minnesota Egyptian Eastern Desert Expedition (UMEEDE) has been working in the southern Eastern Desert for eight years. During that period we have walked thousands of kilometers of wadis, discovered ancient mines and settlements, found evi-

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dence of pharaonic exploitation of ancient tin resources, and discovered over 200 previously unrecorded inscriptions. In addition, using accounts of previous travelers, we have relocated, photographed, and recorded GPS positions on an additional 100 inscriptions. All this took place in an area bounded by the Nile and the Red Sea on the west and east, and by 24 N and 26 N on the north and south, or about 40,000 square kilometers.

While none of the inscriptions say much in themselves, together they can tell us much about pharaonic activity in this little known part of Egypt. The UMEEDE has been using Global Positioning System (GPS) and Geographical Information System (GIS) technology to examine spatial distribution of the inscriptions during different time periods and how that distribution changed over time.

When inscriptions were found, we photographed them and took a GPS position. After translating them we built a database which included the location, name, title, and approximate date for each inscription. Using AutoCAD, we built a detailed map of our project area. Finally we used an ArcView GIS program to connect spatial and attribute data.

With the coverage built we began forming queries, i.e. asking the computer to display the data in different combinations. Many of the queries tended to confirm our hypotheses. Some of the queries, however, produced unexpected results. We had expected to see the area covered by the inscriptions expand through time as the ancient travelers went farther and farther afield. There is no evidence in our research to support that hypothesis. This tends to suggest that the time during which the exploration and expansion took place was the predynastic period. We were aware that Qena and Edfu/Elkab were important jumping off points for the southern Eastern Desert. What we didn't realize was that during the New Kingdom Kom Ombo played an increasingly important role in the exploitation of the Eastern Desert. This has in turn led us to hypothesize that easy access to the Eastern desert played a major role in the siting of important towns in southern Upper Egypt and that in fact many of the towns may have sprung up where they did because the location offered such access. Evidence for these and other hypotheses is presented in this paper.

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Carolyn Routledge, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey
Ritualization and Identity in Egyptian Imperial Strategies

Ritualization is understood to be an important social strategy in maintaining and propagating both social stratification and cultural identity. In particular, activities such as religious rites, public festivals, social conventions, and royal ceremonial have been linked to self and group identification. This paper will examine the ancient Egyptian use of ritualization in foreign settings during the Middle and New Kingdoms and evaluate the significance of this practice.

First, the ancient Egyptian concern with the fragility of identity and the consequences of losing that identity will be examined. In particular, the evidence for an ancient Egyptian fear of “going native” will be reviewed with specific reference to Papyrus Anastasi I and the Story of Sinuhe. Second, the evidence for how Sinuhe maintained his Egyptian identity while living in Canaan will be surveyed. Particular attention will be given to the role of ritualization in Sinuhe’s behaviour in Canaan and in his treatment upon his return to Egypt. From this study conclusions will be drawn as to the nature of ancient Egyptian thought concerning Egyptian cultural identity and on the types of ritualization that Egyptians believed contributed to that identity. Finally, Egyptian settlements in foreign territory will be examined briefly to consider the evidence for the role of ritualization in official activity. In particular, the role of the temple in foreign settings will be considered.

Donald P. Ryan, Pacific Lutheran University: *Tomb KV 21 Revisited.*

KV 21 was one of several undecorated tombs examined by the Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Project. This paper will present some new data and insights regarding this very interesting tomb, including information about the tomb’s ancient and modern history, its architecture, pottery and other objects, and the two mummies found within.

Heidi Saleh, UC Berkeley: *Products of an International Age: An Overview of the Relationships between Aegean and Egyptian Paintings in the Late Bronze Age*

Egyptian and Aegean paintings thrived in the so-called “International Age” of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600-1200 BCE), a time of

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steady contact between Egypt and the Aegean. In examining the relationships between Egyptian and Aegean paintings, it is best not to be solely concerned with the source of origin of a particular artistic feature. An origin-based approach does not add much to the holistic understanding of the types of relationships that existed between Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age. Instead, it tends to assign inaccurately a superior cultural status to the culture which is thought to have been the source of origin for a certain style, technique, or motif. Rather than pursue this origin-based approach, the methodology of this work focuses on the similarities found between Aegean and Egyptian paintings and on the creation and development of the "International Repertoire." The use of the term "International Repertoire" is preferred over the term "International Style," due to the wide range of meanings attributed to the word "style."

The overall Egyptian and Aegean styles are distinct because the iconography or meaning of their paintings are not always alike, and the techniques used in their production vary. Putting these general differences aside, though, one cannot deny that Egyptian and Aegean paintings at this time depict similar motifs. Because meaning is not specifically assigned to a particular motif, motifs can be easily transferred from one culture to another. Each culture can adopt a motif to suit its needs. Since a vast range of motifs is commonly found between Egypt and the Aegean, certain motifs were ranked into three main categories, ranging from the most general to the highly specific. The first category of rather general motifs depicts ordinary subject matter of universal interest and represents cultural features that proliferated all over the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. The second category includes motifs that appeared very similar in content, but perhaps did not have the exact same meaning or function in both cultures. Finally, the third category consists of highly specialized motifs that suggest direct contact between Egypt and the Aegean.

Thus, this work attempts to show that it is highly probable that people of different cultures viewed certain events or subjects in the same cosmopolitan way at this time. Nevertheless, each culture's commitment to its own style prevented the art of the Late Bronze Age from becoming a homogenous art that looked the same in all regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. Egyptian and Aegean paintings have

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several motifs in common, but a motif is just one element of style. Since they usually did not use the same techniques, and since these motifs did not necessarily hold the same meaning in each separate culture, their paintings do not exhibit the same style. Consequently, it is more correct to describe Egyptian and Aegean paintings from the Late Bronze Age as works that have an “International Repertoire” of motifs in common rather than paintings that depict an “International Style.”

Ahmed Ali Salem, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: “Islam and the Bases of Governance”: Review and reflection of an Intellectual Debate

‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq’s *Islam and the Bases of Governance* is one of the most debated works in twentieth century Egypt. Although, as judged by the author’s peers, the book is not a well-established scholarly work, the authority of its author and the sensitiveness of the time and place of its publication place it at the focus of an intellectual and political controversy.

Shaykh ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq argues first that Prophet Muhammad had no political or executive career. His only career was strictly spiritual—that is to propagate Islam. He argues second that the institution of the caliphate was not Islamic-authentic. In other words, the caliphate was not an Islamic model of governance simply because there is no Islamic model of governance.

Eager to defend the long-established tradition of Muslim political thought, several al-Azhar scholars, particularly those who were involved in this affair, criticized the book and addressed the issues and doubts it raised. In this essay three of these responses (namely, Muhammad Bakhit al-Muti’i’s *Haqiqat al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm* [*The Truth about Islam and the Bases of Governance*], Muhammad al-Khidr Husayn’s *Naqd kitab al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* [*A Critique of the Book “Islam and the Fundamentals of Governance”*], and Yusuf al-Dijwi’s *Al-Rad ‘ala kitab al-Shaykh ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq “al-Islam wa usul al-hukm”* [*A Response to ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq’s “Islam and the Bases of Governance”*]) will be reviewed. However, the essay will not dig deeply into their theological or legal critiques of the book.

Three later responses (namely, Muhammad ‘Imarah’s *Ma’rakat al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* [*The Battle of “Islam and the Bases of Gover-*

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nance”), Muhsin Muhammad’s *Usul al-hukm: tarikh Misr bil-watha’iq al-Biritaniyyah wa al-Amrikiyyah* [*The Bases of Governance: Egypt’s History in British and American Documents*], and Muhammad Diya’ al-Din al-Rayyis’ *al-Islam wa al-khilafah fi al-‘asr al-hadith: naqd kitab al-Islam wa usul al-hukm lil-Shaykh ‘Ali ‘Abdur al-Raziq* [*Islam and Caliphate in the Modern Era: A Critique of ‘Ali ‘Abdur al-Raziq’s “Islam and the Bases of Governance”*]), predominantly focusing on the political aspects of this issue, will also be discussed, with the latter a main focus of the essay. But we shall first explore the main arguments and contents of ‘Abd al-Raziq’s debatable book.

G.M. Sanchez, University of South Dakota School of Medicine, and T.L. Siuda, Oriental Institute: *A Case of Mistaken Identity—Ebers Papyrus Case 873: The First Known Description of von Recklinghausen’s Disease*

The Ebers Medical Papyrus dates to at least 1550 BCE. Case 873 has been previously accepted as referring to multiple tumors of blood vessel origin, located in a limb. Significant discrepancies among existing translations, however, prompted the authors to return to the hieroglyphic source of this papyrus in Wreszinski’s “Der Papyrus Ebers.” Transliteration and translation of the first six lines of this case reveal characteristics about these tumors which lead us to believe that they are of neurogenic rather than of vascular origin. If this is so, case 873 of the Ebers Papyrus represents the earliest known description of von Recklinghausen’s disease, also known as Neurofibromatosis 1.

John A. Seeger, Northern Arizona University: *The 1999 Field Season at Marsa Nakari*

Marsa Nakari is located on the coast of the Red Sea about 70 km south of Quseir. It is the site of an ancient port city which may be Nechesia recorded in *The Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy. The ruins of the city are on a low bluff next to the sea. Outlines of walls and other structures can be seen on the surface.

During the first season of field work at Marsa Nakari, the area was mapped and two trenches were excavated. The trenches were dug near the end of the bluff next to the sea. Two massive wall structures were found in one of the trenches. The stone blocks used in the wall

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were evidently from earlier structures. Part of a large stone platform or podium was cleared in the other trench. This may have been the base of a temple or public building. Parallel to this structure was part of a wall with a doorway. Near the trenches is a partially exposed ashlar gateway that led to the harbor area.

In excavating the trenches, a number of finds were made. Most of these were pottery sherds from the Roman period. There were numerous amphora fragments. A number of pottery lamp fragments can be dated from the first century CE to the fourth century CE. Identifiable Roman coins are also from this period, ranging from Vespasian to Constantius II. Other finds included the rim of a bronze bowl, part of a lamp stand, numerous bronze and iron nails, and a variety of glass and stone beads. Glass fragments included parts of rims and bases which made it possible to identify certain vessel types.

The finds of the first season indicate that the port at Marsa Nakari was active during the Roman period. Future work may reveal earlier and later occupations. It is hoped that it will be possible to identify the city, which appears to have been an important port and trade center.

Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, American University in Cairo: *Some Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun and Osorkon of Teudjoi*

The Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun Shaamunemes and Meresamunet and the latter's father Osorkon of Teudjoi, all named on the sarcophagus CG 41035, have recently been the focus of several discussions about the genealogy and chronology of the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (Aston and Taylor 1990; Elias 1995; Ritner 1998, 1999; Graefe 1998; Teeter 1999). It has been argued BOTH that the two chantresses named on CG 41035 plus the two (Tentmin and Tafabart) named on Abydos stela 1281 (JE 21797) are adoptive mother-daughter pairs, AND that they are biological mothers and daughters, challenging the presumed celibacy of the Chantresses. It has further been claimed that Osorkon of Teudjoi is none other than the well-known High Priest of Amun Osorkon. However, first-hand examination of the cartonnage of a Chantress of the Khenu of Amun Shaamunemes (Cairo TN 21.11.16.5), the sarcophagus CG 41035, and Abydos stela 1281 (JE 21797), and study of other relevant mate-

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rial (including the cartonnage Rio de Janiero Inv. 532 and the stela, recently identified by Charles Van Siclen, Rice University 1947.10, both also belonging to Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun named Shaamunemes) suggests that the relationship between the pairs of Chantresses is in fact adoptive, that the available evidence from the dossier of the Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun does not permit any determination of their biological relationships, and that Osorkon of Teudjoi is not to be identified with the High Priest of Amun Osorkon. Implications for Third Intermediate Period chronology and the "institution" of the Chantresses of the Khenu of Amun will be discussed.

Shih Shang-ying, UC Berkeley: *Death in Deir el-Medina: A Psychological Perspective*

Scholarly studies associated with death in ancient Egypt are many and diverse, ranging from examinations of the attitude toward death and the dead as expressed in textual evidence, to the developments in funerary practices as depicted in artistic representations and preserved in funerary assemblages. Yet, with the exception of Alan Lloyd's brief treatment in 1989 of the psychology underlying the Egyptian cult of the dead ("Psychology and Society in the Ancient Egyptian Cult of the Dead," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University, 117-133), practically no Egyptological study has attempted to address the psychology associated with death. The present study will involve a psychological assessment of bereavement, mourning, funerary rituals, and relationships with the dead at Deir el-Medina using psychological mourning theories and empirical findings from thanatology. The application of this interdisciplinary approach finds legitimacy in that bereavement is a universal human experience and cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that mourning is a universal phenomenon. While the field of thanatology may be largely a Western and modern construct, its findings regarding human emotions nevertheless provide a frame of reference that will broaden our understanding of the psychology of death and loss as experienced by the ancient Egyptians.

My paper will present a general introduction to mourning theories and variables that influence the process of mourning and its outcome. When applied to the data from Deir el-Medina, it will become

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apparent that a number of psychologically functional coping mechanisms can be identified in this community.

Charles D. Smith, University of Arizona: *Egypt, Islam, Nationalism, and the State: Justification of Existing Theories or a Model for New Directions?*

Studies of Egyptian nationalism and state formation in recent years owe much to the work of Benedict Anderson, notably his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, 2nd ed., 1991) and his discussion of print culture. Two examples which I have discussed recently are Sami Zubaida, *Islam, the People, and the State* (1989) and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation: 1930-1945* (1995). Here I will consider these arguments in broader perspective, asking whether Egypt serves as a model for the literature relying on Anderson or for new approaches to the study of nationalism suggested by the work of Prasenjit Duara, notably in his *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (1995).

Stuart Tyson Smith, UC Santa Barbara: *The USCB Dongola Reach Expedition: Excavations at Tombos and Hannek*

“Year 2, second month of the first season, fifteenth day, under the majesty of Horus . . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ꜥAkheperka-Re, Son of Re Thutmose, living forever and ever . . . He has overthrown the Ruler of Kush, the Nubian is defenseless in his grasp . . . like a young panther among the fleeing cattle; the fame of his majesty blinded them.” (Tombos Stela, Sudan)

In about 1500 BCE, king Thutmose I sailed up from Egypt in a major military campaign that destroyed the might of the Upper Nubian kingdom of Kush, conquering Egypt's first real African rival. A new UCSB archaeological expedition to the Dongola Reach in Sudanese Nubia examines the nature of the Egyptian-Nubian interactions before, during and after the Egyptian New Kingdom conquest. Excavations from January to March 2000 will focus on sites at the Third Cataract. The gently undulating topography at Tombos conceals the remains of up to a dozen New Kingdom (and later?) mud brick pyramid tombs with underground shaft and chamber burial complexes cut into the granite bedrock. This

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cemetery of wealthy bureaucrats provides a unique opportunity to investigate the origins and history of the colonial agents of Egypt's empire. Were they Egyptian colonists or Egyptianized native elites? If Nubian, was their Egyptianization complete, or was their culture a hybrid transculturation blending Egyptian and Nubian elements? Did they survive the fall of the New Kingdom empire? What was the nature of their interactions and impact on the remnants of the Kushite civilization and potential contribution to the rise of Napata? Excavation at Kerma sites that continued into the Napatan period opposite Tombos on the East Bank at Hannek will balance the picture from Tombos and allow for an assessment of the impact on the native culture of interaction with Egypt in an imperial context.

Vanessa Smith, University of Pennsylvania: *Excavations in the Production Area of the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple*

During 1999, excavation was conducted in an expansive production area associated with the Senwosret III mortuary temple at South Abydos. This area can be identified as the *šn'htpw-ntrw* (production area of temple-offerings). Work thus far has revealed a pattern of shifting and evolving structures associated with a place devoted primarily to the production of bread and beer for use in the mortuary cult of Senwosret III. Covering more than 6000 square meters on the southern side of the temple, the production area provides evidence for the nature and scale of industrial and economic activities attached to the Senwosret III mortuary establishment.

Amira ElAzhary Sonbol, Georgetown University: *Women and Legal Reform: A Rereading*

Based largely on court records dating from the Ottoman and modern periods, and focusing on personal status and citizenship laws, the presentation will argue that nineteenth/twentieth century reform of laws proved a mixed bag for Egyptian women. Egypt's contemporary personal status laws, while based on the *shari'a*, differ significantly from gender laws, also based on the *shari'a*, that were applied by courts before the reform of laws began in the 1880s. In other words, gender laws have always been legally based on the *shari'a*, yet their application after legal reforms differed significantly from their application before.

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Modern laws were compiled by government committees that selected gender laws of the various *madhabib* (schools of Islamic law) and applied a new patriarchal outlook superimposed on that in existence before. The differences between gender laws as practiced in Egypt's reformed courts before Egypt reformed its laws and after are so significant as to warrant calling the *shari'a* practiced today "a new *shari'a*" to differentiate it from what was practiced before.

Mark C. Stone, Yale University: *Identifying the i3w.t wdb.(y)t 'ab.w in the Hymn to Re of Wahankh Antef II's Stela (MMA 13.182.3).*

A Hymn to Re on the stela of Wahankh Antef II makes mention of "herds with back-turned horns" (*i3w.t wdb.(y)t 'ab.w*) in whom pharaoh instills fear. Clearly these herds stand as a literary metaphor, but for whom?

"Back-turned horns" refers to cattle with horns artificially trained to grow in a deformed manner. The practice is documented in Africa and Europe beginning as early as the Upper Paleolithic.

Ancient Egyptian art shows that training cattle horns occurred there at least until the Middle Kingdom, when the practice appears to have fallen off. Rock drawings west of the Nile Valley and south of Egypt in Nubia indicate that peoples in this region also deformed cattle horns consistently throughout this period. They have continued to do so down to the present day.

The frequent images of Nubian cattle with artificially deformed horns in New Kingdom Egyptian art suggests that this custom was—to the Ancient Egyptian—entirely characteristic of Nubian culture.

Cattle, as ritual sacrifices, often represented traditional enemies of Egypt. In light of this and the regular use in Egyptian literature of cattle as a metaphor for subject peoples, the term "herds with back-turned horns" in Wahankh Antef II's stela is, most probably, a metaphor for an enemy, one with whom the Egyptians strongly associated cattle horn deformation. Further, given Antef's political circumstance as ruler of the southernmost Egyptian nomes bordered on the north by the Heracleopolitans and on the south by Nubians, it seems logical that the peoples of Nubia—among whom the practice of training cattle horns was so common—were the traditional enemy symbolized by this metaphor.

Kasia Szpakowska, UCLA: “*qd*”: *To Sleep, Perchance A Dream*

This paper will focus on a less well known ancient Egyptian word for dreams: *qd*. After the Second Intermediate Period a distributive pattern can be found between the selection of *qd* versus the more common lexeme for dreams, *rsu.t*. While its meaning as “sleep” is well known, during the New Kingdom *qd* is also used to refer to a “dream”—a usage that continues to be attested in the Third Intermediate Period. The recognition that *qd* denotes “dream” has direct consequences for the translation of texts, including two important New Kingdom biographies—those of Jpwy, and Djehutiemhab, as well as an intriguing but severely mutilated literary text. This exploration of the etymology and pattern of use of the lexeme *qd* will enhance our understanding of the ancient Egyptian classification scheme, and the ancient Egyptian perception of sleep and dreams.

Shaden M. Tageldin, UC Berkeley: *Disembodied Voices, Dismembered: Colonial Translations in Naguib Mahfouz’s “Zuqaq al-Midaqq”*

If the pen is mightier than the sword, as the English proverb tells us, small wonder that translation can kill. Set in old Cairo during the last decade of British rule in Egypt, Naguib Mahfouz’s 1947 novel *Zuqaq al-Midaqq* (translated as *Midaq Alley*) is an eloquent testimony to the violence of translation in a colonial context, where the annexation of colony to empire depends on the conversion of the colonized into the colonizer’s terms.

Indeed, the novel represents colonization *as* translation, and colonial translation as linguistic and physical dismemberment. Its central protagonist learns English in the classrooms of prostitution, “translating” her Egyptian body into English parts for her British clients; another character “translates” his oracular Arabic pronouncements about the past, present, and future of Egypt into oddly incongruous English watchwords, which appear as eruptions of Roman letters in the Arabic text.

Much of the criticism of Mahfouz’s *Zuqaq* fails to analyze the significance of these strategic injections of English into the novel’s Arabic skin. The elision, I believe, is not only symptomatic of a tendency among critics to ignore representations of colonialism in Mahfouz’s early writings, but also symptomatic of a larger exclusion

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of Arabic literature from the domain of empire and postcolonial studies.

My paper argues that the systematic translation of Egyptian subjects into English in *Zuqaq al-Midaqq* is a powerful literary representation of occupied Egypt's existence only by *relation* to imperial Britain, never as an independent national term. Under the violence of colonial translation, Mahfouz's characters lose Egypt: English "equivalents" for Arabic words or Egyptian bodies can never replace, only approximate, the language and people "absented" by colonization. Yet precisely because the novel's English translations can never supplant the "absented" Egypt they attempt to signify, they become ironic affirmations of the continued vitality of Arabic, and of Egypt. In the end, I argue, Mahfouz's *Zuqaq* presents the English words and Anglicized bodies of its Egyptians as sites of anti-colonial resistance.

Kristin Thompson, Amarna Research Foundation/University of Wisconsin: *The Problem with Frontal Shoulders, Part 2: Amarna Royal Offering Scenes*

In the first half of this analysis, delivered last year, I suggested that Akhenaten was dissatisfied with the conventional Egyptian depiction of frontal shoulders on bodies that were otherwise shown in profile. I argued that in the informal family scenes, twisting postures, and gestures were introduced to naturalize the frontal shoulders.

The more formal offering scenes, however, did not lend themselves to such casual body positions. The members of the royal family were depicted facing directly toward the side, usually lifting their arms parallel to each other in offering to the Aten in the sky. I shall argue that Amarna artists adopted a different set of tactics for such scenes. Rather than naturalizing the frontality through twisting, they often tried to minimize the effect of the frontality by emphasizing the foreground arm and deemphasizing or hiding the upper chest and rear shoulder,

There were two primary means for doing so. One was the characteristic Amarna use of layers of depth in the relief carving, which in the offering scenes made the foreground arm more prominent than the rest of the upper body. Second, much of the chest and rear arm were often occluded by the foreground one. Another, rather odd, tactic was to stress the foreground upper arm by making it longer

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(albeit thinner) than in pre-Amarna pharaonic offering scenes. The result was that the back of the foreground shoulder stuck out awkwardly far beyond the line of the back. Indeed, the artistic techniques used in the offering scenes were, I shall argue, less successful—at least to the modern eye—in solving the “problem” of frontal shoulders than were the casual twisting gestures used elsewhere in Amarna reliefs.

Rockwell Townsend, Independent: *A Newly Discovered Year-Record Label from the Time of King Narmer*

In the 1998 *MDAIK*, Dr. Gunter Dreyer published a wooden year-record label of King Narmer recovered from the Abydos B Cemetery. It clearly shows the anthropomorphic catfish of Narmer with raised mace about to strike a sinking enemy. The enemy is identified by a *nw*-pot and has three papyrus plant stems coming from the top of his head. This year-record label, the first unequivocal one from the reign of Narmer, is of great importance for at least two reasons.

First, it shows that the practice of recording year names, which became the systematic annals of the Palermo Stone, extended back into the time of Narmer. Until now, year records had appeared to begin with his successor Aha, from whose reign several year-record labels are well known. Many commentators have seen the beginning of this practice with Aha as a strong argument for his identification with Menes, the first king of (much later) recorded Egyptian history. This argument has been used to override the evidence of contemporary documents, particularly the Palette of Narmer. The newly discovered label renders this argument untenable.

Second, as a contemporary document, the new label begins to provide a context allowing for a more solidly grounded interpretation of the Narmer Palette. Its significant statement is that the defeat of a single named group of people in the Delta was of such importance that a particular year was named for this event. The palette shows three such named enemies already subdued, and a fourth whose defeat has just been effected. The implication is that the palette commemorates the last in a sequence of such events, showing the defeat of a presumed king of Lower Egypt, and the appearance of Narmer now wearing the Red Crown as well as the White. Traditionally this has been interpreted as the unification of predynastic Egypt. The new label reinforces this interpretation.

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Although our understanding of nearly every aspect of this unification process is still extremely unclear, the newly discovered year-record label constitutes yet more strong evidence for the position of Narmer as the final executor of the unification, and as the first historical king of the First Dynasty.

Nader Khalaf Uthman, Emory University: *Between the Palaces of Naguib Mahfouz' "Bayn al-qasrayn": The Present as Modern*

In 1956, Naguib Mahfouz rendered modernity moot in the Arab world. The “pre-eminent practitioner of the Arabic novel” (to use Edward W. Said’s phrase), Mahfouz transformed the genre itself while changing the face of modern Arabic literature. Prior to the publication of *Bayn al-qasrayn*, translated as *Palace Walk*, much of the literature in the *Nahda* (renaissance) period cleaved to the “modern” or hearkened back to the “past.” According to their social and political orientation, authors either advocated “progress” through their fiction or demonstrated the integrity and ascendance of medieval Arab culture as a model for the “future.” Mahfouz refused the polarity and inimitability of the claims of his peers and rendered both the future and past as inextricable conditions of an uncertain present.

In my analysis, I perform a close reading of multiple scenes from *Bayn al-qasrayn* that illustrate Mahfouz’ considerable literary, social and cultural achievement through his unique negotiation of the genre form of the novel. Following the insights of Mary Layoun, Saree Makdisi and Partha Chatterjee, I argue that Mahfouz’ depiction of an upper-class Egyptian family around the time of the 1919 revolution serves as a clarion call to the Arab world caught up in an epistemological crisis. Given Egypt’s continual colonization since Napoleon (after the fact of Ottoman domination of the region), I argue that the *muthaqqafuun* (wo/men of letters) of the Arab world were faced with reflexive questions of identity and the place of the Arab world in a contemporary maelstrom of European/Western domination. Fully conscious of the remarkable ascendance and achievement of medieval Arab society and its present-day subjugation under foreign hegemony, *al-muthaqqafuun* asked “who are we, today, as Arabs?” and “how might we regain that past condition of cultural preeminence to progress into the future?” Rather than cleave to the split present in the *Nahda*—

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where some advocated for an abandonment of the “old” ways and an imitation of Europe while others hailed Islam as a cure for the Arab world’s present problems—Mahfouz showed how “progress,” the way “things used to be” and finally, modernity were all unattainable in the terms in which they were understood.

Mahfouz’ family novel shows how the Arab world must reconceive of itself and its place in the global scene by acknowledging the passage of time and the fact of colonization. Further, I claim that Mahfouz weaves the intimate structure of the family into the larger fabric of the nation and demonstrates how they inform one another: the family of Ahmad ‘Abd al-Jawad serves as a microcosm of Egypt’s experience in the early part of the century and beyond. Through my readings of the novel, I claim finally that Mahfouz demonstrates that modernity is the condition of the “now” and is one of “crisis,” following Saree Makdisi’s reading of *Mawsim al-hijra ila al-shamaal* (*Season of Migration to the North*, by Tayyeb Saleh). Mahfouz rendered a novel that cannot be overestimated in its revolutionary exposition of the reflexive notions of identity present in the Arab world, at the same time as it argued for their inescapable obsolescence.

Adriana Valencia, UC Berkeley: *The Location of Power in Gamal al-Ghitani’s “Az-Zayni Barakat”*

In *Az-Zayni Barakat*, originally published in 1971, Gamal Al-Ghitani presents a transitional society at the interstice between the periods of Mamluk and Ottoman rule in Egypt. In the novel, we see the transition of power within the superstructure (in terms of the shift from Mamluk to Ottoman rule), while Zayni Barakat the *muhtasib* (markets inspector) remains in power. It is through (although not *in*) Zayni’s character that we see both a representation of and indication of a terrifying absoluteness; it is in this absolute that, ultimately, the control of society rests. Both fragmented and multiple, this absolute serves to absorb for its own use information and social/political structures. The Foucauldian panopticon, in which “the gaze is alert everywhere,” is, ultimately, an expression for the location of the power that we witness in *Az-Zayni Barakat*.

Al-Ghitani effectively not only illustrates but expands Foucault’s theory by extending the powers of the panoptical gaze to something beyond the

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concept of seeing. Foucault locates the panopticon within the realm of the architectural, grounded in Jeremy Bentham's model. He describes it as a system of control that developed over the course of several hundred years, and its first implementations occurred under the scourge of plague. The panoptical gaze is one which is all-seeing yet is not seen; it is one in which power is grounded in its arbitrariness and potential. From the first page of Al-Ghitani's book, we witness a view from above and from behind a concealing element: Visconti Gianti, a (non-historical) Venetian traveler looks from behind a *mashrabiyya* but is not himself seen. Throughout the novel, the physical presence of the citadel serves as an assumed panoptical center and the center of the power that the sultan is presumed to have: the citadel is a physical, symbolic presence that is not itself an actual center of power.

The panopticon as architectural form easily inhabits the realm of social form. The architectural panopticon serves as a social project: it both forms and is formed by society. This panopticon, as we see it in *Az-Zayni Barakat*, is applicable within numerous societies. As a social project, the panopticon is inherently linked to political goals: we see in Foucault's essay that a) a pure community and b) a disciplined society exist as divergent goals of this project. The plague, further, provides a panoptical socio-political atmosphere in which can exist the "utopia of a perfectly-governed city" (ibid.). The generation of the panopticon is grounded not only in plague: we see multiplicities in *Zayni Barakat*. There is no physical plague (in terms of illness) that gives rise to the system. Rather, the panopticon here is a cyclical system that both rises from plague and creates plague. The panopticon is easily linked to a variety of seemingly-divergent phenomena, in addition to plague: a) festival, b) spectacle, and c) surveillance. These phenomena form a continuum through which the panopticon is manifested in general and, specifically, within *Az-Zayni Barakat*.

Jonathan Van Lepp, Jet Propulsion Laboratory/California Institute of Technology: *And the Gods Created Mankind*

Observers of ancient Egyptian wall scenes have long recognized that the hands and feet of the tomb owner are often anatomically incorrect in their portrayal. The most frequent explanation for this phenomenon is that the artists have made a mistake. Yet, when one

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considers how detailed and exact was the execution of other artistic representations, this rationale seems flawed. Such reasoning seems particularly disconcerting when the viewer finds adjacent individuals portrayed anatomically correctly.

It hardly seems possible that the artist could render offering bearers, priests and others physiologically correct, but the major figure of the hierarchically scaled deceased could not be depicted with proper anatomic features. This prompts us to postulate that these so-called "mistakes" were actually conscious and purposeful symbolic depictions of an important religious precept.

Each ancient Egyptian was thought to be created with a body double which resided within that person throughout their life. While this body double is difficult to precisely define in modern terms, it was called *ka* by the ancient Egyptians. Upon the death of an individual, the *ka* separated from the corporeal body and departed to the Afterlife independent of the deceased.

It may very well be that the "mistake" of the anatomically incorrect portrayal of the deceased is a symbolic representation of the two *now* separate entities. One is the recently deceased tomb owner's body and the other is the newly autonomous *ka*.

Steve Vinson, University of Oregon: *Tragedy, Comedy and Reconciliation in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas*

The existence of humor in Egyptian art and literature has occasionally been noted and commented upon, but whether comedy as a formal literary genre can be identified in any Egyptian text has been considered doubtful. Likewise, tragedy, as formally defined by critics of Western drama from Plato to the present day, has generally been considered alien to Egyptian literature. However, the tightly constructed, balanced plot of the first Demotic tale of Setne Khaemwas, in which the magicians Naneferkaptah and Setne Khaemwas each attempt to find a magic book written by the god Thoth, appears to combine formal elements of both tragedy and comedy as typically defined for Western *belles lettres*. Specifically, the tale of Naneferkaptah's search for the book ends in the death of Naneferkaptah's family, in his own suicide, and with the permanent physical separation of Naneferkaptah from his wife and child; the tale of Setne's search ends

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with Setne's painful and humiliating—but non-fatal—punishment, the restoration of his family, and his re-integration into Egyptian society. Violence in the tale of Nanferkaptah is real; violence in the tale of Setne is either slap-stick (e.g., the game of draughts, in which Nanferkaptah strikes Setne on the head with the game board after each victory), or takes place in a world of illusion or dreams (e.g., the apparent murder of Setne's children), or else is limited to humiliation (e.g., Setne's finding himself nude in public following his encounter with Tabubu). The action in each half of the story is driven by the protagonists' hubris in seeking power and knowledge which does not belong to mortal man, and, perhaps most tellingly, by his readiness to sacrifice his family for the attainment of his goal; but the contrasting course and outcome of each of the searches, as well as the story's overall ending and its emphasis on reconciliation and the re-establishment of family relationships, suggest a deliberate, self-conscious experiment in the exploitation of genuine tragedy and comedy to illuminate the human condition from two perspectives simultaneously.

Identification of tragedy and comedy in the first tale of Setne Khaemwas offers the possibility of new and enlightening readings of other Egyptian texts, and raises the larger question of the utility of critical frameworks developed for non-Egyptian aesthetics in the assessment of Egyptian art and literature. Finally, the tight interweaving of tragedy and comedy in this story confirms the two genres' close philosophical relationship, a relationship already noted by Plato and intuitively exploited by, for example, Shakespeare in the use of the basic plot of *Romeo and Juliet* in the farcical play-within-a-play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Josef Wegner, University of Pennsylvania: 1999 Excavations at the Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III at South Abydos

The 1999 season at South Abydos continued excavation in two areas: (1) the mortuary temple of Senwosret III and (2) the associated town site; both being components of the mortuary establishment *Wah-sut-Khakaure*. Work in the temple focused on completion of the excavation of the main temple building and investigating surrounding areas in which much of the supporting activities occurred. The work in the town site included continued investigation of a large building iden-

tified as the residence of the *3ty-ʿ*. Evidence on the internal organization of this building as well as its long-term development was produced. Excavations in the town site exposed portions of five other domestic buildings which contribute to the emerging picture of a planned town with an occupational history from the late Twelfth Dynasty into the New Kingdom.

Bruce Williams, Oriental Institute: *Interpreting the Serekh*

The *serekh* is one of the best known of pharaonic images, but its function is a matter of debate, until recently, even at a basic level. Its single façade made the first enclosure of the ruler's name, but it is also found repeated, surrounding tombs of high officials or royal family members, and it appears as the wall of a chapel or in it as an elaborate false door. The *serekh*-façade was also used as a motif surrounding coffins and caskets. Although used in different ways, the *serekh*-façade was not confused with any other object, even the false door used as the offering place, and some of its late representations show that its highly conventional structure was still understood. By comparing various situations in which the *serekh*-façade appears from the Naqada Period through the Middle Kingdom and later, it is possible to discern a common usage that explains its essential function as a projector of the victorious power of the ruler. The distribution of the *serekh*-façade in situations not strictly royal indicates the intention to present the principals involved as agents of this royal projection, and it recalls Frankfort's assertion that officials presented themselves in their tombs as going to the service of the state in the afterlife.

Based on this interpretation, we can re-examine some of the *serekh*'s early appearances to illuminate its creation and adoption as one of the essential instruments of pharaonic formal culture. This adoption was not necessarily part of the origins of that culture but one of the elements in the development, elaboration, and substitution or abbreviation of standard representational themes that were significant features of civilization on the Middle and Northern Nile for millennia.

This interpretation makes only a limited adjustment to the recent analyses of O'Brien and Wignall, and it actually may reconcile the two opinions. In addition, it may illuminate a variety of motifs

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and compositions in early Egypt, in which complex representations could be summarized as vignettes or even as single figures.

D.C. Woodcox, Truman State University: *Egyptomania in the Rural United States*

At the height of Masonic building activity in the United States during the 1920s, the Masons adopted many Egyptian iconographic elements into their public face as well as into their more esoteric rites. These occur not only in more metropolitan areas, but also in more rural communities, with populations under 20,000. In these non-metropolitan areas, these Egyptian elements raise several architectural issues that center on social circumstances, including patronage, labor, architect selection, and economics. Structural issues such as site considerations, materials used, and technological issues will also be addressed. The most important question is why these elements were used and how they were interpreted by the local inhabitants. This paper is a preliminary work being conducted under the aegis of the Buildings of the United States Survey, Missouri volume.

Raphael A.J. Wüst, University of British Columbia, and Garniss Curtiss, Berkeley Geochronology Center: *The Hydrogeologists of the Eighteenth Dynasty Tomb of Tuthmosis III (KV34) in the Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt: Dilettantes or Genii?*

The tomb of Tuthmosis III in the Valley of the Kings is one of the most vulnerable tombs to flooding. The entrance is located at the bottom of a narrow (2-6 m wide), natural gully, 10-12 meters below the top of Member I, a geological unit consisting of marls. The narrow gorge is the passageway for debris flows from two major catchment areas. The main one is part of the drainage of the hill-slope of the Gebel al-Qurn and covers 50,000 m² (12.5 acres). The smaller one is part of the hill situated between the Temple of Hatshepsut and the Valley of the Kings and covers 18,000 m² (4.5 acres). During a small rainstorm (1 cm, 0.4 inch rainfall), over 900 m³ (240,000 gallons) of floodwater would flow down towards the site of the tomb. During a heavy rainstorm (5 cm, 2 inch rainfall), it would be over 3500 m³ (1 Mio gallons) of water.

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Geological investigations since 1976 with the Valley of the Kings Project (VOKRG; Valley of the Kings Tomb Flood Protection Project, ARCE Egyptian Antiquities Project, Valley of the Kings Project, Phase I; ARCE Subgrant No. 263-0000-G-3089-00), directed by John Rutherford, have revealed four ancient Egyptian diversion constructions above the tomb site of KV34 on top of Member I. They were very effective in diverting water and debris-flows from the tomb. However, during the past 3,300 years, all ancient diversion constructions have been largely destroyed by human and natural causes. Even though a large amount of water and mud was diverted by the remnants of one of the diversion walls during the 1994 flood, a portion flowed into the gorge and into the shaft of the tomb ($90 \text{ m}^3 = 24,000$ gallons of water and debris). Flash floods (caused by brief but intense thunderstorms) have been common in this part of Egypt for thousands of years. Clearly, the ancient Egyptians were aware of them and had knowledge of the basic hydrology of the area. The architects of the tomb of Tuthmosis III must have chosen this site in the gorge for two reasons: 1) the bedrock was massive with few joints or defects and therefore it was stable; and 2) the tomb entrance was easy to hide and protect against looters.

Because flash floods occurred on a quite regular basis and tomb constructions took many years (ending with the death of the Pharaoh), diversion constructions were important and probably completed before the tomb excavation began in order to protect both the tomb and the workmen.

This paper describes the clever flood-protection constructions of the ancient Egyptians for the tomb of Tuthmosis III, the flood impacts during the 1994 rainstorm, and the detailed recommendations for future protection measures. In the final report of the VOKRG project, the recommendations are to rebuild the channels and deflection walls to guarantee the survival of the tomb of Tuthmosis III.



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