

The 54th
Annual Meeting
of the

American
Research
Center in
Egypt

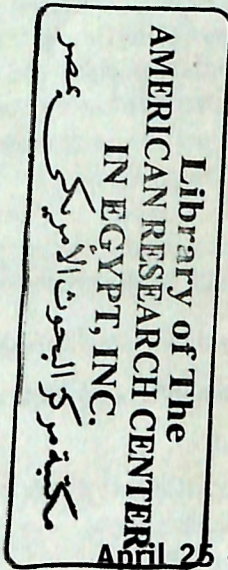


April 25 - 27, 2003
The Grand Hyatt
Atlanta, Georgia



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Cover Image: Khurus in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. 1232/33 a.d.
Photo by Patrick Godeau, Antiquities Development Project/ARCE.

(Inset Image): Egypt's Pharonic and Islamic Heritages. Near the Temple of Luxor, al-Magashgish Mosque sits atop Nectonebo I's Avenue of Sphinxes extending towards the Temple of Karnak.

Acknowledgements: ARCE wishes to acknowledge gratefully the time and expertise provided by Dr. Donald Reid, Professor of History at Georgia State University; Dr. Devin Stewart, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Emory University; and Dr. Gay Robins, Professor and Chair of Art History, Emory University in vetting the conference abstracts. We express our appreciation as well for the Michael C. Carlos Museum staff and its Curator of Ancient and Egyptian Art, Dr. Peter Lacovara, in planning and organizing the Emory University reception; for the assistance of the Georgia State University's Middle East Center for Peace, Culture, and Development and its Director, Dr. Dona Stewart, for their support and providing volunteers; for the many volunteer members of the ARCE/Georgia Chapter who have given their time to assist in both logistics and publicity; and to the staff of the ARCE/Atlanta Office, Ms. Carolyn Tomaselli, Administrative Coordinator and Ms. Candy Tate, Membership Officer, for orchestrating logistics, managing publicity, coordinating publications, organizing volunteer efforts, and putting in place the myriad elements that constitute our ever-increasing and complex annual meeting events.

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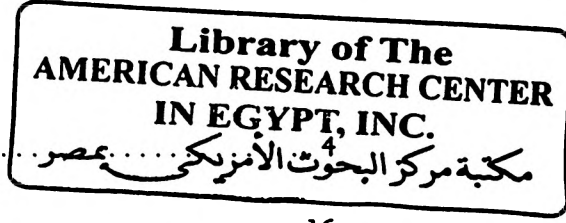
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Contents

Meeting Agenda

Abstracts 16



**FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH
CENTER IN EGYPT**

THE GRAND HYATT HOTEL, APRIL 25-27, 2003

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

HOSTED BY EMORY UNIVERSITY

The Office of the Provost

The Walter Candler Endowment for the Humanities

The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

The Hightower Fund

The Michael C. Carlos Museum

The Department of Religion

The Middle Eastern Studies Department

The Graduate Division of Religion

The Art History Department

The Classics Department

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY

The Middle East Center for Peace, Culture & Development

With special sponsorship by

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Affiliated Meetings

Wednesday, April 23, 8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Executive Committee Mexico City Conference Room
Thursday, April 24, 9:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	EAP Oversight Committee New York Conference Room
Thursday, April 24, 1:15 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Long-Range Planning Committee New York Conference Room
Thursday, April 24, 4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Executive Committee Follow-up Mexico City Conference Room
Friday, April 25, 8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Endowment Committee Mexico City Conference Room
Saturday, April 26, 12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	Chapter Luncheon Piedmont Room
Sunday, April 27, 1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Board of Governors Meeting Piedmont Room

Thursday, April 24, 2003

4:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. Advance Registration, Ballroom Office, Lower Lobby

7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. *Egypt's View of Its Past*

Panel Presentation at The Carter Center sponsored by the U.S. Department of State.

**Transportation to The Carter Center will be provided by ARCE. At 6:15 p.m. buses will transport people from the Grand Hyatt, Lower Lobby. At 9:00 p.m. buses will transport people back to the Grand Hyatt.*

ALL MEETING SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE GRAND HYATT

Friday, April 25, 2003

8:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. Meeting Registration, Ballroom Office, Lower Lobby

Session 1: Grand Ballroom 3

Field Reports

Chair: James Hoffmeier, Trinity International University

9:00 a.m. James Harrell (University of Toledo) *Discovery of a Late Predynastic-Roman Cemetery, Settlement and Quarry at Gebel Umm Naqqat, Eastern Desert*

9:20 a.m. Carol Redmount (University of California, Berkeley)
The 2002 Field Season at El-Hibeh, Middle Egypt

9:40 a.m. Willeke Wendrich (University of California, Los Angeles) *Mudbricks and Millstones: Results of the 2002 ARCE Field School in the Fayum*

10:00 a.m. Salima Ikram (American University in Cairo)
The Lost Oasis of Umm el Dabadib

10:20 a.m. Gregory Mumford (University of Toronto)
The 2002 Investigation of a Copper Smelting Area and Discovery of a Stone Fort in El-Markha Plain (South Sinai)

10:40 a.m. BREAK

11:00 a.m. James Hoffmeier (Trinity International University)
Some Preliminary Observations about New Kingdom History: Excavations at Tell el-Borg (N. Sinai) Since 2000

11:20 a.m. John Seeger (Northern Arizona University)
The 2002 Field Season at Marsa Nakari

11:40 a.m. Josef Wegner (University of Pennsylvania Museum)
Organization and Change in an Elite Household: Work of 2001 and 2002 on the Mayor's Residence at South Abydos

12:00 p.m. Betsy Bryan (Johns Hopkins University)
The 2003 Season of The Johns Hopkins University at the Temple of Mut

Session 2: Grand Ballroom 1

Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Tombs, Cemeteries, and Landscapes

Chair: Ann Macy Roth, Howard University

9:00 a.m. Matthew Adams (University of Pennsylvania Museum) and David O'Connor (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)
New Discoveries about Early Dynastic Abydos

9:20 a.m. Sabrina Gomez-Deluchi (University of Oxford) *Lost Scenes from the Old Kingdom Chapel of Werirentah at the British Museum*

9:40 a.m. Violaine Chauvet (Johns Hopkins University) *Decoration and Architecture: The Definition of Private Tomb Environment*

10:00 a.m. Patricia Bochi, Independent Scholar
The Cultural Significance of the Scenes of Painting the Seasons at an Easel

10:20 a.m. Deborah Vischak (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)
A Re-examination of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs in the Southern Provinces

10:40 a.m. BREAK

11:00 a.m. Janet Richards (University of Michigan)
Family Plots: The Vizier Iww, His Descendants, and the Social/Political Landscape at Old Kingdom Abydos

11:20 a.m. Ann Macy Roth (Howard University) *Buried Buildings and Pugnacious People: The 2002-2003 Season of the Giza Cemetery Project*

11:40 a.m. David Cintron (University of California, Los Angeles)
A New Angle on Sneferu's Pyramids

Session 3: Grand Ballroom 2

Medieval Egypt

Chair: Devin Stewart, Emory University

9:00 a.m. Thomas Emil Homerin (University of Rochester)
Mystical Improvisations: Ibn al-Fârid Plays al- Mutanabbî, Again

9:20 a.m. Tamer el-Leithy (Princeton University) *Suspicious Muslims: Religious Conversions and the Social Uses of Genealogy in Medieval Egypt*

9:40 a.m. Hanaa Kilani (Emory University)
The Use of Dreams for Political and Social Purposes in Mamluk Egypt

10:00 a.m. Devin Stewart (Emory University)
Notes on the Legal Theory of al Shafi'i's Student Al-Muzan?

10:20 a.m. Discussion

10:40 a.m. BREAK

Session 4: Grand Ballroom 2

"Letter from Cairo"

Chair: Pamela Nice, University of St. Thomas

11:00 a.m. Pamela Nice (University of St. Thomas)

Presentation of Documentary Letter from Cairo

11:30 a.m. Discussion

Lecture (chapter fundraiser) by Lauren Haney:

Buckhead Ballroom

12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.

By Pre-registration only

LUNCH 12:00 P.M. - 1:30 P.M.

Afternoon

Session 5: Grand Ballroom 1

Gender and Ethnicity

Chair: Melinda Hartwig, Georgia State University

1:30 p.m. David O'Connor (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)

Men Who Give Birth: Egyptian Perspectives on the Libyans

1:50 p.m. Deborah Sweeney (Tel Aviv University)

Wisdom and Experience - Female Aging in Egyptian Art

2:10 p.m. Monica Bontty (Utah State University)

Hidden Voices: Representations of Women in Ancient Egyptian Literature

2:30 p.m. Heidi Saleh (University of California, Berkeley)

Exploring Expressions of Ethnic and Gender Identities Under the "Libyan" Dynasties (ca. 1069-715 B.C.E.)

2:50 p.m. BREAK

Session 6: Grand Ballroom 2

Art

Chair: Peter Piccione, University of Charleston

1:30 p.m. Robert Hanawalt (The Amarna Research Foundation)

Rock Tomb Ten, The Tomb of Ipy at Akhetaten, Revisited

1:50 p.m. Kristin Thompson (Egypt Exploration Society Expedition to Tell el-Amarna) *The Evidence for Colossal Statuary at Amarna*

2:10 p.m. Earl Ertman (University of Akron)

Should We Believe Everything We Read or Were Told in Class? Another Look at Cairo JE 44866, the Kissing Dyad

2:30 p.m. Merit Huey (University of Memphis)
A Stylistic Study of a Bust of Ramesses III (MFA 29.733)

2:50 p.m. BREAK

3:10 p.m. Peter J. Brand (University of Memphis)
The Shebyu-Collar: Its Construction, Representation in Art and Association with Deities in the New Kingdom

3:30 p.m. Diana Wolfe Larkin (Mount Holyoke College Art Museum)
Making Room for the Ptolemies in Egyptian Temple Reliefs: Unwieldy and Blank Cartouches

3:50 p.m. Jasper Gaunt (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University)
A Ptolemaic Royal Portrait in Garnet

4:10 p.m. John Gee (Brigham Young University)
Stylistic Dating of Greco-Roman Egyptian Stele II: Heads and Hands

4:30 p.m. Bruce Williams, Independent Scholar
Rock Drawings in the Third Cataract and the Northern Dongola Reach

Session 7: Grand Ballroom 3

Perspectives on Egyptian Theater

Chair: Mona Mikhail, New York University

1:30 p.m. Margaret Litvin (University of Chicago)
The Play's the Thing: How Egyptians Use Shakespeare to Argue About Politics

1:50 p.m. Mona Mikhail (New York University) *Presentation of Documentary: "Live on Stage: A Century and a Half of Theater in Egypt"*

2:25 p.m. Discussion

Session 8: Grand Ballroom 1

Museums

Chair: Peter Lacovara, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University

3:10 p.m. Tamara Siuda (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)
Museum Mysteries: The Rediscovery of a New Kingdom Walking Staff in the Oriental Institute Collection

3:30 p.m. Peter Lacovara (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University)
The First Archaeological Survey of Nubia

3:50 p.m. Susan Auth (The Newark Museum)
Brother George the Scribe: A Rare Early Christian Painting on Wood

4:10 p.m. Renee Stein and Stephen Shaver (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University) *The Identification of Painting Materials on Wooden Objects in the Ancient Egyptian Collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum*

4:30 p.m. Deborah Schorsch (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art Gold Amun

Session 9: Grand Ballroom 3

19th Century Egypt

Chair: Donald M. Reid, Georgia State University

3:00 p.m. Kenneth Cuno (University of Illinois) *Changing Patterns of Family and Household Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Egypt*

3:20 p.m. Ziad Fahmy (University of Arizona) *The Mediterranean Borderland and Transnational Identity in Pre-Colonial Alexandria, 1840-1882*

3:40 p.m. Caroline Williams (University of Richmond)
An Intercepted Correspondence by J.F. Lewis

4:00 p.m. Discussion

General Meeting and Members Forum: Buckhead Ballroom

5:00 p.m. Welcome, Everett Rowson, President, ARCE

5:15 p.m. Update by Jere Bacharach, Director, ARCE

Reception at the Michael C. Carlos Museum, 7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

Transportation to the Carlos will be provided by ARCE. At 5:45 p.m. buses will transport people from the Grand Hyatt, Lower Lobby. At 8:30 p.m. buses will begin transporting people back to the Grand Hyatt.

Saturday, April 26, 2003

8:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. Meeting Registration, Ballroom Office, Lower Lobby

Session 10: Buckhead Ballroom

Language, Texts, and Literature

Chair: James Allen, Metropolitan Museum of Art

9:00 a.m. James Allen (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
A New Middle Kingdom Biographical Inscription

9:20 a.m. Carolyn Routledge (Richard Stockton College)
"Doing Things" in the Old and Middle Kingdoms

9:40 a.m. Kathlyn Cooney (University of California, Los Angeles)
The Lexicography of Ramesside Funerary Art

10:00 a.m. Gonzalo Sanchez (University of South Dakota School of Medicine)
The Case # 8 Papyrus Edwin Smith: Scribal Error or Logical Structural Design?

10:20 a.m. Harold Hays (University of Chicago) *Patterns of Textual Transmission in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature*

10:40 a.m. BREAK

11:00 a.m. John Foster (University of Chicago) *The Desolation of Ipuwer*

11:20 a.m. Ogden Goelet (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)
Observations on the Relationship Between Middle Kingdom and Ramesside Literature

11:40 a.m. Steve Vinson (SUNY, New Paltz) *Egyptian Melodrama and the Question of Genre*

Session 11: Grand Ballroom 3

Religion I

Chair: Eugene Cruz-Uribe, Northern Arizona University

9:00 a.m. Patricia Gary (New York University) and Richard Talcott (Senior Editor, *Astronomy Magazine*) *An Archaeoastronomical View of the Architectural Features of the *bmbn* and *thn**

9:20 a.m. Susan Tower Hollis (Empire State College)
Cattle and Goddesses in the Eastern Sahara in Prehistory

9:40 a.m. Clair Ossian (President, ARCE North Texas Chapter)
Water Lilies and Lotus in Ancient Egypt: Their Influence on Art and Daily Life

10:00 a.m. Eugene Cruz-Uribe (Northern Arizona University)
On the Iconography of Seth Images

10:20 a.m. Kasia Szpakowska (University of Wales, Swansea)
Snakes and Flames: Repulsing Nightmares in the New Kingdom

10:40 a.m. BREAK

11:00 a.m. Joshua Roberson (University of Pennsylvania)
The Origins of "New Kingdom" Netherworld Iconography: A Middle Kingdom Apotropaic Wand Reconsidered

11:20 a.m. Susan Allen (Metropolitan Museum of Art)
Miniature and Model Vessels in Ancient Egypt

11:40 a.m. Edward Castle (University of Chicago)
The Mound of Djeme at Medinet Habu

Session 12: Grand Ballroom 2

20th Century: The Old Regime

Chair: Michael Reimer

9:00 a.m. Yoav Di-Capua (Princeton University) *On the Kings Behalf, in the Name of Science: Muḥammad Shafīq Ghurbāl and His School*

9:20 a.m. Michael Reimer (American University in Cairo)
The History of Baladiyyat in Egypt and Transjordan: A Comparative Study

9:40 a.m. Amy Johnson (Berry College)

Encouraging Education, Increasing Income: The al-Manayil Village School as a Model for Rural Education in Egypt

10:00 a.m. Discussion

10:20 a.m. BREAK

Session 13: Grand Ballroom 1

Contemporary Egypt

Chair: Clark Lombardi, Columbia Law School

11:00 a.m. Clark Lombardi (Columbia Law School) *The Nass in the Islamic Jurisprudence of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt*

11:20 a.m. El-Sayed el-Aswad (Tanta University, Egypt/Wayne State University) *We Live in Ghurba: Bridging Egyptian Identities Between the Homeland and the Diasporic Community in the USA*

11:40 a.m. Discussion

LUNCH 12:00 P.M. - 1:30 P.M.

Afternoon

Session 14: Grand Ballroom 3

Technology

Chair: Matthew J. Adams

1:30 p.m. Jonathan Elias (Whitaker Center for Science and the Arts) CT *Reconnaissance of the Mummy of Pesed, A Woman of Ptolemaic Akhmim*

1:50 p.m. Patricia Podzorski (University of Memphis) *Report on the Coffin and Mummy of Irt-net-Hor-irw in the Haggin Museum, Stockton, California*

2:10 p.m. Matthew Adams (Pennsylvania State University) *The Egypt Archaeological Database and the Birth of Computerized Inter-site Analysis*

2:30 p.m. Sarah Parcak (Cambridge University) *"The God has Flown to the Heavens": On the Potential for Satellite Imagery Analysis in Egypt*

2:50 p.m. Jean Revez and Temy Tidañi (GRCAO, Université de Montréal) *The Karnak Project: 2002-2003 Interim Report*

3:10 p.m. BREAK

Session 15: Grand Ballroom 1

Documentaries on Monuments and Life in Historic Cairo

Chair: Elizabeth Fernea, University of Texas, Austin

1:30 p.m. Elizabeth Fernea (University of Texas, Austin)

Presentation of Documentary: Living with the Past: Historic Cairo

2:35 p.m. Caroline Williams (University of Richmond)

Presentation of Documentary: Cairo: 1001 Years of Art and Architecture, Part 3: Survivors in Stone

3:35 p.m. Discussion

Session 16: Buckhead Ballroom

New Kingdom Private and Royal Theban Tombs

Chair: Richard Wilkinson, University of Arizona

1:30 p.m. John Baines (University of Oxford/University of Michigan)

The Self-presentation of Amenemhab (Theban Tomb 85)

1:50 p.m. J.J. Shirley (Johns Hopkins University)

The (Re-)Use of Mid-18th Dynasty Tombs in the Theban Necropolis

2:10 p.m. Lyn Green (Royal Ontario Museum)

Classifying 18th Dynasty Non-royal Banquet Scenes

2:30 p.m. Deanna Kiser (University of California, Berkeley)

The Tree-Goddess Scenes in Theban Tombs 41 and 51

2:50 p.m. Nicholas Reeves (Meyers Museum) and Edward Johnson (University of California, Los Angeles)

The Amarna Royal Tombs Project: Four Years Work, 1998-2002

3:10 p.m. BREAK

3:30 p.m. Katherine Griffis-Greenberg (University College London/University of Alabama, Birmingham) *The Creation of Sacred Space Within the Post-Amarna Royal Tomb in Ancient Egypt*

3:50 p.m. Mariam Ayad (Brown University/ARCE Fellow) *'Opening of the Mouth' on Third Intermediate and Late Period Monuments: Ideas on the Physical Layout and Orientation of the Ritual*

4:10 p.m. Peter Piccione (University of Charleston) *Patterns of Later Use and Reuse of the Tombs of Ahmose (TT 121) and Ray (TT 72)*

4:30 p.m. Kate Liszka (University of Pennsylvania)

Production Workshops at el-Amarna

Session 17: Grand Ballroom 2

Graeco-Roman

Chair: Leo Depuydt, Brown University

3:30 p.m. Peter Bing (Emory University) *Kallikrates of Samos in the New Epigrams of Posidippus (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309)*

3:50 p.m. Chris Bennett (University of California, San Diego)
Egyptian Evidence on the Date of the Assassination of Julius Caesar

4:10 p.m. Patricia Butz (Savannah College of Art and Design) *The Stele of Moschion and the Principle of Proportion in Greek and Egyptian Inscriptions*

4:30 p.m. Leo Depuydt (Brown University) *Esna's Triple New Year*

Special Lecture: Grand Ballroom 1

5:15 p.m. Dr. Rita Freed, (The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: The First 100 Years

ARCE Reception and Banquet - Grand Hyatt

7:15 p.m. Reception (cash bar), for banquet ticket holders only. -
Buckhead Ballroom

8:00 p.m. Banquet - Grand Ballroom 1

Sunday, April 27, 2003

Session 18: Buckhead Ballroom
History, Society, and Administration
Chair: Janet Richards

9:00 a.m. Arielle Kozloff, Independent Scholar
A Family Feud at the Court of Amenhotep III

9:20 a.m. Ann Foster, Independent Scholar
Clay Sealings: Administration of the Middle Kingdom Forts

9:40 a.m. Edward Castle (University of Chicago)
*The Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak, Balance Weights,
and the Sale of Divine Offerings*

10:00 a.m. Beth Ann Judas (University of Pennsylvania)
Late Bronze Age Aegean Vessels in Lower Nubia Fortress Towns

10:20 a.m. BREAK

10:40 a.m. Jennifer Gates (University of Michigan/ARCE Fellow)
A Study in Clay: The Granary Sealings from Karanis

11:00 a.m. Charles Gregorio-Jones, ARCE/Orange County
Expansion of Egyptian Trade in the New Kingdom

11:20 a.m. Sameh Iskander (New York University)
Merenptah's Foreign Activities

11:40 a.m. Peter Feinman (Institute of History, Archaeology, and Education)
Merneptah's Israel in the Time of the Sea Peoples

Session 19: Buckhead Ballroom 2

Religion II

Chair: Ian Begg, Trent University

9:00 a.m. Jennifer Westerfeld (University of Chicago)

Christian Self-Definition and the Depiction of Paganism in Early Coptic Literature

9:20 a.m. Katherine Eaton (New York University) *Some Notes on the Celebration of the Festivals of Khoiak and Sokar in Seti I's Abydos Temple*

9:40 a.m. Michelle Marlar (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University)
Excavation of the Late Period Temple of Osiris at Abydos

10:00 a.m. Naomi Gunnels (Brigham Young University)
What Can We Piece Together About the Temple of Chespisichis?

10:20 a.m. BREAK

10:40 a.m. Ian Begg (Trent University) *Isis Thermouthis Stelai*

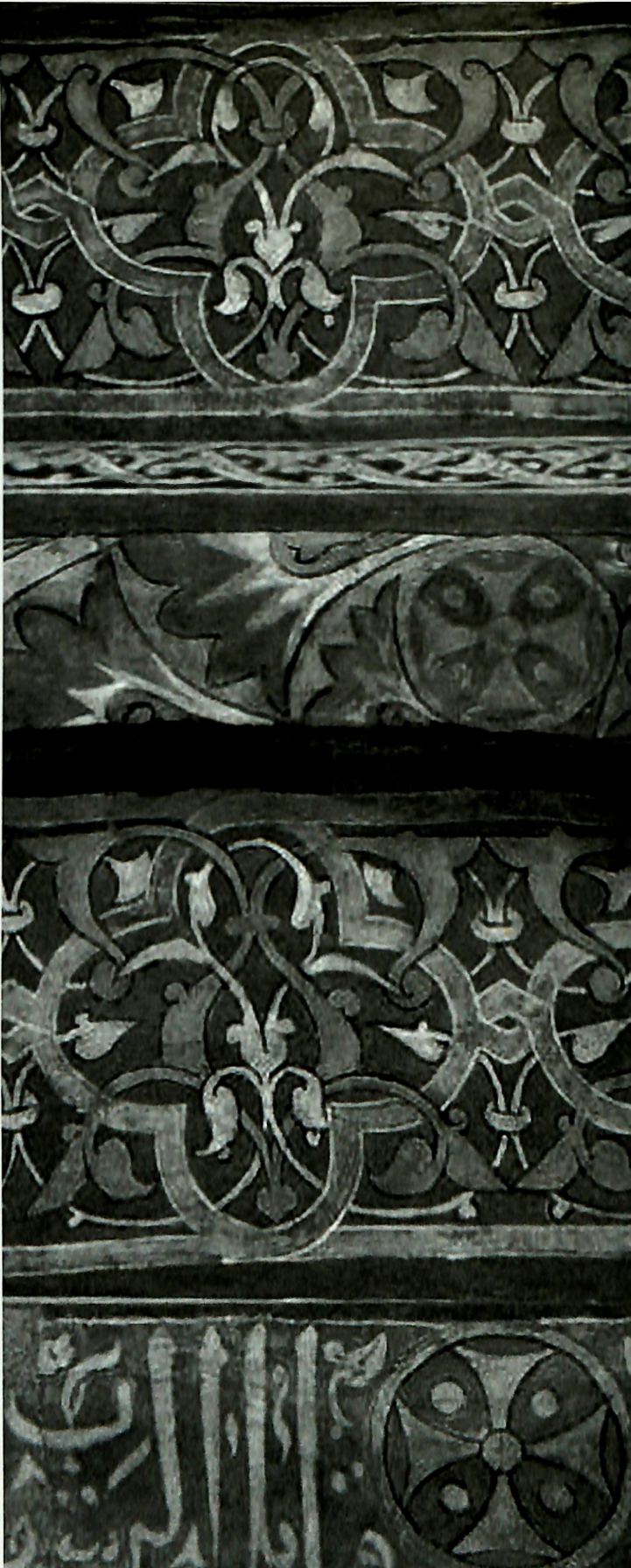
11:00 a.m. Liz Cummins (University of Memphis)
The Iconography of Serapis in the Catacomb of Kom el Shoqafa, Alexandria

11:20 a.m. Robyn Gillam (York University, Toronto)
How to Bury an Apis Bull: Learning from Text and Performance

11:40 a.m. Jean Revez (GRCAO, Université de Montréal)
New Material Evidence Pertaining to the Construction of the Temenos Wall Built Around the Temple of Montu-Ra at Medamud

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Abstracts



Matthew J. Adams, The Pennsylvania State University

The Egypt Archaeological Database and the Birth of Computerized Inter-site Analysis

Archaeologists record volumes of data at excavation sites throughout the world, and these data usually reside in a unique format declared by the individual lead excavator. This paper-and-pencil, non-uniform data, however, does not prove conducive to being centrally stored and allowing for comparisons across different years and digs. There has been a shift in recent years from recording data (per the excavations set methodology) by hand into notebooks to recording also directly into a Relational Database Management System (RDBMS). Many excavations around the world have made this change because storage in an RDBMS permits excavators to record data on a day-by-day basis in a digital format that allows for querying at any time and efficient archiving. It has also opened the possibility for the archaeologist to include regional geographic data such as digital maps, satellite imagery, and survey data into their analyses.

This is a step in the right direction, but it falls half a step behind the real potential of an RDBMS and the immediate needs of the field. If one thinks about the percentage of excavation data that survives into the final report, what would one guess? 5%? 2%? Those are probably very high estimates for most cases. The material read in an archaeological site report is dependant solely on what the excavator chooses to include. We are, of course, restricted in many ways, how can we possibly include every scrap of data? We certainly recognize the *theory* that leaving anything out is scientifically and professionally unacceptable, but our hands are tied by practical matters such as time and money. And so, what do we really have in existing reports? Shallow publications and a severely restricted ability to compare data across sites.

Imagine a database of all archaeological localities in Egypt, in which is stored all excavation material and which is kept up to date from season to season. An interested researcher could perform an unlimited number of queries. For example: "Display all Medum bowls from Lower Egyptian sites." The computer's response would be hundreds of pottery drawings and attribute information for all Medum bowls found to date in the Delta.

This paper addresses the need for excavation databases that can interact with one another. It discusses how we have begun to build such a database, and displays some of its features including GIS/temporal underpinnings within the database, archaeological statistics, pottery handling, user roles, data from digs in previous seasons and missions, cost, and future possibilities. It will also address issues of data sharing and excavator privilege to data.

**Matthew Adams, University of Pennsylvania
and David O'Connor, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University**
New Discoveries about Early Dynastic Abydos

In a joint presentation, the speakers describe important new discoveries about the Early Dynastic royal mortuary enclosures or 'Talbezirke' of Abydos; and relate these discoveries to the evolving over-all picture of royal mortuary monuments of the period, including the important discoveries made at the royal cemetery of Umm el-Qa'ab (Abydos) by Gunter Dreyer. Specifically, the presentation will focus on two, newly discovered enclosures. The excavation of the first was begun in 2001-2002 and completed in 2002-2003; its royal owner has now been identified. The other new enclosure discovered in fall 2002 has been partially excavated; but its chronological position within the Early Dynastic period has been fixed. In addition, the Early Dynastic royal boat graves of Abydos have now been linked to a specific enclosure; hitherto, their relationship to the known, nearby enclosures was uncertain.

These major discoveries about Early Dynastic Abydos provide a much expanded picture of the relationship between royal tomb and royal mortuary enclosures at the site; and raise important new questions about the evolution of these royal monuments, which lead on directly to the Step Pyramid complex of king Djoser, and beyond that the classic pyramid complexes of historic Egypt.

James P. Allen, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
A New Middle Kingdom Biographical Inscription

Excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Dahshur, directed by Dieter Arnold, have turned up hundreds of fragments of a major biographical inscription of the reign of Senwosret III. The inscription covered the east wall of the mastaba of Khnumhotep III, chief steward and vizier under Senwosret II and III; a few fragments of it were discovered and published by de Morgan. The inscription, written in the style of a literary epic, describes Egypt's role in a dispute between Byblos and one of its neighbors. Work on reconstructing the text is still ongoing; this paper will present the most important results to date.

**Susan J. Allen, Dept. of Egyptian Art,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art**
Miniature and Model Vessels in Ancient Egypt

Anyone who has excavated in Egypt, examined funerary assemblages in museum collections or visited pyramid sites like Abusir, is struck by the ancient Egyptians' fondness for miniature and model pottery and stone vessels. They appear in abundance and in a variety of forms throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but continue on in various ways throughout Egyptian history. This paper will

examine the appearance, diversity and significance of these vessels both in the funerary and in ritual contexts.

Susan H. Auth, The Newark Museum

Brother George the Scribe: A Rare Early Christian Panel Painting on Wood

A wood panel painting in The Newark Museum collection represents a Coptic monk, brother George. A fragmentary inscription by his right shoulder and halo identifies him as "George the Scribe." Five vertical black strokes below his left shoulder are pens sticking out of a pen case slung over the shoulder.

The portrait bust is painted in tempera over a thin white undercoat. Posed on a pink ground, the monk stares straight ahead with a compelling gaze. His yellow halo suggests that he is deceased. The painting is done with bold black contours and simplified detail.

A recent publication has revealed that Brother George has two companion monks, whose portraits belong to the provincial museum at Auch in Southwestern France. They were brought back from the excavations of the monastery at Bawit by Charles Palenque early in this century. The painting technique, style and colors are so close to Newark's "Brother George" that they were probably painted by the same artist. One is identified as "Brother Mark", one lacks an inscription. Each represents a distinct individual.

If we can assume that all three came from the monastery of Bawit, how were they used? They are certainly not icons, although they share the simplified style of the few surviving early icons. A notable feature of the wall paintings at Bawit is that monks are often painted along with the virgin and the twelve apostles. In some instances the pose of the Virgin with arms raised in prayer suggests her role as an intercessor.

There is no archaeological context for the three panels, but their damaged condition suggests that they fell from their original location. The busts of deceased monks might have formed a wooden dado either above or below the larger fresco paintings in one of the monastery chapels. Striking, if simplified images, the portraits of the three monks preserve the earlier funerary traditions of the Fayoum portraits in an entirely new context.

Mariam F. Ayad, Brown University/ARCE Fellow

'Opening of the Mouth' on Third Intermediate and Late Period Funerary Monuments: Ideas on the Physical Layout and Orientation of the Ritual.

Work on the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu has revealed that Opening of the Mouth episodes were deliberately placed on its walls. The texts of the Opening on the Mouth, which are inscribed in retrograde in this chapel, were meant to be read by priests officiating in Amenirdis's funerary cult. The scenes

thus commence at the doorway to the chapel and culminate on its innermost, southern, wall. Along the East and West wall (or long) walls, complementary and parallel relationships govern the layout of the scenes.

Comparisons with other monuments, such as the tomb of Pedamenopet in Asasif (TT 33), indicate that this particular layout was generally followed in the Late Period. Indeed, parallel layout of Opening of the Mouth scenes may also be noticed in New Kingdom tombs, e.g., the tomb of Seti I (TT 17). But in contrast to New Kingdom examples, in the Late Period, Opening of the Mouth scenes generally proceed inward towards the burial chamber.

John Baines, University of Oxford/University of Michigan

The Self-presentation of Amenemhab (Theban Tomb 85)

Amenemhab, who died in the reign of Amenhotep II, celebrated his military and ceremonial career in one of the longest biographical inscriptions of the 18th dynasty, which is inscribed on the north half of the west wall of his Theban tomb (TT 85). This inscription forms no more than one part of his overall self-presentation, much of which is lost because most of the bottom half of the tomb's decoration has disappeared. In what remains, the biographical text is complemented, and also subordinated, both by an adjacent image and by other images and texts elsewhere in the tomb; several of these are exceptional among Theban tomb decoration. This other material together forms a presentation of the protagonist which is fuller than, and radically different from, that of the inscription. These differences reveal the inscription to be very selective and in part to constitute a fictionalizing exposition of a role. Such a reading is also supported by numerous features of the text's content. While it might be possible to comprehend the inscription from internal and intertextual cues, the context of the tomb as a whole is vital for validating an interpretation.

D.J. Ian Begg, Trent University

Isis Thermouthis Stelai

In Greco-Roman Egypt, Isis assimilated the nourishing and protective aspects of the cereal goddess Renenutet, called Thermouthis by the Greeks and represented as a serpent. In 1935, Gilbert Bagnani began the Italian excavations at Medinet Madi in the Fayum and discovered four Greek hymns to Isis inscribed on the pilasters of the processional dromos leading to the pharaonic temple of Renenutet. Two stelai depicting Isis Thermouthis as half woman and half serpent nursing a baby crocodile were also found. After Edda Bresciani discovered another similar stele in later excavations at the same site, she attributed all such known stelai to Medinet Madi, and also identified the baby crocodile as Sobek/Horus.

In 1899, however, Grenfell and Hunt sent a stele, labeled merely as a "pantheistic goddess" and therefore previously unidentified, to the Hearst Museum at Berkeley

from Tebtunis, and in 1935 Bagnani himself sent another to the Terme Museum at Rome whose discovery by the Italian excavators at Tebtunis is confirmed by photographic evidence at the University of Padua. Although the precise provenance of these is not known, they all may derive from the latest occupation levels of the early third century CE. Thus they may demonstrate an increased emphasis in the Roman period on the maternal aspects of Isis Thermouthis in the Fayyum.

Chris Bennett, University of California at San Diego

Egyptian Evidence on the Date of the Assassination of Julius Caesar

The Egyptian civil calendar was reformed under Augustus to provide a fixed solar year. The mechanics of this reform are controversial. One view is that the well-known Alexandrian calendar was instituted in its final form in 26 B.C. Alternately, it is argued that the early Augustan calendar in Egypt tracked the Roman civil calendar, which operated on a three-year intercalary cycle at this time.

Contemporary evidence has been adduced for each position. The debate is further complicated by the recent publication of an ephemeris table from 24 B.C. that apparently shows that the correct Julian calendar was used in Egypt at this time, but not in Rome.

This paper reviews the history of the conventional model of the Roman civil calendar, and proposes a new model in light of the contemporary evidence, principally Egyptian. The new model is consistent with all the contemporary evidence, and does not require the Roman civil calendar in Egypt to be different from that in Rome. In this model, the fixed Egyptian civil calendar used a four-year cycle from the beginning, but the cycle may initially have been two years out of phase with the Alexandrian calendar; alternately, the prefect for the first decade A.D., hitherto unknown, may be identified as P. Petronius.

The new model results in an adjustment to the Julian dates of some well-known events, notably the fall of Alexandria and the assassination of Caesar. The model also provides some insights into the religious policies of Lepidus and Augustus.

Peter Bing, Emory University

Kallikrates of Samos in the New Epigrams of Posidippus
(P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309).

Kallikrates of Samos was supreme commander of the Ptolemaic navy for some 20 years from the 270's into the 250's B.C., and belonged to the inner circle around Ptolemy Philadelphus. Befitting the mobility implicit in the office of nauarch, Kallikrates moved easily between the old Greek world and the new, and was at home in both. On the one hand, we find him linked with venerable Hellenic shrines, making offerings to traditional Greek deities such as Zeus at Olympia, Hera at Samos, Apollo on Cyprus, yet at the same time serving in the very untraditionally Greek role of priest of his divinized, yet living sovereigns in their

dynastic cult. Again, on the one hand, Kallikrates aimed his newly-founded cult of Arsinoe-Aphrodite Zephyritis at a mostly Greek constituency, yet at the same time he founded a cult of the Egyptian deities Isis and Anubis at Canopus, whose priest is recorded as being an Egyptian. The evidence of both the new and previously known epigrams of Posidippus about Kallikrates, which I will examine in this paper, suggest that the admiral was not content simply to move between these worlds, but that he actively sought to bind them together, establishing links from one to the other, and integrating his adoptive Egyptian homeland into the cultural fabric of old Greece.

Patricia A. Bochi, Independent Scholar

The Cultural Significance of the Scenes of Painting the Seasons at an Easel

The Sixth Dynasty mastabas of the officials Mereruka and Khenitka, called Ikhkhi, at Saqqara, have long been known to display a rare and intriguing wall scene, namely, the tomb owner seated at an easel while painting the Egyptian seasons. Among the several interpretations given to the scenes, their connection to the well-known 'World Chamber' including the depiction of the seasons, found in the sun temple of King Ni-User-Re, near Abu Gurob, is perhaps most often cited. Yet, none of the interpretations thus far formulated account for the unique character of these private scenes.

Through a close examination of the iconography, this paper investigates the significance of these scenes in terms of their role within the funerary context and the deeper cultural implications of their occurrence in late Old Kingdom context.

Monica M. Bontty, Utah State University

Hidden Voices: Representations of Women in Ancient Egyptian Literature

The purpose of this paper is to analyse literary images of women in Ancient Egypt. Fiction has much to offer because it presents dynamic interaction between men and women. Scholars have discussed women's roles in a patriarchal culture as well as how women succeeded in spite of social limitations. Many works briefly discuss images of women, but there is no extensive study of representations of women in literature. Up to now, most Egyptologists agree that literature categorizes women as either "good" or "bad." However, it is too restrictive to categorize images as positive or negative. Drawing upon current research within the field, this paper will show the complexity of interaction between women and men, in addition to the fact that women were powerful and contained, independent and dependent. My paper will show that the labelling of women's images as "good" and "bad" needs to be re-evaluated.

Peter J. Brand, University of Memphis

The Shebyu-Collar: Its Construction, Representation in Art and Association with Deities in the New Kingdom

The first part of this paper discusses the construction of the shebyu-collar through examination of the major gold and faience examples from the tomb of Tutankhamen, the tomb of Pseusennes and elsewhere along with faience examples. Comparison of actual examples with artistic representations shows that there were two major forms of the collar composed of lentiform and flat disk beads respectively and that these two types are sometimes distinguished in artistic representations of the shebyu-collar.

The second part examines the shebyu-collar's association with various deities and sacred emblems, including Amen, Osiris, funeral forms of the gods Prah and Khonsu, and other deities. The collar is, however, only very rarely connected with forms of the sun god. The shebyu is also used in conjunction with certain sacred emblems like the aegides of sacred barques, medu-Shepses-standards and the Djed-pillar.

Betsy Bryan, The Johns Hopkins University

The 2003 Season of the Johns Hopkins University at the Temple of Mut.

The 2003 season at the Temple of Mut is primarily concerned with continuing to define the limits and interior spaces of the New Kingdom precinct. To this end we continue our work near the gateway of Thutmose III to investigate its relationship to the enclosure wall. Likewise we are working behind the Sacred Lake. The extremely large features and facilities discovered in these areas will be discussed, as well as plans for a virtual reconstruction of the Thutmoside temple in the near future.

Patricia A. Butz, Savannah College of Art and Design

The Stele of Moschion and the Principle of Proportion in Greek and Egyptian Inscriptions

This paper examines Greek and Egyptian systems of proportions as they occur in field of epigraphy by focusing on a late bilingual Greek and demotic example of a gridded inscription known as the Stele of Moschion (SEG 8.464). This rare stele, preserved in two fragments located in Cairo and Berlin, is a dedication by Moschion to the god Osiris, thanking him for the healing of the dedicant's foot. The stele is dated to the late second/early third centuries B.C.E. The complex dialogue between Moschion and the god presents an exceptional example of acrostic format, carefully gridded in both of its bilingual sections. Most significantly, the word stoichedon occurs in the Greek portion of the text, and the paper concentrates on the meaning of that word in the specific context of this inscription. The question is asked whether the meaning put forward on this stele may be extended

and applied to our understanding of the stoichedon style in Greek inscriptions at large. The tradition of squared, acrostic inscriptions is certainly known in Egypt from earlier periods, and it will be shown that the Stele of Moschion, albeit late, attests to a mutual aesthetic interest in proportion shared by both cultures: specifically the use of the abstract grid to express this aesthetic in epigraphical format, long after the acme of stoichedon production in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.

Edward Castle, University of Chicago

The Mound of Djeme at Medinet Habu

In order to receive statue fragments reburied by Uvo Holscher, the excavator of the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, the University of Chicago's Epigraphic Survey in recent seasons re-cleared rooms L and O in the sanctuary complex of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. Holscher reported reaching virgin soil at a depth of just under two meters, but this "virgin soil" turned out to be the upper surface of a man-made feature composed of alternating layers of plaster and clay, and measuring about a meter in thickness in Room L. When Room O, directly west of Room L, was excavated, the plaster and clay layer was found to thin progressively before terminating immediately before the foundations of the sanctuary's rear wall. Owing to the constrained area of the excavation, the northern and southern limits of the plaster and clay feature could not be determined, but it appears to extend under the foundations into adjacent rooms.

Similarly, the feature appears to extend beyond the eastern wall of Room L towards the ambulatory and bark shrine. The eastern façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty ambulatory overlies the western end of a platform belonging to a Middle Kingdom temple oriented towards the plaster and clay feature. If, as appears likely, the plaster and clay feature extends as far as the Middle Kingdom temple, it would have lain immediately west of the chapels in the western end of that earlier temple.

In architrave inscriptions which I had had occasion to study as senior epigrapher, Thutmose III claims that the Eighteenth Dynasty temple had been built on the "exact Mound of the West". An inscription of Pinudjem later refers to the "Mound of Djeme", and this is the name which survives in later texts. The word translated "mound" has funerary connotations, and inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at Karnak identify the Mound of Djeme with the tomb of Osiris, describing rituals which were carried out there. Late inscriptions at the Small Temple itself considered it the burial place of the divine Ogdoad.

The plaster and clay feature does not today resemble a mound; on the contrary, its upper surface, so far as has been exposed, is more or less flat, and its lower surface convex. I suggest, however, that the plaster and clay was laid to seal a depression resulting from the collapse of a tumulus grave resembling archaic tombs at Abydos, which are, or were, marked by just such depressions. Whatever the

antiquity of this tomb, it was sufficiently ancient and important to have been venerated during the Middle Kingdom and to have warranted identification as the burial place of the gods in later times. Given the extreme antiquity implied by this veneration, it is reasonable to suggest that this is perhaps the oldest tomb, and the original focus, of the Theban necropolis.

Edward Castle, University of Chicago

The Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak, Balance Weights, and the Sale of Divine Offerings

The excavation of the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak North by Jean and Helen Jacquet has produced a substantial number of balance weights, as yet unpublished. One of the finds is a set of weights consisting of a kite and its fractional parts. This set, the component parts of which were found together, is of considerable metrological significance; not only is it more or less the complete set of weights from the pharaonic period, but structural analysis of its fractional denominations makes it possible to explain how it enabled traders to convert between the kite and other contemporary units, Egyptian and foreign, of different value.

The preponderance of the weights from the Treasury is found to be distributed around the two entrances in the western side of the edifice, and more particularly in and around the entrance to the Sanctuary rather than, as might have been expected, the entrance to the workshops. This evidence provides an archaeological context for certain papyri recording the sale of commodities to traders in exchange for gold and silver, in contradiction to the prevalent notion that all commerce in Egypt was conducted by barter. Moreover, since the commodities disposed of in this manner correspond to those constituting the offerings regularly made to the gods, it appears that, after serving the ritual function, such offerings were sold to traders in exchange for gold or silver. As a treasury is the most appropriate repository for the revenue from such transactions, the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak North may well have functioned as a clearing house for offerings presented in various temples within the Karnak complex.

Violaine Chauvet, Johns Hopkins University

Decoration and Architecture, The Definition of Private Tomb Environment

One aspect of the fieldwork that I accomplished with the support of the Kress Fellowship awarded by the American Research Center in Egypt, involved reflecting upon the relation between the two and three dimensional aspect of private tombs in the Late Old Kingdom. Using the well-known mastaba of Ty as an example I would like to elaborate upon the correlation between the decoration (including texts) and architecture. The purpose of this exercise is to see how the architects and artists combined the elements into a meaningful and practical environment in which the deceased would evolve and in which the funerary rituals would take place.

I would place the tomb of Ty at a transition point in the overall diachronic development of the mastabas, the moment when the chapels originally confined in the south-east corner of the massif grew into more complex compounds, yet did not occupy the entirety of the superstructure as will be the case in the 6th dynasty. The growing variety of architectural forms in the tombs provided extended support for decoration and thus increased the range of artistic expression.

Studying the disposition of the decoration shows that, indeed, a lot of thought was put into defining a movement sequence, guiding the outside-in progression of visitors, the ritual procession and the wandering of the deceased within the house of eternity. The iconographical expression was coupled with a redefinition of the space to provide a better interactive context in which the presence of visitors was taken into consideration.

David Cintron, University of California at Los Angeles

A New Angle on Sneferu's Pyramids

Writer after writer tells us the same story of Sneferu's pyramids: that the southern pyramid was begun at too steep of an angle to support its own height, so the angle was reduced and the pyramid completed. But it was too late, the damage was done, and so the Northern pyramid was begun at a more shallow angle and completed to satisfaction.

As in so many mysteries of Egypt, this leaves unanswered questions. First, why was the bent pyramid completed if it was not satisfactory? Second, why was the red pyramid red? I believe that these two pyramids were built exactly as intended and that Sneferu's desire was to have two pyramids. A white one to represent him as ruler of the White Crown, and a red one to represent him as ruler of the red crown.

Is there any evidence to support this theory? In "Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt" by Toby A. H. Wilkinson, the Palermo Stone, row VI cell 2 has been translated as containing this passage:

qd inb rsi t3-mhw hwwt-Sfrw
Sneferu (his thirteenth year?)...
building the wall of the south and north-land (called)
'the Mansions of Sneferu'

Wilkinson states that the buildings referred to in this passage are not known. Could they be associated with his pyramids? Wilkinson translates PS rVI.4 with this passage:

s'h' q(3t)-hqt Snfrw tp(t)-r sbht rsi q(3t)dsrt Sfru tp(t)-r sbht mhtt
Sneferu (his fifteenth year?)
erecting (the building) 'Sneferu high of the white crown'
(at) the base? of the southern gateway, (and at the building)

'Sneferu (high of) the red crown' (at) the base? of the northern gateway

Wilkinson also states (p. 144) that "the expression *tp-r(3)* can be used to denote the base of a triangle or the radius of a circle", citing Erman and Grapow (eds) 1931:27. This would alter the translation to:

erecting (the building) 'Sneferu high of the white crown'
 (at) the base? of the southern triangle, (and the building)
 'Sneferu (high of) the red crown' (at) the base? of the northern triangle

Sneferu's southern pyramid is white, and his northern pyramid red. Both are aligned, with the southern pyramid's east wall and the northern pyramid's west wall along a common axis. Perhaps Sneferu wished to rise to a truly dual kingship in the afterlife, leaving his northern pyramid to meet the rising sun, and returning to his southern pyramid from the western horizon at night.

Kathlyn Cooney, University of California, Los Angeles

The Lexicography of Ramesside Funerary Art

Many Deir el Medina texts document the manufacture and sale of various funerary objects, but the precise meanings of the associated vocabulary remains unclear despite Jac Janssen's groundbreaking work, *Commodity Prices in the Ramesside Period*. For example, in critique of Janssen's lexicographical study, Barry Kemp (*JEA* 65 (1979): 182-187) opposes a division between philological and archaeological study, insisting that the two can be used in conjunction with one another for more satisfactory answers. Following this logic, many of Janssen's lexicographical conclusions involving funerary art vocabulary might be improved with analysis of actual object types from the archaeological record. In this talk, I scrutinize the words used to describe different types of coffins and grave goods – an examination that is necessary before proceeding to text translations and larger scale analyses of prices and funerary craftwork organization.

Many words for body containers have been recognized in the primary textual material: the *wr*, *wr šri*, the *swht*, the *mn-'nh*, the *wr3*, and the *db3t*. In addition, another object – the *wr w3* – is frequently mentioned in the same context as other coffins and funerary objects but is of unknown meaning, as is the *ytt* that Janssen suggests is a kind of bed or funerary couch. The *tp*, or "head," is mentioned only once in Deir el Medina economic texts in association with a coffin set (O. Berlin 11260, 2 rt.), but it is not clear if this word describes part of a coffin – the head – or if it represents another separate object, namely the funerary mask.

Physical examination of wooden Ramesside funerary objects in collections throughout the world indicates that there are six main types of funerary coffins and coverings in the archaeological record, made of either wood or cartonnage: 1) the basic anthropoid coffin, 2) the inner anthropoid coffin, 3) the outer anthropoid coffin, 4) the mummy board, 5) the mummy mask, and 6) the rectangular sarcophagus. There are many types of mummy board produced during the

Ramesseid period, including the one-piece board and the two-piece mummy board with mask and openwork lower part, both types usually made of wood. A third type of mummy board, constructed of openwork cartonnage, has been found by Bruyère at Deir el Medina, but the whereabouts of these excavated objects are now unknown. A Fourth type is made of one piece of enveloping cartonnage and occurs late in Dynasty XX.

Unfortunately, matching word to object is not an easy matter. The *wṯ* has already been linked by Janssen with the anthropoid coffin, the *wṯ3* and *mn-nḥ* with the outer anthropoid coffin, the *wṯ šrf* with the inner anthropoid coffin, and the *ḡb3t* with the rectangular sarcophagus. New research indicates that the *šwḥt* and *yftt* may possibly be linked with various types of mummy boards, and that the *wṯ w3* can tentatively be connected to the mummy mask. Further conclusions are made about the *ḡ3ft n wṯ*, which may perhaps be the canopic chest.

Eugene Cruz-Uribe, Northern Arizona University

On the Iconography of Seth images

In reviewing the materials on the iconography of the representations of the god Seth as part of a study on the religious dimensions of the Seth cult, this author came across a number of comparisons to later period statues frequently attributed to the god Horus. These latter are often figures of Horus with upraised arm holding a spear. This talk will look at the development of this style of statue and propose that these late period "Horus" statues actually are representations of the god Seth spearing Apophis as was the norm for Seth in his guise as the protector of the sun god.

Liz Cummins, University of Memphis

The Iconography of Serapis in the Catacomb of Kom el Shoqafa, Alexandria

The catacomb of Kom el Shoqafa presents a unique and tantalizing blend of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art. An initial consideration of the reliefs within the tomb reveals a connection to the god Serapis but upon further investigation a consistent pattern of Serapis iconography can be seen in the catacomb's principal tomb. During the late first and early second century A.D, the time of the building of the catacomb, the god Serapis had achieved a high level of popularity in Alexandria and the city's Serapeum was its most important religious center.

This paper will examine the reliefs of the pronaos and naos of the principal tomb of the catacomb. Three niches are located in the naos and these reliefs will be the primary focus for discussion. Each niche contains a central relief with two smaller reliefs positioned on either side. Out of these nine reliefs, two portray an image of the Apis bull. In the Roman period, the Apis bull was connected to Osiris-Apis, the Egyptian form of Serapis. This study will link these images of the Apis to a specific form of a bull marked by a crescent moon seen in Ptolemaic and Roman

art. This bull appears in funerary and religious contexts such as the Tigrane Pasha tomb of Alexandria and on the cartonnage of Roman mummies. The presence of Anubis and Agathos Daimon in the pronaos and images of cult activity in the naos are also considered as part of this iconographic program that points to the identification of the patrons of this tomb as members of the cult of Serapis.

Kenneth Cuno, University of Illinois

Changing Patterns of Family and Household Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Egypt

How large were rural households in nineteenth-century Egypt? How were they configured? How widespread were polygamy and slavery? These questions and others are approached through a study of the demography of three Delta villages between 1847 and 1868. While no village can be considered an archetype, the changes observable in these villages may be understood to reflect larger trends in the social history of the mid nineteenth century. The paper is based primarily upon data from the census (*ta`dad al-nufus*) registers of 1847-1848 and 1868, and land-tax (*mukallifat*) registers and Sharia court records from the same period. The demographic data are interpreted comparatively, with reference to the household classification scheme of E.A. Hammel and Peter Laslett, to the concept of household formation systems as advanced by John Hajnal, and to the idea that families practice strategies of heirship, as proposed by Jack Goody. The households of the rural notables are deserving of particular attention. The rural notables (*a`yan al-rif*), the leading men of wealthy village families that traditionally held the positions of village shaykh and headman (*`umda*), emerged in this period as a political force on the national scene. The households of the notables tended to be among the largest and most complex. The formation of large multiple family households (MFHs) was characteristic of notable families, although MFH formation was very widespread. The study shows, moreover, that household formation was contingent on several factors – economic, demographic, legal and cultural – and that there was no single household form or family configuration that can be described as “traditional.”

Leo Depuydt, Brown University

Esna's Triple New Year

Inscribed on the walls of the Roman-Egyptian temple at Esna is a calendar whose most remarkable feature is that it lists no less than three dates for New Year's Day. The triple new year of Esna has been much debated. This paper reports on a brief investigation whose aim is to review the problem's past history, analyze its nature, and propose a solution.

Yoav Di-Capua, Princeton University

On the King's Behalf, in the Name of Science: Muḥammad Shafiq Ghurbāl and His School

Students, colleagues, critics and friends refer to Muḥammad Shafiq Ghurbāl (1894-1961) as the doyen of modern Egyptian historiography. In the eyes of his contemporaries, Ghurbāl was considered to be twentieth century Egypt's foremost professional historian. Forty-four years after his death, this image persists. What makes Ghurbāl, a scholar who published only a few books on an eclectic range of subjects, such a powerful figure? How did he establish himself in this honored position, what was the surrounding context, and finally, what legacy, if any, did he leave behind him? In this paper I propose some answers to these questions by situating Ghurbāl's career in a broad historiographical, political and professional context.

Until now, both Western and local research has focused on Ghurbāl's writing, attempting to find in it the answers for the above questions. In contrast to this common strategy, this paper attempts to study Ghurbāl through his students. I will argue that starting in the late 1920's, Ghurbāl created and mentored a professional community of historians. Hence, as opposed to past studies, I consider Ghurbāl to be not merely a historian but as someone who generated and personally embodied a full-fledged school of historiographical thought. A close scrutiny of its activity from the mid-1920's to the mid-1950's, will show following: Ghurbāl's school was created around the university. In addition, it established extra-university institutions such as the *Royal Historical Society* and its specialized journal. This process of institutionalization afforded a new social mobility. Coupled with changes in Egypt's urban social structure and the professionalization of the middle class, a new group of young historians emerged. Despite claims of originality and academic independence, Ghurbāl's school was a continuation of royal historiography in terms of its personnel, organization, historical assumptions, methods of work, style of writing and historical conclusions. Likewise, it developed strong political, financial and professional dependency on monarchic institutions (archive) and historians.

Ghurbāl and his disciples regarded themselves as professionals and had a clearly defined professional ideology. Aside from political impartiality, a major component of this ideology was the notion of "historical objectivity" which they regarded as crucial for discovering "truth in history." Their claim for "expert authority" was instrumental in distinguishing themselves from other groups of history writers. In the ensuing struggle for historiographical hegemony, their professional ideology and rhetoric of scientific accuracy was used in order to exclude nationalist-popular historians such as 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Rāfi'ī. This struggle generated a major divide in Egyptian historiography.

Ghurbāl's legacy of proper archival research, political impartiality, and his example of the historian's mission in society has enjoyed an enduring presence, despite numerous challenges, especially those posed by the state.

Finally, this paper purports to evaluate the impact of a group of historians who are usually referred to as "secondary intellectuals." It will show that "secondary intellectuals" did not merely echo and disseminate the ideas of Egypt's luminaries. Rather, they created an independent and stimulating body of knowledge, which reacted to the political, cultural and social realities of the time.

Katherine Eaton, New York University

Some Notes on the Celebration of the Festivals of Khoiak and Sokar in Seti's Abydos Temple

Study of the processional equipment of Osiris and Sokar depicted in relief scenes in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (Seti Temple) suggests some interesting relationships between images made for their festivals in the Seti Temple and processional equipment that may have carried them to the Cenotaph of Seti I (the Osireion). Texts inscribed in the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera describe three main images to be made for Osiris' Khoiak Festival – Sokar, Khentyimentiu, and the Divine Members. However, numerous local traditions were also depicted in scenes at Dendera. Moreover, regional variation in Osiris burial types is confirmed archaeologically by the wide variety of types actually found – including some from Abydos. Thus, it is essential that Nineteenth Dynasty Abydene material be primary in the present analysis.

The so-called "mysteries of Khoiak," which included the making of divine images for the festival, were performed in the Osiris Suite of the Seti Temple. The Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite performed a similar function for Sokar (often syncretized with Osiris), as indicated by the presence of scenes associated with his festival, including the presentation of the Litany of Sokar to Sokar's *hemu*-barque; and scenes of Sokar-Osiris Who-is-in-his-Barque and Osiris-Wennefer on biers. The proposal of a separation between these two festivals in the New Kingdom contradicts studies based on data from Thebes. However, this conclusion is inescapable given the architecture of the Seti Temple and the decorative programs in the suites of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar and Osiris; and the Hypostyle Halls.

The Head Reliquary of Osiris-Khentyimentiu (Fetish) is featured in three relief scenes in the Seti Temple - two in the Osiris Chapel and one in the Osiris Suite. The scenes in the Osiris Chapel depicted the Fetish on different palanquins – one left the pole of the Fetish exposed, the other covered the pole with the shrine of Osiris' processional barque. According to later tradition recorded at Dendera, a corn body was made for Khentyimentiu and attached to a head. If the Fetish served as that head, then the protection of the barque shrine around the pole may have been required only when the delicate corn body was attached to the head.

However, numerous versions of Khentyimentiu's corn mummy and related figures have been excavated. These figures generally do not correspond exactly to textual descriptions.

Finally, a depiction of a processional barque carrying a lion-footed bed (the upper portion of the scene is lost) in Room 12 of the Seti Temple probably belonged to Osiris as well. It is tempting to associate this image with the third Khoiak image featured in the Dendera material – the Divine Members. It would make sense to carry a collection of disembodied limbs together on a bed. However, this barque might have carried any one of a variety of images attested archaeologically or described in texts. Thus, while the Seti Temple material might suggest that there were three images made for festivals in the month of Khoiak, it seems unlikely that they fit later prescriptions precisely.

Jonathan Elias, Whitaker Center for Science and the Arts

CT Reconnaissance of the Mummy of Pesed, a Woman of Ptolemaic Akhmim

The mummy of Pesed, a female resident of Akhmim, came to America in 1885, having been purchased by associates of Westminster College (New Wilmington, PA) on the scene during the hurried clearance of the Akhmimic necropolis district. In August, 2001, Pesed became the subject of a CT examination performed by the radiological staff of Pinnacle Health System's Harrisburg Hospital and Vital Images, Inc. in preparation for an exhibit on mummification hosted by Whitaker Center for Science and the Arts. Pesed's mummy bore evidence of libation upon the throat, and was outfitted with no amulets, other than an unusual plate tucked under the left arm. Skeletal features suggest that her age at death may have exceeded 65 years. The Pesed examination provides comparative information which illuminates the findings of earlier CT study projects on Akhmimic mummies, and furnishes numerous insights into the practices of embalmers at Akhmim during the Ptolemaic era.

Tamer el-Leithy, Princeton University

Suspicious Muslims: Religious Conversion and the Social Uses of Genealogy in Medieval Egypt

Historians have noted that medieval Coptic converts to Islam often received epithets like *al-Aslamī* and *al-Qibṭī* that identified their recent conversion. This telltale marker has been read as an expression of suspicion by (older) Muslim authors, the sign of their marginality and incomplete assimilation into the Muslim community.

But suspicion was more than a lingering marker of the fundamental animosity between religious and ethnic groups. Examining biographical entries of ca. 100 converts and their descendents (14th-15th centuries), I outline the patterns of suspicion (geographical, occupational and confessional). The persistence of this

ostensibly prejudicial identification for as many as four generations was a response to certain conversion practices like single-generation conversion whereby some *dhimmīs* converted to Islam but maintained their wives and progeny as Christians (and Jews). Stated differently, biographical suspicion, which focused on urban elites employed in the bureaucracy, limited that group's ability to practice single-generation conversion. By contrast, lower-class, provincial converts were outside this spotlight of suspicion and much more free to practice partial conversion.

Moreover, suspicion was most pronounced in the wake of a late 14th century wave of Coptic martyrs; many of these had converted to Islam but then reverted to Christianity and intentionally announced their apostasy securing martyrdom at the hands of oft-puzzled religious and *Mamlūk* officials. (The apostasy wave coincides with the Coptic Church's development of a new ritual of reabsorbing apostates—Copts who had converted to Islam—back into the congregation; it basically constituted a rebaptism.)

Suspicion was also finite: through a detailed reconstruction of several convert families, I will demonstrate the eventual disappearance of the epithet and those practices (naming, marriage, residence) that brought about this integration (assimilation) into Muslim society. In the case of one family, 15th-century biographers also realized the limits of a strictly agnatic genealogy and traced the family to a woman: for three to four generations, the men of this family were primarily identified by her name (and not those of their fathers or their larger extended family).

Rather than see the ubiquitous 15th-century suspicion as the conclusion of the conversion narrative (pressure-conversion-suspicion), we can read it as the deposit of a particular social dynamic, a response to practices of conversion and apostasy in the tumultuous 14th century. Here genealogy was an investigation—a practice by which authors *did* something, rather than simply document kinship relations as they *were*. This helps us overcome the hallowed distinction between event and representation: here, suspicious identification (a literary and prosopographical representation) was an event with social and political ends.

**El-Sayed el-Aswad, Tanta University,
Egypt/Wayne State University**

We Live in Ghurba: Bridging Egyptian Identities between the Homeland and Diasporic Community in the USA

Population movements both within and across national boundaries are currently the focus of broad academic debates surrounding such issues as transnational migration and its implications for change in both the homeland and hosting countries, the dynamics of identity reconstruction, transnational cultural relations, and the reformation of migrants' worldviews. Migration implies that distance and estrangement enhance and sharpen critical insights. This paper then tends to

place the current debate with in a context which considers the impact of both local and global movement as well as the immigrants moving to the new world of the USA and participating in its modern life, while at the same time preserving their cultural and Muslim identity. The migration of Egyptians to the US is viewed here as integral not only to the regional and national political economy of Egypt but also to the global economy.

The movement between local and global spheres, however, has played a major role in creating a particular sense of identity attached simultaneously to the homeland and the global Muslim community while adjusting itself to the new condition of the receiving country. Migration is a transition, not just transportation from one place to another where moving across borders breaks barriers of thought and experience. Within this complex relationship between the local and the global, this paper examines cultural practices related to migration as ways in which persons experience their views of the world and of other people. For instance, migrants experience profound changes in their conceptual-social orientation as they move from the state of being a 'majority' at home to that of being a 'minority' in another country causing feelings of bewilderment and alienation (ghurba).

Egyptian immigrants are expected by the Egyptian government to maintain their identity linked not only to cultural heritage, but also to the state by participating directly in Egypt's overall development process including investment projects, business, and privatization among other liberal economic enterprises. This explains the growing awareness of the Egyptian government of the important role of Egyptian diaspora in solving problems of its declining economy. The Egyptian government has permitted dual citizenship allowing immigrants to establish full access to and presence in their homeland, denying, however, their right to be politically involved as members of the People's Assembly.

The questions addressed in this research are: How do Egyptians of different generations view themselves within both local and global spheres? How do they perceive their rights and responsibilities in both the motherland and the newly adopted country? How do they view the new world or hosting country with which they directly or indirectly interact, especially after the tragic events of September 11, 2001? How do they (as Muslim communities in this new environment) integrate new concepts, values and norms into their encompassing Muslim worldviews? Does this integration result in transformation of their identities in their daily lives both locally and globally?

E. L. Ertman, University of Akron

*Should We Believe Everything We Read or We're Told in Class?:
Another Look at Cairo JE 44866, the 'Kissing Dyad'*

Sometimes excavators label an object that they unearth and their pronouncements follow that object forever. This information is dispensed to students in classes who

also believe it to be fact since their professors teach them the 'facts' that were given and passed down by the giants of the profession in previous years.

A case in point may be Cairo JE 44866, which was excavated by the German Mission at Amarna in 1912 where it was labeled as representing the king kissing a princess. Several recent authors label this dyad as an "Unfinished limestone statue of Akhenaten kissing one of his daughters, probably Merytaten." An "Unfinished statuette from the Tutmoses workshop: Akhenaten kissing a queen or princess." and "Unfinished statuette from El-Amarna showing Akhenaten kissing someone on his lap ? a daughter or Nefertiti or his secondary wife Kiya...." Is this a representation of King Akhenaten or are there details of this object that would alter this identification? A review of the garment worn by the king in this dyad and other factors may shift the identification to an individual other than Akhenaten. Further, the identity of the smaller figure on the lap of the king must also be reviewed and postulated.

The focus of this paper will be to attempt to analyze and evaluate the details of this unfinished sculpture as if it had recently been excavated, without benefit or hindrance of years of seeing it in exhibitions and having it referred to in print.

Ziad Fahmy, University of Arizona

The Mediterranean Borderland and Transnational Identity in Pre-Colonial Alexandria, 1840-1882

The Mediterranean is still conceptualized by many as an impenetrable barrier separating East and West, or more specifically Dar al-Islam and Christendom. This frontier mentality oversimplifies the complex reality of interaction and trade that epitomized the Mediterranean world since the introduction of maritime navigation. Indeed, the Mediterranean was never truly a rigid frontier, separating two different worlds, but it was and continues to be a fluid borderland with varying degrees of interaction between the peoples inhabiting its rim. The persistence of the frontier approach prejudices the academic discourse into a simplified bipolar narrative, highlighting the centers of political power on either side of the Mediterranean while completely disregarding the dynamic political and social role of borderland society.

Borderland scholar Oscar J. Martinez, who specializes in the US-Mexico border region, advocates the study of border-society from the periphery of borderlands instead of the center. According to Martinez, "borderlanders live in a unique human environment shaped by physical distance from central areas and constant exposure to transnational processes." My paper will apply elements of Martinez's borderland model in order to examine nineteenth century Alexandria strictly from a borderland perspective. The primary objective is to focus on Alexandria's borderland environment to better understand its vibrant historical role. More importantly, using the borderland approach to examine Alexandria's society will illuminate the dynamic roles of thousands of Egyptian, Levantine and European

borderlanders who inhabited the city from the middle of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Although a distinctive and important social force, the function, motivation and *raison d'être* of Alexandria's borderlanders is largely absent from the historical narrative. This oversight can be partially explained by the tendency of social scientists to study border regions from the center rather than the periphery. Ignoring the partial autonomy and uniqueness of borderlands and border people greatly reduces the comprehensiveness and complexity of the historical narrative. This paper will reverse the focus of analysis from a macro-level global economic perspective to a local micro-history of Alexandria's borderland milieu. Highlighting Alexandria's borderland culture will help us understand the role and function of thousands of Alexandrian borderlanders, whose unique and eclectic characteristics can only be fully understood through the application of the borderland approach.

Alexandria's social and cultural environment has perhaps dozens of borderland characteristics, making a comprehensive examination of all of them impossible within the limits of this presentation. Accordingly, the primary focus will be on the transnational elements of the Alexandrine borderland, and especially the characteristic fluidity of its multi-national environment, through the examination of issues of identity and extraterritoriality. Most of my article is devoted to "professional" borderlanders who make their living by manipulating national identity to their advantage. These "political amphibians" (as they are labeled by Peter Sahllins), often navigate the blurry, indistinct environment of the borderland with ease, by bending or breaking most social or legal restrictions, in order to derive maximum economic and/or social benefits.

Peter Feinman, Manhattanville College

Merneptah's Israel in the Time of the Sea Peoples

Merneptah claimed to have destroyed the seed of Israel; Ramses III did not. Perhaps Merneptah had been so successful that there no longer was an Israel for Ramses III to triumph over in the time of the Sea Peoples. Perhaps Ramses III did triumph over Israel but because he was copying from the lists of Ramses II who never mentioned Israel, he omitted them. Perhaps Ramses III failed in battle against Israel and chose not to include that defeat in his records in accordance with Egyptian iconographic obligations.

The conflict between Ramses III and the Sea Peoples occurred within the context of several longstanding developments leading up to that moment:

- the involvement of Egypt in the Levant
- the contacts between Egypt and the Aegean world which included mercenaries fighting in the army of Ramses II
- the contacts between the Semitic and Aegean worlds since the time of the Hyksos

- the conflicts between Egypt and its Nubian neighbors to the south, Libyans to the west, and Shosu to the east
- the emergence of a new people Israel which Merneptah claimed to have destroyed.

What then was the geopolitical configuration of the time? How did the different peoples in the theater of battle line up when this showdown between Ramses III and the Sea Peoples occurred? Were there coalitions as in the time of Thutmose III and if so, which peoples were included and where did they mass to engage the Egyptian forces? Are there any records of a Semitic conflict with Egypt at this time that can shed light on creating an historical reconstruction for this period? While this paper can not answer all these questions, it will offer some suggestions about what occurred and how to further the investigation of this historical period.

Elizabeth Fernea, University of Texas

Presentation of Documentary Film: "Living With the Past: Historic Cairo"

Scope of the film: Cairo, Egypt is one of the few intact medieval cities that remain in today's world. "Living With the Past..." is a cinematographic portrait of Darb al Ahmar, a neighborhood in the heart of the old city now facing a process of radical change. The film documents a unique approach to historic preservation, one that combines monument restoration with social and economic development. Across the globe monument preservation often means that surrounding neighborhoods are demolished and people are displaced. This is not always so in Cairo, where efforts are underway to not only rescue endangered monuments but to improve the standard of living in the affected communities, in this case the people of Darb al Ahmar. "Living with the Past" follow several restoration projects in progress in Darb al Ahmar, including the Great Gate of Bab Zuwayla (1092 A.D.); the mosque of Qijmas el Ishaqi (1481 A.D.), the church of the Virgin (600 A.D.) - a mammoth neighborhood improvement scheme that incorporates social, cultural and economic aspects of development. As the film shows, though closely linked, the question of restoration precedence and the interests of local people remains problematic.

Ann Foster, Independent Scholar

Clay Sealings and Administration of the Middle Kingdom Nubian Forts

The presence of clay sealings at the Egyptian fortresses in Middle Kingdom Nubia demonstrates one aspect of an administrative network for the business transacted at the forts. Based on a variety of sources, this business included acting as bases for royal military expeditions, monitoring local populations, and procuring, safeguarding, and transporting to Egypt raw materials from the region as well as trade goods from further south. Clay sealings played a role in these activities. For example, letter sealings are likely to have sealed, at least in part, missives to and from Egypt as well as among the fortresses such as Semna Despatches. Peg and

bolt sealings are likely to have sealed both doors and boxes, objects frequently related to storage facilities. Sealings from containers such as boxes, baskets, bags, and ceramic vessels mark the securing of commodities for storage, possibly in measured quantities.

In addition to the official business of the fortresses, the *raison d'être* for their presence, their business also included maintaining the garrison on a daily basis. The use of clay sealings in the administration of at least part of this business of daily life is certain. One of the primary examples is the presence of granaries at each of the forts, which attests to the importance of provisions for the garrisons. Sealings are frequently found in these deposits.

Thus from the perspective of clay sealings, by assessing the archaeological context of the sealings, their stratigraphic location, the associated installations and objects, the clay used and their morphology, as well as the seal impressions and their designs or texts, a reconstruction of some of these activities at the fortresses and their control by the Egyptians may be posited. By examining the publications as well as excavation records and a selection of actual sealings, particularly those from the Harvard-Boston Expedition to Nubia led by George Andrew Reisner and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, a more complete picture of the day-to-day workings of the fortresses is possible.

John L. Foster, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

The Desolation of Ipuwer

The ancient Egyptian literary piece known as *Ipuwer* is a difficult and exasperating work. As we have it, it is chaotic, repetitious, filled with seeming errors, and structurally meandering. The difficulty of interpretation is compounded by the absence of the beginning and end of the papyrus and by numerous lacunae. The general situation, however, can be determined: a sage or prophet—whose name seems to be “Ipuwer” according to a reference toward the end of the papyrus—is lamenting the disintegration of Egyptian civilization during a time of upheaval, chaos, and intrusion by foreigners. But little about the time of composition of the text or the period referred to by Ipuwer can be determined; and both are debated by scholars.

First of all, the flaws and inadequacies of the text will be noted, all these militating against the understanding and enjoyment of the *Ipuwer* as a piece of literature. Then, an attempt will be made to note, describe, and at times quote passages, which seem to escape the general degradation of the text, rising to the level of satisfying literature and depicting the details and specifics of ancient civilization. An attempt will also be made to discern a rudimentary order and progression in a piece famous for its disorder and kaleidoscope of impressions and images.

Patricia Blackwell Gary, New York University, in collaboration with Richard Talcott, Senior Editor of Astronomy Magazine
Illuminated in Lightland: "An Archaeoastronomical View of the Architectural Features of the bnb and thn

The setting and activity of Lightland, the "hill of light", in ancient Egyptian art bear an important relationship to the "sacred" bnb stone and the venerated *thn*. Although both symbols were tied together in worship at Heliopolis, the "Pillar of the Northern sky", and outlined in relief as the primordial hill from which the creator-god Anum evolved, their significance in the eyes of the Pre-dynastic Egyptians may have been derived from distinct natural sources. A careful study of the archaeoastronomical and archaeological data provide convincing evidence that the mythical past embodied in the shape of the pyramidal bnb mirrored natural events occurring in the cosmological realms known to the ancient Egyptians as *Lightland*. The effects of these dramatic events on the development of the ancient solar cult practiced in Pre-dynastic Egypt may hold significance for the unusual architectural features of the pyramid and the obelisk.

Lightland, often interpreted by Egyptologists as the "horizon", is in reality an optical phenomenon caused by the rising and setting suns. Analysis derived from a set of observations suggests that it is highly likely that the ancient Egyptians had a completely different mental picture of the horizon or more specifically, the luminous "hill of light". The clues that we have identified from documentation, translated in this examination from the Egyptians' primer notions of luminosity, shed more light on the meaning attached to the "sacred" *bnb* and, to an extent, clarify the possible meaning intended in Hatshepsut's pair of red granite obelisks and temple of Karnak's inscription, "Wrought with very fine electrum, they illuminate the Two Lands like Aten...their rays flood the Two Lands when Aten dawns between them, as he rises in heaven's lightland..." (Lichtheim, 1976, p. 25, 26). Dr. Ogden Goelet, who provided me with some guidance on a few scholars' thoughts on the lexicography of the word, *Lightland* and its related roots and various meanings, points out that the idea that the root "akh" implies some connection with luminosity, generally speaking, and is a very old idea, going back to the 1920's. "Luminosity" is one of the several meanings this root word meaning "to shine" has in the Egyptian context. This usage has been revived over the past ten years or so in several sources, particularly Florence Friedman who incorporated it in her dissertation some fifteen years ago.

This introductory paper which examines the deeper interpretation of significance the Egyptians held of Lightland, reconstructed from an accurate picture of dazzling atmospheric optics found to be consistent with important inscriptions and cultural artifacts, clearly demonstrates that it may have been the primary inspiration for a unique context of solar imagery depicted in later metaphoric construction and decorative programs. In this contemporary view, Richard Talcott, Senior Editor at

Astronomy Magazine, former Lecturer in Physics at Marietta College for three years before beginning his present position, will re-create the Pre-dynastic Egyptian sky as it would have been observed on given times and dates. His explanations will include the optical effects created by the rising and setting suns as well as the pyramidal and vertically oriented cone shapes, which appear to be standing on the edge of the ground on the horizon. We believe that the material evidence we are collaborating on through continued research and analytical understanding is wonderfully exciting, to a degree incontrovertible, and offers a window of opportunity that enlarges our existing view of the Egyptian's Pre-dynastic solar cult practices. We will have at our disposal a rare visual glimpse of two striking phenomena seen as they would have appeared to the Egyptian's themselves.

Jennifer E. Gates, University of Michigan

A Study in Clay: The Granary Sealings from Karanis

Between 1929 and 1935 the University of Michigan excavations at the Roman-period settlement of Karanis in the Fayum uncovered an extensive residential complex dubbed affectionately by its excavators as "the granary." This building was one of the largest and best-preserved multi-story buildings on the site. The southern half of the structure incorporated a series of barrel-vaulted chambers, each divided internally into several small bins about a meter deep and containing the remains of a number of types of grain.

In addition to the grain remnants, the soil excavated from the vaulted storage chambers yielded a collection of about 280 mud sealings impressed with seals. This rare collection of well-preserved sealings excavated in their original functional context is currently housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan, where they have remained for over 80 years, unpublished and studied only tentatively until now. On the basis of their excavation context, these sealings can be dated to the third or fourth centuries CE.

I will offer an overview of this cache of sealings, outlining the scope of important issues they present for analysis and giving preliminary results of an on-going investigation. These issues include two foci: (1) an analytical survey of the iconographic range of the seals impressed into the mud sealings, situating the types within the cultural context of Karanis and the larger corpus of Egyptian sealings; (2) an analysis of the impressions on the backsides of the mud sealings that enable us to identify the kinds of objects to which they were affixed. Interestingly, this particular cache of sealings from Karanis includes very few that were applied to papyri. Instead, the reverses present a range of hosts for these sealings, from wooden boxes and locks to simple string closures. Linking the imagery on specific seals with the functional apparatus on the backside offers insights into the kinds of activities that these impressions represent.

Japer Gaunt, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University

A Ptolemaic Royal Portrait in Garnet

A fragmentary miniature portrait in garnet is among the recent acquisitions of the Michael C. Carlos Museum. Its preserved height is less than half an inch. A drilled hole at the back suggests that it was originally intended as the top of a pin, or to fasten it to a piece of jewellery.

The shape and character of the face indicate that this is a portrait rather than an idealized image. Material and style point to this being royal. Comparison with royal portraits on coins suggests that the most likely candidate may be Berenike II.

This paper tries to place the garnet in the context of other miniature Hellenistic portraits in precious stones, as well as gems and cameos, many of which must have been commissioned by members of the royal court. It is argued that the craftsman cutting these stones were also responsible for the sequence of royal portraits on coins. The choice of garnet is discussed, as are technical and mineralogical aspect. Evidence from the new Milan Posidippos papyrus about the working of hardstones is considered. Finally, the historical evidence for the sitter is outlined, to bring to focus the circumstances in which the garnet may have been carved.

John Gee, Brigham Young University

Stylistic Dating of Greco-Roman Egyptian Stele II: Heads and Hands

Two years ago at the annual ARCE meetings, I discussed how script and framing elements could be used to date Egyptian stele from the Greco-Roman period based on a corpus of about 60 securely dated stele. Now with a larger corpus, separated by regions within Egypt, I will discuss how heads and hands can be used as stylistic criteria for dating Egyptian stele from this largely neglected time period.

Robyn Gillam, York University, Toronto

How to Buy an Apis Bull: Learning from Text and Performance

The obsequies of the divine Apis bull of Memphis are well attested over a long period of time and P. vindob. 3873 even offers a "how to" for mummification, although not always entirely clear. The performing of these and other texts relating to the Apis bull by students at York University in Toronto allows us some insight into the textual, material, and cultic issues raised by these documents and related materials.

Ogden Goelet, New York University

Observations on the Relationship Between Middle Kingdom and Ramesside Literature

The importance that Middle Kingdom literature held both in Ramesside education and in the contemporary literary scene is one of the more interesting (and

puzzling) cultural phenomena of that period. The Ramesside interest in Middle Kingdom texts has been ascribed either to the pivotal role of copying in the Egyptian scribal curriculum or to a deep appreciation for the “classics.” Both explanations are probably true to some degree, but still do not account well enough for the predominance of Middle Egyptian texts among the works most commonly attested on Deir el-Medina ostraca. Perhaps Middle Egyptian had more of a practical value for New Kingdom scribes beyond its strong didactic role than we are sometimes led to believe. Some examples of Middle Egyptian in non-literary contexts will be discussed in this paper.

Whatever the motivation for learning Middle Egyptian during the Ramesside Period may have been, one aspect of the problem which certainly needs further investigation is the nature of the material that was copied, especially the relationship between the Middle Kingdom papyri and their later counterparts. This, properly speaking, is a problem in text transmission and manuscript tradition, an overview of which can be seen in S. Quirke, “Archive.” This communication will discuss some masterpieces of Middle Kingdom literature in this light: *The Tale of Sinuhe*, *The Instruction of Ptahhotep*, *The Loyalist Instruction*, and *The Instruction of a Man for his Son*. The varying use of verse points in these and other manuscripts reveal some interesting insights into the different purposes of these diacritical marks.

Sabrina A. Gomez-Deluchi, University of Oxford

Lost Scenes from the Old Kingdom: Chapel of Werirentah at the British Museum

My study of the Fifth Dynasty chapel of Werirentah began with the fragments displayed in the British Museum. In collecting background information and researching the archival material maintained by the museum, it soon became apparent that much more of the monument had been preserved when the decorated portion of the chapel was removed from its original location in Saqqara in 1903 or 1904. As a result of the instability of the limestone of some blocks and the dismantling and transport of the chapel, large areas have been lost. Of the eighty-nine blocks of varying sizes sent to the British Museum, only thirty-one survived. The relief decoration on forty-six blocks has been published, yet among these, thirteen blocks were already in such an advanced state of deterioration that little of the original scenes can be distinguished. Much of the relief decoration, nonetheless, could be reconstructed on the basis of written documents as well as the discovery in the museum’s archives of six photographs taken of the chapel *in situ* and which have yielded valuable visual evidence concerning the lost sections of the chapel.

The chapel originally consisted of a single rectangular room entered by a corridor that led from the north end of the east wall directly to the exterior of the mastaba. This shape corresponds to the type which Reisner termed the short corridor chapel

or Harpur's L-shaped chapel. The decorated portions of the chapel represented the upper part of the entrance façade, of the corridor walls, and of the four walls of the offering room. Except for the greater part of the top register of the east wall that was lost before the chapel was removed from Saqqara the losses suffered by the chapel occurred after its excavation over a period of several years between 1903 and 1961 with the result that the chapel in its present state lacks portions of the façade on either side of the entrance, both corridor walls, parts of the east and south walls, and the entire north wall. Some of the sections lost are documented in museum publications and the *Topographical Bibliography*, but there remain other lost scenes that have not been published and should be described.

The reconstruction of the north wall is particularly valuable since the north walls of short corridor or L-shaped chapels in general have suffered the most relative to the other walls of the offering room. Of the seventy-eight L-shaped chapels documented by Harpur (*Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 1987, 75), only forty have partly or fully preserved north walls. The predominant theme of the north wall in the chapel of Werirenpthah was that of marsh pursuits arranged in six registers. Among the scenes depicted were those of papyrus gatherers, papyrus skiff building, and fighting boatman, which represent the earliest, or some of the earliest, examples of such scenes attested at Saqqara.

Lyn Green, Royal Ontario Museum

Classifying 18th Dynasty Non-Royal Banquet Scenes

Cultural anthropology offers a number of models for assessing the meaning of various types of commensal meals in both ancient and modern societies. This paper, developing a theme first explored last year at the ARCE Annual Meeting, examines some of the non-royal banquet scenes represented in 18th Dynasty tombs in light not only of the very few previous studies of Egyptian and Bronze Age Near Eastern ceremonial banquets, but within the framework offered for analysis of ritual feasting in traditional and "prehistoric" societies.

Categories of meals studied may include: life-cycle and other commemorative banquets, symbolic banquets associated with the mortuary cult. In this presentation, suggestions for further categorization of these banquets will be offered, such as "political" and "diacritical" banquets intended to recruit political support or make explicit the differences in the status of the attendees.

Charles Gregorio-Jones, ARCE/Orange County

Expansion of Egyptian Trade in the New Kingdom

Beginning with the reign of Queen Hatshepsut and extending to her successors, Egyptian trading patterns during the New Kingdom took on new characteristics. The topic will focus on the Punt expedition reliefs at Deir el Bahari and determine which toponyms are mentioned and systematically dealt with. Obscure

toponyms found on the temple walls will be examined and theoretical identifications with regions known and unknown to Egyptian topographers will be identified as evidence to support Egyptian trading patterns. The principle focus will be on both physical evidence obtained from cemetery sites at Deir el Medina, cultural evidence as depicted on temple reliefs, and linguistic evidence found in targeted countries. The effects of Egyptian trade and colonization would have tremendous consequences both on target and source cultures. What will be established is a strong link for Egyptian expansion into Asia both by sea and by land.

Katherine Griffis-Greenberg, University College London and University of Alabama at Birmingham

The Creation of Sacred Space Within the Post-Amarna Royal Tomb in Ancient Egypt

Ancient Egyptian space concepts were historically imbued with distinct values and sacred meaning. Indications of this were most apparent in the royal tomb, a concrete representation of the afterlife book maps, which portrayed the sun-god's journey at night. As part of the afterlife journey, the king must travel to participate in both the sun-god's and his own eternal rejuvenation. As such, knowledge of the passage to the physical realm of the afterlife depended upon recognizing, and acting within, specific orientation and direction, as a pilgrim on sacred journey.

This paper will discuss ancient Egyptian meaning concerning direction and body orientation – for the living and the dead. These orientation values were transformed during the post-Amarna through early Ramesside period, due to changes in religious precepts of that period, which resulted in the creation of sacred space within the tomb as an “afterlife book writ large.”

This paper is derived from a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *M.A. in Egyptian Archaeology (Art and Architecture)* of the University of London, received with Distinction, in 2002.

Naomi Gunnels, Brigham Young University

What Can We Piece Together about the Temple of Chespsichis?

The massive amount of work on the Karnak temple has mostly overshadowed the small temple of Chespsichis, which lies to the east. This temple, which was built during the Late period, has been almost completely destroyed, and what still exists remains for the most part unpublished. Using the published sources I will analyze what can be discovered about the temple of Chespsichis. Extant monuments, inscriptional remains, personal names and temple personnel combined together give new insight into reasons for the mysterious workings and existence of this temple. Results of my studies illuminate periods of use of the temple, relationship of the cult in comparison to other temples in the area, and certain marked tendencies of the cult.

Robert Hanawalt, The Amarna Research Foundation*Rock Tomb Ten: The Tomb of Ipy at Akhetaten, Revisited*

Rock tomb #10 at Akhetaten is located in the south tomb group and designated for an individual named Ipy. Ipy was a royal scribe and a steward of an undesignated estate of one of the members of the Royal family. His tomb was first mentioned by Hay, ca. 1830, simply as "the tomb opened by me". Prior to Hay very little was published or known about the early history of the tomb other than it was sanded in. Lepsius apparently knew of the tomb but did not penetrate it. Little more was heard about the tomb until Bouriant, along with Legrain and Jaquier, published *Monuments pour servir a l'étude du Culte d' Atenon en Egypte, Tome 1, 1905*, which included a drawing and a photograph of an offering scene, and a copy of the so-called "Hymn to the Sun".

In 1906, deGaris Davis published volume IV of his monumental work titled *The Rock Tombs of Amarna*. In it he published his rendering of the offering scene. He noted that he had checked the previous drawings carefully and had corrected several errors. The next mention of any consequence was by Dr. William Murnane in *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, in which he reproduced Davies drawing and offered a translation of "Hymn to the Sun" that is slightly different than that in *The Rock Tombs of Amarna*.

Today, rock tomb #10 is seldom visited. Unfortunately, the three available drawings of the offering scene that are available (listed above) omit two very important elements that are still present and are in the original photographs, but were missed when the archeologists made the drawings. These two details will be presented.

James A. Harrell, University of Toledo*Discovery of a Late Predynastic-Roman Cemetery, Settlement and Quarry at Gebel Umm Naqqat, Eastern Desert*

A Late Predynastic cemetery, an Early Roman settlement, and a quarry dating possibly to both periods have been discovered at Gebel Umm Naqqat in the southern Eastern Desert, 70 km south of Quseir at N 25° 29.78' and E 34° 15.10'. The cemetery consists of six stone rings with interior burials. The largest ring is 20 m in diameter and, where plundered, exposes sherds of the Nubian A Group's 'rippled' ware of the Nagada I and II periods. Identification of this and other pottery at the site was made by Sylvie Marchand of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo.

Above the cemetery, on the side of a small hill, is a quarry for pegmatitic diorite. It consists of two trench-like excavations: one 70 m long and up to 11 m wide and 6 m deep, and the other 19 m long and up to 5 m wide and 3 m deep. Areas with concentrations of stone chippings occur below the quarry and within these

are found roughed-out, discoidal blocks of diorite (16-40 cm in diameter) that are blanks for vessels. Also present are the primitive stone mauls used to shape these blanks. Stone vessels of pegmatitic diorite and many other rock types are a common feature of Egyptian burials from the Late Predynastic period through the Old Kingdom. This, together with the associated cemetery, suggests that the vessel blanks and quarry date to the Late Predynastic period or, at least, not later than the Old Kingdom.

The settlement below the quarry has several well-built and well-preserved stone huts, many with multiple-rooms. These appear to be of Early Roman date (1st-2nd century AD) based on both the pottery and construction style. Although a few sherds of Roman pottery were also found in the quarry, there is no definite evidence of Roman activity, such as wedge-holes, chisel tracks or other distinctive tool marks. It is, thus, not clear how much, if any, stone was removed by the Romans. However, the Romans did quarry a similar-looking pegmatitic diorite at Wadi Umm Shegilat, 190 km to the northwest. They apparently planned to develop the Gebel Umm Naqqat quarry as another source of this highly esteemed, ornamental stone.

Harold Hays, The University of Chicago

Patterns of Textual Transmission in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature

As part of a groundbreaking study, Altenmuller highlighted the importance of recurrent patterns of mortuary texts from the Old and Middle Kingdoms: whole compositional groups of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts could be dealt with as distinct compositional units because they were transmitted together. Subsequent research, as by Jurgens, has employed the phenomenon of recurrent patterns in order to determine text-genealogical relations between different sources, and other research, as by Allen, has employed it to propose the quasi-narrative sequence of texts borne by the source. But only a fraction of the recurrent patterns has so far been identified, and their thematic content has been barely examined. This talk describes the present state of my dissertation research, dealing both with salient trends evident in the 900 recurrent patterns of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts identified by me and how motifs tend to be repeated among the texts of a pattern, the repetition of motif serving to thematically characterize it.

James K. Hoffmeier, Trinity International University

Some Preliminary Observations about New Kingdom History: Excavations at Tell el-Borg (N. Sinai) Since 2000

Excavations in North Sinai beginning in the 1980s have provided new data for understanding Egypt's eastern frontier during the New Kingdom. The significant work of Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud at Tell Hebua has resulted in the discovery of

the long sought frontier town, Tjaru/Sile. This discovery has settled some important questions, but raised others. One important issue is which direction did "Ways of Horus" or military highway go from Hebua to Canaan? The investigations at Tell el-Borg, which I have directed since 1999, have provided an answer. Two substantial New Kingdom forts have been uncovered which were strategically located to defend one of the main approaches to Egypt. I have provisionally suggested that Tell el-Borg marks the second fort in the Seti I sequence, viz. "The Dwelling of the Lion" (See forthcoming, *JEA* 2003).

The excavations at Tell el-Borg indicated that the early fort was utilized from the mid through late 18th Dynasty, and the second fort from the late 18th Dynasty through the 19th and into the 20th Dynasty. During the 2001 season, we discovered an early branch of the Pelusiac that passed by the fort during the New Kingdom. This feature indicates that this fortified site not only served as a defensive post on the "Ways of Horus," but also guarded the Nile branch against naval incursions. Given this factor, what role of did the fort at Tell el-Borg play during the Sea People's invasion? Another important question: Is there a relationship between the recently discovered late 18th Dynasty fortifications at Tell el-Daba and the second fort at Tell el-Borg?

This paper will attempt to provide some tentative answers these critical questions.

Susan Tower Hollis, Empire State College

Cattle and Goddesses in the Eastern Sahara in Prehistory

Ongoing research into the early evidence for Hathor's presence and activities both inside and outside of Egypt proper has led to questions about her relation to the astral and solar realms, seafaring, and cattle. While scholars have asserted her primordial importance in early Egyptian history and even prehistory, supporting contemporary documentation about the *how's* and *why's* have been conspicuously absent, such assertions deriving largely from documents of later historic times. Accepting that the earliest goddess manifest as a cow may be Bat, not Hathor, the current presentation will review and analyze recent materials and research related to cattle, cattlekeeping, and apparent cattle veneration along with evidence for early solar and astral observations, particularly in relation to the eastern Sahara, in an effort to further our understanding of these elements as they may have possible bearing on the importance of deities related to cattle, particularly Bat-Hathor, in early Egypt.

Thomas Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

Mystical Improvisations: Ibn al-Fârid Plays al-Mutanabbî, Again

From the start, love and poetry have been intimate companions with Islamic mysticism. The love between God and humanity is an essential element of the Sufi tradition, and this relationship, with its many permutations, is central to

Arabic religious verse. Much of this poetry marks a return, a recollection, and a remembrance that are of equal importance to love and mysticism, and it was only natural that Muslim mystics turned to love poetry to voice their feelings and beliefs. Yet this was a reciprocal relationship for many professional poets found inspiration in Sufism; al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965) employed the mystical language of antithesis and paradox to amaze and praise his royal patrons, while the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) relied upon mystical allusions to intimate the spiritual nature of his abiding love for an all too human and fickle lover. By contrast, love poetry by the Egyptian Ibn al-Fārid (d. 623/1234) has been a gold mine for his Sufi commentators and hagiographers, who largely ignore love's human dimensions as they seek to uncover the spiritual truths within every verse. In their view, Ibn al-Fārid's love poetry was his spontaneous response to profound mystical experiences. But this image of Ibn al-Fārid as an ecstatic gnostic obscures important literary dimensions of his work, especially questions regarding his literary benefactors and their influence. For Ibn al-Fārid's polished and highly mannered poetry challenges persistent views of him as a manic oracle reciting from the depths of mystical trance. His odes are carefully crafted works replete with intricate rhetorical displays, and Ibn al-Fārid's learned poetic skill is also evident in his conscious references to verse by earlier Arab poets, particularly to al-Mutanabbi. In this presentation, I will analyze verse by both poets to reveal the extent to which Ibn al-Fārid mystically improvised on the poetry of his esteemed predecessor.

Merit Huey, The University of Memphis

A Stylistic Study of a Bust of Ramesses III, MFA 29.733

Currently on loan from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to the Institute of Egyptian Art & Archaeology and on exhibit in the Art Museum of the University of Memphis, is a bust inscribed for Ramesses III (Twentieth Dynasty) made of red granite. The bust is a fragment of a complete statue that was broken above the waist.

Evidence documents that Ramesses III's sculptors copied the styles of previous pharaohs and, in some cases, re-cut the works of previous pharaohs to make them appear to be his own. Some scholars have suggested that this bust copies the style of an Eighteenth Dynasty ruler, either Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III. Therefore, I will first present a brief discussion of the stylistic features of both of these pharaohs. A comparison of the features of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III to those of the MFA bust will aid in a determination of whose style this image may have been an attempt to emulate. Then, I will address the question of whether this is simply a case of copying the style of a previous pharaoh or if there may be evidence to suggest rather that this is a re-cut statue. The bust will be examined for evidence of possible re-cutting by examining those areas of the statue (such as the eyes, mouth, headdress, etc.), which would have had to have been altered to depict the likeness of a later king.

Finally, this study attempts a reconstruction of the statue's original appearance as

either a seated or a standing statue. Using statistics for the average proportions for seated and standing statues of Amenhotep III, I have estimated approximate heights for each of these proposed restorations.

Salima Ikram, American University in Cairo

The Lost Oasis of Umm el Dabadib

Once part of, and now adjoining Kharga Oasis, lies the small oasis of Umm el Dabadib. This area was a key point on the route between Kharga and Dakhla Oases, and the only watering point before the temple and spring of Ayn Amur on the plateau. The work of the North Kharga Oasis Survey (NKOS) at Umm el Dabadib shows that the area was first inhabited in the prehistoric period when water was very plentiful there. The next major era of occupation was the Roman Period, especially between the 3rd and 5th centuries AD. The Roman occupation has left its mark in the form of an imposing fort, two areas of settlement concentration, five major aqueducts, wells, a complicated field system, churches, temples, and cemeteries. This paper will present the most recent findings made by NKOS in this area.

Sameh Iskander, New York University

Merenptah's Foreign Activities

The texts and monuments of Merenptah have been studied intermittently for the past century in an attempt to reconstruct the foreign activities of this king, but many issues remain troublesome.

This paper aims to explore and rectify a number of these issues, where some of the findings differ substantially from other long held opinions. The conclusions presented are based on close inspection of: 1) all Merenptah's royal texts in their totality; 2) the scant evidence from non-royal texts; 3) Ramesses III texts, as the texts of both kings deal generally with similar enemies and in many instances employ similar accounts and terms; 4) Merenptah's titulary; and 5) other epigraphic and archeological arguments by other scholars.

The paper concludes that the major battle of Merenptah mentioned in the Karnak text, where he won in six hours, may have not been in reality a single battle, but rather several clashes in different parts of Egypt. These confrontations were condensed by the scribe and incorporated into a Libyan battle on the western front, thereby giving the impression of a major and decisive battle. This argument echoes Cifola's conclusion about Ramesses III battles. It is also evident from other texts that some of the components of the Sea Peoples were already in Egypt for some time before Merenptah, and remained after his reign. Furthermore, to the East of Egypt, there is no credible evidence of a military campaign in Asia. Rather, the reference to Asiatic toponyms by foreign princes in the text of the Triumph Hymn was merely intended to affirm Merenptah's control over Asia.

Amy J. Johnson, Berry College

Encouraging Education, Increasing Income: The al-Manayil Village School as a Model for Rural Education in Egypt

In 1936 the Egyptian Association for Social Studies, a private, voluntary organization in Cairo, began an experimental program of village reform. Using two villages in Lower Egypt (al-Manayil and Shatanuf) for their experiment, the EASS attempted to formulate a program to address all village problems. The resulting program of Rural Social Centers was revolutionary in its approach to rural reform, as it emphasized integrated, comprehensive development and involved villagers as the primary agents of social change in the villages. When the Ministry of Social Affairs was founded in 1939, it included the Rural Social Centers project as the centerpiece of its rural reform efforts.

As one of their first projects, the residents of al-Manayil formulated a plan for a new village school. Education was compulsory and parents of truant children were fined for their children's non-attendance. Yet, the nearest school was more than a mile distant. The men of al-Manayil requested the government build a school in their village. Yet they also devised a new curriculum designed to increase village income and school attendance. The new village school thus incorporated practical/technical subjects like furniture making, improved agricultural techniques, handiwork, weaving/carpets, bee-keeping, etc. with more academic subjects such as reading, writing, and religious instruction. The project was later named a model project by the Egyptian government and the United Nations, and similar schools were included (or existing ones re-vamped) in villages that later received Rural Social Centers.

This paper discusses the foundation of the al-Manayil village school, arguing that it was the result of both the new approach to social reform encompassed within the Rural Social Centers project and the result of an activist citizenry within the village itself. While debates about socio-economic reform and development were commonplace in pre-revolutionary Egypt, the Rural Social Centers project and the new village school that stemmed from it were rare examples of concrete and successful cooperation between citizens, the non-governmental sector, and the government. In addition, recent survey research conducted by the author in al-Manayil indicates that citizens have carried on the tradition of self-help that resulted in their school being founded more than sixty years ago. Citizens today are not only aware of the history of their village, their school, and the Rural Social Centers project, but they overwhelmingly attribute the expansion of educational and social services in their village to their own efforts to lobby for, found, and successfully forge partnerships with relevant agents. Thus, the al-Manayil village school of the 1930s is important not only as an educational innovation, but as a real attempt to improve the standard of living in the village and as the project that set the standard for later projects, both in terms of success and in terms of methodology.

This paper is based on extensive primary source research, including the writings of EASS members involved in the al-Manayil village school project, interviews with villagers who recall the project, and governmental, non-governmental, and domestic and international press coverage of the project

**Edward D. Johnson, University of California at Los Angeles
and Nicholas Reeves, Meyers Museum**

The Amarna Royal Tombs Project: Four Years Work, 1998-2002

Since 1998 The Amarna Royal Tombs Project has been engaged in the systematic investigation of the central part of the Valley of the Kings, seeking further evidence of Amarna-period activity in the area but committed to the responsible excavation, recording and preservation of all periods of the site's occupation. This paper will assess the significance of ARTP's excavations to date, and prospects for the future.

Results so far have been impressive, and include: unique stratigraphic data bearing upon the development of the ancient landscape and the history of the site's flooding; significant areas of unrecorded workmen's settlement; one of the mysterious 'five walls of the Valley' and its protective Ramesside shrine; many fragments of attributable royal and private funerary material (including gold jewellery); dozens of important ostraca (one with the name of a new Ramesside queen, Taiay); significant numbers of ancient graffiti; and intriguing hints that KV56 ('The Gold Tomb'), first discovered in 1908 and re-excavated by ARTP over three consecutive seasons, originally contained a burial of Amarna date.

The Project's first four seasons have confirmed that the Valley of the Kings remains a site of the highest archaeological importance and potential, and demonstrate the absolute necessity of slow, patient and thorough work at a well-stratified site which has for too long suffered from the blight of rapid and poorly supervised 'clearance'—a technique which should no longer be tolerated.

Beth Ann Judas, University of Pennsylvania

Late Bronze Age Aegean Vessels in Lower Nubian Fortress Towns

The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Egyptian Section's storage has an extensive collection of objects from the excavations at Buhen by D. Randall-McIver and C. Leonard Woolley. A number of ceramic vessels were excavated including imports from the Levant and Aegean. The Late Bronze Age Aegean ceramics date to the Late Helladic III period and are nice examples of imported vessels that have been found at a number of sites within Egypt. Additionally, Late Bronze Age Aegean pottery has been found at other fortress sites in Nubia from the 18th and 19th Dynasties.

The University Museum's examples are a part of a seemingly typical, basic typology of Late Bronze Age Aegean ceramics that have been excavated at Aniba, Askut,

Buhen, and Sesbi in domestic and funerary areas. The repertoire of shapes is — limited to mostly stirrup jars and pilgrim flasks; however, there are a few additional shapes, such as the pyxis from Sesebi and a possible piriform jar from Askut, which are rare in Egypt. The levels in which ceramics have been found date to the New Kingdoms; thus, it seems that the imported Aegean vessels fall within the timespan of their imported Egyptian- Aegean counterparts. The paper will review the Buhen Aegean vessels in terms of the wider typological, chronological, and socio-economic framework of Late Bronze Age Aegean ceramic imports in New Kingdom Lower Nubian fortress towns.

Hanaa Kilany, Emory University

The Use of Dreams for Political and Social Purposes in Mamluk Egypt

In the Islamic tradition, dreams are considered either illusions or signs of vision and prophecies. The former are Satanic acts and thus are viewed as false or not real. The latter are said to have a spiritual basis in which the soul, the source of the spiritual and moral traits, receives visions from Gos (Qur'an 42:51). Hence, they are designated as true and real. Among the latter type are dreams of the Prophet Muhammad, because of the hadith that states that Satan will not assume the Prophet's form. Apart from the spiritual rewards they impart to Muslims, dreams establish authority that cannot be challenged. The person who questions the message of such a dream would be charged with accusing the Prophet of lying (takdhib al-rasul). This study argues that people in authority used dreams of the Prophet in order to promote the acceptance of new rules at the popular level and to make them effective. In a series of articles on dreams, Leah Kinberg discusses the use of dreams in the legitimization of adherence or conversion to a particular legal madhhab. She compares the role dreams play in establishing authority to the citation of Prophet hadith as a proof-text. Likewise, mystics widely adopted dreams to assert their spiritual calling and their elevated status as saints. The work of Berndt Radke and John O'Kane on al-Tirmidhi analyze a case in point.

This study examines the use of dreams in instituting political, social, and legal change in Mamluk Egypt. A selection of narratives on dreams culled from mamluk chronicles reveal the curtailing of social practices or the imposition of legal rulings as a last resort to effecting change. The study argues that for changes or rules to gain acceptance at the popular level and to be effective, authorities added weight to their decrees by citing and revealing the contents of dreams they had had in which the Prophet figured. Surprisingly, the message presented in the dreams occasionally dictated the extermination of Muslim rivals, hardly justifiable in moral or Islamic legal terms, which would not sanction the commission of such a grave sin (kabira) as killing. It concludes that dreams of the Prophet were an important device of political rhetoric and were used by authority figures of the Mamluk period as a form of public relations to manipulate popular opinion.

Deanna Kiser, University of California, Berkeley*The Tree-Goddess Scenes in Theban Tombs 41 and 51*

Few students of Egyptian art would fail to recognize one of the ancient culture's most well-known paintings, that of the tree-goddess bestowing food and drink on Userhat (TT 51) and his family in his otherworldly garden. It has been studied, cited and praised for its beauty and intricate details since its clearance by Sir Robert Mond in 1903. However, the tomb of Amenemope called Ipy (TT 41) also contains a strikingly similar depiction of the same scene. This paper will elaborate on Norman de Garis Davies' acknowledgment in passing of what is clearly an example of two paintings having been executed by the same artist, or of one having served as template for the other. There are too many similarities in layout and execution of certain details for the two illustrations to be unrelated. Difficulties in dating TT 41 with precision, in addition to the positioning of the scene on a shaded court wall, create uncertainty regarding which of these masterpieces was painted first. It is ironic that while the tomb of Amenemope appears to be earlier (perhaps even as early as the reign of Ramesses I), through the accident of preservation the famous scene in Userhat's tomb has been lauded for nearly a century.

Arielle P. Kozloff, Independent Scholar*A Family Feud at the Court of Amenhotep III*

Three monuments have been studied in recent decades as evidence of a controversy or conundrum occurring late in the reign of Amenhotep III. Ramose's tomb (TT 55) has been used as proof of a long co-regency between Amenhotep III and his son, which many people question. A relief at Soleb showing Ramose with the vizier Amenhotep has been cited in an essay positing Ramose as the vizier of the North, turning upside down previous notions. The decoration of Amenhotep Son of Hapu's funerary temple omits Ramose, who, by virtue of his importance and his claim to kinship with the former, should have been present. The explanation that he was ill does not satisfy. A fourth monument, the Ashmolean Museum's statue of the Great Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep, has never been tied to an underlying controversy, but it will be here.

The monuments cited here were created for a small number of highly placed individuals at a dynamic time in history. It stands to reason that among these wealthy and powerful individuals there were both alliances and rivalries, especially with the uncertainty of an aged king on the throne. Taken together, the evidence suggests an important and previously unnoticed drama that underlay the last years of Amenhotep III's reign.

This paper will suggest that all four monuments are evidence of a feud between the family of Ramose (including his half-brother the steward Amenhotep) and the most powerful official of the day, Amenhotep Son of Hapu. While the cause of the feud is not clear, it appears to have played itself out not only in the monuments

listed above but also in the statuery of Amenhotep Son of Hapu and in the sudden appearance of the vizier Amenhotep.

The family feud suggested here might have been part of a much larger rift in Egypt of the late 18th dynasty, probably involving tension between North and South, Memphis and Thebes. Such a schism can not have been avoided as Thebes drew more and more of Egypt's economic resources away from the traditional capital at Memphis during the colossal building campaign of Amenhotep III at Thebes, his administrative capital and the home of his namesake god.

Peter Lacovara, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University
The First Archaeological Survey of Nubia

With the enlargement of the first dam at Aswan at the beginning of this century, the Egyptian Antiquities Service, realizing the destruction to archaeological sites that would take place, engaged a young American archaeologist, George Andrew Reisner, to study the area, which would be covered forever by the floodwaters of the new reservoir.

Perhaps the most systematic and methodical archaeologist of his day, Reisner devised the prototypical archaeological survey that was the ancestor of modern salvage archaeology. The Archaeological Survey of Nubia began work in September 1907, with Reisner assisted by Cecil M. Firth and A. M. Blackman under the general directorship of Col. H. G. Lyons.

Reisner's goals were "the recovery of all the archaeological and [anthropological] material and the reconstruction of the history of the district." The chronological framework that he devised in which to order his finds remains the basis for Nubian archaeology today. He began with the A-Group (=Archaic Egypt) and ended with the X-Group (=Byzantine Period). Reisner only went up to Group E, possibly equated with the post-New Kingdom occupation of Lower Nubia. The rest of the alphabet was left in between should other cultures be discovered.

Reisner left the survey in 1908, to conduct the Harvard University excavations at Samaria in Palestine and at Giza in Egypt, the following year, although he left Firth in charge in Nubia and frequently corresponded with him about the aspects of the survey and co-authored some of the later reports. The survey excavated over 150 sites stretching from Shellal to Wadi es-Sebua. At the end of the survey, in 1911, Firth presented Reisner and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with a large study collection of objects from the many of the sites they had excavated as well as the notes and photographs taken by the expedition.

This material has been largely unpublished and this paper will review a proposed project to augment the original survey publications with a more detailed analysis of the objects and photographs from the Reisner archive.

Diana Wolfe Larkin, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum*Making Room for the Ptolemies in Egyptian Temple Reliefs: Unwieldy and Blank Cartouches*

In Egyptian temple decoration, image and text worked together, with names and descriptive hieroglyphic captions forming part of the composition of a scene. In scenes showing a king, it was standard to include elements of the royal titulary, usually the ruler's throne name (prenomen) and birth name (nomen), enclosed in cartouches. Because the pictorial scheme of temple decoration relied on the depiction of reciprocal favors between the reigning king and the gods, the ruler appears repeatedly, and so do his names. Cartouches, lengths of rope looped around a name and knotted to form a symbol of protection, were flexible in design and could be stretched to hold any name.

Royal names varied in length but were usually short enough that they could be inserted harmoniously above or in front of a king's image. Under the Ptolemies, however, royal names became so long that they were sometimes difficult to incorporate into the scheme of a standard temple scene, particularly on small architectural surfaces. Most Egyptian royal names, from the Old Kingdom onward, included mention of a god or gods. Rulers of the Ptolemaic dynasty continued the long-standing pattern, thereby aligning themselves with local deities, a politically advantageous move for leaders of foreign origin. Lengthy appellations began under Ptolemy III (246-222 BC). For him and subsequent Ptolemies, announcing a link to preceding rulers from the king's own family was as important as testifying to support from Re, Amun, or Ptah, and the official names expanded accordingly.

This paper looks at some of the adjustments that had to be made in temple reliefs for unwieldy royal names. In most cases, draftsmen managed to include the lengthy names within a desired scene, with minor manipulations of the composition. In tight spaces, however, they appear to have made compromises, sometimes relying on a nearby surface to bear the name of the relevant king, while leaving the king's image without a name in the expected position or else accompanying the king's image with a small blank cartouche.

Empty cartouches are usually explained as reflections of political upheaval. Indeed, evidence can be marshaled to indicate that questions about the identity of the current holder of the royal office sometimes led to omission of a name. However, in certain cases blank cartouches seem to have been used for practical reasons concerning the layout of the relief decoration. Long names that were difficult to incorporate in the layout would be relegated to an adjoining panel or surface better suited to the display of text, and the king's image would be accompanied by modestly sized blank cartouches.

Kate Liszka, University of Pennsylvania

Production Workshops at el-Amarna

The 1987 discovery of two large kilns and five small kilns in house Q48.4 at el-Amarna (Akhetaten) inspired a detailed study in glass, faience, and pottery making, primarily undertaken by Paul Nicholson and Andrew Boyce as documented in *Amarna Reports V* and *VI*. This discovery stimulated excavation director Barry Kemp to write a short appendix on “Workshops and Production at el-Amarna” (*Amarna Reports V*, pp. 56-63). His appendix discusses the three types of production at Amarna—cottage industry, courtyard establishments, and institutional workshops. Kemp focuses on the role of courtyard establishments and their workshops in society. He suggests that they are controlled primarily by the nobles and that they are possibly a reward given to an official by the king from the Window of Appearances.

After critically reviewing Kemp’s theory, I demonstrate that courtyard establishments were part of the original town planning and not rewards given from the Window of Appearance. Even though these workshops were situated on the property of the nobles, they were primarily controlled by the state, which later redistributed their products. Furthermore, by analyzing houses in the North and South Suburbs of Amarna, the vast remains of faience and glass point to tremendous production that likely superseded the needs of Akhetaten alone, which may imply that Akhetaten had the production ability to export these products to the rest of Egypt.

Margaret Litvin, University of Chicago

The Play’s the Thing: How Egyptians Use Shakespeare to Argue About Politics

Ever since “Shaykh Zubayr” first shook his spear at an Arab audience over a century ago, protagonists like Hamlet and Othello have loomed large in the Egyptian imagination. Almost simultaneously with the departure of the British came the first complete translations; soon the plays were “nationalized,” becoming a regular part of the Egyptian cultural canon and fair game for quotation, re-interpretation, parody, and the whole series of rhetorical uses to which canonical texts can be put. Shakespeare-inspired characters began to appear in Egyptian fiction, drama, poetry, and film. And public discussions of law, justice, and national identity began to bristle with conscience-catching Shakespearean examples.

My paper probes some of the ways in which Egyptian intellectuals of the past 40 years have made use of Shakespeare in their political rhetoric: both 1) the political lines along which Egyptians have adapted, rewritten, or interpreted Shakespeare’s plays and 2) the sometimes surprising arguments for which Egyptian polemicists — from liberals to Islamists — have invoked Shakespeare as an authority. Rather than try to trace Shakespeare’s *influence* on Arabic literature, my paper investigates the appropriation of Shakespeare’s ideas, characters, images, and phrases in a

particular social/political context. This investigation reveals how some very talented Egyptians of different generations have understood several of Shakespeare's plays (I follow the sources and focus mainly on *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Julius Caesar*), how they have understood their own political situation, and how they have used the former, through changing times and concerns, to cast unexpected lights on the latter.

Clark Lombardi, Columbia Law School

The Nass in the Islamic Jurisprudence of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt

Since 1980, Article 2 of the Egyptian Constitution has stated that "the principles of the Islamic *Shari`a* are the chief source of Egyptian legislation" (*mābād `al-Shari`a al-Islāmiya al-maṣḍar al-rā`isī li`l-tashrī`*). The Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt (the SCC) has interpreted this to mean that all laws enacted after the amendment of Article 2 must be consistent with the essential principles of Islamic *Shari`a*. The SCC has also asserted that it will strike down any laws that are inconsistent with these principles. Since the early 1990s, the Court has been reviewing newly enacted laws for consistency with Islamic norms. Since that time, it has upheld a number of laws, and it has declared two to be inconsistent with the principles of Islamic *Shari`a*.

In this paper, I will look closely at the SCC's method of identifying the principles of Islamic *Shari`a*. The SCC's methodology has been discussed in a handful of articles and in my own dissertation at Columbia. I believe that recent writing and, to some extent my dissertation, overestimated the novelty of the SCC's method. I will argue that the SCC's methodology draws upon two of the most influential strains of modernist jurisprudence, and indeed they seem to represent an attempt to combine the two. The first of these is a textualist/utilitarian model of Islamic jurisprudence that was first developed by Rashīd Riḍā and has been further elaborated by numerous modernist thinkers since. The second is the historicist model associated first with al-Sanhūrī. In this paper, I will argue that the SCC's method of identifying binding Islamic norms fits into the tradition of modernist Islamic legal thought in Egypt.

The SCC has identified the principles of Islamic *Shari`a* that the state must respect as the principles that are found in "nuṣūṣ." Nuṣūṣ according to both the classical Sunni jurists and modernists such as Riḍā are univocal texts of unequivocal authenticity and meaning. Through a close reading of several opinions and a description of the nuṣūṣ that the SCC has identified and applied, I will demonstrate that the SCC has defined the concept of the naṣṣ in a way that is different from either the classical Sunni jurists or Riḍā. Through its redefinition of the concept of the naṣṣ, the SCC has been able to create a method of identifying underlying principles that attempts to combine the historicism of al-Sanhūrī's methodology with the utilitarianism of Riḍā's.

As I will also note, however, there is an underlying tension between al-Sanhūrī's and Riḍā's approaches to identifying the essential principles of Islamic law, and as a result, there has been a latent tension in the SCC's approach to identifying the nuṣūṣ. As I will show, the SCC has, to date, been willing to address this latent tension. Indeed, it has used casuistry to avoid the issue in the cases where it has arisen. It is unclear whether the Court will in the future be able to continue avoiding the question of how to reconcile the two different theoretical approaches of Riḍā and al-Sanhūrī.

Michelle Marlar, Institute of the Fine Arts, New York University
Excavation of the Late Period Temple of Osiris at Abydos

As the people of ancient Egypt believed the final resting place of the god Osiris to be at Abydos, his cult prospered there and lasted until the very latest phases of pharaonic Egyptian history. The temple of Osiris was the central focus of the cult, where daily offerings were made to the god and rituals carried out. Flinders Petrie, who excavated at Abydos in 1902/03 found references to the Osiris temple indicating that it was located in the area of Kom el Sultan at Abydos. Some scholars believe that Petrie found the actual temple of Osiris, while others scholars have concluded that these buildings are actually royal ka-chapels, and that the remains of the Osiris temple still await discovery.

Just to the southwest of the structures discovered by Petrie, lie the extensive remains of a large stone temple. Some foundation blocks and part of the pylon remain visible, but the temple appears to have been almost completely dismantled or destroyed in antiquity. Thousands of limestone and sandstone pieces that were chipped off from the original walls during this process, many of which still retain their original decoration and inscriptions, make up the bulk of what remains of the temple. Although Petrie attributed the temple to Pharaoh Nectanebo II of the Late Period (30th Dynasty, 360-343 B.C.) he did not actually excavate the temple site, so a definitive attribution had yet to be established.

I have undertaken the study of the Late Period phase of the Osiris temple at Abydos as a Ph.D. topic at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. With the permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities and funded by New York University through the Antonina S. Ranieri International Scholars Fund, I spent one month at the Osiris temple site during the fall of 2002. During this time, I first worked with a surveyor to produce a topographical survey of the entire temple area and then conducted a detailed surface examination, noting surface remains (including painted and inscribed stone) and surviving in situ architecture. With the assistance of Dr. Jennifer Hellum (University of Toronto '01) four 5x5 meter squares were excavated, their locations chosen partly on the results of this surface examination and partly on where the units would fall within the temple proper.

Numerous painted and relief fragments in a good state of preservation have been

recovered that offer glimpses of the boldly styled decorative program of the temple. Some of the limestone fragments are finely carved and of extremely high quality. The painted fragments indicate a very vivid, original and striking style of art with characteristic Late Period elements. Two partially preserved cartouches belonging to 30th Dynasty pharaohs have been recovered, one containing part of the throne name of Nectanebo I (380-360 B.C.), and another the lower half of a cartouche displaying the throne name of either Teos (365-360 B.C.) or Nectanebo II. In addition to relief and painted fragments, the remains of some very high quality hard stone statuary have been recovered. All items excavated from this temple indicate that it was an important, thriving cult center for the god Osiris during the Late Period of Egypt.

Mona N. Mikhail, New York University

Presentation of Documentary: Live on Stage, A Century and a Half of Theater in Egypt

This documentary surveys over a century and a half of theater in Egypt. Through interviews with leading directors, such as Saad Ardash, also a great actor of the stage, foremost playwrights such as Alfred Farag, Lenin al Ramly, and Mohammad Salmawy, major theatrical issues are discussed such as the question of fusha and `amiyaa, censorship, the golden sixties amongst others.

The first lady of the theater Samiha Ayoub, reminisces about her early beginnings in the theater (age fourteen) and discusses with fascinating insights the challenges for an Egyptian woman on the stage. The well known drama critic Nihad Seleha, currently Dean of the drama school at the Academy of the Arts discusses the role of experimental theater and its vital social and political impact on new generations of actors and audiences. Hoda Wasfy, academic and then director of the National Theater (al Qawmi) as well as the avant garde Hanagir talks about the pivotal role of the theater within society.

Through the use of archival materials and especially footage from famous plays the documentary can be the starting point for timely discussions about the role of the arts as well as the theater in contemporary Egyptian society.

Gregory Mumford, University of Toronto

The 2002 Investigation of a Copper Smelting Area and Discovery of a Stone Fort in El-Markha Plain (South Sinai)

The 2002 University of Toronto expedition to South Sinai (funded by SSHRCC) examined Albright's 1948 "Dynasty 18" copper smelting and anchorage site (346) and a "pharaonic?" structure (Site 345) observed by Rothenberg in 1967. Sites 346 and 345 are located at the north end of El-Markha Plain, 100 and 200 metres from the Red Sea, respectively. At Site 346 the expedition (1) generated a topographic map of the mound's remaining eastern end (40 by 50 metres) and

surrounding terrain, (2) mapped all surface stones, artifacts, and features, (3) excavated a narrow, 30-metre long, North-South trench across the mound, (4) examined a nearby copper smelting furnace, (5) cut a deep, 60-metre long trench across an adjacent, southern wadi to assess the site's access to water, (6) investigated a perennial waterfall southeast of the mound, and (7) located lithic sources and working areas on hilltops to the east.

Aside from modern surface debris, the excavation of the mound and adjacent bulldozer heaps from road construction yielded 591 diagnostic potsherds. Project ceramicist, R. Hummel, observed that these sherds consisted of 315 (53%) pieces from handmade moulds of coarse, buff ware (Sinaitic type A), 123 (21%) sherds from finer, marl clays (Sinaitic type B), 144 (24%) fragments of red-slipped and burnished Nile silt vessels, and nine (2%) rim pieces from modern water jars. The Nile vessels consisted mostly of small rim pieces from a few jars and simple bowls identical to examples from Dynasty 19, and probably reflect 5-8% of the original pottery corpus. The moulds appear to be associated with the copper smelting process, containing ash, green stains, and copper nodules in many cases. Other artifacts include a few faience beads, lithic production debris, some stone tools, two basalt anvils(?), and some grinding and rubbing stones. Preliminary analysis indicates that the site dates to the New Kingdom, with some possible earlier occupation and Roman period pottery.

Site 345 lies 1.8 km to the south of 346 and contained a limestone fort measuring 42 metres in diameter with an interior stairway, a long western bastion, and 5 metre wide walls with chambers and preserved up to 3 metres. One paved and roofed chamber lay in the western wall, immediately north of the bastion. It appears to represent the original entrance with a walled up western door and an eastern interior door sealed by rough blocks, mud, and a cobble ramp. Sand accumulated 50 cm in the structure's interior before people re-occupied the fort briefly, leaving a scatter of sherds beside a hearth. Stone quarrying and subsequent sandstorms concealed the remaining structure, which produced some diagnostic surface sherds and artifacts from the Byzantine, Islamic, and recent periods. Although radiocarbon dating and more diagnostic potsherds are required to date the two phases of use, this fort probably secured the coastal commercial and pilgrim routes along the west coast of Sinai. The Byzantine, 12th century AD, and early Ottoman periods represent the chief fortress building times in Sinai.

Pamela Nice, University of St. Thomas

Letter from Cairo

I propose to show my documentary, "Letter from Cairo," with a discussion about the making of the film afterwards. (See flier on the documentary.) The documentary itself is about 30 minutes, and the discussion could take another 30-45 minutes. The major issue that might be addressed in the discussion is cross-cultural film making (especially between the U.S. and Middle Eastern cultures at a

time of increasing political tension). This presents unique challenges to the documentary filmmaker: gaining access to people and sites; developing trust with interview subjects; deciding on appropriate topics and questions for a specific audience; negotiating the difficult terrain between what the subjects want to say and what the audience can hear. What are the goals and challenges of such films? How might they contribute to cross-cultural understanding between Americans and Egyptians today?

David O'Connor, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Men Who Give Birth: Ancient Egyptian Perspectives on the Libyans

In Egyptian art specific types of foreigners are differentiated from each other in terms of physical appearance, dress and accoutrements: but are otherwise often treated stereotypically, as a 'group' representative of Egypt's world-wide dominion or in large scale set piece 'battle' and 'prisoner' scenes which convey the same basic message. In literary and other texts the different types of foreigners are often treated in the same stereotypical ways.

However, more extended treatments of foreigners can reveal more nuanced perspectives on the Egyptians' part, as a result of which their attitudes towards different types of foreigners emerge as more complex and hierarchized than one might originally have thought. This is particularly true of the ancient Libyans who, in the New Kingdom at least, are metaphorically treated as beings at the extreme edge of cosmos and it's order, and as substantially different from other types of foreigners.

Although the rich metaphorical abuse heaped upon Egypt's Libyan enemies can be, and is allotted to other foreigners as well, the Libyans receive a disproportionate amount of it. Libyans are identified as animals, beasts, demons and even transformed into women, and capable of giving birth, as well as being sexually accessible to other males. Although primarily New Kingdom in expression, these attitudes seem to have historical roots.

In this paper I suggest this highly negative perspective on Libyans relates to three factors. First, the nomadic, animal-herding way of life followed by Libyans, and their identification with wild animals of the desert, a problematical category for the Egyptians. Second, the specifics of the Egyptians' historical experiences of the Libyans, which seem to have a personalized and rancorous dimension not developed to such a great extent for other foreign peoples. And third, the physical appearance and costumes typical of Libyans at all periods (Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period). These characteristic features derive from a larger Saharan world, and must have had indigenous values attached to them. However, the Egyptians found in these characteristics, faithfully incorporated into the Egyptian iconography of the Libyan types (Old and New Kingdoms), disturbing readings that reinforced, and were even the root cause, of the specific, metaphorical negatives lavished upon the Libyans by the Egyptians.

Clair Russell Ossian, Tarrant County College

Water Lilies and Lotus in Ancient Egypt: Their Influence on Art and Daily Life

Egyptologists cannot help but be aware of Egyptian water lilies, but few seem to know much about the plants and how they were utilized by ancient artisans. Though almost universally referred to as lotus flowers, the Asiatic lotus, *Nelumbo nucifera*, was essentially unknown in Egypt until late periods. Nearly every ancient image of a water lily throughout Egyptian history is that of a water lily, not a lotus. Egyptologists and art historians would do well to begin adjusting these usages and refer to the flowers by their correct names.

The two water lily species known in the Nile River watershed, *Nymphaea caerulea* and *Nymphaea lotus*, plus the imported Asiatic lotus, have very definite growth and blooming habits. This paper reviews plant habits and morphology, discusses the use of these plants by Egyptians, and demonstrates artistic expressions drawn from various stages of the flowering habit. The religious significance of water lilies (the role of Nefertum, creation myths, etc.) seen throughout much of the published literature has been clarified by a multi-year study of growth and blooming habits of living plants of the two species. Most of what has previously been published is contrary to the actual habits of these charming plants.

Not only were the Egyptian water lilies used extensively by the ancients, the flowers open and close at different times throughout the day. The times of flower opening were probably part of the importance of these spectacular flowers. Given the literality of much ancient Egyptian art, a knowledge of blooming intervals may provide information on the time of day depicted by the artist for a scene. Evidence suggests that species may have been chosen for rituals and daily life activities on the basis of flower opening intervals.

Blue and white *Nymphaea* species differ clearly in floral part and vegetative morphology, distinctions that were noted and used by ancient craftsmen. Numerous objects of daily life, ritual, and religious significance were clearly drawn from one species or the other. Artisans were aware of numerous artistic opportunities provided by shapes observed during opening and closing of blossoms, and did not only use fully open flowers or fully closed buds for their models. Examples of living flower shapes can be contrasted with ancient objects to support the above statements.

Sarah Parcak, Cambridge University

"The God has Flown to the Heavens": On the Potential for Satellite Imagery Analysis in Egypt

This paper represents (in part) a "conclusion" to the paper presented at the 2001 ARCE meeting at Brown University concerning the uses of satellite imagery analysis in the detection of archaeological sites in Egypt. Along with the results of

the 2002 ground-truthing season this summer as part of South Sinai Survey and Excavation Project, this paper will detail further image work in other regions of Egypt through the use of various satellite images. Satellite image analysis has great potential for archaeological site detection and evaluation, but there are a number of problems (i.e. image quality) that can hinder work. However, the combination of satellite image interpretation, surface survey and excavation offer a speedier and less costly means by which to identify potential archaeological sites.

Concerning satellite image interpretation for El-Larkha Plain (South Sinai), the most promising of the three methods ("supervised", "unsupervised", and thresholding classifications) for site identification is thresholding. This technique entails selecting areas with a positive vegetation index (NDVI) and imposing assigned values to highlight those areas using a specific formula. The generated image for El-Markha Plain displays 16 areas with a vegetation index greater than -0.05 , two sites with values of 0, and five areas with positive readings. The basis of this approach assumes that, aside from modern agricultural holdings, the detected vegetation clusters in the Sinai desert should reflect mainly natural concentrations of moisture (e.g., palm groves and fertile wadi beds), and hence represent localities with greater promise for ancient site placement.

A validation of this premise resulted from surface reconnaissance trips and excavation work (2000-2002) to El-Markha Plain, during which the expedition relocated and excavated one known New Kingdom anchorage site (no. 346) and rediscovered and excavated Rothenberg's site no. 345. Two new sites (rest points with New Kingdom amphorae sherd) were also discovered on the periphery of vegetation clusters. These sites occur on high ground beside wadi beds and at the base of hills bordering El-Markha Plain. Site 346 was 100 meters from an anchorage (El-Markha Bay) and on high ground beside a wadi (protected from winter floods with direct access to drinking water). Site 345 lay beside a portion of an alluvial fan from the same wadi at Site 346.

Of this 16 sites discovered, 2 represented modern vegetation clusters (surrounded by archaeological material), while others were found to be modern housing. A number of the sites could not be examined due to their location within a military base and a petroleum plant, but may represent other modern vegetation clusters watered by sources in use since antiquity. A new Late-Neolithic-Early Bronze I site was found as part of this ground measuring 500 x 500 feet and containing flints, slag, hut circles, tumuli and grinding stones.

Thus, the application of the aforementioned site location determinants promises to isolate high yield areas for archaeological site investigation. Other techniques will be discussed in relation to their potential uses in other regions of Egypt.

Peter A. Piccione, University of Charleston, S.C.

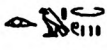
*Patterns of Later Use and Reuse of the Tombs of Ahmose (TT 121)
and Ray (TT 72)*

This paper examines the nature and extent to which two related tombs in the Theban necropolis were reused in later times and what this reuse reveals about the necropolis in late antiquity. Theban tombs no. 121 and 72 are located at the top of Gebel Sheikh abd el-Qurna overlooking the northeastern slope of the hill. Although they were built originally in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose III-Amenhotep II), like many other Theban tombs, they were reused on successive occasions for different purposes. While TT 121 was reused in typical fashion as a necropolis for later burials, TT 72 was partially rebuilt as a service structure for one of the nearby Coptic monasteries (Epiphanius or Cyriacus). The Coptic installations are long removed. However, enough silhouettes of their masonry remain on the decorated walls, as well as newly exposed Coptic graffiti, to reconstruct the Coptic architecture and to theorize the purpose of the reuse. Also, TT 72 is surmounted by the modern Muslim shrine of Sheikh abd el-Qurna, and it is apparently built on the foundations of an earlier structure that is probably related to the tomb, i.e., a pyramid or shrine. In addition to reuse of the structures, the paper also examines changes to the tombs caused by the subsequent removal of architectural elements. Similar changes are noted in several other tombs nearby and seem to be part of a regular pattern of later exploitation and activity in the Theban necropolis. These issues and others will be described and analyzed in the paper.

Patricia Podzorski, Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, The University of Memphis

Report on the Coffin and Mummy of Irt-net-Hor-irw in the Haggin Museum, Stockton, California

One of the star attractions of The Haggin Museum in Stockton, California (http://www.hagginmuseum.org/collections_history.htm) is a mummy and coffin on long-term loan from the collections of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. This presentation will analyze the date and provenance, as well as the name, titles and family relationships indicated by the texts on the coffin and address the issue of the date of the mummy currently enclosed in the coffin. The style and decoration of the coffin will also be discussed.

The coffin names the priest Irt-net-Hor-irw , the son of a priest of similar rank named Ankh-Wennefer², who served the cults of Osiris, Min and Sokar at Akhmim during the later part of Egyptian history. The texts on the coffin are written in cursive hieroglyphic on a black background and include the name and titles of the deceased and some genealogy, as well as an invocation of the goddess Nut from Utterance 368 of the Pyramid Texts. The face, which is well modeled and very attractive, is painted reddish orange and has inlaid brows and

eyelines of black-painted glass and a wooden Osiris beard.

X-rays of the mummy taken by the Haggin Museum in 1970 reveal a number of amulets within the mummy wrappings as well as anatomical details and anomalies of the body within.

1 This translation is based on more completely written forms of the name used by Ranke (Hermann Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1935:42 #11). Vocalization based on the spelling on this coffin would be something like Ir-Horw or Ir-Hor-irw. The meaning is perhaps "die Auge des Horus ist gegen sie gerichtet."

2 Ranke 1935:63, #9.

Carol Redmount, University of California, Berkeley

The 2002 Field Season at El-Hibeh, Middle Egypt

The University of California, Berkeley, continued its work at the Middle Egyptian site of El-Hibeh, Beni Suef Inspectorate, for four weeks in June-July, 2002. The site, which lies on the east bank of the Nile approximately 55 kilometers south of Beni Suef, is probably best known as the reputed findspot of Papyrus Rylands IX and the Tale of Wenamon, and the northern border of the territory controlled by the Theban High Priests of Amon in the Third Intermediate Period.

Archaeologically, El-Hibeh seems to have been a provincial town for much or all of the first millennium BCE and well into the first millennium CE. The extant tell mound is comparatively well preserved (although far from intact) and surrounded by thick mudbrick walls on three sides. No remains of a wall are ascertainable today running along the riverside of the site. To the east of the tell lies desert, where numerous burials, largely plundered, are located. The expansion of cultivation into this desert area and the rising ground-water table of the area actively threaten the tell; a potential but growing threat to the site is the completion of a new highway not far east of the site necropolis boundaries.

In this, our second season of work at the site, we completed a preliminary topographic map of the tell and much of the surrounding desert necropolis area using a sophisticated GPS system. Our first week of fieldwork concentrated on completing a surface survey and geological testing of an area north of the town mound. The remainder of our time was spent working in the temple temenos area that lies nestled in a hollow at the southern end of the site. Here is located the most distinctive architecture known to date from the site: the small provincial temple founded by Sheshonq I and constructed of local limestone. The temple is surrounded on three sides by a mudbrick temenos wall. The water table in the temple area, whose height varies considerably depending upon the level of irrigation of the recently established banana plantation just south of the tell, was so high at times that there was standing water in the temple; current ground surface in the structure is approximately a meter above the ancient limestone floor. We continued our excavations in the high area immediately south of the temple, where we exposed more of the fourth century CE structure first unearthed last season.

We also uncovered additional fragments of discarded limestone relief blocks from the temple. In addition, we opened two small probe trenches elsewhere in the temenos precinct.

Michael J. Reimer, American University in Cairo

The History of Baladiyyat in Egypt and Transjordan: A Comparative Study

Traditional works on the history and politics of modern Arab states have focused largely on the policies and decisions of central governments and have given priority to processes of centralization. While there is a certain logic to this, it is based on retrospective assumptions that central governments have always, or nearly always, possessed the power to enforce their will on passive populations, and that the tendency toward centralization has been uni-linear and progressive. There are strong reasons to question both assumptions. Contemporary historiography and sociology have exploded the myth of the passivity of populations in the Middle East, and even in the relatively recent past the state has made significant concessions to formally subordinate institutions. This paper examines and compares one such institution in Egypt and Transjordan, i.e., the institution of the baladiyya, or municipality.

The paper argues that the baladiyya in Egypt represented, first in Alexandria and then in other towns, an institution which was created as a result of negotiation with the central government and which derogated from its authority, lending to provincial elites an authority which had been eroded under the Khedivate. As such, it was a clear desideratum for the new middle class, since it offered a means of implementing urban reform which remained largely under local control. It was also regarded as an emblem of urban modernity. By contrast, Transjordan offers a case study of a country in which the baladiyyat were not created by negotiation with the central power, but were in fact pre-existing institutions. Moreover, it would be incorrect to regard them as mere vestiges of Ottoman rule in the territory, since there is clear evidence indicating that some of the baladiyyat of Transjordan (most notably that of al-Salt, the largest town when the new state was created) were functionally autonomous and were indeed better organized and more efficacious instruments of administration than the fledgling government in Amman.

As in Egypt, the baladiyya was a sign of urban modernity. However, because of the highly fragmented social texture of Transjordan and the substantial financial burdens involved in maintaining a baladiyya, some local populations resisted the imposition of this kind of modernity. The underlying reasons for this had to do with unresolved struggles for power within localities and the poverty and paucity of the population. It appears that a similar resistance to the baladiyya did not appear in Egypt because local elites were more clearly entrenched, and capital accumulation in the provincial towns permitted these populations to bear the added costs of administration.

The study is based on the archival records of provincial towns, newspaper reports about local issues, legal statutes establishing the baladiyyat and baladiyya councils, and secondary works by Arab and non-Arab scholars. The paper concludes that the baladiyya has played a largely unremarked role in the formation of these countries during the first half of the twentieth century; that the differential evolution of the baladiyyat is explained by social and economic differences between the two societies; and that the baladiyyat were significant points of tension in local contestations of what it meant to be or become "modern".

Jean Revez and Temy Tidafi, GRCAO, Université de Montréal

The Karnak Project: 2002-2003 Interim Report

The purpose of this paper is to present the latest results of an ongoing research project carried out by the Computer Aided Design Research Group (GRCAO) of the Université de Montréal, in order to define new methods of archaeological restitution using computer-aided means. This novel approach involves a redefinition of surveying techniques, data processing and knowledge-based thinking in disciplines such as epigraphy and architecture. In a context where the scientific community still uses analogical working methods inherited from the past to carry out surveys, it is essential to make the best out of the technological breakthrough of recent years in terms of Computer-Aided Architectural Design, so as to reconstitute ancient monuments in all their spatial and temporal complexity. Instead of the traditional approach which uses paper as the main support to reproduce historical architectural structures bidimensionally, the GRCAO wishes to use computer programming as an aid other than a modern computerized version of the drawing board; it seeks to build a 'metamodel' that will serve as a prototype to better study and understand a great number of monuments.

In order to reach this aim, the GRCAO is actively collaborating with archaeologists working in the field, namely the French CNRS mission-UPR 1002 in Egypt. As its chosen field of investigation, the GRCAO is using the temple of Karnak. This impressive archaeological site serves as an excellent case study and testing ground for the project, since it underwent tremendous and complex architectural transformations in the course of its two thousand year-long history.

Objectives that have been met in the course of the past year are fivefold:

- 1) *Recording of the geometric configuration of hieroglyphic signs.*
It is now possible to draw the contour of a sign by calling up the prototype of that sign from the database, and then modify and adapt it to each of its occurrences. Increased knowledge of paleography is thus gained, which allows for diachronical as well as synchronical studies of signs.
- 2) *Recording of the phonetic value of hieroglyphic signs.*
Once a sign is drawn, its phonetic value can automatically be recorded by selecting the sign from a list containing all known glyphs, which in turn

enables the user to search a sign and locate it in the three-dimensional model of the temple.

3) *3-D reproduction of hieroglyphic signs.*

By extruding the figures and the signs in one direction or another, one can reproduce either sunken or raised relief, thus giving the wall carvings a three-dimensional aspect.

4) *Integration of the decorative program together with the stone masonry.*

The reliefs of a block can be drawn while taking into account the degree to which the stone is damaged or broken.

5) *Interactive transposition of digital drawings of figures and glyphs originally carved on a cylindrical or conical surface into a three-dimensional environmental framework.*

As several hundreds of decorated columns with circular shafts were built inside the temple, this method is of great use in carrying out epigraphic surveys of non-flat surfaces.

Jean Revez, GRCAO, Université de Montréal

New Material Evidence Pertaining to the Construction of the Temenos Wall Built Around the Temple of Montu-Ra at Medamud.

Located a few kilometers northeast of Kamak, the temple of Montu-Ra at Medamud was thoroughly excavated by the IFAO in conjunction with the Louvre Museum from 1925 to 1932. Led by F. Bisson de la Roque, the expedition soon came across an impressive but partly destroyed mudbrick temenos wall, dated to the graeco-roman period. In 1969, a commemoration stela of Ptolemaios III found its way into the antiquities market. Its provenance was unknown, but various scholars ascribed it to the construction of the enclosure wall at Medamud. A picture of an unpublished stela was, however, found by the speaker in the archives of the IFAO some years ago, which shows beyond any doubt that this wall was in fact built by the roman Emperor Augustus. This stela, the whereabouts of which were unknown until this summer when it was found in the cellar of the Cairo Museum, also gives the original dimensions of the wall.

Janet Richards, University of Michigan

Family Plots: The Vizier Iww, His Descendants, and the Social/Political Landscape at Old Kingdom Abydos

Since 1995 the Abydos Middle Cemetery Project has explored the mortuary setting of the well known biography of the 6th Dynasty official Weni the Elder, revealing a complex pattern of elite and non-elite graves in the late Old Kingdom cemetery at the site, as well as evidence that Weni was the son of a Vizier Iww, known only from the work of Lepsius in 1837. Part of a larger social and political

phenomenon relating to the rise in prominence of the god Osiris, this cemetery vividly reflects a sharp increase in local population, and the early stage of a trend towards funerary democratization that would culminate during the Middle Kingdom 400 years later. In the 6th dynasty, however, a distinct socially-dictated partitioning in cemetery space can be observed, in which the topographically highest (and therefore most prestigious) portion of the cemetery is dominated by very large mastaba graves nested within a constellation of subsidiary mastabas and simpler shaft and surface graves, represented the top end of the social scale and their dependants. A field season of magnetic survey completed in the fall of 2002 has yielded startling results not only for the continuing delineation of this core zone and the probable location of Iww's grave, but also for comprehending the vast spatial extent and the character of the 'middle class' zone lying beyond it.

Joshua Roberson, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

The Origins of "New Kingdom" Netherworld Iconography: A Middle Kingdom Apotropaic Wand Reconsidered

The so-called *Books of the Netherworld*, which belong to the corpus of royal mortuary texts attested from the reign of Thutmose I through the late period, are generally divided into an "earlier" and "later" group. The later group, whose major exemplars (the *Book of Caverns* and *Book of the Earth*) first appear in the early Ramesside period, are assumed to have derived in whole or part from the earlier texts. The hypothetical date of composition for the earlier books (*Amduat* and *Book of Gates*) has been variously placed as far back in time as the late Old Kingdom and as far forward as the seventeenth dynasty, just prior to their first appearance on the royal tomb walls in the Valley of the Kings.

The iconography of the Netherworld, as depicted in these books, finds its earliest precursor in the *Book of Two Ways*, which dates principally from the late First Intermediate period and early Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, the striking lack of royal mortuary texts from the twelfth dynasty produces a significant gap in the subsequent evolution of Netherworld representations from this period.

A critical re-analysis of various points of iconography found on an apotropaic wand of the late Middle Kingdom, dated approximately to the reign of Amenemhet III, provides new evidence, which may help to bridge this gap. This object (British Museum catalogue number BM18175) bears a number of iconographic and stylistic peculiarities which are otherwise unattested in the corpus of so-called "magic wands" and which combine to produce a coherent map of the netherworld directly comparable to the cosmographic representations found in such books as the *Amduat* and *Book of Caverns*. In addition, several of the wand's features recall elements of Netherworld geography which are not otherwise depicted before the "later" group of Ramesside texts, which would suggest a common, Middle Kingdom ancestor for both the early and late groups.

Ann Macy Roth, Howard University

Buried Buildings and Pugnacious People: The 2002-2003 Season of the Giza Cemetery Project

During a final season of work on a group of minor tombs in the Western Cemetery, the Howard University Giza Cemetery Project concentrated on the architecture of the tombs and the scientific recording of burials removed in this and the previous season. Among the architectural discoveries were a new chapel of unusual design, a staggered double burial shaft, and two small, buried mastaba structures with no internal features. In addition, considerable information was gathered on the remodeling of several tombs in the cluster, and the dismantling of several others. Perhaps the most interesting discoveries, however, resulted from the anthropological study of the people buried in the tombs. Several of the bodies were characterized by a genetic anomaly suggesting relationships among the people buried in the cemetery and individual tombs. One of the bodies was that of a misshapen giant, which, together with the healed fractures found in a surprisingly high proportion of the skeletons from primary burials, suggests a possible explanation for the social role of the owners of these tombs.

Carolyn Routledge, Richard Stockton College

"Doing Things" in the Old and Middle Kingdoms

Occasionally in the tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the ancient Egyptians claimed to have "done things" (*ir-xt*). Often the claim appears without much further information, leaving the modern reader somewhat puzzled as to what the tomb owner had actually done and why it might have been worth recording. This paper will examine the specific context of the claim of doing things in tombs in order to come to a better understanding of the meaning and use of this phrase.

This paper builds on my previous general study of *ir-xt* that suggested that this phrase referred to religious, funerary, and work rituals. Through the detailed examination of the tomb inscriptions as a discrete group, it is possible to uncover more complexities in meaning for this phrase in specific tomb contexts. For example, the early occurrence of *ir-xt* in the 4th Dynasty inscription of Weta provides tantalizing evidence for the possibility of such a nuanced use. Weta describes himself as a craftsman who "does things" concerning the king's sandals and throne. Is he simply describing his manufacturing of these items or is he indicating something more? Is he pointing to the symbolic meaning of these items (as indicated through the prominence of the sandal bearer in the Narmer Stele)? Could he be referring to the creation of apotropaic figures on these items to be used ritualistically (for example the bound prisoners that appear on sandals and throne footstools)? Finally, could he be indicating that he handled royal objects that had power? While such complexities can be found in a variety of tomb contexts, it is true that a cursory reading of some occurrences of *ir-xt* would seem

to suggest a “catch-all” phrase such as in Tepemankh’s claim that he was one “who does everything that was commanded of him.” However, a closer reading that takes into consideration the syntax and the broader context of Tepemankh’s inscription, and others like it, suggests a different interpretation. The tomb owners were not making a general statement, but rather were trying to claim something about a specific group of activities involving governance, leadership, and royalty.

Heidi Saleh, University of California, Berkeley

Exploring Expressions of Ethnic and Gender Identities under the “Libyan” Dynasties (ca. 1069-715 B.C.E.)

When Egypt came to be ruled by the ethnically different Libyans in the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069-715 B.C.E.), drastic changes in the social positions of ethnic minorities and women took place. The Libyan presence challenged traditional Egyptian protocols for the representation of foreigners and women on official monuments.

As members of the new ruling class, the Libyans frequently expressed pride of their own culture by deliberately depicting themselves as ethnically different from the Egyptians. At the same time that the Libyan dynasts reconfigured the ways to represent their ethnic identity, the overall status of women seems to have been elevated. Women appear to have achieved a more independent status and to have gained greater prominence in the public realm. Furthermore, illustrations of women from this period embody a different, possibly un-Egyptian feminine ideal.

The Libyan presence altered a number of long-held customs of Egyptian culture. This presentation will analyze a corpus of Third Intermediate Period stelae in order to illustrate these changes in the conceptualization and representation of ethnic and gender identities in Egypt during the first millennium B.C.E.

Gonzalo M. Sanchez, M.D., University of South Dakota School of Medicine

The Case # 8 Papyrus Edwin Smith: Scribal Error or Logical Structural Design?

Dating to the First Intermediate Period, the Edwin Smith Papyrus is a medical teaching text that emphasizing empiricism and rationalization deals with traumatic situations of the head, neck and upper spine, in such an explicit manner as to allow us to postulate a modern day diagnosis, 3500 years later. Throughout the papyrus, a clear structural organization applies within each case (identified by Breasted as: Title, Examination, Diagnosis, Treatment and explanatory Glosses), and as a group, according to a set of variables in topography, tissues affected, and the severity of the injury as manifested anatomically and clinically.

In the group of fifteen head injuries this organization is clear, except for Case # 8,

where its second half has been recently judged to be a scribal mistake, with a portion of Case #6 (of the same papyrus) presumably copied here and “out of place” (Brawanski 2001, Westendorf 1999). However, based on P. Edwin Smith glosses’ dynamics, and its general structure, it is evident that instead of a scribal error, the second half of Case #8 relates to the description of a more severe closed head injury, representing a subset of this category of trauma.

(The case’s hieroglyphic nuances, general structure within the papyrus and described clinical injuries, will be illustrated).

Deborah Schorsch, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Gold Amun

A striding figure of the god Amun in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the only extant example of ancient Egyptian statuary executed in gold. Originally believed to date to the New Kingdom, it was reattributed by Cyril Aldred to the Third Intermediate Period and, more recently, has been dated to the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the eighth century B.C. by Marsha Hill. A technical examination of the figure, which included visual examination, gamma X-ray radiography, and elemental analysis, was carried out in the Museum’s Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation. This study of the figure’s manufacture and present condition allows this unique work to be viewed within the context of bronze and silver statuary production in Egypt during the first millennium B.C.

John A. Seeger, Northern Arizona University

The 2002 Field Season at Marsa Nakari

Marsa Nakari is the site of an ancient port city on the coast of the Red Sea. A third season of excavations was carried out during September – October of 2002. From the finds over the three seasons and results of surveys, it is evident that the port was active during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The ancient city may be Nechsia recorded in the *Geometry* of Claudius Ptolemy.

The trenches that were excavated provided important information on architectural features of the city. Two trenches exposed sections of the wall surrounding the city. One of these trenches was at a corner of the wall facing the sea. In addition to the wall there is a curved structure that perhaps was the base of a signal tower. Four other trenches were within the area surrounded by the outer wall. Two of these were at corners of an enclosure that was evidently built at a later date.

Finds from the trenches were in general similar to those of previous seasons. A number of these may have been trade items. Pottery sherds were the most common find. Many sherds were from amphorae that would have been used to transport wine, oil, and other products. There were also a number of lamp fragments. One fragment was from a volute lamp that can be dated to the 1st

century CE. There was one complete frog lamp that would date from about the 4th century CE to the 5th century CE.

Many beads of glass, ceramic, and stone were found. Also, there were fragments of fine glassware. Of particular interest were two pieces of millefiori glass. These would be of an early date. There were several beryls. The probable source of these is Mons Smaragdus that is not far from Marsa Nakari.

A number of copper alloy nails were found. These also may have been used for trade. There were some Roman copper coins. Of those that could be identified, one dates to the 1st century CE. Four small AE4 date to the 5th century CE. Other metal finds included iron spikes and fishhooks.

J.J. Shirley, Johns Hopkins University

The (Re-) Use of Mid-18th Dynasty Tombs in the Theban Necropolis

In this paper I will examine the issue of tomb (re-)use in the 18th Dynasty by studying an unpublished tomb with many unusual and important features. TT 122 of Amunhotep and Amunemhat is located in the northern section of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, high on the hillside, near TT 61 of the vizier Useramun, and dates to the reign of Thutmose III. Though the tomb was mentioned by Davies/Gardiner in their publication of TT 82 of a different Amunemhat (*Theban Tomb Series* Vol. 1, 1915), included by Polz in his study of tomb use in the Theban Necropolis (MDAIK 46 (1990): 301-336), and again mentioned by Dziobek in his *Denkmäler* of the vizier Useramun (SAGA 18, 1998), the tomb has never been fully studied in its own right. Moreover, insofar as I can determine, only Davies examined the tomb firsthand. Therefore, statements made about the (re-)use of the tomb, the relationship between the two tomb owners, and their connections to Useramun's family have been contradictory and hypothetical. Recent fieldwork undertaken as a part of my dissertation research has allowed me to make a complete documentation of this tomb, resulting in the clarification of these issues. By presenting new information from the tomb, I will demonstrate that questions about the chronological use of the tomb, the possible relation of the owners to the vizier Useramun, and their own affiliations can be answered more fully.

**Tamara L. Siuda, Oriental Institute Museum,
University of Chicago**

Museum Mysteries: The Rediscovery of a New Kingdom Walking Staff in the Oriental Institute Collection

Nestled with a pile of sticks and weapons in an old cardboard box labelled "poison arrows," the upper section of an ancient Egyptian nobleman's walking staff comes to light after unpacking a set of Oriental Institute Museum collection boxes. Upon further investigation, the staff turns out to bear an interesting inscription

providing a potential dating *and* the name of its owner – which appears to be a very famous New Kingdom name indeed. What can be known about this mysterious object, collected by James Henry Breasted during a famous “leisure trip” to Egypt with the Rockefellers?

Renee A. Stein and Stephen Shaver, Michael C. Carlos Museum
The Identification of Painting Materials on Wooden Objects in the Ancient Egyptian Collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum

The recent expansion, conservation, and reinstallation of the Ancient Egyptian collection in the Michael C. Carlos Museum has enabled the routine documentation of the paint stratigraphy and pigments found on polychromed objects. The aim of this on-going research has been to identify and characterize the painting materials in comparison with reference compounds and published studies. This collection includes painted objects from the 11th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. Most of the coffins date to the Third Intermediate Period, with five objects from the 21st Dynasty and four from the 25th Dynasty. During conservation, representative samples were removed from many of the coffins for cross-section examination using reflected light microscopy. The layers may include mud or textile preparations and some examples have a white preparation layer underlying the decorative paint. Some surfaces are coated, while others are unvarnished. Samples of preparation layers and pigments were collected from a variety of painted objects. These samples were analyzed via polarizing transmitted light microscopy (PLM), Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR), and/or scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive spectrometry (SEM-EDS). This paper will summarize the results of the technical study, focusing on the identification and use of specific pigments.

Devin Stewart, Emory University

Notes on the Legal Theory of al-Shafi'i's Student al-Muzan?

Abu Ibrahim Isma'il b. Yahya al-Muzani (175-264/792-878) was the foremost jurist in Fustat (Old Cairo) for decades and the most influential student of al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820), the renowned eponym of the Shafi'i legal madhhab. His *Mukhtasar* or *Epitome of Law* became the most widely-used text in Shafi'i legal education and to a great extent supplanted the works of al-Shafi'i himself. Despite his tremendous importance in the Shafi'i legal tradition, little is known about al-Muzani's contributions to jurisprudence or legal theory (*usul al-fiqh*), something all the more surprising since al-Shafi'i is credited with authoring the first coherent manual of jurisprudence, the *Risalah*. Drawing on biographical sources and bibliographical sources, this study attempts to construct as complete a picture as possible of al-Muzani's legal-theoretical writings and to situate them in the history of Islamic legal thought.

Deborah Sweeney, Tel Aviv University*Wisdom and Experience: Female Ageing in Egyptian Art*

This lecture will survey the representation of female ageing and mature females in Egyptian art from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom. At all periods, female ageing is represented less frequently and in less detail than male ageing. Elder women are frequently portrayed as far younger than their actual age. Not all representation of female ageing show all the characteristics of ageing: it is quite common for a woman to be shown with lines on her face and a disproportionately youthful body. This applies both to elite women, whose key role in tomb decoration was to be the attractive partner of their husbands, and to non-elite women, who were conventionally portrayed as young, healthy, energetic workers for the tomb-owning family.

However, certain contexts occasionally portray old or mature women. As Dorthea Arnold has suggested in her investigation of Amarna period statuary, it may be possible to understand representations of female ageing as the female parallel to the wisdom and experience epitomized by the much more frequently depicted elder men. Elite women are sometimes portrayed with signs of ageing on their personal monuments or in their own half of a shared monument. It may be that in contexts where there was less stress on their role as their husband's partner, they could lay a certain claim to experience and authority in their own right.

Older non-elite women appear as weavers or mourners. Since these roles were frequently associated with women, it might be that experience at this kind of work was valued. However, the older women are not shown leading these activities; maybe they were present in an advisory capacity.

Kasia Szpakowska, University of Wales Swansea*Snakes and Flames: Repulsing Nightmares in the New Kingdom*

In this presentation, I will explore the rituals and artifacts used to repulse nightmares through the New Kingdom, with special attention paid to clay cobras. As far back as Egypt's Middle Kingdom execration figures were inscribed with lists of malignant forces—including bad dreams—and then broken in an effort to shatter their power. Over Egypt's long history a variety of other techniques were used to protect the sleeper, such as reciting spells, administering poultices, and carving zoomorphic apotropaic figures onto headrests. In both texts and images two of the most common elements used to ward off nocturnal enemies of the living were fire and snakes. Some spells specified the use of physical components, including cobras made of clay. These types of figurines have been excavated in a number of major sites including Sakkara, Memphis, and Amarna. Composed of Nile silt clay and painted in red, blue, and yellow, the simple shape and appearance of these clay snakes suggest that they may have been formed in the home. They have been described as votive objects dedicated to the agricultural goddess Renenutet, and

this is likely to have been one of their functions. However, an examination of magical texts suggests that they may also have played a role in other domestic rituals, including those designed to keep individuals safe from dangers of the night.

Kristin Thompson, Egypt Exploration Society Expedition to Tell el-Amarna

The Evidence for Colossal Statuary at Amarna

As part of an ongoing survey of the statuary program in the ancient city of Akhetaten, this paper examines the evidence for colossal statues. Using fragments in storage at Amarna, as well as others examined in museums, I shall discuss the types of stone known to have been used for colossal statues, the hints these pieces give as to their poses, and the possible original locations of some of these statues.

Steve Vinson, SUNY, New Paltz

Egyptian Melodrama and the Question of Genre

Since 1974, Egyptology has generally adopted the position of Jan Assmann, to the effect that the “genre” of an Egyptian literary text is determined by its function and its *Sitz im Leben*. The approach is deliberately historicizing, and holds that the phenomenon of “genre” is culturally bound; it considers the application of “universal” generic categories like epic, tragedy, comedy, etc., to Egyptian literature to be fundamentally inappropriate. This conception of genre, however, deals more with form and with facts external to the text than it does with meaning, and facts that are immanent to the text. A “hermeneutic” approach to genre, one that begins with meaning, and considers formal, typological, and historical issues to be at most secondary, would offer an alternative. Such an approach would consider text-immanent issues such as plotting and characterization as determinant of inter-textual relationships. To demonstrate this approach, we will analyze three Egyptian narratives that may be read as “melodramas” – that is, a form characterized by a sharp distinction between good and evil, and by a plot in which good, though temporarily overcome by evil, triumphs in the end, banishing or destroying evil. Those narratives are: the narrative frame of “The Eloquent Peasant”; the Ramesside tale “The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood”; and the legend of Osarsiph, as related by Manetho through Josephus. Although these narratives all spring from texts of different formal types and from different *Sitze im Leben*, their close affinities in plotting and characterization compel a comparative reading. This analysis will show that texts can be meaningfully grouped in ways that are not determined by their function, and it will show that a “universal” generic category can, indeed, be usefully applied to a group of Egyptian texts. This discussion will re-open the questions of what a “genre” really is, and what the purposes of constructing systems of generic categorizations actually are.

Deborah Vischak, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

A Re-examination of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs in the Southern Provinces

The expansion of the elite provincial cemeteries has been a significant factor in our assessment of the development and change of the centralized social structure of Old Kingdom Egypt. The tombs of these cemeteries have less often been considered for what they may reveal specifically about the provincial centers where they are located. As monuments characteristic of a broad section of society, yet created for individuals or small family groups, decorated tombs provide a unique expression of the individual within the structure of a socially defined and functioning monument. My particular interest is in how these provincial tombs may reflect a sense of locality; that is, a relationship between the tomb owner, and his community, and the place, bounded by limits of space and time.

My research involves a re-examination of a group of provincial tombs in an effort to see how their difference from tombs in the capital cemeteries may reveal information about the experience of elite Egyptians in the provincial centers. It is structured around a comparative study, using one group of decorated tombs from the capital cemetery of Saqqara and the other from several southern provincial sites, for the purposes of examining how the provincial monuments relate to their Memphite kin.

Following a brief discussion of my approach to this project and the fieldwork undertaken for data collection, I will consider one aspect of the comparative study in more depth. The rock cut tombs at Qubbet el Hawa, in Aswan, reveal a significantly different sense of the space of the tomb and a different set of priorities in the decoration and use of that space than the contemporary mastaba tombs at Saqqara. These issues will be presented and examined for what they may reveal about the involvement of the community in the decoration and support of these tombs.

Josef Wegner, University of Pennsylvania

Organization and Change in an Elite Household: Work of 2001 and 2002 on the Mayor's Residence at South Abydos.

Excavation and magnetic resonance survey during 2001 and 2002 has continued to provide further evidence on the structure and evolution of the *pr h3ty-* of the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-Sut* at South Abydos. Complexity of the building's original 12th Dynasty design is enhanced by a dynamic process of alteration. The paper will review recent evidence on the organization of this residential structure with discussion of the following newly defined elements: (1) discovery of the entrance ramp and location of the formal entrance into the building adjacent to position of an associated external "town square," (2) an internal garden courtyard with tree planters, (3) a secondary and probable female occupational unit within the building which represents a significant restructuring of the building's north-west section during the 13th Dynasty, (4) the identification of the 'rryt

(administrative gate building) on the rear side of the residence. A review of present evidence on the occupational history of the building and its relationship with the wider town of *Wah-Sut* will be presented.

Willeke Wendrich, University of California at Los Angeles

Mudbricks and Millstones: Results of the 2002 ARCE Field School in the Fayum

The Fayum Field School is a project of the American Research Center in Egypt through the Egyptian Antiquities Project (EAP), financed by USAID. The field school trains inspectors of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities in the latest field techniques and forms part of the Fayum Archaeological Project of the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) and Groningen University, the Netherlands (RUG), directed by Willeke Wendrich and René Cappers. The UCLA/RUG Fayum research program has the overarching title *The Fayum as an Agricultural Landscape: Settlements, Field Systems and Shorelines from Prehistory to the Present*.

In Fall 2002 the ARCE Field School worked for a period of 6 weeks in Medinet Watfa (ancient Philoteris), a Greco-Roman village on the West side of the Fayum depression. Philoteris was one of the many settlements founded specifically for agricultural exploitation in the early Ptolemaic period. The paper will present a report on the work of the ARCE Field School and its results.

Jennifer Westerfeld, University of Chicago

Christian Self-Definition and the Depiction of Paganism in Early Coptic Literature

The earliest Egyptian Christians were constantly confronted with the presence of their pagan contemporaries and the evidence of their own pagan past, and the literary representation of religious “otherness” was a major contemporary concern. In many ways, such illustrations provide us with a lens, which can be turned back on the authors themselves, and the portrayal of paganism in Coptic literature can be fruitfully examined in an effort to better understand the processes of Christian self-definition and literary self-portraiture as they occurred in late Roman and early Byzantine Egypt. This paper closely examines selected Coptic texts as literary works participating in a uniquely Egyptian mode of thought as well as in Christian discourse in the broadest sense. The analysis focuses specifically on the depiction of pagans, their cult-places, ritual practices, and interactions with Christians contemporaries.

Bruce Williams, University of Chicago

Rock Drawings in the Third Cataract and the Northern Dongola Reach

While no one has made a systematic study of the rock art in the area between

Kajbar and Khandaq in Sudan, visitors and surveys have recorded a number of stations, many of them important. Apart from the great pharaonic rock inscriptions of Tumbos and Nauri, the most important include sites at Kajbar, Sabu, Masida, Hannek, and Akkad in the Third Cataract. Much farther upstream, well south of Dongola, sandstone faces at the edge of the valley, in khors, and on *inselbergs* have rock inscriptions and art of note. All of these sites were visited during archaeological missions to the area from the University of California at Los Angeles and the University of California at Santa Barbara directed by Prof. Stuart Tyson Smith.

Of special interest in the early phase are Neolithic dancers at Akkad, near a hippopotamus hunt that resembles a Naqada I engraved palette and large mammals at Hannek that include an elephant treading on a crenellated horizon. Apparently early boats with cabins between Akkad and Hannek are difficult to date closely, for they do not resemble datable examples at Kerma and Sabu. Later rock art at Tumbos includes poorly preserved New Kingdom figures, and one scene, possibly of smiting or combat, that could date to the preceding Kerma Period.

At Sahaba, south of Dongola, a major rock face has several boats of unique and elaborate design with sails, figureheads, and decorated cabins that may date to the Napatan or Meroitic Period. Below these are vertical rubbed impressions like those made in the lower parts of Egyptian temple walls and on rock faces in the Sahara. From the late periods in the Cataract area comes a great figure on the rock of Masida, who may be a warrior of the late Meroitic or Post-Meroitic (X-Group) period, and the churches of Sabu.

Rock art we might expect to see includes many drawings of mega-fauna and cattle as well as camels, "wusum" (?), and other symbols, even occasional New Kingdom and Meroitic inscriptions. Although many of these drawings of the Middle Nile are related to the rock art of northern Nubia and Upper Egypt, a number of them are unique and some offer new evidence of significant interrelations between the lower Nile, Sudan, the Sahara to the West, and the Eastern Desert.

Caroline Williams, University of Richmond

An Intercepted Correspondence by J.F. Lewis

John Frederick Lewis, a British painter, lived in Cairo for nine and half years between 1841-1851. His paintings of domestic interiors and commercial transactions are famed as closely observed and accurately rendered portraits of place and people.

An analysis of *The Intercepted Correspondence*, painted in 1869, however, will point to the many paradoxes in the work of this painter.

The painting was done in 1869 eighteen years after Lewis had left Cairo. The oriental costumes and textiles, the mashrabiya across the windows, the tame gazelle, the Nubian servants, the turbaned man and his harem identify this scene as one set in

the haramlik of an upper-class Cairene house; but in Lewis' discrete use of details and in their cumulative build-up they point to a narrative that would be easily understood by his British audience. What was the painter really trying to convey?

Another puzzling aspect of this painting is the Arabic inscriptions. For the most part they are legible and convey a specific message. Who was this message meant for since his British audience presumably did not read Arabic? Did Lewis intend some private meaning?

Caroline Williams, University of Richmond

Presentation of Part 3 of the documentary: "Cairo: 1001 Years of Art and Architecture"

Part 3: Survivors in Stone: 1001 Years of Islamic Architecture in Cairo

Cairo, the "well-guarded," is a unique storehouse of Islamic architecture. Between the ninth-century Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun and the nineteenth-century Mosque of Muhammad Ali, a range of buildings survives that no other Islamic city can match. Here in seven parts is a summary view of these survivors:

The Mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tulun

The Fatimids

The Ayyubids

The Bahri Mamluks

The Ottoman Era

The Muhammad Ali Dynasty

The Burji Mamluks

Edmund Coetle . I have written elsewhere
that economic exchanges were not always better .

Bleiberg, Edward - on economic in
Pharaonic

→ in Haganabht Papyri, ed. J. Allen
forthcoming



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