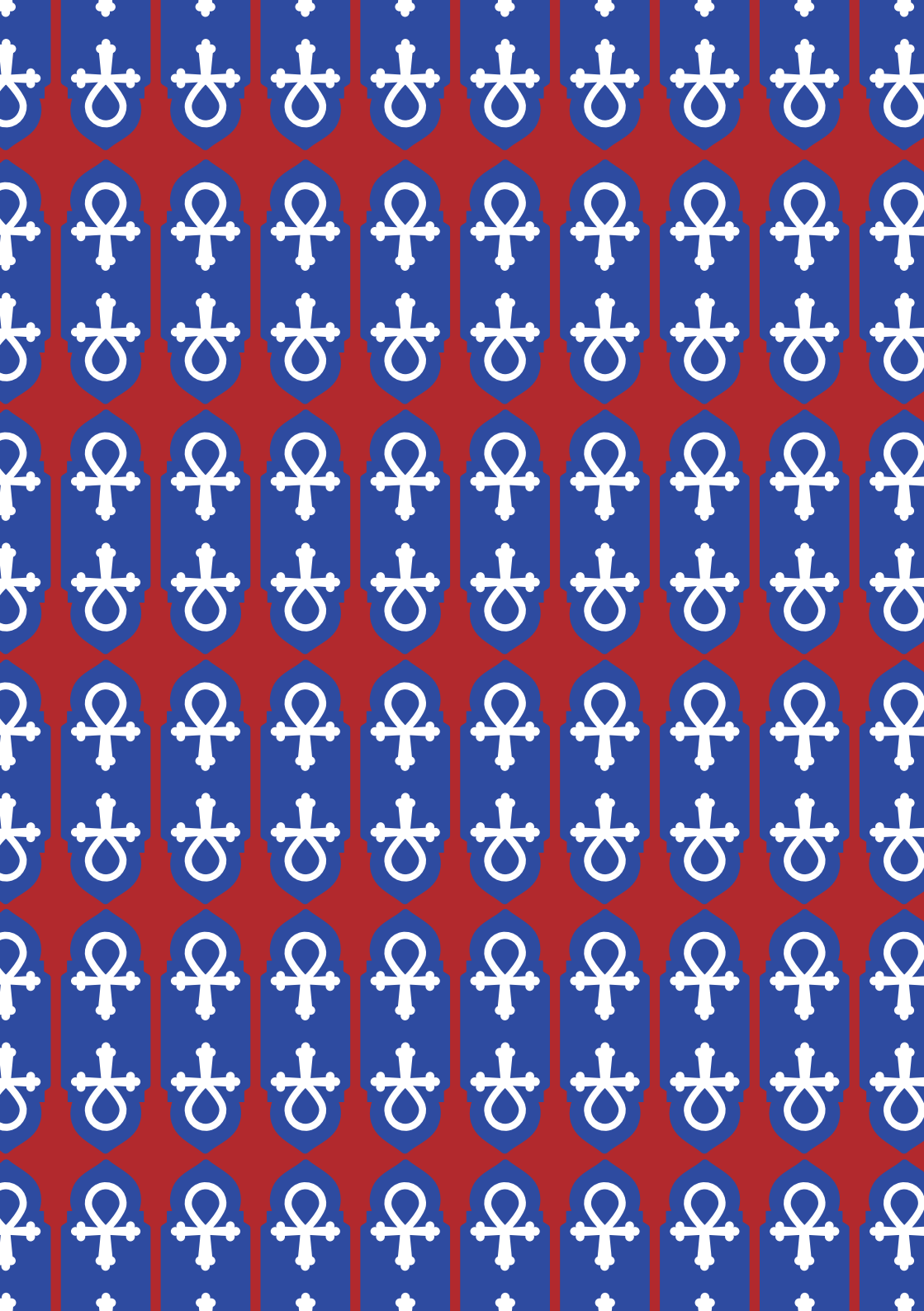# Exalted Spirits
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تبجيل الأسلاف في
مصر عبر العصور

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Exalted Spirits:
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Paper Abstracts

1. Abdulfattah, Iman R.

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On Shrines and Relics: The Veneration of Prophet Muḥammad in Medieval Egypt

The preservation of the memory of the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants has deep roots in Egypt and manifests in different ways. For instance, In the early 9th century, al-Sayyida Nafisa (d. 824), a direct descendant of the Prophet, emigrated to Egypt and settled in Fustat, where she was known for her piety and interpretation of the Quran. Her house, where she was buried following the practice of the Prophet (*sunna*), became a sacred shrine for those who wished to commemorate her life. The heavy traffic incurred by regular and frequent visitation made the area in the immediate vicinity of her shrine a coveted place for interment. The Fatimid elite further memorialized the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) by restoring or commissioning several shrines dedicated to them during the 12th century, all near al-Sayyida Nafisa, which greatly contributed to the growth of the Southern Cemetery. Commemoration of the Prophet and his descendants greatly accelerated and diversified under the Mamluks. It was during this period that personal effects said to have belonged to him were actively collected by high-ranking Mamluk emirs and notable sultans; this is in addition to the composition and circulation of textual artifacts that have been assigned a relic-like status. What unites these different practices centered on the veneration of the Prophet is that they were also used to convey authority. Given this context, this paper will examine the mechanism and conditions responsible for the popularity of such practices in medieval Egypt. It will also explore the use of prophetic relics as emblems of power that projected legitimacy, given that their acquisition coincided with periods of political transition and/or instability.

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2. Aly, Mennah

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"I had no heir who would make me a glorified spirit at the Portal of the Horizon": Childlessness, Ancestor Veneration and the Doors of the Celestial Sphere

In the stela of Padisobek, Cairo J.E. 44065, famously known as the stela of a Childless Man, the owner narrates his misery of not having an heir who would make him a glorified spirit "sAx" at the Portal of the Horizon "sbxt Axt". Whereas the notion of becoming an Ax is currently widely believed to have been a result of a series of rituals enacted in favor of the deceased mainly by his descendants, these rites, as mentioned on the stela of Padisobek, seem to be associated with the doors of the heavenly realm. Based on ancient Egyptian religious texts, it appears that the main purpose of the portals of the celestial sphere was to separate heaven from the netherworld, to only give access to the sun god and the blessed dead who were his followers. As evidenced by the funerary texts, ancestor cult rituals performed for the deceased in order to attain their Ax status are associated with their entrance into the gates of the celestial domain. Using funerary texts, and in light of the stela of Padisobek, this paper aims to understand the relationship between the sAxw rites performed in favor of the deceased and the doors of the celestial sphere, and whether these doors/gates of the heavenly realm through which the venerated dead who attained their Ax status pass can be equated with other equivalent portals on earth. While those who had an heir had their own Ax status confirmed, the case of the childlessness of Padisobek will also be given special attention.

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3. Ali, Zeinab Hanafy Hassan

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The Depiction of "Proskynesis" Attitude as Intercessory Body Posture: An Application to Egyptian- Christian Art and Heritage

Intercession can be defined as "a prayer with, for and on behalf of another person, group or people or even the world, which is undertaken by an individual or group." In Biblical accounts of prayer, diversified body postures were mentioned. For instance, Abraham fell upon his face before God. (Genesis 17:3, 17); Moses prayed with his hands outstretched (Exodus 9:27–29.); King Solomon knelt in prayer (I Kings 8:54.); and Jesus prayed looking up into heaven (Mark 6:41). Since Proskynesis is a body gesture that ranges from bowing down, kneeling with the head to the floor, or complete prostration in front of God, a ruler, or venerated humans, Coptic art has used it to express intercession seeking since the early 6th century A.D. This act was represented in different scenes and on a wide range of materials, such as the scene of Christ's miracles, with Coptic saints (seeking their intercession), and with the Holy Virgin Mary. With reference to Coptic culture, the concept of intercession was expressed first in words, and then it was reflected in art, as can be seen in very early Coptic manuscripts from Nag Hammadi library dated to the (4th century A.D). In Coptic heritage, there is also a noticeable contemporary practice that could be of great relevance to intercession. This practice is called prostration, or metanias (bowing) " المطانية ".

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4. Bergendorff, Karlee

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"Negotiating a National Aesthetic of Memory and Veneration: Egypt's Memorials to the October War"

This paper will explore the ways in which Egypt's October War memorials and museums from the 1970s and 1980s are reflective of broader international debates over the aesthetics and politics of memorialization including tensions between abstract and realist styles, personal memory and official history, and national and individual mourning. The Monument to the Unknown Soldier (النصب التذكاري للجندي المجهول) in Nasr City is Egypt's most written-about memorial for the 1973 conflict. However, the literature does not deeply consider the monument alongside other memorials across the country dedicated to the October War. This paper will comparatively examine the visual templates for war, loss, and reverence seen in national memorials to the October War and how those memorials have shaped collective remembrance.This paper considers monuments and museums collaboratively built by the Egyptian government and North Korean overseas arts and construction studio, Paekho Trading Company, including the October War Panorama (بانوراما حرب أكتوبر) in the Egyptian Military Museum (المتحف الحـربي القومي), the Monument to the Battle of Ismailia (النصب التذكـاري لمعـركة الإسماعيلية), and the Port Said Military Museum (متحـف بورسـعيد الحـــربى). This set of museums and memorials were jointly undertaken as part of an effort to venerate Egypt's long military history and create a military lineage from ancient battles to the October War. I compare these Paekho-built sites executed in a realist style to abstract style memorials to unknown soldiers in Nasr City, Desouk, and Alexandria. Despite a growing body of literature on Nasr City's Monument to the Unknown Soldier, there has been little written about Egyptian monuments constructed by Paekho. My paper will place these contrasting monuments to the October War in conversation with memorial studies scholarship by James Young, Andreas Huyssen, and Erika Doss. This paper seeks to address an understudied yet essential period of memorial construction in Egypt.

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5. Ben Hamida, Louisa

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The Cult of Royal Ancestors in the Great Temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak: A Synthesis

Recent research on the great temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak highlights the royal cult, particularly the cult of royal ancestors, as an essential component of the temple and of Amun's theology. This question is part of a doctoral research project entitled "The royal cult at Karnak down to the end of the 18th Dynasty" under the direction of Pr. M. Gabolde. It focuses on a period from the origins of the temple in the Middle Kingdom to the end of the 18th Dynasty. The aim is to present the royal cult, its development, and its organization in the temple, and to understand whether the veneration of Amun-Ra and the kings are inextricably linked. The cult of royal ancestors is one of the types of royal cults that can be observed in the temple. It is attested at least since Mentuhotep II and was thereafter the object of great interest for certain kings, especially those seeking legitimacy, such as Sesostris I, Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III, as evidenced by several monuments, statues, representations, and inscriptions. Therefore, a synthesis on the place of the cult of royal ancestors in the great temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak seems necessary. The paper will focus on the evolution of the cult, its beneficiaries, its votaries and officiants, its localities and the types of monuments associated with it. It will also permit us to consider the nature of the veneration received by these ancestors and the rituals associated with the memorial cult, and eventually its relation and its place in Amun's theology. Indeed, the conception of the personality of Amun-Ra and his temple at Karnak is the basis for the understanding of the importance of the cult of royal ancestors within the temenos of this god and the liturgies which are developed therein.

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6. El Hadidi, Hager

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Sayyida Zeinab in the Egyptian Imagination and Practice

This paper is about how Egyptians experience the presence of Al-Sayyida Zaynab in their lives and how they live their devotion in multiple cultural arenas and through different social practices. This study is based on anthropological research carried out between 1984 and 2014. Al-Sayyida Zaynab or Umm Hashim, is the protector of *ahl al-bayt* (members of the house of the Prophet Mohammad). Every year, on the last Tuesday in the Muslim lunar month of Rajab, more than a hundred thousand devotees congregate to celebrate her birthday or festival. Al-Sayyida Zaynab is the patron saint of women in distress, but most importantly she is the head of an imaginary council consisting of saints. This council rules an invisible parallel world that mediates between people who seek justice and resolution to their problems and provide them with support and judgement (*hukm*). People may access al-Sayyida Zaynab and share their grievances with her directly in her shrine or through a variety of linguistic and devotional practices. These may include dreams or visions, prayers, supplications, sacrifice and zikr (remembrance). Not only do people visit her shrine and mosque complex in Cairo, but they also perform their devotion in symbolic shrines scattered all over Upper Egypt. Following Bourdieu, I will describe the habitus of devotion to al-Sayyida Zaynab, not only during visitation in her actual mausoleum, but also in two other shrines in Upper Egypt. I will also describe through ethnographic vignettes, from Cairo and Upper Egypt, how people see her in dreams and how she is manifest in everyday conversations and linguistic practices. I will argue that the saint—as an important conduit of *madad* (divine help) in the Egyptian popular religious imagination—is part of the tools of resistance and survival for people in difficult circumstances to achieve justice and resolve their grievances.

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7. El Ridy, Karim

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Thutmose III in the Third Intermediate Period

In his valuable co-edited (with Eric H. Cline) book, *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, David O'Connor devotes, in chapter one, titled "Thutmose III: An Enigmatic Pharaoh," a section to the ancestral spirits, and he discusses "a small chapel dedicated to the cult of the royal ancestors in the vast Akh-Menu Complex," which concerns, as inferred, Thutmose's claims of royal legitimacy and emphasizes his affiliations with the ancestor kings. In fact, the issue of affirming legitimacy was one of the major problems that faced the kings of the Third Intermediate Period, as contesting the throne and splitting authority characterized this thorny period. It was, therefore, not strange for some of these kings to follow the same approach of Thutmose III and return to the same concept: sanctify and venerate the ancestors. This research paper will attempt to shed light on some aspects of the reverence of Thutmose III in royal texts, such as that of Smendes, Osorkon III, and Piye, and study the impact of this sanctification and the political implications associated with it.

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8. Harvey, Stephen

Ahmose and Tetisheri Project, Abydos

King to God: The Divine Oracle of Ahmose at Abydos

The existence of a posthumous oracle of King Nebpehtyre Ahmose (ca. 1550-1525 BCE) is documented by means of a stela representing his divine barque in procession, carried by priests dedicated to his cult. This paper will examine evidence for the development of his cult, based in the mortuary complex founded by the king at south Abydos. Identifications of possible royal representations of Ahmose's barque in Ramesside temples at Abydos reinforce the status that this founder cult had in later times. The agency of local priests in developing this cult will be discussed, in an attempt to examine how royal and private strategies may have coincided to create an oracular phenomenon of relevance to the local community and beyond. Evidence from the much better-known oracle of Amenhotep I at Thebes will be adduced in order to define particular local characteristics that distinguish the divinized father's oracle from that of his son.

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9. El Hawary, Amr

Co-Director of the Qubbet El Hawa Epigraphic Survey/Habilitant of the University of Bonn/Simpson Professorship Holder AUC/amr.elhawary@aucegypt.edu

Osiris lives: Exalting the "drowned one" in Qubet el Hawa and at the modern Cemetery of "Gabanat Aswan"

In Fall 2015, the Bonner Qubbet el Hawa Survey found a strange tumulus during the cleaning of the riverbank searching for the quayside used in funerary processions from Elephantine to the ancient necropolis on the west bank. This mud-brick shrine was definitely built before the Aswan Dam (1898) and is dedicated to a certain Sheikh Youssef, the drowned one. This cenotaph is still in use to date and is the object of exaltation of folk's natural fertility occult rites. To understand this non-Islamic cult in contemporary Aswan, I will compare this cult with the cult of Heqa-ib in his shrine in Elephantine from the Middle and New Kingdoms, and with the contemporary secret cult in the "Gabanat Aswan," in which such practices take place every night. This extraordinary cemetery congregates hundreds of symbolic graves of all the key figures of Islamic sainthood (Al Hussein, Ahmad Al Refa'y, Saida Zeinab etc). This presentation will give an overview regarding the main characteristics of Osiris and Isis, as derived from Egyptian funerary and temple sources, as well as modern Egyptian cultural memories in folklore, art and literature. All these sources celebrate the resurrection of Osiris after the grooming of Isis and Nephthys, the "two great mourners," with their long exaltation hymns. Finally, the living God Osiris ascends, the fertile soil becomes green, and Isis becomes pregnant. The young ladies exalting Sheikh Youssuf at Qubbet el Hawa are praying for the one with the "beautiful face" (nfr Hr) and the "beautiful being" (wn nfr), and waiting that he comes out from the Nile so that they become pregnant. This contribution will reconsider the origin of cenotaphs (*darieh/maqam/mashhad*) in contemporary use as an ancient Osirian tradition, and not, as posited by previous scholars, as a Shiite influence of the Fatimid reign in Egypt.

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10. Hussein, Kholoud

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Whose Ancestry is it, Anyway? Claiming the Pharaohs through the Saints

In her 1986 novella, *Maqam Atiyya* (The Shrine of Atiyya), Salwa Bakr presents her readers with a plot-dilemma. In the city of al-Minya, the shrine of a popular, local Sufi saint—Lady Atiyya—is in danger of being dismantled, so that archaeological excavations—in search of ancient Egyptian artefacts—could take place. As a result, the town becomes divided: should the shrine be dismantled in favor of archaeological discovery? Or, should archeological excavations be halted, so that the Sufi shrine be preserved? In essence, what is being asked here is a question about heritage and ancestors: which lineage is more important? The ancient Egyptian heritage, or the Sufi-Islamic one? This paper explores Salwa Bakr's attempt to navigate this question, through her portrayal of the tradition of saint veneration in modern Egypt not as antithetical to, but rather as a facilitator of, maintaining a link with ancestral figures from the Pharaonic past. Specifically, the paper will explore Bakr's argument that the tradition of saint veneration—and that saints themselves, Coptic and Sufi—provide a chain of connection: one which links modern Egyptians with their Pharaonic counterparts, and which, in turn, constructs the former as the physical and spiritual inheritors of the latter. The seminal question which Bakr is engaging with is this: are modern day Egyptians related to ancient Egyptians? A question which, Elliot Colla points out, emerged in the early days of Egyptological discovery, as European and Egyptian archaeologists fought to claim ancient Egyptian ancestors—and their grand civilization—for their own.

In its exploration, the paper will expand beyond literature to engage the fields of archaeology, anthropology and museum studies. As such, Bakr's 1986 text will be placed in dialogue with two historical moments: the opening of the Antik Khana in 1886, and the more recent event, the Pharaohs' Golden Parade, which marked the opening of the new National Museum of Egyptian Civilization. Ultimately, the paper will be exploring the ways through which a Pharaonic identity is negotiated in modern Egypt through recourse to language and tropes drawn from the Abrahamic traditions.

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11. Kelaidis, Katherine

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The Mother of Us All: Marian Veneration in Early Ottoman Egypt in the Forging and Transgression of Ethnic Identity

The Virgin Mary, and by extension Marian devotion, has been referred to as "the Golden Bridge" between Christianity and Islam, a site at which the theological differences and historical political animosities between the world's two largest religious groups might be (at least temporarily) laid aside. Egypt has proven a particularly common place for this bridge to be built across time. This paper seeks to examine one particular moment in that long history and to understand the role which Marian devotion played in shaping ethnic identity in early Ottoman Egypt. The question of ethnic identity in the Ottoman Empire has been a hotly contested one, not least because of its myriad of contemporary consequences. However, most of this attention has focused on late Ottoman notions of identity, as those modes of self-understanding came under the influence of emergent European nationalism. What is less studied is the understanding of ethnic identity at the beginning of the Ottoman period. These are conceptions of identity frequently less rooted in national ambitions and more closely tied to the familial and clan structures that have dominated Middle Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean society from ancient times, structures not the least upheld by dynamic practices of ancestor worship, among which the veneration of the saints by both Christians and Muslims might be included. Thus, this paper seeks to understand Mary as a "shared mother" between Christians and Muslims in early Ottoman Egypt and understand how this vision of shared matrilineal (spiritual) descent served to both unify and divide. Moving beyond those frameworks that understand the Virgin Mary as only a reimagined Mother Goddess, this paper seeks to situate Marian devotion during the period within the context of veneration for human ancestors, and in doing so, challenge fundamental understandings of patriarchal ethnic constructions and familial belonging in the period.

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12. Keshk, Fatma

Independent Scholar

"Was Present in this Mausoleum": Getting the Blessings from the Dead at the Fatimid Cemetery of Aswan

The Early Islamic Cemetery of Aswan, more widely known as the Fatimid Cemetery of Aswan, is one of the largest existing ancient Islamic cemeteries of Egypt. Its importance lies not only in the value of its standing architecture, but more importantly in it being a major example of a historic site with a living heritage. The mausoleums of the religious figures buried or commemorated at the cemetery are still being visited by large groups from the local communities in Aswan and Upper Egypt, where in some cases they perform some rituals associated with the different mausoleums. In addition to those rituals, many of the mausoleums have traces of Arabic graffiti left by visitors asking to get the blessings of the mausoleums' owners. From 2014 to 2016, as part of the restoration and site management project of the German Archaeological Institute at the cemetery, the documentation and study of these graffiti texts were undertaken by Fatma Keshk, Ismail Sayed and Marwa Hussein. The epigraphic documentation registered a total of 22 graffiti texts dating to the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century at mausoleums M10 and M25. The study revealed the repetition of the phrase "Was present at this mausoleum" followed by the name of the visitor who aims to get the blessing of the dead. This paper aims to present the results of studying Arabic graffiti at the Fatimid Cemetery of Aswan, including a comparative study with similar visitors' graffiti at Islamic mausoleums in Esna, Cairo and Bagawat.

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13. Mansour, Ahmed

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Outside the Nile Valley: Serabit el-Khadim as a Remote Cult Centre for the Deified Kings

The ancient Egyptian kings were venerated posthumously for political legitimacy and propaganda within and outside the political capital. In Sinai, for instance, the Twelfth Dynasty kings initiated this practice to venerate their ancestors, as well as practice their own cults in Serabit el-Khadim, where their messengers to turquoise mines were in charge. For example, the veneration of king Sneferu was first introduced to this area during the Twelfth Dynasty, and then, Senusret I venerated his father Amenemhat I together with himself. Later, the temple of Hathor at the Serabit el-Khadim plateau included a particular place called "The Shrine of Kings", dedicated by Thutmose III to a group of deities: Hathor, Ptah, Sopedu, and Sneferu as a deified king. Thus, it chiefly functioned as a commemoration place for the dead kings (such as Sneferu and Amenemhat I). This could be confirmed by the scenes and texts depicted on its walls and the statues of the kings. Nevertheless, the pieces of evidence of the veneration of the deified kings outside the 'shrine of the kings' are numerous, such as basiliphoric names, material culture, mural scenes, and textual pieces of evidence, which are scattered over the turquoise mining areas. Thus, this paper will touch on the history of the Serabit el-Khadim plateau, the venerated kings' identification, the reasons behind the establishment of such veneration, and how their cults evolved. Finally, it will focus on the shrine of the kings for the veneration of deified kings as a remote cult centre outside the Nile Valley.

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14. Mangialardi, Nicholas

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"Mulid Sidi Abd al-Halim": Venerating an Egyptian Pop Singer

In recent years, scholars of modern Egypt have paid increasing attention to how veneration of the dead has interacted with public space and affective experience. Research in anthropology (Schielke 2012) and ethnomusicology (Frishkopf 2018) has examined transformations in long-standing popular gatherings, such as saints' festivals (*mulid*) in Cairo and other cities. However, scholarship has not adequately addressed how new communal veneration festivities have emerged around modern figures in twentieth-century Egypt. This paper explores the emergence of one such recent ritual, namely the annual commemoration festival of Egyptian singer Abd al-Halim Hafiz (1929-1977). Drawing on ethnographic work conducted at the festival, as well as archival documents and Arabic periodicals, I trace the process by which this popular singer, his tomb, and his home have become sites of pilgrimage for tens of thousands of devotees each year. Specifically, I discuss the affective connection he formed with audiences in his live concerts to show how this has informed the veneration practices that developed after his death. I also examine Abd al-Halim's mystical afterlife and the various miracles attributed to him to highlight the influence of Sufi elements in his commemoration. Ultimately, I argue that the popular festivities for this singer have perpetuated his legacy while, at the same time, placing him in an ambiguous position in Egypt's official music heritage. By investigating the afterlife of Abd al-Halim Hafiz, this paper sheds new light on the understudied ways in which contemporary Egyptians venerate the recently deceased.

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15. Matta, Youhanna

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Serapion of Thmuis's Memory in Egypt throughout the Ages

Serapion of Thmuis (†362) is a disciple of St. Antony and a friend of St. Athanasius, who was ordained as a bishop sometime before 340 AD. He could be the first to be ordained as a bishop among the monks, and played a vital role in the theological controversies of the fourth century. Many works are attributed to him, among them a liturgy. This saint is commemorated in the Coptic Church, as well as in the other traditional churches. However, no Lives written about him are preserved. Nonetheless, he is cited in the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates and Sozomen, in the Illustrious Men of Jerome, and in other works as well.

This paper hopes to shed some light on the cult of Serapion bishop of Thmuis, throughout the ages in Egypt and beyond, through a survey of the following themes: His commemoration in the Coptic liturgical calendar; was there a church dedicated to him in Alexandria? His works; did they circulate and spread? His Liturgy; was it used and was its usage spread? Its rediscovery in Mt. of Athos; the later works attributed to him; his wall paintings in St. Antony and St. Paul monasteries in the Red Sea; his commemoration and iconography abroad, beyond local Coptic borders.

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16. McGregor, Richard

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The Evolution of Tomb Dressing as an Islamic Ritual for the Dead

Any survey of Egyptian Islamic devotional practices of the medieval period quickly encounters a wide variety of objects. Whether the rites and relics coming out of the elaborate Hajj observances, or the gatherings at saintly shrines, the material and visual records represent a rich source for study. Records from the Fatimid, Mamluk, and Ottoman eras show that believers' contact with such images and objects took place within a web of competing significations. Fatwas were written attacking and defending several practices (*Abduh's* were perhaps the most famous); sultans variously promoted and outlawed the yearly commemorations at saint shrines; and authorities banned certain popular elements of the Hajj celebration. Our current theoretical models for ritual practice are extremely diverse, with several mutually exclusive schools having evolved in the last three decades. A prominent line of theorists, including Talal Asad, J.Z. Smith, Catherine Bell, and Maurice Bloch, have pushed the study of ritual away from the decoding of static fields of signified meaning toward the more fluid concept of 'ritualization'. I will develop a story of the evolving Islamic practices of venerating the dead through the production, presentation, ritual parading, and devotional gazing upon tomb coverings. The paper will focus on the rituals, many of which have their precedents in Egyptian Hajj rites, that developed to support and structure this devotional material and visual field. Drawing on historical chroniclers such as al-Maqrizi, Ibn Iyas, and others, along with the surviving material preserved in museums in Egypt and elsewhere, I will present several case studies to illustrate the development of such dressing rituals.

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17. Moeller, Nadine

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A New Ancestor Shrine of the Early 18th Dynasty at Tell Edfu

The recent fieldwork at Tell Edfu has focused on the excavation of an elite town quarter dating to the late 17th / early 18th Dynasty situated on the top of the tell. During the excavations, a large urban villa measuring more than 500 square meters was discovered, which included a small shrine in the corner of the main columned hall dedicated to the worship of the ancestors. Several cult objects (a small scribal statue, an ancestor bust, three stelae, numerous beads) were found in and around the shrine, which had been left there when the building was abandoned. This discovery is a unique opportunity to investigate private religious practices through the various cult objects that were found in situ, as well as their archaeological context and the architectural elements of the shrine. It also sheds new light on the provenance and function of similar objects that can be seen in many museum collections and for which the archaeological context is frequently missing.

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18. Nasr, Youmna Adel Zaki

Faculty of Tourism & Hotels, Alexandria University/youmna.adel@alexu.edu.eg

Invoking the Spirits of the Ruling Ancestors in the New Kingdom Temples: A Veneration Ritual in Ancient Egypt

The veneration of the souls (bAw) of the rulers is a subject of constant interest to the Egyptians from the time of the Old Kingdom. The souls (bAw) of Pe and Nekhen are the prototype of the powerful pre-dynastic protectors of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the Pyramid Texts, they played a great protective role in the ascension of the deceased king to his celestial throne in the sky. Iconographically, they are portrayed kneeling in the henu-jubilation gesture to praise the living monarch. During the New Kingdom, the living kings used to participate in several rituals, practiced in special places dedicated to exalt the ruling ancestors in the temples of Karnak, Abydos, Ramesseum, and Medinet Habu. This paper sheds light on a veneration ritual performed in a particular place in the temples, called the Chamber of Ancestors, where kings Thutmose III, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III appear as living sovereigns and invoke the spirits of the ruling ancestors to bless their divine right of kingship and to legitimize their ascension to the throne. There are several contributing/additional deities related to the concepts of rebirth, stability, and fertility in this ritual, including the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the god Min. In general, the ancient Egyptians believed that the well-ordered cosmos should be controlled by a powerful king who inherited his divine rule on earth from his royal ancestors, whose bodies are manifestations of the god Horus and their souls (bAw?) follow the gods in their heavenly realm. Thus, invoking and venerating the souls (bAw) of the ancestors of the ruling kings by their royal lawful descendants in New Kingdom temples secured the rightfulness of the hierarchy and confirmed their readiness to protect their descendants from any possible enemy by adopting the obligations of a subordinate toward the royal ancestors.

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19. O'Dell, Emily Jane

Sichuan University-University of Pittsburgh

An Exalted Sufi: Venerating Rumi in Egypt from the Ottoman Empire to Today

This paper will focus on the veneration of the 13th century Persian mystic and poet Rumi in Egypt. Special attention will be paid to the Mevlevi Sufi lodge in Cairo (in the Madrasa of Amir Sunqur Sa'di, also known as the Mausoleum of Sheikh Hasan Sadaqa). This research will discuss how the Mevlevi Sufi Order (founded by the followers of Jalal al-Din Rumi) spread to Cairo during the Ottoman Empire. It will discuss how the Order acquired the dervish lodge (within which they built a special ceremonial hall for the whirling dervish ritual), how their rituals and veneration of Rumi were received through the centuries, and how different documents related to the Order's devotion to Rumi in Egypt contribute to a better regional understanding of this saintly figure who was originally from Central Asia, but died in Konya. This paper will also discuss the restoration of the Mevlevi Sufi Order in Cairo and the current curation of the Mawlawiyya (Mevlevi) Museum at the site. As the Mevlevi dervishes used the building until 1945, this paper will also include the written impressions of attendees, such as travelers and writers, of the whirling dervish ceremony in the 20th century. The speaker will also include translations of Rumi from her new book, The Gift of Rumi (St. Martin's Press), to share Rumi's verses on Egypt and explain how this venerated figure in Egypt imagined and described Egypt himself. Finally, this paper will conclude with a discussion of the "veneration" of Rumi today in Egypt—from whirling workshops at Cairo Contemporary Dance Center to Amer Eltony's Egyptian Sufi band, Mawlawiyah. After all, The Forty Rules of Love (about Rumi and his teacher Shams of Tabriz) by Elif Shafak was the number one best-selling book at Diwan Bookstore, Alef, and the AUC Press.

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20. Onstine, Suzanne

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The Deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in TT16

The owner of TT16, Panehsy, was a Ramesside era priest in the cult of Amenhotep I. In his tomb are representations of both Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, an image of a processional cult statue of Amenhotep I, as well as a depiction of what may be Amenhotep I's funerary temple, located very nearby in the Necropolis. This paper will explore the various aspects of the tomb that inform us about the Ramesside era worship of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari.

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21. Petorella, Fabrizio

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Ancestor Veneration and the Echo of the Martyrdom: The Construction of an Institutional Memory in the First Greek Life of Saint Pachomius

My paper will deal with the institutional memory of the κοινωνία founded by Pachomius, as it is built by the unknown author who, in the late 4th century, wrote the First Greek Life of the saint. Since this anonymous biographer is a monk who joined the community only after Pachomius's death, his entire work is based on the veneration of the holy man and on the preservation of his memory for posterity. The pious deeds of the saint are, thus, offered as a model to a community that finds its guides in an idealized past. Furthermore, in the opening chapters of the βίος, the author acknowledges the authority of another illustrious example of Christian life, namely the heroic choice of the martyrs. If the end of persecutions makes this extreme action unfeasible, the glorious past of Christianity still fascinates the biographer and, presumably, his interlocutors: martyrdom has already acquired the new meaning of a continuous service to God; Pachomius's ascetic experience must thus be the object of veneration, which puts him on the same level as the heroes of Christian origins. The aim of my paper is to illustrate how, at the heart of Pachomius's κοινωνία, the cult of the saint is described by a biographer who did not have the good fortune to meet him in person. Particular attention will be paid to rhetorical structures and literary tools displayed by the anonymous author and to the results that he wants to achieve. Through a rhetorical analysis, it will be interesting to study how the echo of the martyrdom influences the institutional memory of a community wishing to follow in the footsteps of its holy founder.

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22. Price, Campbell

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Interfacing With the Dead Through Late Period Non-royal Statuary

As part of a wider project examining the functions of non-royal statuary at Karnak in the First Millennium BCE, a subtle but perceptible chronological trend emerged in the statues' inscriptions: with time, greater emphasis was placed on the status of the main beneficiary, paralleling broader concepts of the divinisation of the dead in mortuary literature. An increased desire to be amongst a group of one's own elevated ancestors, part of an exclusive group of the 'Hsiw' is also articulated. While several named individuals may be commemorated upon a single statue, some of them living when the monument was commissioned, the default situation—at least at Late Period Karnak—seems to be that the main beneficiary is deceased when the statue is set up. Particularly notable is the use of the term 'saH' as active 'intercessor' in a reciprocal relationship with the living, rather than the passive effigy with which the term is normally associated. Surveying textual and material evidence, this paper explores the role of non-royal temple statues as conduits between the living, frequenting functional temple spaces, and the realm of the effective, enabled and divinised dead.

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23. Puglisi, Julia Viani

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Sidi Hammed es-Semman at the Giza Pyramids

This paper explores the legacy of the Sidi Hammed es-Semman, who lived in the rock-cut tomb of Debehen (G 8090) at Giza at the turn of the 19th century. After the death of the Sufi teacher, the tomb became the locus for pilgrimages and weekly zikr by locals, who named their village—Nazlet es-Semman—after the Sidi. As the home of the local saint, the choice of this tomb is striking, as it also preserves a unique wall relief of a religious procession for the cult of Debehen during the Old Kingdom. Overall, documentation is lacking about the multiple reuses of the tomb and the teachings of Hammed es-Semman; however, artistic representations and anecdotes by European travellers shed light on how this figure lived in the Old Kingdom tomb, which became part of the tourism circuit at Giza prior to the excavations of Egyptologist Selim Hassan in the mid-20th century. In addition to sharing travellers' accounts of Hammed es-Semman and his rupestral home, this preliminary research invites open dialogue about possible Arabic archives or local oral accounts that document the life of the sheikh and his later worship.

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24. Richards, Janet,

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What Makes a Saint?

In the past and present of human populations, certain individuals become saints or heroes to the communities in which they live(d). Epitomizing desirable qualities valued in their time, and considered to be actors in the ceremonial life of their people and place, these ancestors act as intermediaries with the divine, to whom their descendants can appeal for assistance in moments of personal crisis or need. At the local level, the memory of these individuals is often extremely long-lived; and over time, these saints' audiences can expand beyond the local and social to the national and political. Why do communities choose a particular person above others for divinization? Understanding what makes a saint is not always a straightforward process, especially when contemporary textual statements and oral histories do not exist, are fragmentary, or cannot be accessed. In multidisciplinary and cross-cultural literature around sports figures, Muslim saints, Indian kings, ancient and modern Greek heroes, Christian martyrs, artists, musicians, and many others, scholars have offered a variety of possible responses to the "why them/her/him?" question: longevity, charisma, calm, wisdom, piety, self-sacrifice, triumph in adversity, personal bravery, strength, manner of death, talent, transcendent kindness or grace, to name only some of the qualities invoked during offerings to or descriptions of saints around the world. This paper explores the "why?" of local saints, contextualizing the cult of the late third millennium individual, Idi, at Abydos among a range of other examples—in Egypt, worldwide, and over time.

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25. Shakir, Murtaza

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The Beseeched Burial: Reflections on the Historical Events Associated with the Shrine of Sayyida Nafisa in Al-Qahira.

Every year, on the night of the second Wednesday of the Hijri month of Jumada al-Ukhra, the lively week-long festivities of the Mulid of Sayyida Nafisa culminate with the enchanting aura of melodious eulogies of devotion, symbolizing the veneration she inspires in the hearts of thousands of Egyptian people, who flock to her shrine to pay their respects. This magnetism of her shrine stimulates inquiry into not only the traditions surrounding her ascetic personality, but also into the history of her burial and trajectory of events that ensued in regard to her shrine. Although there has been much formal and informal dissemination of information regarding the history of her life, the significance of the history of her shrine often remains underemphasized. Drawing from various details recorded in a number of primary and secondary historical sources, this paper firstly attempts to reconstruct a coherent narrative of the events that preceded her death and burial, the events that took place over time near her shrine, the renovations of her shrine that were undertaken during various regimes, the inscriptions on her shrine, and the details of notable visitors to her shrine. Secondly, through studying these specific aspects of the history of her mausoleum, this paper will try to enumerate its significance in evoking the love of *Ahl al-Bayt*—the members of Prophet Muhammad's family, which goes beyond sectarian narratives. Understanding the underlying historical background for this love, often embodied in the tradition of seeking the tactile and spiritual blessings of Sayyida Nafisa's shrine, provides a doorway in cognizing the love and veneration towards the shrines of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in different parts of the Arab world, especially during commemorative occasions like the mulid.

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26. El Shazly, Yasmin

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Analyzing Representations of New Kingdom Royal Figures on 21st and 22nd Dynasty Coffins

The posthumous veneration of Amenhotep I and other royal ancestors during the New Kingdom has been the subject of interest for many scholars. Recent research, however, has shed light on the continued veneration of Amenhotep I after the New Kingdom, to as late as the Ptolemaic Period. This is evident on the coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, on which Amenhotep I and other New Kingdom kings, such as Thutmose III and Horemheb, are frequently represented.One particularly interesting coffin is that of Butehamun (Turin inv. 2236), on which Amenhotep I is depicted accompanied by other members of the Ahmosid line. This coffin can be considered one that marks the transition from the representation of royal ancestors on the walls of Theban tombs, to their depiction on coffins. A thorough study of representations of New Kingdom royal figures on Third Intermediate Period coffins is still lacking, and with the constant discovery of new post New Kingdom coffins, it is badly needed. This paper is part of a larger project to study the Third Intermediate Period evidence for the veneration of Amenhotep I and other New Kingdom royal figures. It focuses on the representation of New Kingdom royal figures on 21st and 22nd Dynasty coffins. The paper is a work in progress. In it I will study a sample of 21st and 22nd Dynasty coffins with representations of New Kingdom royal figures. I will analyze the iconography of these figures along with their different titles, the titles of their owners and the possible reasons behind having these deceased royal figures represented on these coffins, and what this all says about the cult of these kings during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties.

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27. Stevens, Marissa

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Functional Veneration: The Incorporation of Ancestors in Private Art of the Third Intermediate Period

Textual references of family members and inclusion of their images on private monuments—especially those of a funerary nature—are common throughout pharaonic Egyptian history. The function of the incorporation of these family members, however, is often integral and inseparable from the time period in which they occur. This paper will analyze the inclusion of family on a number of objects from the Third Intermediate Period and contextualize them within the era of political instability, conflict, and compounded social identity. In what light were family members often depicted, and to what end? Through the study of funerary papyri, deification decrees, coffins, and statuary, it becomes clear that the function of the venerated family was multifaceted: supporting political claims, maintaining economic rights, strengthening property ownership, and enhancing family status. These functions were veiled within a religious tradition of highlighting one's ancestors with respect and praise. Looking behind the (heartfelt) veneer of veneration, however, reveals the utilization of a time-honored Egyptian tradition of emphasizing family lineage for the purpose of personal gain.

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28. Taronas, Katherine

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Beholding the Saints on Late Antique Votive Textiles from Egypt

This paper centers on a small set of Late Antique textiles from Egypt that pictorially stage interactions between ordinary worshippers and the "very special dead"—Christian saints and martyrs, in the terminology of Peter Brown. These colorful but stylistically spare woven renderings of men, women, and children insert devotees into abstract, sacred spaces in which they can behold and stand in prayer alongside holy figures. Two fragments of a wall hanging, for example, depict a veiled woman labeled with the name Thecla. To her right is a smaller, unnamed figure who turns toward her in prayer. Differences in size, stance, directional gaze, and inscriptional identification articulate a hierarchy between the two, suggesting that the woman may be the prominent St. Thecla, whose cult gained significant popularity in Egypt. Candlesticks frame the pair compositionally and underscore for the viewer that they are present in the same space. I will contextualize the visual cues that articulate a relationship between saint and devotee on this and other textiles with a consideration of textual and archaeological sources that point toward the nature of interaction between saints and supplicants as it was conceived in Late Antiquity—their possibilities for interaction and modes of contact. Not only do these textiles visually construct a relationship between saint and supplicant, but they do so materially as well. Forming a physical testament of devotion toward a saint, the textiles represent a category of votive objects absent from regions of the Late Antique Christian world outside the deserts of Egypt. I will also explore the possibility that these scenes served as funerary images that entrusted a soul to a saint's care and intercession, comparable to the painted lunette from the tomb of Theodosia at Antinoöpolis in which St. Kollouthos places his hand reassuringly upon the shoulder of the deceased orant.

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29. Teixidor-Abelenda, Jordi

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A Reevaluation of the Royal Son Ahmose-Sapair: Problems, Perspectives and Interpretations of the First Royal Cult in the New Kingdom

The royal son Ahmose-Sapair has always been surrounded by a halo of mystery or uncertainty due to the decontextualised evidence and the resemblance of name with that of the founder of the 18th dynasty. His cult is well accepted and recognised by scholars, but there hasn't been enough focus on his cult and how it possibly set a pattern, as his veneration introduces the first royal cult in the New Kingdom. The undeniable fact of this character is that he constituted a very important figure in the early 18th dynasty, though most probably posthumously, in order to have been assigned a cult that lasted until the Ramesside period. His presence in royal iconography of kings and queens in the New Kingdom represents irrefutable evidence of the importance of his worship in a royal context. This paper will present the problems in determining the ancestry of Ahmose-Sapair to provide the context of his figure and which one is most likely according to the evidence. However, the main mission of the contribution is to provide a premise of the consolidation of his cult during the New Kingdom, based on all the documentation at our disposal, and how this cult contributed in creating royal ideology in New Kingdom Egypt.

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30. Thurlkill, Mary

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"Re-membering the Holy Family in Islamic Cairo"

This paper examines the veneration of the Prophet Muhammad's Holy Family, both historically and today. The paper draws upon affect theory and trauma studies to move beyond questions of historical/textual criticism to consider what 'visiting' the Holy Family means to their audiences. Affect theory compels us to imagine what bodies (both individual and social) experience, feel, and emote in story-telling and ritual performance within sacred space. Trauma studies likewise accentuates what bodies experience and feel, especially in deeply distressing physical or psychic struggles. Trauma studies, particularly, encourages us to focus on the power of 'story' in shaping individual (and social) identities, recognizing that, in many ways, we are a product of the stories we tell ourselves (and those society tells us). When approaching the Holy Family with these questions in mind, I consider (more specifically): what attracts practitioners and pilgrims to sacred spaces dedicated to broken bodies, and what do they experience therein? To answer such questions, I begin by surveying early medieval hadith and hagiographies that describe the Family's lives and legacies, paying particular attention to al-Sayyida Zaynab and al-Husayn (the Prophet Muhammad's grandchildren). I consider a variety of pilgrimage (or 'visitation') rituals, including story-telling and emotional elegies that 're-member' the Family's traumas, recognizable by most human beings as lived by mothers, fathers, sons, sisters, and kin groups. I also consider embodied ritual performances that link practitioners with the Family's own bodies/relics through full sensory engagement (smelling, tasting, and feeling). Finally, the paper complements historical investigation (primarily hagiographies and pilgrimage journals) with recent fieldwork conducted at al-Sayyida Zaynab and al-Husayn mosques in 2019 and 2021. Through interviews and observation, I consider the embodied ritual performances within the shrine rooms that often disrupt traditional gender expectations.

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31. Tritsch, Michael R.

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A Domestic Horizon: Household Niches and Ancestor Worship

This paper focuses on the analysis of niche emplacements in domestic contexts during the New Kingdom, with a goal of shedding new light on their significance and function in relation to transformational ancestor worship rituals. Appearing throughout the settlements of Amarna and Deir el-Medina, such niches share significant similarities in design, as recesses in a wall, extending to the floor, with a threshold, two jambs, and a lintel, and painted primarily red, frequently incorporating yellow embellishments. Previous interpretations linked their function to a need to achieve architectural balance and to serve as a location for cultic acts. To investigate this topic further, an in-depth examination of previous research, combining archaeological data together with relevant ritual texts, and employing both an emic and etic perspective in the analysis, has facilitated a reconstruction of the role of such niches in ritual performance. From an etic perspective, the location of niches in houses seems to correlate with the configuration of "reception rooms" consistent with the concept of architectural balance, although this does not reflect their function. An emic perspective reveals that niches within domestic structures formed a locus for ancestor worship, while also exhibiting the lineage of the household and serving as a mode of conspicuous consumption. Through a stylistic and philological evaluation, the evidence indicates that the niche design becomes a microcosm reflective of the macrocosm of the solar circuit, functioning as an akhet-shrine, a representation of the akhet-horizon, and the proper receptacle to house the akh-spirit. Employed not only to "akhify" a deceased relative, to transform him/her into an akh-spirit, but also as a place to leave regular offerings, niches attest to the significance of private religion, especially ancestor veneration, in daily life.

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32. Troche, Julia

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The Deification of Imhotep

My book Death, *Power, and Apotheosis in Ancient Egypt: the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (2021) explores the deification of exalted dead and offers a framework for identifying these figures in the archaeological and textual records. I argue that the deification of the dead in ancient Egypt was not an imported practice, as has been suggested, but has origins in emic ancient Egyptian socio-religious constructions of power and access, evinced as early as the Old Kingdom. Not included in my study is, arguably, the most famous deified dead, Imhotep, who is the focus of this paper. Though Imhotep was an Old Kingdom official (c. 2650 BCE), evidence for his deification is not known until the New Kingdom (c. 1400 BCE), at the earliest. Imhotep's deification is in many ways paradigmatic and in others unique. In this paper I highlight examples of each in an effort to contextualize this famous case study within the historical phenomenon of apotheosis. Though the long "delay" in his deification is often cited as unique, I suggest that this was not entirely uncommon, using the cases of Heqaib and Isi as antecedents, and explain that it is likely a result of his royal lineage, (presumed) burial near the King, and issues of preservation. I further show that Imhotep's fame—like the fame of other esteemed dead such as Hordjedef, Ptahhotep, and Kagemni—was transmitted through oral culture, echoes of which are recorded in papyrus Chester Beatty IV and the Harper's Song (p. Harris 500). Imhotep's deification is most extraordinary in the dynamism of his varied legacies, from son of Ptah, to Hellenistic god of medicine, to Universal movie monster. Imhotep's deification aligns with established practices, but also differs from other cases of apotheosis in tangible ways that marks him as distinct, even among other exalted ancient Egyptian dead.

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33. Wickett, Elizabeth

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For Those Who Sail To Heaven': the mūlid of Sīdī Abu'l Hajjāj' (16mm, 49', 1991)

The mulid of the Sufi saint, Sidi Abu'l Hajjaj, in Luxor is a vibrant and joyous celebration of the sheikh's birth-feast and his baraka (or life-force) which takes place annually at his shrine within the Luxor Temple complex. Vestiges of an early Coptic church, the Fatimid mosque and the XIVth century mausoleum of the sheikh visible above the temple pylons set the scene for this film and its aim: to trace the evolution of festival traditions, ancient and modern, in Luxor and highlight the cultural and theological transformations which have taken place here over a period of more than three thousand years. The 'Beautiful Feast of Opet' was celebrated in 1500 BC in Thebes, now modern Luxor, and it featured a procession of the sacred barques of the gods from Karnak to Luxor temple where the king's divine power would be symbolically renewed through a marriage with his mysterious consort. The walls of Luxor temple are still engraved with vivid scenes from this ancient procession and provide graphic evidence for comparison of this Feast of Opet with contemporary ritual. In the film, the principal participants describe the various legends, rites and rituals performed for Sidi Abu'l Hajjaj during the mulid, and at its culmination, the boatmen known as al-marakbiyya, and descendants of Sidi Abu'l Hajjaj, al-Hajajiyya, process the sacred boats of the sheikh around Luxor in a seeming re-enactment of the Opet Feast, while the plumbers stage a satirical re-enactment of the mock marriage of king and queen in a secular inversion of the once sacred theme. Like the rare archival footage shot in 1922 by Harry Burton which mirrors the modern mulid, this film, shot in the 1980s, is a historical document which illustrates and celebrates the remarkable longevity and vitality of festival tradition in Egypt.

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34. Winnik, Arielle

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Islamic and Christian Tombstones and the Visitation of the Dead in Medieval Egypt

Thousands of medieval Egyptian stelae with carved niche decorations survive from Islamic and Christian contexts. The Christian examples served as tombstones, but the function of many of the Islamic examples has remained uncertain. Scholars have noted their visual similarities to the mihrab and prevalence in commemorative settings. In this paper, I will demonstrate that the Islamic stelae, like the Christian ones, served as grave markers, and intentionally adopted the form of the mihrab to provide an appropriate environment for the visitation and veneration of the dead. When medieval Egyptian Christians visited cemeteries of friends and family members, prayers focused on the deceased's social identity in life, and grave markers reflected social structure. They commonly included images of the deceased in identifying dress (for example, monastic habits for monks), often standing in niches. In Islamic contexts, in contrast, grave markers are linked to ziyarat (visitation and prayer at gravesites of both holy men and ordinary individuals). Motivations for ziyarat varied, but the practice was usually relational, to safeguard the deceased or to seek intercession. I will show that, as Islam spread throughout Egypt, Muslims drew inspiration from Christian stelae for Islamic grave markers, adapting Christian models to serve as loci of prayer. The conventional Christian niche iconography was modified into imagery that recalled the *mihrab*, but human figures were replaced with hanging lamps. In this way, medieval Muslims created a suitable focal point for ziyarat prayers but avoided figural imagery, which would have been inappropriate in a religious setting. By studying the Christian and Islamic stelae of medieval Egypt together, I will show that these items were parts of the same larger artistic tradition, but were adapted for their unique religious contexts.

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35. Xekalaki, Georgia

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Royal Children as Royal Ancestors

This lecture aims to define how Egyptian royal children evolved in their role as Royal Ancestors when presented as such in private monuments of the New Kingdom. Research on the Royal Ancestors (also quoted in certain contexts as 'Lords of the West' or 'Lords of Eternity') has been exhaustive, as their occurrence in monuments has been widely recorded and documented. These studies have focused on the ancestors as a group, as well as on sub-groups and on individual figures (eg. "royal sons of the 18th Dynasty", "the Ahmosids", "Amenhotep I"), moving across geographical and/or chronological contexts (eg. "Deir el Medina" or "the Ramesside Period"). In doing so, research has come a long way in defining the social conditions and historical phenomena that triggered certain cultic and thematic developments. Building on this work, I aim to consider the documented images of royal sons and daughters as Royal Ancestors through a content analysis model developed during my Ph.D. research on New Kingdom royal children. This model demonstrates that royal children, shown as living human beings in both royal and non-royal contexts, were ascribed to fit a number of ideal images traceable to mythical prototypes (mythologems) that were then deployed as propaganda tools. Using this framework, I will now attempt to ascribe royal children depicted as Royal Ancestors to mythologems and explore whether there are any parallels with contemporary developments in the iconography of royal children in other contexts. In doing so, this study focuses on defining various cross-contextual influences and phenomena, such as the archaism often seen in representations of gods and venerable figures.

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Poster Abstracts

1. Bakr, Gehad Mohamed Ibrahim

Faculty of Tourism, Minia University

"N KA N nbt pr": Non Royal- Women Stelae in New Kingdom

Ancient Egyptian women of the New Kingdom had the authority to own monuments, as evidenced by stelae that are dedicated to or owned by elite women, or those that were perhaps dedicated by their husbands or relatives on their behalf. The women's titles mentioned in these stelae are usually one of the following: mistress of the house, a musician of a particular deity, or occasionally without a title. The women possibly purchased these stelae using their resources, which some women certainly had, or, in other cases, their husbands and sons financed these monuments. Objectives of this poster are: to gather and survey the stelae of non-royal women during the New Kingdom, and to explore the social position of the owners of these monuments through images, texts, and context. The methodology of this poster is descriptive and analytical, gathering and describing the stelae of non-royal women distributed across a variety of museums.

The study will assess the position and roles of non-royal women through their stelae. The results will give clear steps in re-dating the unpublished stelae, as well as detecting artistic and linguistic features. It will present the various workshops according to styles of stelae and to what extent each province is distinguished by its art and production.

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2. Bland, Weston

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Coptic Effendi Mourning in an Age of Revolution

This poster explores the role of death memorials in Coptic newspapers as platforms of communal politics in the early Nasser era. As a genre of storytelling that blended eulogy, biography, and commentary on the deceased, Coptic memorials were not merely memories of the deceased's pasts, but active articulations of communal politics in their present. Memorials were powerful vehicles for the Coptic laity to advocate for their continued role in communal governance. While conventional Coptic historiography defines this period by a rapid collapse of lay power in the community at the hands of a Church-state alliance, public death memorials reveal the laity's continued struggle for influence.

I will focus on the death coverage of several prominent Copts who died in the 1950s. These figures represented diverse strata within the community, including clergy, government officials, and journalists. What united them was the narrative power that their lives and deaths held for expressing effendi aspirations for a modern Coptic community. Coptic memorials were dedicated to individuals who modernizers saw as exemplary due to the communal values that they embodied: a desire to represent the Coptic people; a commitment to reform; standing against corruption; ties to the regime; and engagement with revolutionary politics. At the same time, the manner in which memorialists composed their histories was shaped by effendi values of respectful mourning. Being the object of effendi aspirations dictated not only what was said and not said about the deceased in memorials, but whose deaths were venerated in the public space of the press. Memorials as a genre of storytelling were shaped by negotiating between a compulsion towards political maneuvering as well as that of respect. As this poster shows, commemorating the dead served as a powerful vehicle for Copts to lay claims on communal political currents in the revolutionary upheaval of the 1950s.

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3. Bohun, Henry

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Kingship and the Blessed Dead: Can the Egyptian King Be Considered a 'Living Ancestor'?

The discourse on the divine nature of the Egyptian king is often framed within a narrative focused on whether the king in general was, or specific kings were, considered to be a god or not. Often the conclusion lands somewhere in between, with a distinction made between the divinity of the sacred office of kingship and the mortality of the office holder; a union which juxtaposes human and mortal natures with the divine and immortal within it. The king's relationship with the gods is well documented, and it can be argued with some degree of certainty that the king had a godly nature. However, gods were not the only beings who existed in the divine world and to whom the king had a degree of ritual responsibility. The king was also put on earth to provide offerings for the blessed dead. This leads to a number of questions. Could the qualitative nature of the king, as well as being 'godlike', also be 'ancestor-like'? And to what extent is this demonstrated in the visual and theological record? The idea that elite individuals are considered to be living ancestors is not new. It is a belief well documented amongst indigenous African communities, and has also been widely discussed in anthropological literature. In exploring these ideas, this paper will use existing anthropological theory and correlate it to select Egyptian evidence. It will first examine the Ptolemaic Ruler cult and the inclusion of the living Ptolemaic king within a cult of their royal predecessors, developed during the reigns of the early Ptolemies. It will then look back into Pharaonic history, examining visual and theological evidence surrounding kingship ideology, aiming to demonstrate the 'living ancestor' quality of the king, but also that the Ptolemaic expression had Egyptian origins.

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4. Brinkman, Bryan

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*Exalted Dead and Hellenic Heroism in Ancient Egypt: The Case of
Antinous*

The city of Antinoöpolis in Egypt—built by Hadrian in 130 CE and
dedicated to his lover Antinous, who had drowned in the Nile—is a
striking case study for the construction of sacred space in antiquity.
Upon his death, Antinous underwent apotheosis and the philhellene
Emperor ordered that a new city be built on the site where Antinous'
body had been recovered from the river. In this paper, I suggest that
Antinoöpolis was, in essence, a Greek hero shrine. Designed as a
"polis" and populated with ethnic Greeks, the city was also a site for
the perpetual performance of "funeral games," the *Megala Antinoeia*.
These games drew competitors from across the Empire and were a
constant memorialization of the new god for whom the city was
named. As I argue, Antinoöpolis reflects Hadrian's "heroic sorrow."
This "heroic sorrow" can be understood as the intensity with which
Greek heroes felt loss after the death of a close companion and the
performative gestures that arose from this loss. This sorrow and these
gestures are a function of the hero's arete ("excellence"). Specifically,
the creation of Antinoöpolis was a function of Hadrian's sorrow and it
was modeled after both Achilles and Alexander the Great, both of
whom had lost their companions (Patroclus and Hephaestion,
respectively).

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5. Hamilton, Julia C. F.

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Let His Name Go Forth: A Micro-historical Study of Kagemni's veneration in Saqqara

Vizier Kagemni Memi is often grouped among the 'saints' of the Old Kingdom (e.g., Krämer 2019; Troche 2015; Daoud 2005, 81; Silverman 1995, 82; Martin-Pardey 1980, 290), even though it is acknowledged that we lack clear emic, ancient Egyptian terminology to distinguish the material evidence of his cult from that of the revered dead during the Old Kingdom (Hamilton 2014; cf. Franke 1994, 131–4; Fischer 1965, 52). Rather than seeking global comparisons, this paper offers a micro-historical approach to the material evidence of Kagemni's veneration in Saqqara, including from his own kingroup, specifically among the community buried in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The need for locality-specific, context-sensitive studies of such cults has been especially emphasized by Kahl (2012, 188). From commemorative funerary monuments erected by his son Merpepy, and other people buried in the vicinity of his mastaba, to the graffiti left by cult-priests, scribes, and other visitors, etched upon the interior walls of his mastaba chapel, and much later the so-called 'Teaching for Kagemni' (P. Prisse), this paper demonstrates that the local response to Kagemni's memory shifted through time. In the inscriptions on the exterior walls of his mastaba, Kagemni expressed the wish to be imakhu (honoured) in the sight of other people. Accordingly, Kagemni's memory and name were preserved and elevated through commemorative activities attested at Saqqara, belonging to those who appealed to him as an 'excellent and equipped akh (spirit)' of their community.

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6. Jackson, Briana

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The Veneration of Amenhotep III and Lunar Cult during the Reign of Akhenaten

In the 30th year of his reign, Amenhotep III adopted the epithet "the Dazzling Sun-disc", revealing a marked increase in royal interest in the solar cult. Additionally, Amenhotep III elevated the lunar cult, and built in Soleb a temple dedicated to the celebration of his sed-festival and to himself in the form of a new lunar god, Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia. At both Soleb and Sesebi, temple decoration displays Akhenaten's veneration of his father as the moon god, and other evidence both at Malqata and Amarna reveal a continued royal interest in the cult of Amenhotep III.

The elevation of the lunar cult during the reign of Amenhotep III is also demonstrated by new iconography and small finds, such as jewelry molds and representations of the moon god Thoth in sculpture and stelae. Such material culture turns up at Malqata, as well as in the private sector at Amarna. Moreover, Amarna's neighboring city, Hermopolis, where Amenhotep III erected colossal statues of baboons, was dedicated to the moon god Thoth, perhaps suggesting a connection between the lunar city (Hermopolis) and the solar city (Amarna).

This paper examines the presence and impact of the lunar cult, first elevated by Amenhotep III, in both the royal and non-royal sphere during the reign of Akhenaten, and explores degrees of religious continuity from the reign of Amenhotep III through that of Tutankhamun, whose jewelry is pregnant with lunar significance.

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7. Jensen, Victoria

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The Cemeteries of Deir el-Ballas and Their Relationship to the Late 17th Dynasty Palace: A Case of Non-elite Veneration of the Royal Family?

Deir el-Ballas is situated on the west bank of the Nile, 40 km north of Luxor. The site features a palace that was used between the reigns of Seqenenre Djehuty-Aa (Tao) and Nebpehtyre Ahmose. Three cemeteries were excavated by the Hearst Expedition of the University of California in 1900, two of which were recorded in enough detail to reconstruct the grave assemblages. The tombs primarily date to the early 18th dynasty, with a flourish in the reign of Thutmose III, although a few tombs contained material culture dating to the late 18th-early 19th Dynasties. The two documented cemeteries appear to represent a lower- to middle-class population, with almost no titles recorded and indeed, very little access to texts at all. All three cemeteries were established with a view to the palace. Through the lens of landscape archaeology, it is proposed that this placement may have been intended to provide a visual link between the tombs and the abandoned royal residence. Moreover, several tombs in both of the documented cemeteries contained faience tiles that had originated in the ruins of the palace. While we lack textual verification of the purpose of depositing these tiles in the tombs, one possible interpretation is that the non-elite inhabitants of the area were participating in the phenomenon of popular worship of the royal family of the late 17th-early 18th Dynasty that is well attested in the Theban region. By siting the cemeteries with a view of the palace and including material from the building in the burials, the community may have been attempting to evoke the intercessory power of the royal family, who had lived in the palace, on behalf of their deceased relations.

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8. Kapie, Katarzyna

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Ritual of Ancestors in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari—Adaptation and Influence on the Ritual Topography

The aim of the paper is to analyse the Ritual of Ancestors (known also as the Ritual of Amenhotep I) in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari through outlining its adaptation and influence on the ritual topography of the temple and veneration of the female king.

The Ritual of Ancestors is best known from a set of ceremonial practices dedicated primarily to the cult of deified Amenhotep I, aimed at his rebirth and rejuvenation. Several episodes of this ceremony are dedicated to the cult of Amun as well. Moreover, the officiating king is also a recipient of performed rites, suggesting that they were aimed at his own cult as well. First textual sources of the Ritual of Ancestors are dated to the reign of Ramesses II. However, episodes of this ceremony are present in temple decoration as early as the reign of Hatshepsut. Nevertheless, the adaptation and influence on the ritual topography of this liturgy in the temple of the female king at Deir el-Bahari has not been studied yet.

In the temple of Hatshepsut episodes of the Ritual of Ancestors are depicted in the upper register of the south wall of the Upper Courtyard, located above the sequence of scenes illustrating the Daily Temple Ritual. Decoration depicting the Ritual of Amenhotep I terminates at the gate to the Southern Room of Amun. The focal point of the paper is the relation between visualised episodes of the Ritual of Ancestors and decoration of the Southern Room of Amun, in which products used in this particular liturgy are represented in the wall scenes.

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9. Kitat, Sara el-Sayed

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Temple of Kasr El-Aguz: A Center for Deified Persons with Healing Powers in Græco-Roman Egypt

Kasr el-Aguz or "the castle of the old man" is a small temple on the western bank of Thebes, south of Medinet Habu. This temple was probably built by Ptolemy VIII. However, according to Mallet, the construction of this temple began during the reign of Ptolemy III and was completed by his successor. The main god of this temple was Thoth, who was venerated as a healing deity in the form of Thoth Sotmou "Thoth who listens" and Thoth Teos. In this temple, three deified individuals with remarkable healing reputations were venerated, namely Imhotep, Amenhotep son of Hapu, and the god Thoth. Among the many personalities who bore the name Djed-hor (Greek: Τέδς), Sethe and Brugsch believe that Teos here refers to a Memphite priest who was deified later and assimilated with the god Thoth. The composite form of Thoth Teos was one of the forms of Thoth as a healing deity and bore many titles in Kasr el-Aguz, reflecting his divine nature. He was described as "the main great god of truth." Imhotep, the deified god of medicine, was described in this temple to be the son of Thoth and the one: "who has the remedies for all diseases." On the eastern entrance wall of this temple, Ptolemy VIII is depicted in front of Thoth, Imhotep, and Amenhotep son of Hapu. The accompanying text of this scene describes the healing powers of Amenhotep Son of Hapu: "I drive away all diseases from your limbs". This temple was thought to be a place of incubation. Discovered stelae bear representations of ears to reflect the healing abilities of the temple's deities, who were able to listen to the prayers of the worshippers. Being the cult center for Thoth Setem or "the listener," the temple of Kasr el-Aguz was also known to be an oracular temple.

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10. Mohamed, Mahmoud Amer Ahmed

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The Cult of Saints in Coptic Egypt

The word saint is, in fact, a religious title essentially related to Christianity, as it normally designates a servant of God who was canonized by the church after his death. Saints usually have Karamat (powers of healing) and Baraka (giving blessings and protection). This occurs even in Islam, which theoretically does not have the principle of an intercessor, as stressed in the Quran's *surah-Az-zumar* (3). In this paper I will attempt to understand the cult of saints and its cultural implications in Coptic Egypt, in conjunction with the information from papyri, tombstones, ostraca, and other sources, including images with inscriptions, cult objects, calendars, epitaphs, accounts of pilgrimage, and histories. I will also investigate the difference between intercession, blessing, and the cult of the saints.

The majority of Egyptian saints—more than two-thirds of those attested—never attained the renown of Menas and Antony, and only enjoyed local cults. Their fame rarely made it beyond the frontiers of their own region. This structure of the saint population, with a mass of little-known local figures augmented by a few 'stars', was probably the norm in all Christian countries, but it is uniquely visible in Egypt, due to the survival of day-to-day papyrus documents. These allow a much finer, more detailed and local examination of the cult of saints than anywhere else, and reveal a multiplicity of specific cults even at the level of unassuming provincial towns.

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11. Sainz, Inmaculada Vivas

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The Man Who Became King: A New Look on Horemheb as a Venerated Figure Through His Memphite Tomb-scenes

This poster focuses on the Memphite tomb-chapel of Horemheb, Generalissimo of Tutankhamun, which is considered one of the best New Kingdom tombs in terms of skill and originality, and exhibiting a hybrid style of Amarna and post-Amarna art. The tomb-chapel became a 'pilgrimage destination' (as its textual and figurative graffiti suggest) without clear religious connections, but rather based on the cult of Horemheb as a venerated figure. The phenomenon of attraction for later tomb-chapels has been previously studied (starting 2015), but the decorative program may be valuable to understand the figure of Horemheb as ancestor. Artists seem to have designed the tomb-scenes according to military achievements, physical superiority, and dominance upon foreigners. Worth mentioning are the unusual scenes of Egyptian soldiers pulling or hitting foreigners, showing a spontaneous punitive treatment that is rare (out of battle scenes). Analysis in situ (2019) proved these details (i.e., soldiers grasping prisoners, or Nubians depicted bigger than Egyptians) are located close to the main figures, usually Horemheb himself, at eye-level as visual hooks calling the attention of the potential viewer, and remarking on the historical importance of the reliefs. Thus, they reveal the hand of original sculptors, who are even mentioned in two contemporary graffiti, with the construction of the tomb. Furthermore, the scenes in KV 57, created according to royal iconography within the traditional Theban necropolis, are explored in a comparative approach.

Horemheb became an iconic figure of a 'self-made king', but paradoxically his venerated memory in the Memphite area was maintained through his private tomb, accessible during the New Kingdom. Bearing in mind the low literacy rate in ancient Egypt, the message that images convey is prominent, as they could be 'understood' easily'. The tomb-chapel of Horemheb was conceived to be visited and appreciated, in order to maintain the memory of the tomb-owner through images, but it became an example of royal ancestors' cult.

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12. Selden, Daniel L.

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The Figural Structure of Letters to the Dead

Recent work in literary theory has focused on the trope of prosopopoeia as the grounding figure of all literary discourse. In this poster, I will focus on two well-attested classical Egyptian literary topoi: the epitaphic address to the living, and letters that apostrophize the dead. Although seldom considered together, this pair of topoi constitutes two sides of the same figural coin which, as such, underpins Egyptian literary discourse (e.g. Sinuhe), as well as much of subsequent Near Eastern and, ultimately, European literature. The importance of this material for literary history lies both in the antiquity of this figuration and its clarity in the Egyptian sources.

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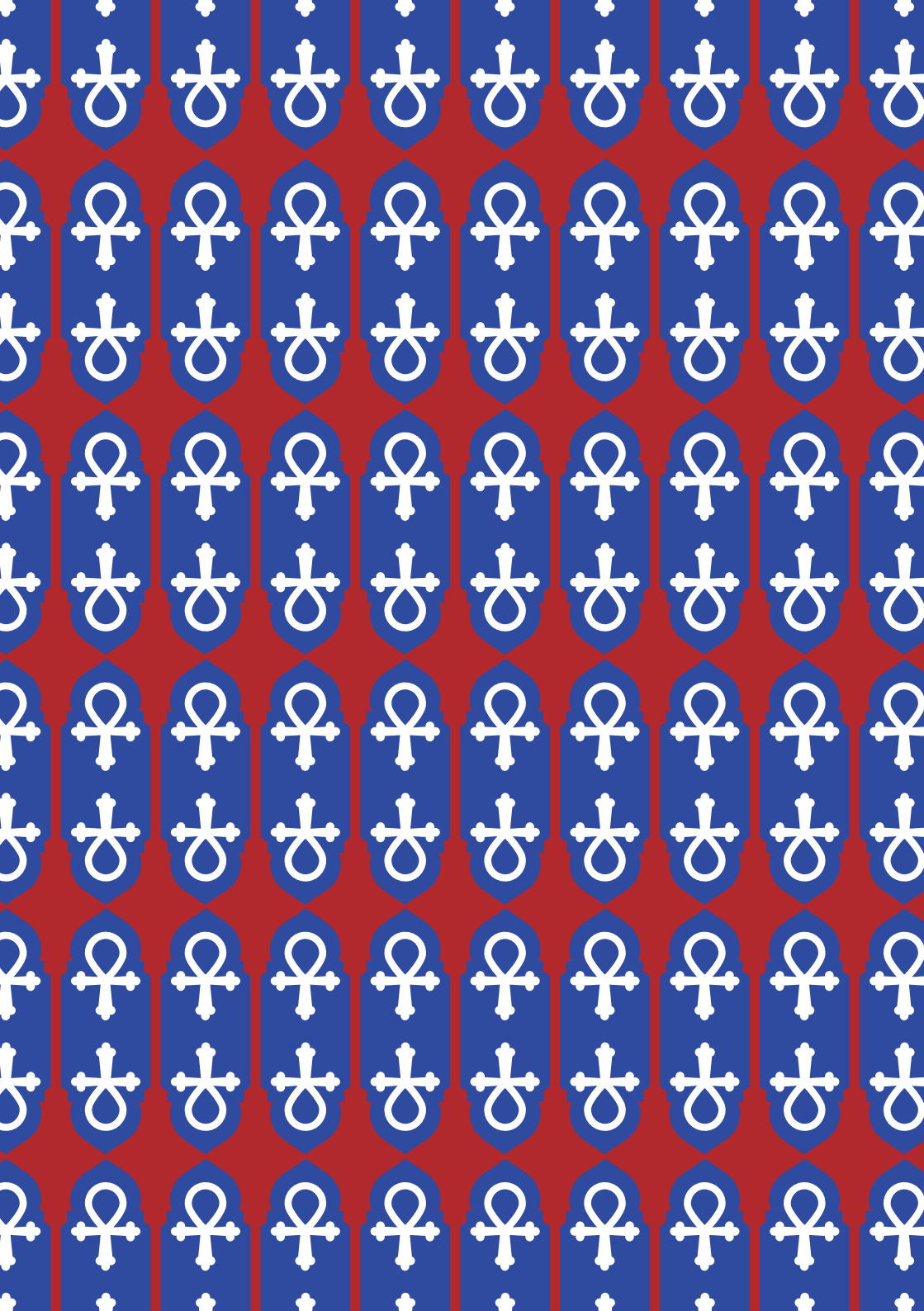
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13. Soliman, Dalia Mohamed

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The Similarities Between the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and the Mexican Día de los Muertos

The ancient Egyptian beautiful feast of the valley and Día de los Muertos are annual national celebrations to honor the dead. Death for ancient Egyptians and pre-Columbians occupied a very special place in their life and culture. They believed that death does not mark the end of life, but is the entrance to another world.

Both festivals lasted for two days. The Festival of the Valley was celebrated in Thebes as early as the Middle Kingdom, while there is much evidence suggesting that the day of the dead in Mexico is a blend of Pre-Columbian rituals (three thousand years ago) and Catholic traditions.

During the occasion of the two festivals, the living and the dead celebrate together at banquets. The family members present offerings of food, drink, flowers, and clothes to their deceased relatives, and light lanterns (Egyptians), candles (Mexicans), and burn incense near or at the tombs. They spend the night praying, singing, and listening to music to entertain both the living and the dead. The properties of smell, sound, and taste are capable of transcending the barrier between life and death. It appears that a form of physical, mystical, and intellectual reunion between the two would happen. Such festivals are not considered a time to be sad for the loss of loved ones, but a time of happiness and great joy for their return. The purpose of both festivals is to remember the virtues and good deeds of the dead. Both festivals foster hope for offering providers, who trust that their own surviving relatives will take care of them in a similar way after death. In this manner, an individual's immortality is assured. Both festivals also play a significant role in the reproduction of national identity.

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