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## ABOUT THIS JOURNAL

The *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (*JAEI*) is an online scholarly publication integrating Egyptian archaeology with Mediterranean, Near Eastern, and African studies—providing a dedicated venue for this growing field of interdisciplinary and inter-area research.

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##### ARTICLE OR CHAPTER IN BOOK

Peter L. Shinnie, "Meroë," in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 383–384.

##### BOOK

David Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformation in North-East Africa, 10,000–2650 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

##### EDITED VOLUME

Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004).

##### ONLINE CITATION

Kerry Muhlestein, "Execration Ritual," in Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eScholarship, 2008), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3f6268zf>, accessed 1 April 2013.

##### SUBSEQUENT REFERENCES TO AN ALREADY CITED WORK

Wengrow 2006, 47; Bietak and Czerny 2004, 94, Muhlestei, 2008, 1.





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## AMUN IN MEROTIC NUBIA: THE CASE OF THE HAMADAB STELA

Marco Baldi

International Association of Mediterranean and Oriental Studies—Centro Studi Petrie—International Society for Nubian Studies

The Egyptian god Amun had a preeminent role in the Nubian pantheon since the rise of the Napatan-Meroitic kingdom in the 8th century BCE. The diffusion of his cult during the Meroitic period (270 BCE–mid-4th century CE) finds a significant evidence in the two stelae flanking the entrance of the city temple at Hamadab (Fig. 1), nearly three kilometers to the south of the capital, Meroe. They bear the longest known inscription in Meroitic cursive script, which allowed the building to be attributed to Queen Amanirenas and Prince Akinidad, likely ruling in the second half of the 1st century BCE. The meaning of the text is still unclear owing to the incomplete decipherment of the Meroitic writing; nevertheless, the name of the god was clearly recognized.

The forty-two-line inscription on the larger, better-preserved stela names him eleven times in variant lexical forms (Fig. 2). The first mention, in line 18, uses the usual theonym  $\varrho\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}(\mathfrak{z})$  (*amn*), whereas in four occasions the form  $\varrho\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}$  (*amnnp*) was employed; in line 19 it is preceded by the attributes  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}1$  (*mlo* = good)<sup>1</sup> and  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}$  (*lh* = great).<sup>2</sup> *Amnnp*, also used in line twenty, between lines thirty-nine and forty, and in line forty as well,<sup>3</sup> was identified with Amun of Luxor<sup>4</sup> or Amun of Napata;<sup>5</sup> in the latter case, *Amnnp* would be a variant of  $\varrho\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}14$  (*Amnnp<sub>t</sub>e*), which is attested in line 37 and identified the Napatan god by virtue of the association between theonym and placename.<sup>6</sup> According to Kormysheva,<sup>7</sup> the reading of *Amnnp* as Amun of Napata is justified by a feature of Napatan inscriptions in Egyptian

hieroglyphs, which sometimes indicated Amun of Napata as *Imn Np*, replacing the more common *Imn Npt*; the final -*t*



FIGURE 1: Hamadab: the discovery of the temple in 1914 (after S. Wolf, P. Wolf, H. Onasch H., C. Hof, and U. Nowotnick, "Meroë und Hamadab—Zwei Städte im Mittleren Niltal in den Jahrhunderten um die Zeitenwende: Bericht über die Arbeiten zwischen 1999 und 2007," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 [2008]: abb. 62).



FIGURE 2: Hamadab: one of the stelae found flanking the entrance of the temple (after Wolf et al. 2008, abb. 70).

was omitted following a practice of neo-Egyptian writing. The application of artifices of neo-Egyptian to the Meroitic writing, however, appears unlikely, whereas the more pragmatic approach by Hallof,<sup>8</sup> whose opinion can be shared, excludes that two different terms indicate the same form of a god in a single inscription: the identification of *Amnpte* with the Napatan god is generally accepted; therefore *Ammp* indicated Amun of Luxor, whose cult is known for the Meroitic world.<sup>9</sup>

In line twenty of the inscription *Ammp* is followed by the verb  $\text{ll}+\omega\text{I}\text{z}$  (*yiroh*), translated as “protects,”<sup>10</sup> and by the term  $\text{z}\omega\text{z}\delta+$  (*mdewi*), which was recognized as a placename and hypothetically identified with Meroe by Hofmann.<sup>11</sup> The capital was more commonly read in  $\text{V}\text{z}\omega\text{z}\delta+$  (*bedewi/bedewe*),<sup>12</sup> as well as in  $\text{V}\text{z}\omega\text{I}$  (*bero*) by Griffith.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, inscriptions accompanying wall reliefs of the Amun temple in Naga report both Amun of Medewi and Amun of Bero; this excludes that both of placenames referred to Meroe and leaves doubtful the identification of *mdewi* in the Hamadab text.

Another form of the god is in the locution  $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}+$   $\text{z}\omega\omega\omega\text{Vll}$  (*amni arrese*), which was used twice—in lines twenty-nine and thirty-nine—in the larger stela of Hamadab and may be translated as “Amun living in Arre.”<sup>14</sup> According to Griffith, the Meroitic Arre corresponds to the placename  $\text{r}\text{r}\text{z}\text{s}\text{z}$ ,<sup>15</sup> reported in a stela of the Napatan king Nastaseñ in Egyptian hieroglyphs<sup>16</sup> and hypothetically indicating the area including the Lower Nubian site of *Mht*,<sup>17</sup> where the king put down a rebellion and took the local prince prisoner. Török drew on other evidence for Arre<sup>18</sup> and identified it as a site featuring an Amun temple under the *qore* Tañyidamani, maybe Wadi es-Sebua.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, the god is invoked as  $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$  (*mno*) three times in a row between lines twenty-seven and twenty-eight.<sup>20</sup> The repetition of the expression  $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$   $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$   $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$   $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$  (*Mno n li eqe thñ*), although of unclear meaning, and the inclusion of the term  $\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$  (*ant* = prophet<sup>21</sup>) in the same sentence could suggest ritual acts by Akinidad quoted with his titles. The reasons for use or omission of the prefix *A-* in the name of the god are unknown: there is neither chronological discontinuity, as the two solutions are attested in contemporary texts, nor a stylistic element, as some texts report both forms.<sup>22</sup> Scholars consider them, however, substantially equivalent.<sup>23</sup>

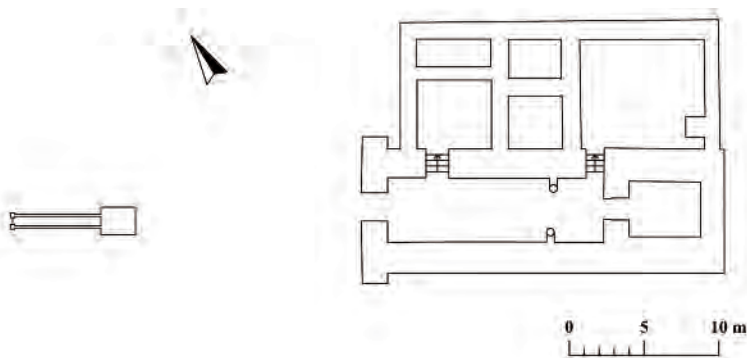


FIGURE 3: Hamadab: temple (drawn by Baldi after P. Wolf, U. Nowotnick, and F. Woß, “Meroitic Hamadab—A Century after Its Discovery,” *Sudan & Nubia* 18 [2014]: fig. 1).

In summary, the inscription from Hamadab is very relevant because it stresses the devotion to different hypostases of Amun in a single sacral complex, according to a rarely attested selection, for which more evidence is found in the Amun temple at Naga.<sup>24</sup> He is the only deity mentioned in the text,<sup>25</sup> suggesting the consecration of the complex, whose unusual plan, formed of a longitudinal core enriched by a southern annex, cannot with certainty indicate a temple the god (Fig. 3): the setting of monumental stelae in only Amun temples confirms its attribution to the ram god.

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- <sup>1</sup> F.L. Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1911), 41 note 1.
- <sup>2</sup> Griffith 1911, 10, 23, 96.
- <sup>3</sup> For other documents reporting *Amnp* see J. Leclant, A. Heyler, C. Berger-el Naggar, C. Carrier, and C. Rilly (eds.), *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique*, 3 vols. (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2000), nn. 0702, 1044, 1141, 1157, 1361B.
- <sup>4</sup> Griffith 1911, 55; L. Török, *Der meroitische Staat 1* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1986), 111 ff.; C. Rilly, "L'Obélisque de Méroé," *Meroitic Newsletter* 29 (2002): 141; J. Hallof, "Yesbokheamani: der Löwe von Qasr Ibrim," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89 (2003): 253–254.
- <sup>5</sup> I. Hofmann, "Die meroitische Religion. Staatskult und Volksfrömmigkeit," in H. Temporini, and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1995), vol. II, 2812 ff.; L. Török, *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art: The Construction of the Kushite Mind, 800 BC–300 AD* (Leiden—Boston—Cologne: Brill, 2002), 316; E. Kormysheva, *Gott in seinem Tempel: Lokale Züge und Ägyptische Entlehnungen in der geistigen Kultur des alten Sudan* (Moscow: Institut für Orientalforschung, Russische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 91.
- <sup>6</sup> For other evidences of *Amnp* see Leclant et al. 2000, 0407, 0672, 1044, 1072.
- <sup>7</sup> Kormysheva 2010, 94.
- <sup>8</sup> Hallof 2003, 253–254.
- <sup>9</sup> For Meroe see Leclant et al. 2000, 1041; for Soleb see Leclant et al. 2000, 1035; for Faras see Leclant et al. 2000, 0521, 0534; for Arminna see Leclant et al. 2000, 1063; for Qasr Ibrim see Leclant et al. 2000, 0321, 0361, 1075–1080, 1082, 1142, 1149; for Karanog see Leclant et al. 2000, 0206, 0219, 0221, 0226, 0289, 0303, 0305, 0310, 0324, 0325; for Wadi es-Sebua see Leclant et al. 2000, 1044.

- <sup>10</sup> C. Rilly, "Deux exemples de décrets amuletiques oraculaires en méroïtique: les ostraca REM 1317/1168 et REM 1319 de Shokan," *Meroitic Newsletter* 2007 (2000): 1108, note 15.
- <sup>11</sup> I. Hofmann, *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik* (Wien: Afro-Pub, 1981), 309; Hofmann 1995, 2813. For other evidence for the term see Leclant et al. 2000, 0029A, 1044.
- <sup>12</sup> Leclant et al. 2000, 0103, 0521, 0657.
- <sup>13</sup> Griffith 1911, 64.
- <sup>14</sup> The suffix *-se* has a locative function (Kormysheva 2010, 93).
- <sup>15</sup> F. L. Griffith, "Meroitic Studies IV: The Great Stela of Prince Akinizaz," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917): 172.
- <sup>16</sup> T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum II: From the Mid-Fifth to the First Century BC* (Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics, 1996), n. 84 l. 53. The stela, found at Dongola, had been originally set in the temple B 500 in Jebel Barkal (see Eide et al. 1996, 494).
- <sup>17</sup> Identified with Abu Simbel by K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1972), 126 ff.
- <sup>18</sup> In the Tañyidamani stele in Jebel Barkal (Leclant et al. 2000, 1044), as well as in a stele from the temple T in Kawa (Leclant et al. 2000, 0619D) and in two ostraca from Arminna West (Leclant et al. 2000, 1097) and Wadi el-Arab (Leclant et al. 2000, 1016). See also F. Hintze, "Die Struktur der "Deskriptionssätze" in den meroitischen Totentexten," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 9 (1963): 26; F. Hintze, "Some Problems of Meroitic Philology," in F. Hintze (ed.) *Sudan in Antiquity 1. Internationale Tagung für meroitische Forschungen in Berlin 1971* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 324.
- <sup>19</sup> This site houses an Amun temple erected under Ramesses II; nevertheless no data on the Meroitic phase of the building are available.
- <sup>20</sup> For other evidences of *mno*, see for example Leclant et al. 2000, 0405, 1044.
- <sup>21</sup> From the Egyptian *hm-ntr* (see Griffith 1911, 57; Hintze 1963, 10, n. 51; L. Török, "Some Comments on the Social Position and Hierarchy of the Priests on Karanog Inscriptions," in E. Endesfelder, K.H. Priese, W.F. Reineke, and S. Wenig (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), 416.
- <sup>22</sup> In addition to the Hamadab case, in the quoted stela of Tañyidamani.
- <sup>23</sup> Kormysheva 2010, 91.

<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions in Meroitic hieroglyphs flanking the wall reliefs report four forms of the god: Amun of Thebes (Leclant et al. 2000, 0023, 0025, 0036, 0038), Amun of Naga (Leclant et al. 2000, 0024, 0027, 0035, 0037), Amun of Bero (Leclant et al. 2000, 0031), Amun of Medewi (Leclant et al. 2000, 0029). This temple was built under Natakamani, whose reign can be likely

dated to an unidentified period between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE.

<sup>25</sup> Hofmann 1995, 2840; M. Zach, and H. Tomandl, "Bemerkungen zu den Amunheiligtümern im Süden des meroitischen Reiches," *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 7 (2000): 132.



## MOVING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCES FORWARD IN EGYPT

**Meredith Brand**  
University of Toronto

Archaeological science—or the application of the chemical, physical, and environmental sciences, as well as computer and satellite technologies to ancient remains—has revolutionized the way archaeologists understand the past.<sup>1</sup> Scientific techniques allow archaeologists to ask new questions of data and gain novel perspectives of socio-economic practices, technology, health, diet, and the environment. Archaeologists have yet to explore the full potential of this research for many reasons, most of which relate to a limited awareness of labs in Egypt, difficulties transferring samples to local labs, and a lack of funding for scientific archaeology. Given the near prohibition of exporting samples to extant labs abroad, there is a strong need to develop archaeological science facilities and expertise in Egypt. The last decade has witnessed the development of new labs and increased collaborations between archaeologists and scientists, bringing exciting possibilities to the study of ancient Egypt.

Scientific analyses that can be conducted in the field with imported equipment are relatively common in Egypt. Geophysical surveys (e.g., magnetometry, geoelectric resistivity surveys, ground penetrating radar), conducted by both international and Egyptian teams, have provided valuable insight into the changing environment and settlement patterns at many sites in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, portable X-ray fluorescence (XRF) enables materials characterization in the field, which allows archaeologists to address a wide array of questions.<sup>3</sup> These analyses have greatly contributed to our understanding of ancient Egypt, but it is not possible to conduct tests in the field for most scientific techniques.

There are significant differences between ancient and

modern materials that require labs to make special accommodations for archaeological science. Archaeologists not only require access to facilities, but also collaborations with labs that have scientific protocols—or a written procedure for experiments—to analyze ancient materials. Several extant labs are particularly strong in analysis of mummies, as well as restoration and conservation. Computed tomography (CT) scanning of mummies at the Faculty of Medicine at Cairo University and DNA analysis of royal mummies at the Faculty of Medicine at Kasr al-Ainy Hospital have generated insight into larger historical questions regarding royal families.<sup>4</sup> Most museums in Egypt have done extensive work with conservation, and it is the major focus of archaeological science education at Egyptian Universities. For example, the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM) has a ground-breaking lab for restoration and conservation.

Finding suitable labs and collaborative scientists is a major challenge for archaeologists, although there are several viable options for some types of analyses. Ceramic petrography is a good example where the labs at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO)<sup>5</sup> and the Centre d'études Alexandrines (CE Alex)<sup>6</sup> can prepare samples and cross polarizing microscopes are available for a fee.

The methods used to date materials, as well as address questions of ancient diet and health, environmental change, technological practices, as well as trade and interregional interactions, require physical and chemical analyses. Despite dating ancient materials being a priority for many archaeologists, there are few options in Egypt. The only facility available for dating organic materials is the radiocarbon (14C) lab at IFAO.<sup>7</sup> Other options are not

yet available in Egypt. This is particularly problematic for dendrochronology, which is only now developing utility for Egypt and can also inform on climatic events.<sup>8</sup>

Chemical characterization and residue analysis, often conducted on materials excavated decades ago from museum collections abroad, are particularly informative on trade networks between Egypt, the Near East, and the Mediterranean world. Isotope analysis measures changes related to ancient environments and diet that result from an organism's interaction with its environment. For example, isotope analysis conducted abroad on dental remains from recently excavated tombs in Tombos (Sudan) show that the people buried in Egyptian-style graves were raised in an environment different from that of Lower Nubia, suggesting these individuals were immigrants from Egypt.<sup>9</sup> Isotope analysis, unfortunately, is not currently being applied to ancient materials in Egypt.

There are many characterization analyses that are technically available but underutilized in Egypt, including: inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (ICP-MS), gas chromatography mass spectrometry (GCMS), X-ray fluorescence (XRF), and scanning electron microscopy (SEM). Isotope analyses employ several types of mass spectrometry (e.g. multiple-collector inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry [HR-MC-ICPMS] or Thermal Ionization Mass Spectrometry [TIMS]) that are also theoretically present in Egypt. Labs that have the requisite equipment include the National Research Center in Egypt<sup>10</sup> and several science faculties at Egyptian universities (e.g. Faculty of Agriculture and the Faculty of Geology, Cairo University), but they are rarely used because collaborations between these labs and archaeologists have not been formed. Further, many of them do not have protocols for analyzing ancient materials. For archaeological science to proceed in Egypt, archaeologists first need to forge the relationships with these labs so that they establish protocols for dealing with ancient remains.

While undertaking the archaeological sciences in Egypt seems prohibitively challenging, there are several positive changes on the horizon. This field is gaining more attention both in the academic community and the media, which can lead to awareness, and, hopefully, funding.<sup>11</sup> For instance, I am writing a series with *Nature Middle East* on archaeological science in the region that focuses attention on exciting research projects and the numerous challenges in the field.<sup>12</sup>

Additionally, several archaeologists and scientists are organizing conferences in Egypt on these matters. IFAO is hosting "Archaeometry: Another Point of View," a conference to be held on December 15, 2016, in Cairo,<sup>13</sup> which will explore the various scientific techniques used outside Egypt to examine the past. Also, in collaboration

with IFAO, the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), the Egypt Exploration Society (EES), and the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), the Ministry of Antiquities (MOA) is organizing the Conference on the Science of Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies (SAEMT).<sup>14</sup> This international conference—to be held in Cairo on November 4–6, 2017—will bring together representatives from the MOA, international archaeological bodies, and both foreign and Egyptian archaeological scientists, as well as representatives from labs in Egypt for the first major meeting of its kind. It is valuable for archaeologists, even those who do not have scientific programs in their excavation, to attend such conferences in order to gain insights into the research potential of archaeological science and the mechanics of conducting such analyses in Egyptian labs. Only through collaboration can we explore the full range of potential with ancient Egyptian artifacts, and these conferences are a step forward to achieving this goal.

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<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank the following people for their valuable discussions on archaeological science in Egypt: Mennat-Allah El Dorry, Anita Quiles, Johanna Sigl, Abdelrahman Medhat, and Basaem Gehad.

<sup>2</sup> For example, geophysical surveys around Luxor have expanded on the ways the shifting Nile could affect the landscape and cult activities; see J.M. Bunbury, A. Graham, and M. Hunter, "Stratigraphic Landscape Analysis: Charting the Holocene Movements of the Nile at Karnak through Ancient Egyptian Time," *Geoarchaeology* 23.3 (2008): 351–373; J.K. Hillier et al., "Monuments on a Migrating Nile," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 1011–1015; and M. Ghilardi and M. Boraik, "Reconstructing the Holocene Depositional Environments in the Western Part of Ancient Karnak Temples Complex (Egypt): A Geoarchaeological Approach," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011): 3204–3216. Similar analyses in the Delta have also provided a wealth of information on settlement patterns and ancient water courses; for example, M. el Gamili et al., "Defunct Nile Branches Inferred from a Geoelectric Resistivity Survey on Samannud Area, Nile Delta, Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28 (2001): 1339–1348; and B. Pennington and R. Thomas, "Paleoenvironmental Surveys at Naukratis and the Canopic Branch of the Nile," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 7 (2016): 180–188.

<sup>3</sup> For example, one such study conducted XRF analysis



on mud bricks from a large, square enclosure at El-Hibeh found that sections of construction could be identified by bricks with different chemical compositions, which speaks to larger issues of work organization: V. L. Emery and M. Morgenstein, "Portable EDXRF Analysis of a Mud Brick Necropolis Enclosure: Evidence of Work Organization, El Hibeh, Middle Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 111–122.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of such work, see Z. Hawass and S. Saleem, *Scanning the Pharaohs: CT Imaging of the New Kingdom Royal Mummies* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Web page: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/ifao/services/>. Several scholars have used the IFAO lab to analyze materials from all over Egypt that further an understanding of trade and local production practices; for example, U. Hartung, E. C. Köhler, V. Müller, and M. F. Ownby, "Imported Pottery from Abydos: A New Petrographic Perspective," *Ägypten und Levante* 25 (2015): 295–333; and L. Peloschek, *Cultural Transfers in Aswan (Upper Egypt): Petrographic Evidence for Ceramic Production and Exchange from the Ptolemaic to the Late Antique Period*, PhD dissertation (Vienna 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Web page: [http://www.cealex.org/sitecealex/navigation/FENETR\\_NAVcealex\\_F.htm](http://www.cealex.org/sitecealex/navigation/FENETR_NAVcealex_F.htm).

<sup>7</sup> Web page: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/c14/>.

<sup>8</sup> P. P. Creasman, "Tree Rings and the Chronology of Ancient Egypt," *Radiocarbon* 56.4/*Tree-Ring Research* 70.3 (2014): S85–S92, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3959/1536-1098-70.3.85>.

<sup>9</sup> M. Buzon and G.J. Bowen, "Oxygen and Carbon Isotope Analysis of Human Tooth Enamel from the New Kingdom Site of Tombos in Nubia," *Archaeometry* 52 (2010): 855–868.

<sup>10</sup> Website: <http://www.nrc.sci.eg>.

<sup>11</sup> For example, see Sonia Zakrzewski, Andrew Shortland, and Joanne Rowland, *Science in the Study of Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>12</sup> See M. Brand, "Piecing Together the Past Demands Forging Links in the Present," *Nature Middle East*, 10 October 2016, <https://www.natureasia.com/en/nmiddleeast/article/10.1038/nmiddleeast.2016.184> (accessed 8 November 2016).

<sup>13</sup> See: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/manifestations/#749>.

<sup>14</sup> See: <http://www.saemt.com>.



## THE JAFFA EXCAVATIONS: THE 2016 STUDY SEASON

**Aaron A. Burke**

Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles

**Martin Peilstöcker**

Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität

In July and early August of 2016, the Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project (JCHP), directed by Aaron A. Burke (University of California, Los Angeles) and Martin Peilstöcker (Johannes-Gutenberg Universität, Mainz), undertook a study season of previously excavated materials from Area A in Jaffa. The materials analyzed included those unearthed during excavations in the Ramesses Gate area by the JCHP from 2011 to 2014 and by Jacob Kaplan, the site's former excavator, from 1955 to 1974.<sup>1</sup> These excavations exposed remains of the New Kingdom fortress of *Yapu* (anc. Jaffa) that functioned from the mid-15th to early 12th centuries BCE.<sup>2</sup> The principal objective of the season was to obtain necessary photographs, drawings, and measurements of all artifacts to be published from these excavations in a forthcoming volume on the excavations of Bronze and Iron Age remains from Tel Yafo. The season was the third funded as part of a multi-year collaborative research grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.<sup>3</sup>

### MIDDLE BRONZE AGE REMAINS

A significant contribution of the 2016 season was the assessment of Jaffa's pre-Egyptian settlement, namely, remains from the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Two primary contexts, reached by Kaplan during the 1970s, permit some reconstruction of that settlement with the caveat, however, that all finds were encountered within separate, deep soundings that do not provide a wide exposure of these early contexts. These included, first, a probe through Persian and Iron Age remains to a late Middle Bronze Age context in which a tabun and large pithos were encountered on a floor. Seed fragments from

this context, presumably belonging to the abandonment of the context and not the construction fill above, were isolated by Kaplan and will be analyzed by Brian Damiata at the Keck AMS Laboratory at UC Irvine in fall 2016. The probe was continued slightly deeper and an additional context was encountered, but a dearth of finds does not permit a clarification of this locus. The second identifiable context consists of a late Middle Bronze Age burial featuring a store jar, small jar, bowl, and dipper juglet, and the skeletal remains of a child accompanied by a scarab, also excavated by Kaplan just north of the Lion Temple. This appears to have been a typical intramural burial below a building, as was common during the period, but it has not been possible to associate this burial with the remains of a particular structure.

### NEW KINGDOM REMAINS

The primary focus of the 2016 season was, however, an assessment of finds from Phase RG-4a, the destruction of Kaplan's Level IVB gate complex built, if not refurbished, by Ramesses II. This destruction is now dated by radiocarbon remains, which were recovered by the JCHP, to the second half of the 12th century BCE.<sup>4</sup> Finds from this context included a large collection of arrowheads (Fig. 1), a lead weight, various imported and locally produced Egyptian ceramics (Fig. 2), a Cypriot pithos, "Canaanite" store jars, ivory box fragments (Fig. 3), scarabs of Amenhotep III, more than 800 beads, and kilos of carbonized seeds from 13 distinct species. Analysis of faunal remains from the gate by Ed Maher also revealed the worked and unworked antler remains from no fewer than 32 deer. All of these remains lay buried below the



FIGURE 1: Metal finds (JCHP 300, 325, 327, and 361) from the Phase RG-4a gate destruction (photograph by the JCHP).

FIGURE 2: Imported Egyptian two-handled meat jar (JCHP 262) from the Phase RG-4a gate destruction (photograph by the JCHP).



FIGURE 3: Ivory box fragments from the Phase RG-4a gate destruction (JCHP 307) (photograph by the JCHP).

collapsed superstructure of the gate complex, which included more than two dozen fragments of beams and planks of cedar (*Cedrus libani*), oak, and olivewood. The location of the finds, almost entirely derived from the floor of the passageway, indicate that the 4-m-wide passage functioned as part of a market that was likely centered on the gate in a fashion typical of Canaanite and later Israelite markets.

Remains from within the fortress in the area known as the Lion Temple, which was previously excavated by Kaplan, reveal a stratigraphic sequence spanning much of the Late Bronze Age. While only the latest building, the so-called Lion Temple, has yielded the near-complete lines of a building, the stratified sequence from probes within the structure exposed several layers that can now be dated by short-lived radiocarbon samples and permit a linking of the sequence within the Lion Temple with the sequence from the gate. Closer analysis of the assemblages associated with this sequence of floors and their occupational debris may provide insights into the role played by this area within the fortress. In addition to the well-known lioness remains found by Kaplan, Maher has identified hyena remains and a wide variety of other animals within the stratigraphy of this area associated with the Late Bronze Age Egyptian presence. A number of

ceramic samples from the Lion Temple as well as the Ramesses Gate will be tested for petrography and residue during the winter 2017. This work is part of ongoing PhD research by Jacob Damm at UCLA, which seeks to explore the nature of Egyptian identity and social interactions at the Egyptian fortress in Jaffa.

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- <sup>1</sup> Jacob Kaplan and Haya Ritter-Kaplan, "Jaffa," in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2, 1791–1792 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993).
  - <sup>2</sup> Burke, Aaron A., et al., "Excavations of the New Kingdom Egyptian Fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of Resistance to Egyptian Rule in Canaan," *American Journal of Archaeology* 121.1 (2017): 85–133.
  - <sup>3</sup> NEH Collaborative Research Grant, 2013–2016 (RZ-51445-12). *Insurgency, Resistance, and Interaction: Archaeological Inquiry into New Kingdom Egyptian Rule in Jaffa*.
  - <sup>4</sup> Burke et al. 2017.



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  - <sup>2</sup> Burke, Aaron A., et al., "Excavations of the New Kingdom Egyptian Fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of Resistance to Egyptian Rule in Canaan," *American Journal of Archaeology* 121.1 (2017): 85–133.
  - <sup>3</sup> NEH Collaborative Research Grant, 2013–2016 (RZ-51445-12). *Insurgency, Resistance, and Interaction: Archaeological Inquiry into New Kingdom Egyptian Rule in Jaffa*.
  - <sup>4</sup> Burke et al. 2017.



## UP FROM THE SEA: MARINERS' LIVES ONSHORE IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

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**Senta German**

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This project explores a neglected aspect of Late Bronze Age Aegean maritime life: time spent on land. Layovers between or during voyages were an ever-present feature of the life of ancient sailors and traders, time spent waiting for a fair wind, for cargo to be loaded, and for political authorization to be granted. Sailors could use this time to effect repairs, exchange items on their own account or for sale later, or to rest, eat, exchange stories, and even look for new jobs. Sailors' quarters have always been a feature of ports: not only are they readily identifiable from the sailors' point of view, they are also places of containment by the host population: sailors represent a potentially destabilizing force by virtue of their transient social alliances.

*Up From the Sea* seeks to establish a model by which Late Bronze Age mariner terrestrial loci can be identified.<sup>1</sup> The model for identifying mariner habitats on land is centered around a range of criteria. They should be located in modest dwellings in non-elite areas near the sea; we expect pottery assemblages within these loci to contain larger than usual proportions of cooking, serving, eating, and small storage wares and cooking implements to support large-scale food production. A variety of low-value table wares from across the eastern Mediterranean should be present in small quantities, on the assumption, derived from shipwrecks, that mariners travelled with their own cups and dishes. Some contexts have evidence of exotic food items, such as Nile perch. We would expect, then that sailors' areas would be marked by the presence of a range of small, portable objects from across the Mediterranean: items collected by sailors for trade; fishhooks, needles, or metal scraps and crucibles for making small these items, recalling the material found at Marsa Matruh. There may

also be a range of portable religious objects or evidence of worship in the vicinity. These items may be found at a variety of buildings in a port but the defining feature is their occurrence in non-elite settings, in small quantities and in unusual variety.

Our method is one of empirical contextual analysis. Initially, sites are identified through library-based research of published excavation monographs. Then, with access to excavated materials in museum and excavation storerooms, the proportions of different pottery types, decorations, shapes and imports are resolved. This is compared to control deposits at the same site of similar economic status where we do not expect mariners to be present. The local profile is different at each site.

The first phase of *Up from the Sea* ground-proofed the model at Kommos in Crete and Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus and identified areas at both sites that conformed to the predicted model. Phase 2 will see a return to these two sites and others on the two islands. A final phase will examine sites in Greece and along the Levantine coast, supplemented by published reports from the study areas and from Egypt.

We anticipate that *Up From the Sea* will bring to light the Late Bronze Age maritime cultural world. The differences already discernible at Hala Sultan Tekke and Kommos hint at different networks within the greater whole. This might, perhaps, be expected, since our current understanding of the eastern Mediterranean trading network is, shipwreck evidence notwithstanding, based upon the articulation of patterns of distribution and consumption of imports and exports; at best these reflect patterns of merchant interaction, but not necessarily the cultural network of the sailors who made that trade possible. In short, we hope to



present a more nuanced understanding of Late Bronze Age economic and social intercourse in the eastern Mediterranean.

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<sup>1</sup>

For a more detailed discussion of the model and the reasoning behind it, see Hulin, L. and German, S. (in press). 'Up from the sea: mariner networks in ports across the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean', in proceedings of 10th ICAANE conference.



## **DISSERTATION PROSPECTUS: FOREIGN DEITIES IN EGYPT DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE: ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS ADAPTION AND ASSIMILATION**

**Anna Kalaitzaki**

University of the Aegean

A challenging and interesting theme for Egyptology and the Near Eastern studies is the appearance, development, and assimilation of foreign deities in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>1</sup> Several past studies have treated the assimilation of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt<sup>2</sup> without including those of adjacent Near Eastern regions, such as Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Moreover, a comprehensive analysis of all relevant textual and iconographical sources in both royal and non-royal Egyptian contexts is still wanting. This doctoral dissertation will attempt to cover this gap by examining all of the imported Anatolian and Mesopotamian deities (i.e., Teshub, Ningal, Ishtar, etc.) in Egypt and by analyzing and re-evaluating their presence and status in textual and archaeological sources.

Through careful analysis of the texts, it is possible to identify several forms by which these deities manifested in Egypt (e.g., as transported sculptures; as guarantors of treaties between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers) that provide examples of religious syncretism. The analysis will take into account a theoretical framework on two levels: (a) cultural history pertaining to the fields and to the societies under examination (Egyptology, Near Eastern studies) and (b) histories of religion and cultural contact. This framework will enable the reevaluation of such notions as polytheism, syncretism, and personal piety in connection with the foreign deities and new religion. Differentiation in the status of foreign deities in Egypt distinguishes official religion from private and underlines various roles and symbolisms of these gods on both levels.

In order to evaluate the import of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt, it is necessary to examine Egyptian and

Near Eastern textual sources such as hymns and mythological texts (e.g., Ugarit texts), memorial stelae (e.g., the stela of Ramose, the Four-Hundred-Year Stela), reliefs (e.g., in the temple of Amun and at Kom Ombo), and diplomatic material and correspondence (e.g., the Amarna letters). Archaeological material, such as scarabs, seals, plaques, and stelae, will also shed light upon the role of these deities in the religious life and cultic practices of the Egyptians.

One important aspect of the research will be the identification and evaluation of vague foreign presences and symbols in the textual and iconographical record, as different deities could have the same characteristics and functions (for example, the *atef*-crown is typical of both Anat and Astarte in archaeological material). Established identification criteria (i.e., weapons, headdresses, etc.) posed by previous studies need to be reexamined and redefined in order to distinguish the characteristics of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egyptian theological discourse.

Another important part of this research will be the examination of certain aspects of religious and cultural semantics, such as the origin and adaptation of foreign cults in Egypt, the assimilation and/or transformation of their characteristics and roles, and their impact on specific political cultural interconnections of the period, as well as their assimilation with specific rulers. For instance, Amenhotep II adopted two Syro-Palestinian deities, Reshep and Astarte, in order to enhance his warlike nature and diplomatic kinship. Typological analysis of certain material, such as scarabs, will also shed light on chronological questions and definitions. This will allow us to determine whether the worship of foreign deities was

incorporated into the state religion or was undertaken by a specific ruler for explicitly propagandistic reasons (power, authority, etc.).

More specifically, the proposed research for this dissertation will focus on the following topics:

- The appearance of foreign deities in the archaeological material, revealing the royal and non-royal religious beliefs and practices in state cult, funerary ideology, and personal piety.
  - The iconographical development of foreign deities in relation to their adopted role and interconnection with the political rulership.
  - The cultural contacts of foreign deities from Anatolia and Mesopotamia, with a special focus on the “fertility” goddesses in Near East and Egypt.
  - Aspects of religious ideology in the Near East and their sociopolitical implications (imperialism, impartation of ideas and symbols) that facilitated the induction and assimilation of foreign cults into the Egyptian belief system.
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<sup>1</sup> The members of my doctoral committee are: Associate Professor Panagiotis Kousoulis (supervisor, University of the Aegean), Professor Christoph Uehlinger (advisor, University of Zurich) and Professor Izak Cornelius (advisor, University of Stellenbosch).

<sup>2</sup> Michael David Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1978); Izak Cornelius, *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 204. (Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Götter, Göttinnen und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen*, 6th ed. (Freiburg Schweiz: Academic Press & Bibel+Orient Museum, 2010); Joanna Stuckey, “The Great Goddesses of the Levant,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 30 (2003): 127–157; Keiko Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2009).



**HANDBOOK OF AMARNA CUNEIFORM PALAEOGRAPHY: A PROJECT UPDATE**

**Jana Mynářová**

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Since 2012 a project dedicated to the palaeography and scribal practices of the Amarna tablets has been carried out at the Charles University, supported by the Czech Science Foundation (Grant No. GA ČR P401/12/G168, “History and Interpretation of the Bible”).<sup>1</sup> One of its main aims is to publish a special volume dedicated to the palaeography of the Amarna cuneiform corpus. Since their discovery in the late 1880’s at the site of Tell el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten) in Middle Egypt, the tablets (Fig. 1) have been considered one of the most important written sources for our understanding of the political and cultural history of the Levant, as well as of the diplomatic and administrative procedures employed in the region in the 14th century BCE. A thorough study on the palaeography of the whole corpus has, however, never been published in its entirety.

Up to the present day the most complete and frequently used tool for the study and the discussion of the Amarna cuneiform palaeography is the sign list published by O. Schroeder in an Appendix to his two-volume set of autographs, dating back to 1915.<sup>2</sup> While Schroeder’s sign list is based on the material kept at the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin (which, with slightly over fifty percent of all preserved Amarna tablets and fragments in its collection, is the largest in the world), unfortunately less than one hundred tablets were used to compile the list in question.

Given the importance of the Amarna cuneiform palaeography for the 2nd millennium BCE cuneiform corpora in the Levant,<sup>3</sup> a new volume entitled *Handbook of Amarna Cuneiform Palaeography* is now in preparation and will be published in 2018 (ed. J. Mynářová, Charles University, Prague). The main part of the volume consists



**FIGURE 1:** A letter from Zitriyara to the king of Egypt: EA 213, BM E29859, obverse (© Trustees of the British Museum).

of a palaeographical chart with the individual signs organized in a sequence corresponding to the one employed in the MZL.<sup>4</sup> Each sign is identified by its name and the respective MZL/MÉA number. As such, it is the

sign itself that represents the main category in the chart. Within this category the reader will find representatives of all variants of the same sign employed in the corpus (in a graphic form<sup>5</sup>) with clear reference to the attestation of the variant and the provenance of the respective text. The individual variants are arranged within the sign category in a standard sequence starting with a single horizontal wedge, followed by a downwards diagonal, an upwards diagonal, the “Winkelhaken,” and a vertical wedge.<sup>6</sup> Information on each variant is further supplemented by its phonetic or semantic referents. Since the individual variants of the signs show a substantive graphic variability, a synoptic table of all variants with references to the category of the respective signs will be provided, as well as individual indices.

At present slightly over fifty percent of the Amarna tablets have been collated, analyzed, and included into the palaeographic chart. The already analyzed corpora include the following collections: the British Museum (London), the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), the Egyptian Museum (Cairo), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the Oriental Institute (Chicago), Musées Royaux et d’Histoire (Brussels), and the first set of the collection of the Amarna tablets kept at the Vorderasiatische Museum (Berlin). In the course of 2017 the remaining tablets housed at the Louvre (Paris), the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow), and the Vorderasiatische Museum will be included in order to ensure that the volume will be published in accordance with the project schedule, i.e., in 2018.

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<sup>1</sup> Jana Mynářová, “Amarna Palaeography Project: The Current State of Research,” in Jana Mynářová, Pavel Onderka, and Peter Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back*

*Again – The Crossroads II: Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014* (Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2015), 409–421.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Schroeder, “Zeichenliste,” in Otto Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna, d zweiter Teil* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1915), 73–94.

<sup>3</sup> Elena Devecchi (ed.), *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age: Papers read at the Symposium in Leiden, 17–18 December 2009* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012); Elena Devecchi, Gerfrid G. W. Müller, and Jana Mynářová (eds.), *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography: Proceedings of the Workshop organised at the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Warsaw 2014* (Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Rykle Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon. Zweite, revidierte und aktualisierte Auflage*, revidierte und aktualisierte Aufl. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010). See also Rykle Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (Kevelaer—Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker—Neukirchener Verlag, 1978); also provided is a concordance with the *MÉA* signlist of René Labat and Florence Malbran-Labat, *Manuel d’épigraphie akkadienne. Signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes*, 6. éd. (Paris: Geuthner, 2011<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Christel Rüster and Erich Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> For the expansion, consult especially Catherine Mittermayer, *Altbabylonische Zeichenliste der sumerisch-literarische Texte* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006).



## **“ARTEFACTS OF EXCAVATION”: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON ANCIENT EGYPT IN THE MODERN WORLD**

**Alice Stevenson**

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“I think for the sake of future studies it would be well always to say where the antiquities are – that they may be traceable hereafter.”<sup>1</sup>

Only seven years after the establishment of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) in 1882, its founder Amelia Edwards recognized the problems posed by the organization’s liberal dispersal of finds from its fieldwork. More than a century on, attempting to address the legacy of those practices is an even more daunting prospect. Objects from a single tomb might be continents apart, while crucial contextual information may be inaccessible as archaeological archives remain separated from the scattered objects both physically and intellectually. As our Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded “Artefacts of Excavation” project—a joint project between University College London (UCL) and the University of Oxford—enters into its final year of research in 2017, we now have a clearer picture of the enormous scope and widespread impact of partage, by which means a share of the antiquities from excavations were allowed to be exported from Egypt to expedition sponsors worldwide. Between 1883 and the present day, we estimate that some 325 institutions across 24 countries in 5 continents received material from British excavations. There is no other archaeological endeavor in world archaeology that is comparable.

The complexity of object histories means that it has never been our aim to track down individual artifacts, many of which have circulated through multiple hands and numerous institutions via a variety of mechanisms over the years. Rather, one of our primary goals has been to create an online resource that provides researchers and

museum practitioners with the tools to facilitate their own investigations into these networks. To this end a website hosted by the University of Oxford’s Griffith Institute has been developed to provide an overview of, and interpretive framework for, the distribution activities of British organizations, as well as the known histories of institutions and private individuals who acquired material from them.<sup>2</sup> This online repository lists every site excavated by British teams from the 1880s until the 1980s, with the focus being the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund/Society (EEF/EES), the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE), the Egypt Research Fund (ERA), and Flinders Petrie’s privately funded excavations. Each field-site listed has links to the different seasons of work conducted there, and the known associated distribution destinations are all annotated accordingly. Users can search the numerous webpages by institution or by individual to see which seasons of work may be represented in a particular place, or they can query by excavation season or archaeological site in order to ascertain the possible locations of the material results of specific campaigns. The distribution records in UCL’s Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology and the EES have been digitized and are currently being uploaded to the website. A gazetteer of object marks inked by excavation team members onto artifacts is also being compiled in order to facilitate the identification of surviving contextual information. By these means we hope that people might begin to make connections between archaeological sites and collection histories for themselves. We welcome feedback from the academic and museum community as numerous entries will need to be amended in light of local knowledge. This is the focus of our work in 2017.

Previous research on distribution has tended to focus on the artifacts themselves as sources of information about the ancient past. In contrast, the second primary objective of "Artefacts of Excavation" is to examine how the exchange, use, and reception of these objects might reveal more recent, multi-sited histories.<sup>3</sup> The late 19th- and early 20th-century distributions, for example, can provide insights into the development of both archaeology as a discipline and museums as institutions, the relationship between the two often being symbiotic. While the departure point for our research is British fieldwork initiated at the height of imperial expansion and entangled in the politics of empire, it is clear that these histories need to be simultaneously transnational acknowledging the "networks, processes, beliefs, and institutions that transcend these politically defined spaces" and foreground "the interconnectedness of human history as a whole."<sup>4</sup> Egyptian artifacts represent far more than just themselves in these distributions.

A case in point is the collections of the University of Kyoto, Japan, acquired early in the 20th century from the EES and the BSAE, primarily through the intermediary of Kōsaku Hamada.<sup>5</sup> Research in Japan in February 2016 demonstrated that the motivation for securing antiquities from the British in this case was less due to an interest in ancient Egypt per se and more a result of Hamada's desire to stimulate Japanese scientific archaeology and to appropriate the model of imperial fieldwork practiced by individuals such as Petrie for Japanese ambitions on the Korean peninsula. We are continuing to investigate such local contexts of interest in distributed finds in places as far apart as South Africa, New Zealand, Canada, and

Barbados, and in contexts as diverse as schools, Masonic lodges, bible societies, royal palaces, and suburban garages. Some of these biographies will be shared in blogs and articles on the "Artefacts of Excavation" website, to which we welcome contributions. Together this work is informing the writing of a more in-depth monograph on the social, political, intellectual, and cultural interactions with Egyptian archaeology, together with the numerous object habits that underpin attitudes to its products.

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Amelia Edwards to Flinders Petrie, May 2 1889, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, archive PMA/WMPF1/C/5/EDW/48.

<sup>2</sup> Artefacts of Excavation, <http://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>3</sup> Alice Stevenson, Emma Libonati, and Alice Williams, "'A Selection of Minor Antiquities': A Multi-sited View on Collections from Excavations in Egypt," *World Archaeology* 48.2 (2016), doi: 10.1080/00438243.2016.1165627.

<sup>4</sup> C.A. Bayly, Sven, Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *The American Historical Review* 111.5 (2006): 1446.

<sup>5</sup> Takashi Amijima (ed.), *From Petrie to Hamada: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Egyptian Antiquities of Kyoto University* (Kyoto University Museum: Kyoto, 2016).



## THE DENDERA NECROPOLIS, 2014–2015

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The necropolis of Dendera covers an area of over a hundred hectares at the south of the temple complex. Partially excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1898 on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund,<sup>1</sup> and by Clarence Fisher from 1913 to 1917 for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,<sup>2</sup> this large sepulchral area was neglected by archaeologists for about a century. With several thousands of tombs, Dendera is one of the largest pharaonic cemeteries, partially excavated, and covering a wide chronological spectrum from the Early Dynastic Period until the Coptic Period. Like most Egyptian archaeological sites, the area of the necropolis is now threatened by the development of agricultural fields and modern villages. Since 2014 a new project associating the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO, Cairo), the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, Belfort), the Oriental Institute (OI, Chicago), and Macquarie University (MU, Sydney) aims to resume the archaeological investigation of the site. Each of the three project partners is interested in a specific and complementary aspect of the site. Dr. Pierre Zigani (IFAO/CNRS) continued the architectural study of the temples; Dr. Grégory Marouard (OI) is interested in the pharaonic settlement area located at the east of the temple of Hathor; Dr. Yann Tristant (MU) is in charge of the resumption of the work on the necropolis and the geo-archaeological study of the Dendera area. The new project initiated on the necropolis aims to review all types of documentation currently available, to clean key areas that will enable a better understanding of the tombs and associated grave goods, and to conduct new investigations on untouched areas, with a particular interest for the Early Dynastic Period. This short report summarizes the work undertaken during the two first

seasons, 2014 and 2015, on the Dendera necropolis.

First season (Autumn 2014) was dedicated to the cleaning of the “Abu Suten” area considered by Petrie as the oldest part of the necropolis. Located 375 m from the southeast corner of the temples' enclosure wall, the group of mastabas explored by Petrie and re-excavated by Fisher is covered today with a 1- to 2-m-thick layer of rubbles and windblown sand. Two mastabas were completely cleaned during the season. Numbered 6:081 and 6:171 according to Fisher's classification, the tombs are built out of mud bricks on a rectangular plan, decorated with two niches on the facade. Very poorly conserved, they were preserved to a height of only one to five courses of bricks. In the central part of the study area, Mastaba 6:081 includes two vertical shafts (not cleaned) at the north and the south of the monument. Oriented southwest/northeast, the tomb is 21 m long and 10 m wide. South of the tomb, Mastaba 6:171 is a smaller monument, 11 m long and 6 m wide, also oriented southwest/northeast. Inside the mastaba only one shaft was dug at the south. A square feature of mud bricks at the north symbolizes a vertical shaft that was never dug. However, this feature is located above a small subterranean burial room (1 x 1.6 m), situated 3 m below the surface of the necropolis and accessible by a staircase dug into the substratum at the east of the mastaba. This could be an earlier tomb (Early Dynastic/early Old Kingdom) reused when 6:171 was built. The main mastaba of the group (6:181), attributed to *Ni-ibw-nws*, was not completely cleaned. Only the eastern façade, 21 m long, was cleared. The associated material includes only pottery fragments. Different types of beer jars, bread molds, and Meidum bowls indicate that the group of mastabas is dated to the end of the Third/beginning of the Fourth Dynasty.



The main objective of the second season (Autumn 2015) was to evaluate the potential of an area that has never been excavated. The limits of the Fisher's excavation are clearly visible on the ground. An area of about 30 x 15 m (450 m<sup>2</sup>) was cleaned at the edge of Fisher's Area 18 and Area 7. Despite its modest dimensions, the area is characterized by a high density of archaeological features, with fifteen graves identified during the work ranging from the First Intermediate to the Roman Period. Most of them have been looted during the antiquity. Two potential Early Dynastic tombs were excavated in Area 7 adjacent to the trench opened in Area 8. They have been found in an area labeled "Early Dynastic" on the map published by Henri Fischer in 1968. Burial 1120 is a small, shallow pit in which an adult woman (35–45 years old) was buried in a contracted position, on the left side, head to the southwest, in a wooden coffin. Most of the body was disturbed by Fisher when he excavated the tomb to check the presence of grave goods. He left inside the coffin a label with the number of the tomb in his own inventory (7:940.1). No pottery or other funerary equipment can confirm the date of the burial; however, the position, as well as the orientation of the body, suggests an Early Dynastic date. Close to B1120 in Area 7, 3 m to the northeast, burial B1119 contained the skeleton of a 6–9-year-old child in a small shallow pit also disturbed by previous excavation. Here again the size of the pit and the absence of funerary architecture suggest an Early Dynastic date despite the lack of material to confirm it.

The largest tomb excavated during the second season is a shaft group consisting of 10 rectangular pits surrounded by a rectangular mud brick enclosure. The

monument, oriented southwest/northeast, is 14 m long and 3 m wide. The pits are all parallel, oriented northwest/southeast, and have dimensions roughly similar, 2.2–2.3 x 0.7–0.8 m, with a depth of 2 to 4.6 m. In the bottom of three of these pits a burial chamber was dug at the east or west. In most cases the entrance of the burial chamber was still partially sealed by a mud-brick wall. The monument was plundered in antiquity and reused for more recent burials, including of young children without grave goods to date them. The material recovered from the pits includes late Eleventh–early Twelfth Dynasty hemispherical bowls, large globular jars, ovoid jars, and tubular bread molds, as well as fragments of at least four offerings trays. Late Ptolemaic/early Roman pottery (annular based bowls, amphorae, etc.) indicate that the tomb was plundered and reused when staircase tombs have been dug in the same area during the Graeco-Roman Period.

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah 1898*, Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 17 (London: Kegan Paul, 1900).

<sup>2</sup> C. S. Fisher, "The Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Egyptian Expedition," *The Museum Journal* 8 (1917): 211–237; H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Egypt* (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1968); R. A. Slater, "Denderah and the University Museum 1898–1970," *Expedition* 12 (1970): 15–20; R. A. Slater, *The Archaeology of Denderah in the First Intermediate Period*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1974).



## THE MULTISPECTRAL PORTABLE LIGHT DOME: DOCUMENTING THE EGYPTIAN EXECRATION FIGURINES OF THE ROYAL MUSEUMS OF ART AND HISTORY, BRUSSELS

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The execration figurines of the Royal Museums of Art and History (RMAH, Brussels) were discovered at Saqqara in the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> The collection comprises over a hundred (fragmentary) figurines and three small rectangular coffins, all made of unfired clay and dating to the late Middle Kingdom. The figurines are covered with execration texts: hieratic inscriptions in red or black, listing names of foreign places, rulers and/or individual enemies.<sup>2</sup> By focusing on the direct neighbors of Egypt—Libya, Nubia and the Levant—as well as on Egyptian enemies, these figurines are often regarded as crucial primary sources for our knowledge of the political geography of the region. Their study is mainly hampered by the poor state of conservation, while a second challenge is the only partial preservation of the ink traces, resulting in a great loss of information.

The figurines were selected as a case study for the Egyptian Execration Statuettes Project of the RMAH. The project is involved in the development of a multispectral, multilight and easily transportable imaging system, the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD), in collaboration with the KU Leuven's Digital Lab and ESAT-VISICS.<sup>3</sup> The MS PLD offers an approach requiring minimal handling of the object while delivering maximal output for research and conservation purposes. The system, originally developed for the documentation of cuneiform tablets,<sup>4</sup> has now been adapted to create multispectral 2D+ images of small, decorated (and often fragile) artifacts. The relief and texture/color values are interactive data based on a recording process using infrared, red, green, blue and ultraviolet light spectra computed with photometric stereo algorithms.<sup>5</sup>

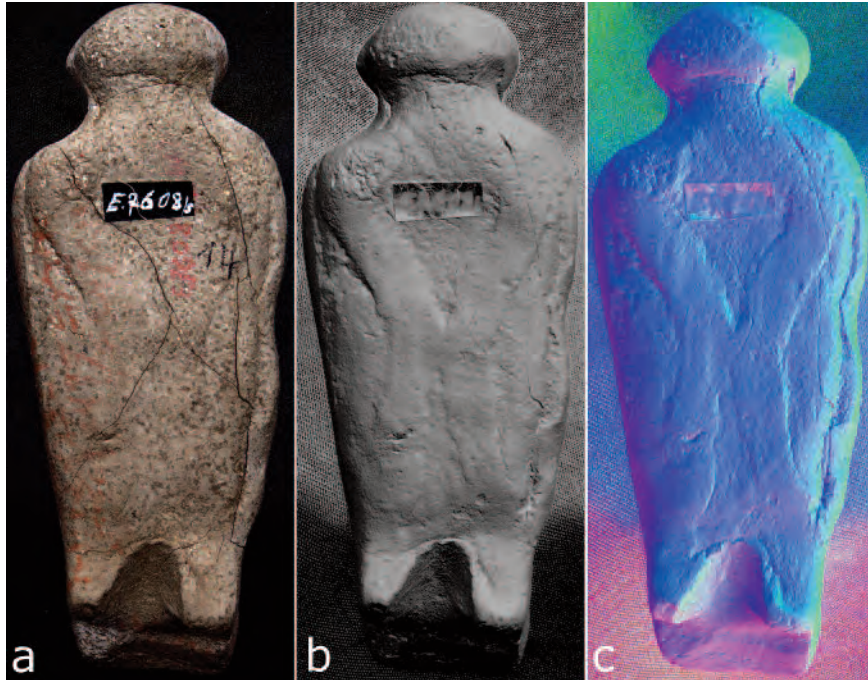
Preliminary tests on a selection of figurines with this system delivered very promising results. The readability

of the red inscriptions, representing the vast majority of the texts, was significantly improved, enabling the decipherment of parts of an inscription previously considered to be lost for good.<sup>6</sup> The geometrical characteristics of the figurines can be interactively visualized by the viewer system of the PLD, enabling the study of the manufacturing process and other technical art studies (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

While the main goal of the project is to develop new MS imaging techniques, it also includes a comprehensive analysis of the state of preservation of the objects, essential for the development of these techniques. Furthermore, the chemical composition of the clay and the pigments was determined by handheld X-ray fluorescence, confirming the presence of red ochre pigments and carbon black.<sup>8</sup>

It is generally stated in studies on the multispectral imaging of parchment, papyri and ostraca that black (carbon) inks tend to give the best results in the infrared spectrum, whereas visualizing red ochre inks is often problematic.<sup>9</sup> The MS PLD tests on the clay figurines, however, indicate the contrary. The black ink inscriptions gave very poor responses in the infrared spectrum, thus confirming the new insights that carbon black pigments and clay have nearly the same reflectance response in both visible and infrared spectral bands. Therefore, the contrast between the pigments and the clay is not sufficient to distinguish zones with pigment from those without.<sup>10</sup>

Reaching its final stage of development, the entire collection of the Brussels execration figurines will be documented and the PLD tested on a wider range of materials. Further non-destructive analyses on the materials are also considered. The MS PLD project thus enables a renewed and in-depth study of this valuable collection by Egyptologists, archaeologists and curators.



**FIGURE 1:** Verso of figurine E.7608. Interactive images produced by the PLD system reveal different aspects of the surface and topography/relief: a) color-sharpen filter, b) shaded filter, c) normal filter (© RMAH; PLD).

- <sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of the origin and acquisition, see Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élizabeth, 1940) and Athena Van der Perre, Dennis Braekmans, Vanessa Boschloos, France Ossieur, Hendrik Hameeuw, and Luc Delvaux, "The Egyptian Excretion Figurines of the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels: Conservation, Pigments and Digitisation," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles* 85 (2014) (in press).
- <sup>2</sup> Partially published in Posener 1940.
- <sup>3</sup> Coordinated by Luc Delvaux (RMAH) and financed by the Belgian Science Policy Office (Belspo): BRAIN.be (BR/121/PI/EES) and IAP VII/14: Greater Mesopotamia.
- <sup>4</sup> Hendrik Hameeuw and Geert Willems, "New Visualization Techniques for Cuneiform Texts and Sealings," *Akkadica* 132/2 (2011): 163–178.
- <sup>5</sup> Athena Van der Perre, Hendrik Hameeuw, Vanessa Boschloos, Luc Delvaux, Marc Proesmans, Bruno Vandermeulen, Luc Van Gool and Lieve Watteeuw, "Towards a Combined Use of IR, UV and 3D-Imaging for the Study of Small Inscribed and Illuminated Artefacts, in *Proceedings Lights On... Cultural Heritage and Museums! Porto 2015* (forthcoming).
- <sup>6</sup> Van der Perre et al. 2015 (forthcoming).
- <sup>7</sup> Tests were undertaken on several objects of the Egyptian collection, e.g., a Fayum portrait (Athena Van der Perre and Hendrik Hameeuw, "La creation

- d'images multi-spectrales: les portraits romains du Fayoum," in Luc Delvaux and Isabelle Therasse (eds.) *Sarcophages. Sous les étoiles de Nout* [Brussels: Racine, 2015], 164–165), a Ramesside decorated vase (Lieve Watteeuw, Hendrik Hameeuw, Bruno Vandermeulen, Athena Van der Perre, Vanessa Boschloos, Luc Delvaux, Marc Proesmans, Marina Van Bos and Luc Van Gool, "Light, Shadows and Surface Characteristics: The Multispectral Portable Light Dome," *Applied Physics A* 122 (2016): 976. doi:10.1007/s00339-016-0499-4). The preliminary results provided information on underdrawings, previous restorations and the general state of conservation.
- <sup>8</sup> For a detailed report on the examination of the pigments, see Van der Perre et al. 2014. The clay analysis will be published in Dennis Braekmans, Vanessa Boschloos, Hendrik Hameeuw and Athena Van der Perre, "Chemical Characterisation of Ancient Egyptian Excretion Figurines through Non-Destructive X-Ray Spectrometry Analysis," (forthcoming).
- <sup>9</sup> E.g., Roger Macfarlane, Thomas Wayment, Stephen Bay and Gregory Bearman, "Exploring the Limitations and Advantages of Multi-Spectral Imaging in Papyrology: darkened, carbonized, and palimpsest papyri," in Vessa Vahtikari, Mika Hakkarainen and Antti Nurminen (eds.), *Eikonopoiia: Digital Imaging of Ancient Textual Heritage*, (Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica, 2011), 95.
- <sup>10</sup> Van der Perre et al. 2014.



## TWO CITIES AT SAIS: A PROTOCAPITAL?

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### INTRODUCTION

Recent work at Sais (Sa el-Hagar) has focused on understanding the complex stratigraphy of the northern part of the archaeological site at Kom Rebwa in the Northern Enclosure. Excavation by the Durham University/Egypt Exploration Society/SCA mission from 2000–2004 recovered evidence for a late Ramesside house with a storehouse-magazine.<sup>1</sup> The pottery assemblage of the house and magazine were largely intact, although fragmentary, lying on the floor of the structures as if the roof had collapsed upon the material, crushing the vessels *in situ*. As only part of the house was excavated in the time available, further work has been undertaken since 2012 in order to find the extent of the house-magazine structure and whether the building collapse was localized or more extensive. The initial findings of the work suggest that not only is the late Ramesside town extensively preserved and over a wide area, but that there is a further town built upon the ruins of the earlier town and that it is also well preserved in several phases. The date of this town is discussed here and the potential for it to be a proto-capital at Sais between the late Ramesside and Saite period.

### THE LATE RAMESSIDE HOUSE AND MAGAZINE

The part of the house excavated now comprises a courtyard with attached oven in a kitchen area, the main room of the house with part of the eastern side missing and a dais and column occupying the southern side of the room, the entrance to a magazine on the western side, with dimensions of 7 m by 7 m and part of a second magazine at a higher level than the first magazine and perhaps belonging to another structure lying west of the excavated area. All of the rooms of the house and magazines contained intact assemblages of pottery in groups of

complete fragments. The magazine seems to have been used for food preparation and for the storage of large vessels including amphorae of Egyptian forms, globular jars of varying sizes, and large plates or lids. The final phase of the floor of the magazine was covered with signs of burning and patches of orange and white decayed organic material (Fig. 1). The date of the building depends upon a reconstructed Canaanite amphora from the main room of the house, which dates to the mid-12th century BCE, although it may have been reused and so the actual date of the assemblage could be later. The second magazine was separated from the first magazine by a narrow wall and may have had two stories, as one layer of pottery was found directly underneath a second layer separated by mud and organic remains. Four complete fragmentary Canaanite amphorae similar in type to the first amphora and several Egyptian amphorae were found in these layers.

### THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD WALL AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES

After the Ramesside house had collapsed, the rubble was flattened off and pitted areas seem to have been filled in with burnt ash or earth. A large wall was constructed, partially running along the west wall of the main room and partially through the magazine of the underlying house. Separate rooms were built against the large wall, using it as a structural focus and using the underlying walls of the earlier structures as foundations, so they must have been visible to the later builders. One main room was excavated in 2012 consisting of two main phases of a domestic or food preparation area. The earliest room had a long, narrow form with a hearth built onto center of the western wall; in the later phase, the room was partitioned



FIGURE 1: The magazine floor of the late Ramesside house, view to the north.

into two and a new hearth was built in the center of the northern wall. A second, “domestic” room built directly against the wall was excavated in 2015–2016, with many floors and phases of use as suggested by the domestic bowls and jar fragments found in it; in the second, main phase of use, the room had a curved wall built from north to south creating a triangular room at the north with narrow entrance and a large room to the south (Fig. 2). The triangular room may have been used as kiln or a storeroom, which had been burnt, as the fill was very black with charcoal fragments and the walls slightly blackened. The narrow entrance was, perhaps, a stokehole with stone slabs used to close it. The corpus of pottery objects includes some unique forms including wheels or molds for pottery vessels and a domed structure, with an opening that closed with a sliding



FIGURE 2: The burnt room with pottery deposits, view to the west.



FIGURE 3: Pottery “trap” from the burnt room; length, 27 cm.

door, that may have been a trap for some kind of animal (Fig. 3).

The date of the later phases associated with the large wall is sometime in the Third Intermediate Period but cannot yet be more precisely determined until further detailed research on the pottery assemblages has been carried out. The time between the collapse of the Ramesside house and the later TIP phase is also not clear, and it is hoped that further work and dating of charcoal remains may provide a more definite date for the rich corpus of pottery from the excavation.

#### SUMMARY D

The findings from Kom Rebwa have exceeded our expectations in that the whole of this part of the site, covering around 2 hectares, may contain the remains of two cities, one built upon another at a time when Sais was changing from a provincial center into a state capital. Sais

offers a unique opportunity to study such a change at a domestic level and at the level of two well-preserved moments in time. The way in which the later structures mirror and use the earlier buildings also suggests an interesting knowledge of the past city and the way in which it could be merged with the later, built environment perhaps for reasons for scale and economy as much as ideology and concern for the past.

EES/DURHAM UNIVERSITY EXPEDITION TO SAIS WEBSITE:  
<https://community.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/sais.html>

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<sup>1</sup> Penelope Wilson et al., *Sais I: The Ramesside Period–Third Intermediate Period at Kom Rebwa*, Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir 98 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2011).



REVIEW

PERIPHERAL CONCERNS:  
URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE BRONZE AGE SOUTHERN LEVANT

by Susan L. Cohen  
Equinox Publishing Ltd., Sheffield, 2016

Reviewed by Ashley Fiutko Arico,  
Johns Hopkins University

Reconstructing the processes that led to the development of the world's first urban societies can be an elusive scholarly task. In the latest contribution to the New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology series, Susan Cohen attempts to do just that for the southern Levant (here defined as modern-day Israel, the Palestinian Territories, and portions of Jordan), comparing and contrasting the evidence for urban development in two significant eras of the region's history: the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Taking a core-periphery-interaction approach to the problem, *Peripheral Concerns* starts from the intriguing premise that fluctuating levels of Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant directly influenced the drastically different characteristics of urbanism in the region during the two periods.

The resultant study builds on Cohen's doctoral work on urban society in, and Egyptian interconnections with, the southern Levant during the MB IIA (*Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*, Eisenbrauns 2002). Topics considered in the present work include the processes involved in urban development, the role played by outside actors (in this case Egypt) in the development of urban systems, and the importance of frequently overlooked smaller sites to the sustainability of such societies. Relying almost exclusively on settlement-pattern data collected by extensive survey projects in the region, Cohen works to prove her theory that the critical difference between south Levantine urbanism during the Early and Middle Bronze Age was the role, or lack thereof, that Egypt played. In



order to do so, she employs a “long-term and broad-scale” macro approach.

The first chapter begins with a brief summary of the differing characteristics of urbanism in the Early and Middle Bronze Age southern Levant. Highlighted differences include the speed of growth and consistency of organization, homogeneity of material culture, and regions of settlement concentration. Acknowledging that the stark differences have traditionally caused the two periods to be studied separately, Cohen chooses instead to make them the nucleus of her examination. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to ruminations on the study of urbanism more generally, references to previous studies on Egyptian-south Levantine interactions during the Bronze Age, and an

introduction to the theoretical approach used in the present study, which relies heavily on core-periphery models. Theoretical approaches to urbanization and state formation are further discussed in Chapter 2, which presents a speedy overview of several prevalent theories employed in the study of ancient Near Eastern societies, including World Systems Theory and evolutionary models of state formation, with an emphasis on core-periphery interaction models.

Chapters 3 and 4 outline the urban systems of the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Age southern Levant respectively, with a particular focus on settlement patterns. An overview of archaeological and historical evidence for interaction between Egypt and the southern Levant during each period is further discussed, and also

appears in a handy appendix listing Egyptian material found in the southern Levant, Sinai, Nubia, and the deserts and oases from the protodynastic period through the Middle Kingdom. Having established Egyptian interest (or lack thereof) as a prime factor in the manifestation of urban organization in each period, Cohen then turns to a chronological summary of Egyptian interaction with Nubia as a lens of comparison in Chapter 5. This is accompanied by a brief overview of the Nubian fortress system of the Middle Kingdom, with a list of fortresses provided in an additional appendix.

Having accepted the premise that the divergent processes of urban development that took place during the EB and MB were significantly influenced by Egypt, Chapter 6 synthesizes changes in settlement patterns over time, bearing in mind the archaeological and historical evidence for interconnections presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Spatial changes are illustrated in eight maps displaying settlement hierarchies starting with the MB Ia and moving through the MB II. Particular emphasis is placed on the ratio of small sites (those measuring 1 ha or less) to large sites (those measuring 5 ha or larger), with the number of small sites in proportion to large sites increasing significantly over time. The raw data for the chapter is provided in an appendix, which provides an alphabetical list of 686 sites considered in the study, together with pertinent data such as geographic coordinates, site size, and dates of occupation, as well as an abbreviated bibliography for each site.

In the end, Cohen concludes that the settlement patterns visible in the southern Levant from the EB Ia through the MB II accord with what one would expect in an area where a strong Egyptian core exerted considerably more interest during the former rather than the latter. She surmises that the low proportion of small, supportive sites to larger settlements during the EB I is directly tied to the system's strong reliance on the Egyptian core, reflecting a core-periphery hierarchy. The insufficient number of small sites also doomed the system to collapse when Egypt withdrew from the region, resulting in reorganization during the EB II/III. A more proportionate system with a range of site sizes appeared during the MB,

when Egyptian interests were more focused towards the south than the east.

Each chapter of *Peripheral Concerns* is thoughtfully laid out and utilizes a clear, easy-to-follow writing style. The fourteen accompanying maps provide useful visualizations of the regions under discussion as well as shifting settlement patterns over time, but would benefit from more precise labeling. Chronological tables provided throughout the text identify the author's current understanding of the contentious topic of Bronze Age chronology in the southern Levant and its synchronizations with that of Egypt without getting bogged down in the long-standing and oft-published debates on the topic, a reflection of the narrow focus of the study at large. Furthermore, while her dedication to cementing Egypt's pivotal role in south Levantine urban development creates a concise narrative, her disinterest in discussing other potential influences, such as the effects of other cores or climate change, results in a less-than-comprehensive treatment of the material. Similarly, her deliberate avoidance of more concrete archaeological data, such as pottery sequences and stratigraphic analysis, detracts from the impact of the author's conclusions.

This very brief volume presents a useful introduction to the current state of the study of urban development in the southern Levant, and will serve as a beneficial reference, particularly for those unfamiliar with the body of evidence for Egyptian interaction with the region during these early periods. Its focus on processes rather than concrete archaeological and historical data pertaining to the fully fledged systems further allows for an overarching view of urban formation, as reflected both in the evolution of settlement patterns and system collapse. Although the study is unlikely to definitively quell uncertainty surrounding the factors that contributed to the rise of two distinct forms of urbanism in the southern Levant, *Peripheral Concerns* provides a thought provoking model for considering such queries and furnishes a helpful starting point for future studies.





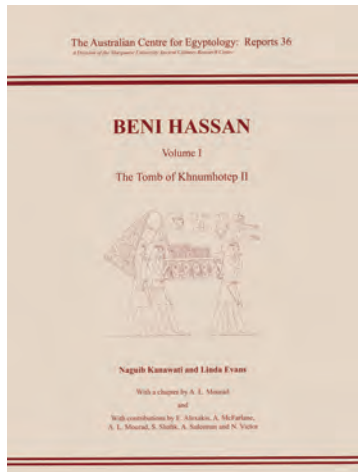
REVIEW

BENI HASSAN VOLUME 1: THE TOMB OF KHNUMHOTEP II

by Naguib Kanawati and Linda Evans
with a chapter by A. L. Mourad
and with contributions by E. Alexakis, A. McFarlane,
A. L. Mourad, S. Shafik, A. Suleiman and N. Victor
Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2014

Reviewed by Noreen Doyle,
University of Arizona

Of all the tombs cut into the cliff overlooking the east bank of the Nile at Beni Hassan, the most familiar to readers of the Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections is likely No. 3, that of Khnumhotep II, created as the tomb owner's "first noble deed" (p. 35, "Autobiography" line 170). Its modern fame was virtually guaranteed by his decision to include among its spectacular array of scenes—a number of which are rightly acclaimed even beyond Egyptology—a group of 3mw ("Asiatics") that has provided tinder for Egyptological and biblical speculation ever since. First noted by Europeans in the 18th century, the tomb has been published to one extent or another several times. For 121 years, the description and images in Percy E. Newberry's 1893 volume remained the most complete presentation,1 albeit seriously deficient, with plates that show most of the painted human figures and hieroglyphs largely or entirely as silhouettes. Comparing these to what actually exists one sees that Newberry published little more than elaborate sketches (cf. Figs. 1A and 1B). Later efforts, discussing the overall decorative scheme (e.g., Janice Kamrin, The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan [London: Kegan Paul International, 1999]) or particular details (e.g., concerning the 3mw: Susan Cohen, "Interpretive Uses and Abuses of the Beni Hassan Tomb Painting," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 74.1 [2015]: 19–382), relied on Newberry or reproduced anew only a few scenes or figures.3 This situation has changed entirely for the better with re-excavation of the tomb in 2010–2012 and 20144 by the



Australian Centre for Egyptology. The result, Beni Hassan Volume 1: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II, by Naguib Kanawati and Linda Evans and several other contributors, is a useful new work with modern epigraphy and photography that supersedes the myriad weaknesses of previous publications.

AFTER A PREFACE (pp. 9–10) and list of abbreviations for citations (pp. 11–14), in chapter I (pp. 15–24) the authors introduce the reader to the names and titles of Khnumhotep II, his family, and his many dependents, as well as the "Distinguished Asiatic," each with annotations to standard reference works (Ranke's Personennamen,5 Ward's Index,6 etc.). Conclusions regarding the relationships and status of the tomb owner's family members—particularly those of his ancestors, his concubine/wife T3t, and his two sons called "eldest"—follow in chapter II (pp. 24–25).

Chapter III (pp. 26–28) considers the location and architecture of Beni Hassan Tomb No. 3.7 Accounts—chiefly dimensions—of the burial chambers/shafts, not all of which could be examined because of logistical circumstances (pp. 9, 28), appear in the very brief chapter IV (p. 28).8

In chapter V (pp. 29–72), the real "meat" of the volume begins to appear. The authors present Khnumhotep II's "Scenes and Inscriptions" as the visitor would encounter them, room by room, wall by wall, register by register. Each is provided with transliterations and English translations, as well as descriptions of the figure(s),

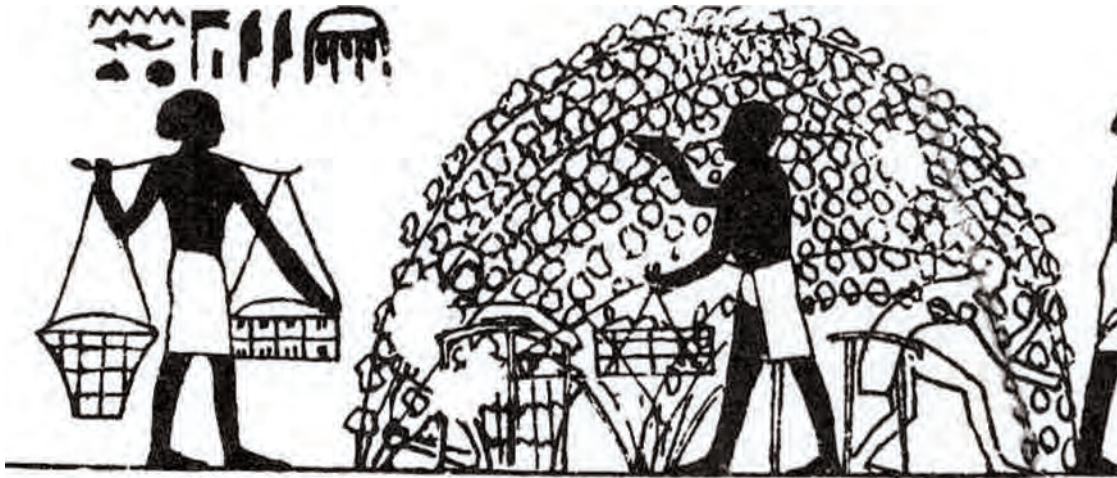


FIGURE 1: Detail from Beni Hassan Tomb No. 3 (Khnumhotep II), chapel, west wall, north of the entrance, register 5: grape harvest. A: Newberry 1893, pl. 29 (detail); B: Kanawati and Evans 2014, pl. 18b; C: Kanawati and Evans 2014, pl. 122b.

scene(s), and/or other decoration (e.g., imitation of stone [p. 30]). Translations are lightly annotated with footnotes to indicate scribal errata or irregularities, comparata, and other observations, but regrettably they provide only grouped, rather than specific, line numbers for lengthy texts (most notably the “autobiography,” pp. 31–36). Even more, the reviewer wishes that the text referred to specific plates with the mention of each register and/or detail; instead, ranges of plate numbers are given at the beginning of the description of each wall.

In the last chapter, VI (pp. 72–78), A. L. Mourad (the only author particularly credited with a section of the volume) analyzes “The Procession of Asiatics,” of particular interest to the readers of this journal. Mourad points out that “the redrawing of the foreigners’ procession clarifies several details that will surely enhance our current understanding of the scene and its significance” (p. 72), and indeed the same can be said for all of the other epigraphic drawings in the book. She treats this scene carefully, with references (including *contras*) to previous interpretations, and offers comparata overlooked by others (e.g., for the child spear-bearer; pp. 75–76). As do the other authors who contributed to the volume, Mourad exercises caution in her interpretations of details and offers or cites viable alternatives (e.g., “Abi-shai,” “Abi-shar,” and “Abi-sharie” for *Jbsš*, without choosing from among them; p. 74). But this does not mean she comes to no conclusions, as indeed she does regarding both the historical event portrayed and the symbolic role it played in Khnumhotep II’s tomb (pp. 77–78).

The text portion of the volume concludes with a short index (pp. 79–80) comprising references to deities, kings, individuals, and titles. There is no general index, and private names and titles are indexed in the original language, not their English translations.

The plates begin with 104 photographs printed as full-color halftones: views of the tomb exterior and interior, surfaces (walls, ceilings), scenes and texts, and details (small groups, single figures, and even smaller details of particular interest, such as text on scrolls held in hand [pls. 39b, 43a], the “bellows” [pls. 46a, 48a], and the lyre [pl. 48b]). Image quality is uneven: compare, for example, “crisp” pl. 85b with “muddy” pl. 55a. Preservation must have played a role in this (cf. pls. 26a and 26b), but the high quality of some of the images, as well as some of those published elsewhere,<sup>9</sup> suggest that improvements could have been made, whether during photography (better exposure; use of a camera with better high-ISO capabilities), post-processing, or printing.

With plates 100–104 the reader encounters useful comparisons between paintings of some of the vertebrate animals and photographs of living representatives of the species, demonstrating the ancient artists’ powers of observation and interpretation of the natural world.

Plates 105–106, plans of the tomb, are the first of a good many folding plates. Next are the major texts: those on the elements of the doorways (pls. 107–109) and Khnumhotep II’s “autobiography” (pls. 110–114). Overall views of each

wall come next (pls. 115–116), after which are larger-scale presentations of the registers, with selected details shown separately at yet larger scale (pls. 117–147). The epigraphic drawings are clear and well detailed, even at the smaller scale—note, for example, the feathering of the *m* barn owl in the hieroglyphic texts of pl. 126. The stippling for the goat’s hair (pl. 125), “scale patterns” given to birds’ feathers (e.g., pls. 125–126, 143e), geometric designs on the Asiatics’ clothing (pl. 128), and stubby skin of a plucked waterfowl (pl. 138) reflect the care of the ancient artists as well as that of the modern epigraphers.

The last plate (pl. 148) offers a nod to those who published the tomb first, if not well: photographs of handwritten notes from Newberry and his collaborators, G. W. Fraser and M. W. Blackden. Newberry’s message, which gives a date of April 21, 1891, includes a slight misquote of two apropos lines spoken by Ulysses in Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida* (Scene III, lines 187–188):

Instructed in [*sic*; “by” in the original] the antiquary times,  
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.

COMPARING the color photographs and epigraphic drawings created for this 21st century publication to those of Newberry’s 19th century one is unfair and unnecessary (nonetheless, cf. Figs. 1A–C). The challenges faced by the epigraphic team, and the success they achieved, can be readily observed in the difficult image of the grape harvest, in which the ancient artist has hidden figures behind leaves of the vines (Figs. 1B–C). Still, as almost always must be the case when translating areas of paint into drawn lines, the modern epigraphic drawings do have shortcomings; if relying on fine details for their own work, the reader will want to closely consult the photographs as well. The lines of the drawings seem, generally, to represent black lines anywhere and outlines/distinctions of any color between figure/object and background; divisions between colors within a single figure/object are not necessarily indicated. In the photograph of the boatbuilding scene (pl. 26b), the left (“forked”) end of the hull begins as yellow, but after a short distance this color ends and brown begins, a distinction absent in the drawing (pl. 120). This sort of omission is also visible in the carpenter working with an adze in the register above the boatbuilders: in the line drawing (pl. 120) he would appear naked were it not for the line drawn across each of his legs to indicate the bottom edge of his kilt, although the red and white areas of paint clearly differentiate between body and garment also at the waist (pl. 25b). And there is inconsistency in this apparent convention. In the text above the boatbuilders the epigrapher has indicated the red at both corners of the eye and also the yellow head of the griffon vulture (pl. 120), although both of these areas of color border white directly (pl. 26b). These are minor details—but they are details, and sometimes (as in the case of the boat hull) details matter.

The fact that the book includes the very color

photographs that allow the reader to note such epigraphic decisions cannot be overlooked: the value of both forms of presentation must not be underestimated. A reader might wish, in fact, for the ability to view simultaneously both sets of images, or, likewise, to read the descriptions and translations while looking at the plates. Perhaps a DVD featuring the plates—including photographs at full resolution—would have been economically feasible and might be considered for future volumes in the series.

Lastly, it bears noting that description, discussion, and epigraphy in the volume address only those features contemporary with the tomb owner and omit later amendments (cf. photographic pl. 95b, epigraphic drawing pl. 141, and the description of this register on pp. 68–69). This was the case with Newberry (1893, pl. 35) as well. Perhaps these might someday form the focus of a separate study.

Minor publication shortcomings notwithstanding, Kanawati and Evans's *Beni Hassan Volume 1: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* completely eclipses Newberry's *Beni Hasan Part I*. This long-overdue definitive publication of an important primary source for Middle Kingdom and other topical studies is highly recommended and will no doubt contribute substantially to the ongoing discussion of its texts and many iconographic details. *Beni Hassan Volume 2 et seq.* will be welcomed.

but the reviewer would like to specify one omitted source that features good color photographs of some of the scenes and details (including the <sup>35</sup>*mw*) in Tomb No. 3: Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie Band 16 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 11 Abb. 15, 52–65 Abb. 89–111, 67 Abb. 112–113, 72–73 Abb. 119–232, 87–93 Abb. 142–150.

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<sup>1</sup> Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1893), frontispiece, 39–72, pls. 2, 22–38.

<sup>2</sup> The publication schedules of the volume under review and Cohen's article precluded citation of one by the other.

<sup>3</sup> A worthwhile bibliography of such works would be too lengthy to include here. Many are found in the reference list of the volume under review (pp. 11–14),

<sup>4</sup> Kanawati and Evans 2014, 9.

<sup>5</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 volumes (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935–1977).

<sup>6</sup> W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the pool/pond feature by one of the contributors to the volume under review, see Sameh Shafik, "Interpreting a Curious Architectural Element in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan," *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 25 (2014): 89–100.

<sup>8</sup> And here the reviewer must point out two typographical errors: the text labels the very brief fourth chapter, "Burial Apartments," as "V" (p. 28) and the next, "Scenes and Inscriptions," as "IV" (p. 29). The table of contents numbers these correctly, IV and V, respectively (p. [5]).

<sup>9</sup> For example, compare Kanawati and Evans 2014, pl. 31 or pl. 32a with Shedid 1994, 11 Abb. 15. Working some two decades earlier, Shedid was able to employ multiple studio lights (see Shedid 1994, 55 Abb. 89), a photographic luxury perhaps not available to Kanawati and Evans either out of concern for the preservation of the pigments or because of logistics (during the excavation, the tomb remained open to visitors [pp. 9, 28]).



REVIEW

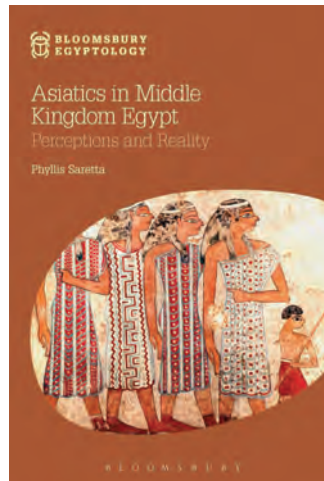
ASIATICS IN MIDDLE KINGDOM EGYPT:  
PERCEPTIONS AND REALITY

by Phyllis Saretta

Bloomsbury Egyptology, Bloomsbury Academic, London & New York, 2016

Reviewed by Nicholas Picardo,  
Harvard University, the Giza Project

With *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality*, Phyllis Saretta assumes the difficult task of bringing new perspective to pivotal times that preceded the dramatic manifestation of the Hyksos in Egypt that defines the Second Intermediate Period. She does so essentially by isolating them from the topic of the Hyksos altogether. With the introductory first chapter, she outlines the aim of her study: to track Egyptian attitudes towards the people(s) whom the ancient Egyptians called *ꜥmw*. Saretta wishes to move beyond what she regards as the prevailing trend of past analyses, namely the prioritization of political (thus official, royal) ideology as the overwhelmingly influential force that shaped Egyptian perceptions of Asiatics. She proposes instead a diachronic, integrative approach that ascribes equal weight to multiple evidentiary lines. The chosen methodology is sound, in that a broadly inclusive view has less often been the rule for assessing predecessors of the Hyksos in Egypt than for the Hyksos themselves. This study culls the surviving record to describe circumstances and conditions that might explain the origins and influences on Egyptian perceptions of Asiatics, along with how they evolved from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom. Art, literature, historical texts, archaeological material, and comparative linguistics are brought together to be gauged cumulatively, not only from within Egypt but from across the Sinai and farther afield into the broader ancient Near East and Anatolia. Saretta draws upon varied sources from far and wide to flesh out her arguments by finding possible connections, associations, and affinities in the material record. So many individual



pieces of evidence are brought into play and compared that it would be impossible to evaluate each on its own merits in a short review. So, the approach here will be summary, first teasing out the most salient elements of individual chapters before providing some overall commentary.

Chapter 2, the first topical chapter, embarks on a seemingly straightforward etymological investigation of the word *ꜥmw*, a not-so-straightforward Egyptian term. Saretta's guiding premise is that it is an Amorite loan word, such that *ꜥmw* refers to Canaanite West Semitic peoples, or more specifically Amorites (depending primarily upon chronological period and context in which it appears). Saretta advocates for narrowing the broad cultural designation encompassed by traditional translations of *ꜥmw* simply as "Asiatics." Instead, she argues that this designation refers to Amorites, i.e. as the direct correlates in Egypt of those peoples named as *MAR.TU* and *Amurru* in Akkadian and Sumerian cuneiform texts of Mesopotamia. Indeed, much of this book functions to highlight cultural attributes particular to Amorites—i.e. West Semitic Asiatics most associated with coastal Lebanon, northern Syria, and northwestern Mesopotamia—as the group(s) of reference in ancient Egyptian sources of Old through Middle Kingdom dates.<sup>1</sup> One chapter section reviews a small list of other associated Egyptian terms, from which there is one especially notable standout. Saretta distinguishes between *ꜥmw* as "Amorites/West Semitic Asiatics" and *ꜥtyw* as "non-sedentary Asiatics." While *ꜥmw* is an ethnic/ cultural appellation, *ꜥtyw* is an "attitudinal" term (and a pejorative; see p. 21) applied to a subset of the former based on facets

of their lifestyle.

Chapter 3 surveys the Egyptian artistic record as a complement to textual references, with a focus on visual representations that align with stereotypes of Asiatics that appear in texts, including those discussed in the preceding chapter. After a very selective review of traditional iconographic tropes (bound, captive foreigners and royal smiting scenes) as emblematic expressions of prevailing state ideology regarding foreigners, Saretta consults the visual record to detect changes in depictions of Asiatics from the Old to the Middle Kingdom that veer from this negative attitude. Saretta acknowledges an incongruence that complicates such a diachronic comparison, in that specific identification of Asiatic peoples is seldom clear for Old Kingdom representations, while Middle Kingdom appearances are more frequently marked in one way or another. It is only as of the earliest years of the Middle Kingdom that the designator *ʿsmw* and visual depictions of “West Semites/Amorites” coincide to close this gap somewhat. However, the insinuation in this presentation is that, whether in scenes of conflict or commerce, combinations of physical features and fashion are hallmarks of this population in the Old Kingdom: killed men with a full beard, long (straight or wavy) hair tied with a fillet and falling around shoulder-length; and associated women wearing nearly ankle-length dresses that flare a little at the bottoms. Also stressed in this chapter—and as a recurrent theme throughout the book—is the separation and limited contact/exposure between most Egyptians and Western Semitic groups during this era. Consistent with this perspective, new details that first appear in art of Dynasty 12 of Egypt’s Middle Kingdom are considered to be “more accurate and detailed” in both royal and non-royal contexts, primarily because this was a period of expanded interaction between Egyptian and Canaanite spheres, and thus increased exposure of Egyptians to more and more people of Western Semitic origins.

A sizeable portion of this chapter concentrates on tombs scenes at the Middle Egyptian site of Beni Hasan, including Tombs 15 (Baqt III) and 17 (Khety) but especially Tombs 2–3 (Amenemhat; Khnumhotep II) and 14 (Khnumhotep I), as a spectrum of depictions that undergo changes from the First Intermediate Period through the Middle Kingdom at a single Egyptian site.<sup>2</sup> The analysis culminates in a detailed exposition of the most famous scene of *ʿsmw* in Egyptian art, the “caravan scene” from the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb 3). As is essential for this book’s topic, much attention is devoted to this scene, which Saretta understands as “an index to determining a Middle Bronze IIA West Semitic lifestyle” (p. 107). The scene depicts the provincial governor and potentate Khnumhotep II receiving a file of fifteen (quantified by inscription as thirty-seven) Asiatics, including women and children, with animals (donkeys, ibex, gazelle) and goods presumably from their homeland, led by their chief (Egyptian *ḥkꜥ ḥꜣst*, “Ruler of a Foreign Land”).<sup>3</sup> Saretta breaks down the scene’s composition by singling out

attributes; attire; objects; and behaviors for which she can cite potential Near Eastern comparanda and/or textual counterparts. These include: brightly-colored, elaborately patterned, off-the-shoulder garments (likely wool); sandals; “mushroom-shaped” hairstyles; a lyre; water skins; bellows; a duckbill axe; use of donkeys for transport; and an association with desert animals. Consistent with the major thesis of the book, northern Syria is among the most-referenced regional affiliations of the comparative source material. Saretta concludes, however, that the foreign entourage in the Khnumhotep II scene are “fringe Amorites” with “roots in that segment of Amorite culture that is sedentary, but is moved about by the segment of the *ʿsmw* that are nomads” (pp. 107–108). However, there is no clarification of why the scene labels this group as *ʿsmw* as opposed to *ʿšyw*, per Saretta’s breakdown of terminology in Chapter 1. Perhaps there is additional nuance yet to be discerned.

With Chapter 3 having tracked the trajectory of Egyptian views towards some Asiatics from antagonistic to more practical and amiable, the following chapter looks into “West Semites and the Economic Life of Egypt.” Chapter 4 aims to establish that *ʿsmw*-Asiatics of Middle Kingdom Egypt—whether free or in servitude—were known, appreciated, and sometimes employed for the same skills as in their native regions. She emphasizes that texts and scenes indicate they sometimes worked alongside Egyptians, in some cases enjoying high regard for their specializations. This chapter profiles these careers in the Egyptian sources, juxtaposing them with references in other ancient Near Eastern sources, to map a broad landscape across which *ʿsmw*-Asiatics had reputations for certain trades which might have followed them to Egypt. Saretta surveys the limited Egyptian evidence that men may have held careers associated with cattle herding, breeding, and/or management. At the Sinai mining site of Serabit el-Khadim, although “their function within the expedition to the Sinai cannot be positively ascertained” (p. 129), at least some men were most likely employed as artisans, probably coppersmiths. If the author’s reinterpretation of the Egyptian term *imnw* holds true, they were present in sufficient numbers to constitute “guilds” (pp. 131–135). Saretta projects from this scenario to posit similar, though less visible, presence of Asiatic artisans in the Middle Kingdom capital region, specifically at Lisht and Dashur. In other sections of the book, attention to Asiatic mercenaries adds one more activity to this list. *ʿsmw* women may have worked in Egypt as weavers. Although the treatment of this topic essentially describes virtual exclusivity of Asiatics in production of dyed wool in Egypt, concluding thoughts fortunately leave open the possibility that “commerce rather than local production affords a simple solution” for this association (p. 121). Syro-Mesopotamian references provide a backdrop also for considering roles for *ʿsmw* women in Egypt as midwives, specialized attendants for Egyptian women, and in ceremonial service as offering bearers or dancers.

Together, a number of the cross-cultural comparisons of

Chapter 4 comprise an exploration of hairstyles, which play prominent roles as ethno-cultural identifiers of Asiatics/Amorites in Egyptian contexts as well as abroad. The directness of this presentation foregoes excursions into the complexities of comparing such targeted iconographic details across two-dimensional and three-dimensional artistic genres, including such stylized forms as glyptic representations on seals. It is, of course, difficult to substantiate cases of assimilated foreigners if/when their depictions are identical to native Egyptians, and Saretta proposes reasons for interpreting beyond the face-value of such Egyptianized portrayals. Sometimes she may ask a little much, however. For instance, female weavers who appear in scenes of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan “appear as Egyptian in every way,” yet “perhaps some of them are actually Asiatics. There is no inscription to confirm this deduction, but inference can be made that they were so fully assimilated into this community, they were considered ‘residents,’ and were not differentiated as foreigners” (pp. 115–116). That a similar convention might appear in the much later New Kingdom tomb of Rekhmire—but notably, accompanied by textual confirmation of non-Egyptian origins of the figures—does little to justify this interpretive leap for the Middle Kingdom scene in the absence of indications that the later scene might have used the former as a template or reference.

Among the concluding thoughts of Chapter 5, Saretta assesses that “the various chapters of this book may be seen as an extended commentary of a sort on the painting in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan, which encapsulates so many aspects of the West Semitic-Egyptian relations in the Middle Kingdom” (p. 189). The author may sell her work a little short with this evaluation, even if, as she continues, “the scene of the Asiatic *ʿmw*, Abishai and his ‘caravan,’ may serve as a concrete embodiment to the points brought out in this study.” True enough; however, for readers with a stake in the subject matter, the most interesting food for thought is served up in Saretta’s interpretative interweaving of disparate strands of data from multiple cultural zones. These are not confined to this single Middle Kingdom tomb scene; rather, they permeate the book.

*Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt* is an updated and augmented reworking of the author’s doctoral dissertation (NYU, 1997). As revised, it bears some resemblances to a scholarly monograph, a popular book, and a doctoral thesis. Possibly as a result of this mixed-genre quality, aspects of organization, writing style, and phrasing do not always do favors for the reader. In general the book would have benefitted from further smoothing of language, sifting of some unnecessary redundancies, and tighter (copy) editing. Such writing quirks sometimes lead to a staccato disjointedness in the flow of ideas that may hinder a full appreciation. With so much evidence object- and art-based, the ample inclusion of black and white images and illustrations is both essential and appreciated. For these Saretta draws heavily upon the collections and archives of

the Metropolitan Museum. Undoubtedly this is a study that will speak most cogently to scholars and advanced student specialists, for whom it is likely intended. Throughout, artifacts, cultural contexts, texts of many languages/scripts, and historical settings are introduced often as though readers arrive with some familiarity. The extent of introductory details in any one section is variable, ranging from rudimentary to thorough. Whether or not this observation constitutes a criticism will depend upon each reader’s own background. (Either way, it behooves one to consult all endnotes.) A reader’s capacity to situate evidence in time and place is an important factor for using this volume effectively, more so because one major hypothesis of the study is that changes in various socio-economic milieus were the catalysts that created key opportunities, first for contact and exchange, then also for immigration, changing attitudes, and assimilation.

This is a title that promises neither to thoroughly chronicle the intellectual history concerning Asiatics in Egypt nor to compose another preface to the Hyksos presence in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> It is a study that, above all else, *explores possibilities*. In this regard, Saretta’s approach sometimes feels refreshingly unrestricted in its willingness to simply draw lines—all there to be drawn—and then flesh out the *potential* interpretive value of the materials and concepts they connect across time, geography, and gradually intersecting socio-cultural spheres. At other turns, though, some comparisons strike one as more intuitive—even approaching free association—than rigorously academic (in Chapter 4, particularly). Such a wide spectrum of reasoning occasionally makes it difficult to gauge whether an idea is advanced as a casual musing or instead is intentionally provocative, such as: “With the movement of peoples, through trade, employment and/or military expeditions, both Egypt and the Near East were open to foreign influences; it is not known whether some of the changes in material culture, or the innovation of realism in the portraits of Senwosret III, were due to closer contact with Western Asia” (p. 139). Nonetheless, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt* indeed promotes thought, which is among the most desirable outcomes of a scholarly work. In fact, this read will challenge many to define for themselves their own analytical threshold between causation and correlation—asking just how many degrees of separation between one data point and others satisfy their own standards of proof, and, correspondingly, how many degrees overshoot an acceptable mark.

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1 Per the chronological tables included on pp. 285–291, the Egyptian Old Kingdom dates from 2649–2150 BC, while the Middle Kingdom spans 2040–1640 BC.

2 The chronological tables of pp. 285–291 list the First Intermediate Period as 2150–2040 BC.

3 The section heading of “*ʿmw* Š, the Amorite sheikh” probably does not strike the right note for this figure.

<sup>4</sup> This being said, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt* still will be most useful alongside studies that address the background of the Hyksos, such as (but not limited to): Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, *Archaeopress Egyptology* 11 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015); Manfred Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?"

in Marcel Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 139-181; Eliezer D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1997).





REVIEW

PHARAOH IN CANAAN: THE UNTOLD STORY

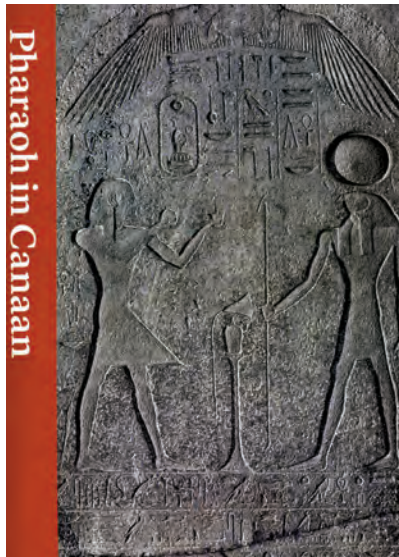
by Daphna Ben-Tor,  
with contributions by Eran Arie, et al.  
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 2016  
ISBN 978-965-278-454-4

Reviewed by JAEI Staff

This volume is a partial catalog of the exhibition of the same name held March 2 through October 25, 2016 at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (see our announcement of the exhibition in JAEI 9, June 2016, p. 97–98). *Pharaoh in Canaan* also serves as a highly worthwhile contribution to the literature on the many and richly diverse cross-cultural ties between Egypt and the many city states of Canaan from the end of the 4th millennium BCE until the collapse of the Egyptian Empire in Canaan in approximately the mid-12th century BCE.

But the focus—or rather foci—of the exhibition and its catalog are the two particular eras which most clearly reflect the interaction between Egypt and Canaan: the Middle Bronze Age, in which a relatively high degree of infiltration and settlement of Canaanites in Egypt occurred, and the Late Bronze Age, when Egypt exerted its greatest measure of political and military hegemony over Canaan.

The exhibition itself embraced nearly 700 artifacts from within these chronological parameters. The pieces ranged from small-scale scarabs and amulets and pottery sherds to large-scale statues, anthropoid coffins, and carved stelae—and even a reconstruction of the Ramesses II gate façade discovered in Jaffa. Some pieces were, in fact, from recent excavations in Israel that are published in this volume for the first time. Many of the artifacts were from the Israel Museum itself, and others were loans from the Metropolitan Museum, New York; the Louvre Museum, Paris; the Egyptian Museum, Turin; the Kunsthistorisches



Museum, Vienna; and several other important collections.

While each selected piece receives a brief commentary in the catalog, the artifacts are effectively used to illustrate thematic points being made in the chronologically organized text. The body of the catalog is thus organized into four sections: “The Beginning: Early Contact between Egypt and Canaan,” “An Archaeological Enigma: Egyptian-Canaanite Relations in the Middle Kingdom,” “The Hyksos: Canaanite Rule in Egypt,” and “The Egyptian Empire in Canaan.”

Matters of chronological uncertainty are handled well. Both low and high date ranges are given where relevant for the understanding of major events

and periods, and discussions of individual chronological aspects usually give the relevant data for conflicting viewpoints.

In this way, the artifacts presented are seen in as clear a cultural context as is possible as well as in a historical continuum. This is often of great importance—as in the case of artifacts from southern and northern Canaan, which it is now known had very different relationships with Egypt during the Middle Kingdom period.

This situation is well reflected in the section of the catalog dedicated to Egyptian-Canaanite relations in the Middle Kingdom and elaborated in the following sub-sections:

- Execration Texts
- Egypt’s Relations with Byblos

Canaanite Infiltration and Settlement in the Eastern Delta  
 Egyptian Middle Kingdom Scarabs of Officials in Southern Canaan  
 Egyptian Middle Kingdom Statuettes in Southern Canaan  
 Resumption of Contact between Egypt and Southern Canaan  
 Early Production of Canaanite Scarabs

This same section provides a good example of the successful way in which *Pharaoh in Canaan* organizes and presents its material. The artifacts are viewed not in isolation but in terms of the most recent archaeological finds and our most current understanding of their chronological context. It is lamentable that modern exhibition catalogs still so often follow the approach of individual artifact focus, which does not take us much further than the copious notes associated with “cabinets of curiosities” of the past. To be fair, a chronologically synchronized approach can be effectively pursued only in exhibitions such as this one—where there are enough artifacts to effectively illustrate a historical continuum—but this catalog is an example of the contextual approach at its very best.

The following sections of the volume proceed to effectively situate the exhibition’s artifacts in their cultural-chronological timeline, and two interesting appendices cover “Egypt and Canaan in the Genesis-Exodus narratives” and “The Birth of the Alphabet from Egyptian Hieroglyphs in the Sinai Desert.”

*Pharaoh in Canaan* maintains a good balance in showing not

only the high degree of Egyptian influence in Canaan but also the reciprocal influence of Canaanite culture on Egypt and the resultant interplay that is evident in the two cultures. This is nicely sketched, for example, in the section on “The Influence of Canaanite Mythology on Egypt” followed by an interesting example of an Egyptian funerary stele on which the theophoric name of one Itu-Ba’al, the recipient of the stele, is written with the determinative sign for the god Seth reflecting the syncretism of the two deities.

The thirty or so small chapters that comprise the text of the bulk of the catalog are well-written and provide a number of details regarding the nature of the artifacts themselves as well as insights into their larger significance. Almost 100 illustrations accompany the text, and the images are clear and well sized. Ample maps and background charts are provided to clarify references for general readers and scholars from related fields, and a useful bibliography is also appended. The volume is beautifully designed and produced and reader-friendly in every way. The fact that the contents page lacks a heading is one of a very few and truly miniscule criticisms that can be leveled at this volume.

Overall, *Pharaoh in Canaan* is an extremely well-conceived and well-produced catalog that will be indispensable for any library of Egyptological or Near Eastern Studies and can be recommended to anyone with a scholarly or general interest in these areas. The editor and contributors are to be thanked for a volume that is both an important contribution to the literature of the field of Egyptian-Levantine interconnections, as well as one that is a pleasure to read.



## CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

### AEGYPTIACA SYMPOSIUM

RHODES, GREECE

15–17 DECEMBER 2016

#### DESCRIPTION

The broader Mediterranean region, which includes twenty-five nations today, witnessed the development of some of the most important cultures of the past one of the reasons being the facilitation of trade and cross-cultural exchanges afforded by the Mediterranean Sea. Exchanges were made on the level of goods as well as modes of thought. Foreign affairs could be solved through diplomatic exchanges whereas wars between monarchs necessitated the use of foreign mercenary armies. Braudel characterised the Mediterranean as the “sum of its routes in which the essence of the region is the product of intellectual and commercial intercourse.” The concentration of port-cities around its coast reveals the ease with which cultures have been spread by this medium.

In the absence of adequate written evidence the history of contacts in the eastern Mediterranean during the Geometric and Archaic periods is largely based on our knowledge and evaluation of imports and their archaeologically visible influence in indigenous material horizons. An exception to the dearth of sources is Herodotus. These imports are often examined alongside patterns of transmission of technology and craftsmanship, in an attempt to understand the gradual orientalising awakening of the Aegean that reached its apogee in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Egyptian and near eastern iconography reached the Greeks and western Mediterranean via two main channels of communication or cultural networks. There was direct contact between Greeks from Asia Minor and islands with Egypt. The Greek colony at Naukratis, in the Egyptian Delta, facilitated to a great extent an undeniably great impact on one civilization to the other, which went both ways, as it is revealed in a variety of artistic and literary modes. Moreover, contacts between Greece, the East, Italy and Sicily occurred via the intermediary Phoenician cities. This

may be inferred because Phoenician artifacts are found all over the Mediterranean during the Orientalising and Archaic periods.

This symposium is the second international colloquium in the *Ex Oriente Lux* series and it was born out of the interdisciplinary research project *Aegyptiaca: Ecumene and Economy in the Horizon of Religion*, which is coordinated by the University of the Aegean and the University of Bonn. It focuses on the Egyptian and Near Eastern material from the archaic Greek sanctuaries and on the re-evaluation of the Egyptian cross-cultural interactivity with the Aegean world in the sphere of economy and religion.

The great majority of these objects are somewhat related to the sacral field, but not exclusively restricted to it. Right from the start we can notice a complex interplay between the sacral, the political and economic field. The functionality and contextualization of these objects within the broader nexus of the international relations of the seventh and sixth centuries BC must be seen as an epitome of the continuous attempts by the Saite kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to re-establish a political and social link with major cultic centers in the Aegean and the Levant. Although no information on the ideological component of these votive offerings survives, the locally manufactured egyptianising objects clearly exemplify that Greeks had gained insight into Egyptian religious beliefs. Thus, they were probably familiar with the significance of at least some of these objects and the magical connotations they carried. Even if these objects were not used in the precise manner that they should have been back in Egypt, they were regarded as highly precious and venerated objects, having been assigned a whole new function and identity within a different cultural environment.

The objects themselves have not been changed; only the nature of its reception — to Egypt they were exports, while to Greece they were imports — and possibly its status and

worth. They were adapted to the international syncretistic religious background of the receptive culture. The importance of these objects within the development of the Greek culture is obvious from the fact that they generated an enormous cultural wave of egyptianisation and orientaliation in the Mediterranean world. The islands of Rhodes and Samos, especially, are the places of the strongest Egyptian impact on the Greek material culture and thus probably the mentality too.

#### **SYMPOSIUM FORMAT AND ABSTRACT SUBMISSION**

The symposium will be articulated into sessions of 30 minute papers and discussion at the end of each session. People interested in presenting a paper are requested to send a paper title and an abstract of no more than 500 words in English to [egyptology@aegean.gr](mailto:egyptology@aegean.gr). The abstract should also contain author(s) name(s), affiliation(s) and contact details. All abstracts will be reviewed before they are accepted. If there are more abstracts than the available paper slots, papers will be chosen on a competitive basis. The deadline for abstract submission will be announced shortly. The deadline for abstract submission is October 16th, 2016.

#### **ORGANIZERS**

- University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies (University of the Aegean Egyptological Research Group and The Laboratory for the Ancient World of the Eastern Mediterranean)
- University of Bonn, Institute of Egyptology
- University of Thessaly, Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology

#### **LOCAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**

- University of the Aegean Egyptological Research Group
- Laboratory for the Ancient World of the Eastern Mediterranean

#### **PROCEEDINGS**

The organising committee intends to publish the proceedings of the symposium in a separate volume of the Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (University of Arizona, <https://journals.uair.arizona.edu/index.php/jaei/>). All papers will be reviewed before they are accepted for publication. More detailed information will be provided at the end of the venue.

#### **WEBSITE**

<http://aegeanegyptology.gr/conferences/aegyptiaca-symposium-2016/>

#### **SOURCE**

University of the Aegean Egyptological Research Group, "Aegyptiaca Symposium (2016)," *Aegean Egyptology*, 2016, <http://aegeanegyptology.gr/conferences/aegyptiaca-symposium-2016/> (accessed 15 November 2016).



## CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

### CECE8—VIII<sup>TH</sup> EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF EGYPTOLOGISTS, EGYPT 2017: PERSPECTIVES OF RESEARCH

LISBON, PORTUGAL

26 JUNE–1 JULY 2017

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, we would like to invite all scholars with interest in Ancient Egyptian archaeology, culture, history and language to participate in the CECE8—VIII<sup>th</sup> *European Conference of Egyptologists: Egypt 2017: Perspectives of Research*. The conference will be held in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (26th and 27th June), at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (29th June) and in the National Archaeology Museum (30th June). It is co-organised by the group *Antiquity and Its Reception* of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc, Professor Maria Helena Trindade Lopes) and the Department of Ancient Cultures of the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities in Pułtusk, Poland (Professor Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska).

#### SOME WORDS ON THE HISTORY OF THE CECE CONFERENCES:

The first meeting took place in Warsaw in 1999. The idea came from Dr Andrzej Cwiek, supported by Dr Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska and Joanna Kociankowska-Bożek of the Institute of Archaeology of the Warsaw University. The three first symposia were held in Warsaw in 1999, 2001 and 2004. The first time the Conference was organised out of Poland, it took place in Budapest in 2006 (Dr Andreas Gulyas). The *Fifth Conference* was hosted by the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities in Pułtusk, organised by Dr Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska in 2009 and the *Sixth* in Cracow by the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University (Dr Mariusz Jucha, Dr Joanna Dębowska-Ludwin and Dr Piotr Kołodziejczyk). Finally, the *Seventh* was held in Zagreb, in 2015, organised by Professor Mladen Tomorad. Next year, for the first time, the Conference will be held in Southern Europe, in Lisbon.

The main goal of this Conference is to present current research and its perspectives covering possibly all spheres of interest in present-day Egyptology.

#### THE MAIN TOPICS

- Aegyptiaca and Egyptomania
- Archaeological research in Egypt
- Art studies
- Artifacts studies (analysis, interpretations, iconography, typology, etc.)
- Chronology
- Eco-history
- Medical studies, forensic and radiological research
- Historical research from prehistory to the Arab conquest
- History of Egyptology
- Islamic studies
- Philology and linguistics
- Museum collections and databases
- Mythology and religion
- Studies of travel to Egypt

Each presentation shall last 20 minutes.

The official language of the conference is English.

Deadline for submission of abstracts is December 31st, 2016, with notification of acceptance by February 1st, 2017. Abstracts should consist of no more than 250 words and should also contain 3 to 5 keywords. Please send the application to: [cece.lisbon@gmail.com](mailto:cece.lisbon@gmail.com).

#### REGISTRATION

The registration fee for speakers is 80€ paid until March 1st, 2017. It includes:

- Conference materials
- Coffee breaks
- Additional events
- Online Publication
- Walking tour
- Free visits to the National Archaeological Museum and to the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum

The registration for visitors is 60€ paid until March 1st, 2017.  
It includes:

- Sessions where papers are presented
- Coffee breaks
- Additional events
- Walking tour
- Visits to the National Archaeological Museum and to the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum

**SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE**

- Annik Wüthrich (Germany)
- Francisco Caramelo (Portugal)
- Helen Strudwick (UK)
- Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (Poland) Jose' das Candeias Sales (Portugal)
- Juan Luis Montero Fenollós (Spain) Leonor Santa Bárbara (Portugal)
- Maria Helena Trindade Lopes (Portugal) Mladen Tomorad (Croatia)
- Nigel Strudwick (UK)
- Ronaldo Gurgel Pereira (Portugal)

**ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**

- André Patrício
- Bárbara Botelho Rodrigues Catarina Miranda
- Diogo Paiva
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- Guilherme Borges Pires Jessica Santos
- Marcus Carvalho Pinto Raquel Prazeres
- Ronaldo Gurgel Pereira Susana Mota

**WEBSITE**

<http://cece-viii.wixsite.com/lisbon2017>

**SOURCE**

Antiquity and Its Reception/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and the Department of Ancient Cultures of the Pułusk Academy of Humanities, "CECE8—VIIIth European Conference of Egyptologists, Egypt 2017: Perspectives of Research," *lisbon2017*, 2016, [http://media.wix.com/ugd/be23d7\\_6b64958c00564597b0e128c4191b3a18.pdf](http://media.wix.com/ugd/be23d7_6b64958c00564597b0e128c4191b3a18.pdf) (accessed 15 November 2016).



## CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

**AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT 68TH ANNUAL MEETING  
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, USA  
21–23 APRIL 2017**

ARCE's 68th Annual Meeting will take place in Kansas City, Missouri, April 21–23, 2017 at the Intercontinental at the Plaza Hotel. The hotel is located on Ward Parkway, a wide, manicured boulevard that traverses the historic Country Club District running south from the Country Club Plaza, the first suburban shopping district in the United States. The Country Club district also includes many homes by noted architects, including Frank Lloyd Wright; McKim, Mead, and White; Louis Curtiss; and Mary Rockwell Hook. Several homes are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Nearby, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art is one of the premier art museums in the U.S., offering free admission to its extensive collections of Asian, European, American, and ancient art.

### CALL FOR PAPERS

ARCE members who wish to present papers, panel proposals, or a graduate student poster at the 2017 Annual Meeting should submit abstracts to the Review Committee electronically via ARCE's All Academic site no later than January 6, 2017. The Review Committee will be comprised of scholars in both ancient and modern Egyptian studies. Review submission guidelines and submit an abstract on ARCE's All Academic site (<https://convention2.allacademic.com/one/arce/arce17/>).

Please be informed that the vetting process has been revised for 2017. Read all of the updated information on the All Academic site prior to proceeding with a submittal.

A double-blind vetting process will be employed; neither reviewers nor submitters will be informed of one another's identities. In order to preserve the blind review component, text of abstracts should not include personally identifiable information (e.g., the submitter's name).

The Review Committee will review submissions in the following categories:

- Ancient Egypt
  - Archaeology (includes Archaeological Sciences; Bioarchaeology; Field Reports)
  - Language and Literature (includes Literature; Philology [grammar]; Text Studies)
  - Art and Artifacts (includes Art, Art History, Museum Collections, Objects)
  - History
  - Religion
- Ancient Nubia
- Conservation (includes Project Reports; Techniques; Training)
- Historic and Modern Studies
  - Coptic Studies
  - Medieval to Ottoman Egypt
  - Modern Egyptian Culture and Society
- History of Egyptology
- Technological Advents/Advances

### STUDENT EVENTS

- Best Student Paper Contest
  - The Chapter Council sponsors the annual Best Student Paper Contest, which is open to doctoral candidates who have completed a minimum of two full years of graduate study. The 10 finalists chosen for this contest will be eligible to win one of three awards: \$500 for 1st Place; \$300 for 2nd Place; or \$200 for 3rd Place. The winners will be announced at the Members' Reception on Saturday, April 22 at the Intercontinental Hotel.
- Graduate Student Poster Session
  - This Graduate Student Poster Session is made available through generous underwriting by Brown University's Department of Egyptology and Assyriology. Master's level students are invited to submit abstracts to present their research in poster format for the 2017 Annual

Meeting. The 10 finalists chosen for this contest will be eligible to win one of three awards: \$500 for 1st Place; \$300 for 2nd Place; or \$200 for 3rd Place. The awards are made available through generous underwriting by the Chapter Council. The winners will be announced at the Members' Reception on Saturday, April 22 at the Intercontinental Hotel.

Note: The Chapter Council will underwrite the entire registration cost for each of the ten students whose abstracts are selected for inclusion in both the Best Student Paper and the Graduate Student Poster Contests.

#### **UNDERWRITERS**

ARCE is pleased to acknowledge ISD for their generous underwriting of the registration bags for the 2017 Annual Meeting. Thank you ISD for your continued support!

#### **MEETING REGISTRATION**

Registration material will be sent to members in early January 2017. (Online registration through this website will also become available at that time.)

#### **OFF-SITE MUSEUM RECEPTION**

ARCE and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art will co-host a reception at the Museum on the on Friday evening, April 21. Tickets for the reception are \$30 and must be purchased in advance.

#### **SPECIAL LECTURE**

On Sunday, April 23, at 2:00PM, Dr. Pierre Tallet of the Université Paris-Sorbonne, will present a public lecture at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art sponsored jointly by the Museum and ARCE. Dr. Tallet will speak about his work at Wadi el-Jarf on the Red Sea in Egypt, which is the site of Egypt's most ancient harbor.

#### **IMPORTANT DATES**

- Abstract Submission Deadline:  
January 6, 2017
- Notification of Accepted/Rejected Abstracts :  
February 3, 2017
- Presenters Deadline to Register for Annual Meeting:  
February 17, 2017
- Hotel Reservation Deadline:  
March 21, 2017
- Annual Meeting Pre-Registration Deadline:  
April 1, 2017

#### **SOURCE/WEBSITE**

<http://arce.org/main/events/annualmeeting/annualmeeting>