



The Australian Centre
for Egyptology



MACQUARIE
University

Sixth Australasian Egyptology Conference

June 9–11, 2022

ACE Annual Conference

The Life and Times of Tutankhamun

June 12, 2022

Abstracts



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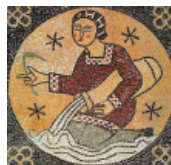
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We acknowledge the traditional custodians of the land upon which this University is situated, the Wallamattagal people of the Dharug nation, whose cultures and customs have nurtured, and continue to nurture, this land, since the Dreamtime. We also wish to acknowledge the Elders of the Dharug nation, past, present and emerging, and pay our respects to them.

MESSAGE FROM THE AUSTRALIAN CENTRE FOR EGYPTOLOGY

Welcome to Sydney! We are absolutely delighted to host the Sixth Australasian Egyptology Conference in the new Arts Precinct at Macquarie University. Nearly four years has passed since the last event in Auckland, New Zealand, during which time we have all experienced great global upheaval.

Thankfully, we can now offer a warm Aussie welcome to visitors attending the Conference in-person from Australia and the wider Asia-Pacific region, and participants joining us on-line from around the world.

Many papers are scheduled on a wide range of Egyptological topics, but in this centenary year of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb, the Program offers a special focus on the boy-king. Tutankhamun and the story of his tomb continues to captivate audiences even 100 years later, both academic and the wider public. Over the four days of our gathering, we are pleased to be joined by Gale Visiting Fellows Dr Dimitri Laboury, Dr Simon Connor and Dr Anna Stevens, who will present papers on the theme of Tutankhamun.

We are indebted to the Scientific Committee, the Organising Committee, Macquarie University Events, sponsors and donors for helping make this event possible. Please enjoy hearing new research and insights, and networking with friends and colleagues as we bring you a feast of Egyptology.

Dr Karin Sowada
Director, The Australian Centre for Egyptology
Sydney, June 2022

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ABSTRACTS

By presenter's last name in alphabetical order

DINA MOHSEN HASSAN ABDEL-AAL | Ain-Shams University, Cairo

THE ROYAL STATUES OF THE TUTANKHAMUN TOMB (NEW VISION)

The funerary equipment of Tutankhamun included a large group of statues (royal and deities' statues), each with a specific purpose to serve the deceased king in the Afterlife. Although there are many studies, there are still many mysteries surrounding the tomb of Tutankhamun, this study increases our understanding of the religious and funerary ancient Egyptian thought of this important period, which represents the return from Amarna to Thebes, specifically to the Valley of the Kings.

There are circa six types of royal statues in Tutankhamun's tomb: the king standing on a boat, the king standing on a leopard, the king with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, the king in life-size, the king in the form of the god Ihy, the king's head emerging from a lotus flower.

The aim of the study is to clarify the religious significance of royal statues, and the relationship of the statues to each other; to match between the purpose of the statues and their place inside the tomb; to answer several important questions: What was special about Tutankhamun's tomb? Are these statues of King Tutankhamun unique models that have not appeared in any other tomb? What was the original form of the statues discovered in the other 18th dynasty royal tombs, and what are the missing parts depending on the Tutankhamun statues?

MARWA ABDEL-RAZEK | Egyptian Museum, Cairo

THE FEMALE FIGURINES IN ANCIENT EGYPT: MEMPHIS COLLECTION OF THE CAIRO MUSEUM

Female figurines appeared from the Early Dynastic Period with body details. As a result, the figurines which were found later in the Middle Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period of ancient Egypt express pure Egyptian art obviously without any influences from foreign cultures. Many excavations throughout Egypt emphasized that there were differences between the figurines as the artists sometimes focused on their eyes, feminine features, hairstyle, jewellery and clothes. The female figurines from Memphis kept at Cairo Museum are made of clay; they hold an instrument, are represented on plaques or beds, have a small figure beside one of her legs, wear a crown or long wig, sometimes have earrings. This paper will study the collection of the female figurines in the Egyptian Museum that have Memphis as their provenance but will also discuss other examples from other museums for the purpose of comparison.

SCOTT J. ALLAN | Macquarie University, Sydney

HORUS, SETH AND RA IN THE SECOND DYNASTY: A RE-EVALUATION OF GODS AND KINGSHIP

The gods Horus and Seth in the ancient Egyptian pantheon have been intricately linked. However, scholars often project their later attributes back onto their earliest representations. While the representation of Horus remains relatively unchanged, Seth's later attributes of chaos and disorder are not clearly attested during the Early Dynastic period. Further, the emergence of Ra in the early Second Dynasty and the mysterious Seth-Ra title of Peribsen in the late Second Dynasty indicates a more complex relationship between the central gods of the king. This paper will detail the archaeological evidence available for Horus, Seth and Ra and the connection with kingship, from their first attestation into the Second Dynasty. The queen's title 'she who sees Horus and Seth' appears during the First Dynasty, signifying the importance of both gods. Yet, it is not until the late Second Dynasty, during the reign of Peribsen, that Seth replaces Horus on the king's serekh. Increased representations of Seth at this date have led scholars to infer unfounded theories of civil war between competing rulers. The emergence of Ra during the early Second Dynasty suggest Horus and Seth were not the only gods important to the king during the Early Dynastic period. However, by the mid-Old Kingdom Ra had become the prime state god, overshadowing Horus and relegating Seth to a protective role and provider of strength to the king. This paper will analyse the changing relationship of the king to the gods with specific focus on the name of Raneb and the Seth titles of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy. Despite an unclear order of succession for the Second Dynasty, these three gods were central to the kingship. The developing relationship between the gods and the king suggest each ruler wished to emphasise specific aspects of kingship to solidify their rule.

JOANNE BACKHOUSE | University of Liverpool

GIFTS TO THE GODS – FEMALE FIGURINES IN NEW KINGDOM EGYPT

Female figurines have been found in burials from the Predynastic until the Late Period. They were created using a variety of mediums, including clay, wood, stone, and faience; they are frequently represented naked and stylised in form. From the 18th Dynasty onwards, the female figure is often incorporated into plaques or beds. In addition, some stand-alone figures are provided with model beds. As is common with the New Kingdom corpus of figurines, most of the 'ladies on beds' examples were excavated from settlement sites, including Gurob, Deir el-Medina and Memphis. Earlier evidence has been found mostly in the funerary realm and temple/shrine contexts.

This presentation will focus on New Kingdom material excavated from temple contexts/sacred loci. An analysis of the iconography and context will lead the discussion on functionality. The sites include Serabit el-Khadim, Mirgissa and Beth Shan, which are outside the borders of Egypt proper. A figurine was also found at a garden shrine at Amarna, illustrating the link between domestic and

formal worship. Furthermore, examples were excavated from the wider temple complexes of Hermopolis, Medinet Habu and the temple of Mut at Karnak. A number of these are difficult to date due to the continued creation of figurines in the Late Period. In addition, it has been suggested examples from the temple of Mut may have been intentionally broken.

The importance of the female form as a votive offering will be considered. The iconography of the bed as a medium of repose will be reviewed and the suggestion the figurines may have been purposefully destroyed will be analysed. The aim of the paper is to review the use of female figures as offerings to the gods in New Kingdom Egypt, focussing on excavated examples.

NATASHA NICOLETTE BARAMILIS | Macquarie University, Sydney

INDIVIDUALITY IN TOMB SCENES FROM THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOM

Although scenes decorating the walls of tombs are frequently described as typical, many contain features that allow for them to differentiate themselves from one another. Individuality is expressed through the representation of personalised features which often depict specific people who take part in specific events. In some cases, these rare features are immediately obvious and are acknowledged to be distinctive or even unique. Yet, when the minor details of seemingly typical scenes are studied, they too often reveal elements suggesting the phenomenon may be more widespread than initially thought.

This paper shares a number of examples, from the Old and Middle Kingdom, to assess the extent to which tomb scenes may commemorate actual events which occurred during the life of the tomb owner. Deliberately selected from a wide variety of themes, they demonstrate the degree to which the scenes in question were present throughout tombs from the period. These representations challenge any interpretation of scenes being dismissed as typical and stresses the importance of examining scenes in greater depth to ascertain the purpose of their inclusion in each tomb and their possible significance to each tomb owner.

GEORGIA BARKER | Macquarie University, Sydney

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF TOMB OWNERS IN SCENES OF THE HIPPOPOTAMUS HUNT IN MIDDLE KINGDOM TOMBS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The recent redocumentation of the 12th Dynasty tomb of Wekhhotep III at Meir by the Australian Centre for Egyptology has uncovered new details of a fragmentary scene on the chapel's east wall, which can now most likely be classified as a representation of the hippopotamus hunt. This theme is quite frequently attested in Old Kingdom private tombs, but the activity is exclusively conducted by attendants. In the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, the theme rarely appears, but the hunt is, for the first time, undertaken by the tomb owner himself. The active participation of the tomb owner in activities traditionally performed by attendants is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. In addition to the hippopotamus hunt, he is shown as the primary actor in scenes of the desert hunt and fowling with a clap net.

This paper will examine the known representations of the tomb owner undertaking the hippopotamus hunt from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom and will compare them with earlier examples from private and royal contexts. It will consider the similarities and differences between the representations in order to identify possible influences in scene design. Such traditionally neglected developments in artistic repertoire are essential for our understanding of the growing power of the provincial elite. This paper will, therefore, consider the historical importance of these artistic changes and the reasons for tomb owners adopting a more active role in the scenes displayed on the walls of their tombs during the Middle Kingdom.

KEFIE BLAIR | Macquarie University, Sydney

FUNERARY APOTROPAIC DEVICES IN EGYPT'S OLD KINGDOM

The prospect of entering a forgotten tomb and emerging plagued by an ancient curse has intrigued modern audiences for more than a century. Despite the interest of the general public and scholars alike, the topic of curses has been relatively understudied in Egyptological scholarship. This thesis explores previously overlooked aspects of Egyptian curses such as placement, intent, and phraseological trends, and examines them within the temporal and cultural contexts that they first appeared: the Old Kingdom. Tombs from this period featuring curses are examined with a view to gaining greater understanding of their geospatial nature and scope, as well as insight into those individuals who employed curses and their potential motivations for doing so. Modes of analysis include tomb locations within cemeteries, the titles of those who invoked curses, curse location, and phraseology. This research extends our knowledge of curse origins, phraseological evolution, and dissemination over time, as well as their social meaning within the broader and ever-changing frameworks of ancient Egyptian funerary culture.

TANYA BLAKE | Macquarie University, Sydney

DOES IT REALLY WORK? STATEMENTS OF EFFICACY IN THE MEDICAL AND MAGICAL TEXTS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

When someone feels unwell, they see their doctor. The ailment is identified, and a treatment is prescribed. This desire to maintain good health, and to recover quickly from illness or injury, transcends cultural boundaries and timeframes. One would expect that through a process of trial and error, only the best remedies were developed to treat various maladies. Yet, in an ancient context, it can be challenging to identify which remedies were considered the most efficacious at the time of their use. For example, of the known healing recipes and spells that remain from pharaonic Egypt, only a small number have annotations indicating their effectiveness. These extra-textual markers are known as paratext.

At this point in time, it is not known if these paratext elements were used indiscriminately or confined to a particular type of remedy, nor has the significance of their location within the manuscript been determined. Up until

now, this has remained unexplored. As such, this paper seeks to ascertain in what ways efficacy is marked and why only some remedies have these statements of efficacy when other, almost identical remedies do not. It will also briefly discuss whether these paratext markers have an underlying meaning for the people who interacted with these texts.

TIANA BLAZEVIC-BASTOW | Macquarie University, Sydney

EGYPTIAN MOUTHPIECES: PLATO AND EGYPT

The figure of the Egyptian priest in Plato is utilised by Plato in two ways: either to assert the superiority of the Greeks or as an example of religious practices of purity and philosophy. Consequently, Plato's view of Greece forms a type of cultural dependency on Egypt. Mary Lefkowitz has argued that the relationship between Greece and Egypt, for Plato, represents the teacher to pupil relationship. While C.W. Müller contends that the Egyptian priest in Plato is representative of the project of self-discovery for Greece's origins. However, a closer examination of Plato's text reveals that the Egyptian priest in Plato's works is nothing but a hollowed-out character, a mouthpiece, not based in the reality of Egypt. The figure of this priest is there to advance Plato's argument that Greece, rather than Egypt, is the superior and older civilisation. This paper will argue that in specific works of Plato, we find him using the figure of the Egyptian priests to claim cultural superiority and age over the Athenian civilisation. Plato was aware of Egyptian history as shown in his *Menexenus*, but he chooses to omit this information in *Timaeus*, *Phaedrus*, and the *Statesman*. This paper will demonstrate how Plato's idealised version of Egypt, specifically in *Timaeus*, is not based in the historical reality of Egypt. The way in which Plato defines Greece's relationship with Egypt is centred around his claims that Greece is the older and superior civilisation. Lastly, the paper will analyse how Plato's use of Egypt in general reveals a sense of anxiety towards Egyptian society and its influence on Greek culture.

MARTIN BOMMAS | Macquarie University, Sydney

TUTANKHAMUN: ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORIAN

No matter what past documents are or meant to be, "facts still have to be processed by the historian before he can make any use of them" (E.H Carr). Someone who personally engaged with past documents was Tutankhamun; more importantly, he was not only able to process them but also have them inform his political agenda. Eleven random miniature objects inscribed with royal names have been discovered by Howard Carter alongside the treasures in KV62. They are usually dismissed as heirloom and set among objects from contemporary family members. Dating to Tutankhamun's predecessors, these miniatures are among the least spectacular finds made in KV62 and hence repeatedly overlooked. Yet, they are numerous and inconsistent enough to qualify as the teenage king's personal collection that helped inform his knowledge of Egypt's past. The personal collection of artefacts Tutankhamun hung on to during his life not only served his personal satisfaction as an antiquarian. Embedded in enquiry-based

learning, they may have served as a tool-kit fostering ideas for his restoration projects later in his life which are based on this principle.

By the time Hatshepsut ruled Egypt, the Middle Kingdom had been seen as a formative period and a blueprint for strategies of successful rulers. Harking back to social memory that promoted the First Intermediate Period as a time of unrest, the Middle Kingdom was regarded as a period of stability and wealth, especially in the Theban region with the cult of Amun at its centre. Crucial to temple construction, offerings to the gods, and the promotion of Ma'at is remembrance, often conveyed by royal sculpture in the round. Different from statues of Amun bearing the facial features of Tutankhamun, all known statues which present him as a participant of the cult refer to statue types of the Middle Kingdom.

MIRIAM BUENO GUARDIA | National Distance Learning University (UNED), Madrid

DANCING FROM KARNAK TO LUXOR: ACROBATIC DANCE AND PROCESSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN NEW KINGDOM

Dance was an activity of great importance in the ancient Egyptian civilization. It could be carried out in both religious and secular contexts, and, in addition, it could be accompanied by music.

This paper focuses on three dance representations found in the temples of Karnak and Luxor related to the Opet festival. During this celebration, a procession with the sacred boat of the god Amun travelled from Karnak Temple to Luxor Temple. Women who performed a very characteristic acrobatic dance participated in it.

These three dance scenes date to the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC) and provide us with important information about dance, religious processions and celebrations in ancient Egypt. However, despite following the typical canon of Egyptian art, we can see through these images how the artist or group of artists who created these scenes do not limit themselves to a simple copy, but rather introduce certain variations or innovations, creating a reinterpretation of the same movements and celebrations. This artistic analysis is also important to see how the ancient Egyptians represented movement in two-dimensional art.

In this paper I will analyse the iconography of this acrobatic dance, its name and origin, the artistic style of the three representations, the possible movement represented, and its symbolism. The musical instruments and their importance in these scenes will also be explained. My paper will also connect these representations with other similar ones dated from the same historical period found in other places and contexts, such as in tombs or within depictions of other Egyptian festivals in other temples.

JOHN WILLIAM BURN | PhD (Macquarie)

ANKHTIFY'S MARSHES: THE ECOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL IMPACT OF LATE OLD KINGDOM CLIMATE CHANGE

The climate change that occurred at the end of the Old Kingdom resulted in conditions slightly different to those previously experienced by the society. The

changing environmental circumstances resulted in a slightly different ecology, which would have impacted upon the local geography. A changing resource base may have been a contributing factor in the increasing reliance on a more localised approach to resource management and may have led to an increasing confidence of the provincial leadership in their own capabilities.

A less reliable river may have led to increased difficulties in utilising the river as a transport pathway along its entire length. Changing ecological/geographical circumstances may also have affected the social cohesion of the time and impacted upon the interactions between the different polities that developed at the end of the Old Kingdom. A crowded river may also have interfered with the capability of the rulers in the south to impose their will upon others. Geographical blockages may have developed into political ones as increasing isolation encouraged local leaders to assert more forcefully their leadership prerogatives.

This presentation will look at the potential impact that geography and ecology may have had upon the historical events outlined in Ankhtify's biography and apply this lens to his campaign against the Thebans.

VIVIENNE GAE CALLENDER | Associate, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Prague

INVESTIGATING AN ENIGMATIC FEMALE TITLE

Around 130 women who held the title of *mitr:t* are known for the Old Kingdom, but the meaning of this word has puzzled scholars for over a century. Certain solutions have been proposed to clarify the situation, but doubts have remained. The largest numbers of these women have been found in the cemeteries of Giza and Saqqara, with only a handful of such people appearing in records from other places in Upper Egypt. The nature of the work the *mitr:wt* did – there were male overseers for these women, which implies that the work was practical – the status the title conferred, and the meaning of this enigmatic title have been among the unsolved problems. Numerous distinguished scholars have been drawn to one or other of the problems, and several interpretations of the title have been suggested. The most frequent usage has been to equate *mitr:t* with 'concubine', or 'lady', which are unsatisfactory and contradictory translations for these (mainly middle-class) women whose husbands call such interpretations into question. This paper explores what is known about these women and offers alternative suggestions regarding the nature of the work, the status implied and an alternative translation of this ancient word.

DAVID CHAPMAN | Macquarie University, Sydney

HIGH PRIESTS, GOD'S FATHERS AND THIEVES: AN OVERVIEW OF A STUDY OF THE TEMPLE PERSONNEL OF MONTU IN THE NEW KINGDOM

Despite significant interest in the temple personnel of Montu in the Third Intermediate and Greco-Roman Periods in recent scholarship (Sheikholeslami 2009; Villar Gómez 2012; Sheikholeslami 2018; Varga 2021), a systematic study of the staff of the cult centres of Montu in the New Kingdom is not yet available. While earlier broader studies of the 'war' god and his cult centres lightly touch

upon the administration of Montu's temples (Werner 1985; Soliman 2017), and select officials are briefly mentioned in larger studies of the Egyptian economy (Helck 1961), this coverage is not extensive. Previous works have become outdated in light of new discoveries and unpublished museum artefacts.

This talk provides an overview of my PhD project which seeks to address this gap in the scholarship, and develop a more complete account of the lives, careers and connections of ca. 142 officials involved in the management and daily operations of the cult of Montu in the New Kingdom. It will argue that the temple personnel of Montu, while not always within the court milieu, not only played powerful roles in the eco-system of Upper Egyptian temples but also were important figures in dynamic social systems which could both support and, at times, challenge the larger interests and mechanisms of the Egyptian state.

In doing so, the talk has broader relevance to Egyptology and social historians of the ancient world, as it considers how prosopography and interdisciplinary methods can be used to examine the fragmentary evidence for local cults. Lastly, it will question to what extent analysis of these institutions can refocus New Kingdom prosopography away from the court milieu, and towards more localised case studies.

THÉRÈSE CLARKE | PhD (Macquarie)

THE POWERBROKERS OF ELEPHANTINE

The elite males buried in Qubbet El-Hawa during the Old Kingdom have long attracted scholarly interest. Several of these individuals have variously been described as 'governors' and/or 'nomarchs' even though only one such title is known within the cemetery. When their careers are examined as a cohort, using the innovative Career Trajectory and Social Status Index approaches I developed as part of my PhD research to examine careers and social standing, it becomes obvious that their career focus was very different to that of other Old Kingdom Provincial Leaders. The significant divergence in roles arose due to the strategic importance of Elephantine as a border control point for the Old Kingdom and the consequently specialised work of these elites as representatives of the Residence in trade and other types of negotiations, together with enforcement of border security.

That analysis approach also provides an opportunity to assess the careers and ties to the Residence of a wider group of 174 individuals based at Elephantine and on the island of Sehel. These individuals were similarly specialised.

My analysis demonstrates that the strategic decisions made by the Residence to grant honorifics and Residence-related titles differed in Elephantine in comparison to other locations in Egypt, reflecting the nature of the location and the ties to the Residence triggered by career responsibilities.

SIMON CONNOR | PhD (Université Libre de Bruxelles); formerly Université de Liège

POWER AND APPEARANCE: STATUES, STONES AND HIERARCHY

Royal and non-royal stone statuary was produced in large quantities during the Middle Kingdom, especially during its second half: more than 1500 statues recorded from Senusret III to the end of the 13th dynasty, 1850-1700 BC.

Different categories clearly appear: on the one hand, statues of relatively large size in high quality craftsmanship, and generally in hard stones, installed most often in temples. These statues are those of the king and of the members of the upper levels of the elite, who even replicate the facial features of their ruler. The closest relatives to the king had access to statues which were comparable in quality, size, and material to those of the royal ones. This suggests that these “VIPs” could afford or had the right to access the services of the same sculptors as the king. On the other hand, members of the inferior levels of the elite apparently had access mainly to sculptures of smaller size, often in soft stone (limestone and steatite) and in a poorer quality of craftsmanship. Although they could not afford the same category of sculptures, these officials wanted to obtain statues that resembled those of their superiors, adopting the appearance of the sculpture of the upper elite, displaying same positions, gestures, attributes and aspect of the material. This theme allows us to approach the question of “workshops”. Physical ateliers have rarely been found, and none for the Middle Kingdom, perhaps due to the fact that a workshop did not necessarily consist of a permanent place, but more of a group of artists/artisans working together or formed by the same masters, and who may have been itinerant. Therefore, I would argue in favour of “travelling artists”.

JULIEN COOPER | Beijing Normal University-United International College, Zhuhai

MINING GOLD FOR AMUN: PAPYRUS IFAO ‘DOCUMENT A’ AND THE REALITIES OF EGYPTIAN GOLD EXPEDITIONS

A late Ramesside papyrus housed in the IFAO, published by Yvan Koenig, comprises a wholly unique record of the revenues and receipts of ten successive goldmining expeditions for the temple of Amun. The text is not an ‘expedition narrative’ but rather a concise ledger of gold income relating to a work gang headed by the ‘great one of the hill-country’ called Kel who supervised five ‘gold-washers’. The ledger includes the weights of gold obtained by individual miners, the losses of gold in the washing process, as well as the individual recipients of this extracted gold.

While the text has been translated, this rare source for a ‘gold-team’ has not been subjected to any contextual analysis nor has it been compared to the archaeological evidence arising from desert mines. Noting this data, as well as the pragmatic realities of goldmining expeditions, this paper will reconstruct the elusive chaîne opératoire of this group of goldminers. In doing so, it may be possible to not only reconstruct the broad movements of these expeditions, but also generalize on how one of the Pharaonic state’s most important industries operated.

CHRISTOPHER J DAVEY | University of Melbourne and Australian Institute of Archaeology

JOSEPH BEVITT | Australia’s Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation (ANSTO), Sydney

MATT WHITE | University of New England, Armidale

THE SYNCHROTRON IMAGING OF A CAT MUMMY

The paper describes the scanning of a cat mummy held by the Australian Institute of Archaeology at the Australian Synchrotron. Previous analysis has established

the dates of the votive offering, its authenticity, and the articulated presentation of the two hind legs and tail contained in the package. The high-resolution synchrotron scans have now revealed the soft tissue and bandages affording the opportunity to study the mummification process, which was hitherto unknown. It was found to be well formulated and systematic, and not a hastily conceived procedure adopted to solve the immediate problem caused by a lack of supply from the catteries.

JANET DAVEY | Monash University, Melbourne

FORENSIC EGYPTOLOGY AND TUTANKHAMUN

Modern medical technology has changed the methods of studying bodies, both ancient and modern. The use of Computerised Tomography (CT) scanning now allows for investigation of bodies without the need for invasive and destructive practices to virtually see within the wrappings and into mummified bodies. Forensic pathology protocols used in disaster victim identification (DVI) are now used to gain information about cause of death, sex, injuries, both ante-mortem and post-mortem, method of mummification, inclusion in the body and in the wrappings. It is now possible to virtually focus on areas of interest that may explain more about the life and death of an individual. In the case of Tutankhamun, this modern medical and scientific technology was not available to Howard Carter and his team. Since the publications of medical reports by Dr Douglas Derry and Dr Saleh Bey Hamdi, various reports and interpretation of more recent examinations of the body have been published. Often one expert report will be challenged by another group of experts. This presentation will review the evidence from the first examination by the doctors at the tomb, various observations by other members of the team and how the body of Tutankhamun was treated to remove it from the coffins and to extract it from the mask. It will challenge some observations, suggest alternative explanations for assumptions and present possible explanations for theories about the condition of the body of the king. These will be based on DVI protocols used in the study of ancient and modern bodies.

AARON M. DE SOUZA | Austrian Archaeological Institute,
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

SQUARES AND CIRCLES: QUESTIONING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT ANCIENT NUBIAN AND EGYPTIAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Our understanding of Ancient Nubian and Egyptian architecture has long been shaped by certain assumptions. Ancient Nubian buildings are thought of as structures usually made of drystone, whereas ancient Egyptian buildings are rectilinear and mudbrick. These assumed differences carry an element of Egypto-centrism, whereby any change from circular to rectangular architecture in Nubian mortuary and settlement contexts is invariably viewed as evidence for so-called 'Egyptianisation'. But how correct are these old assumptions?

Through its investigation of non-urban Nubian habitation sites, the ongoing Living Nubia project observes that differences between Nubian and Egyptian

settlement remains are not so easily defined. This becomes especially clear when architecture is considered together with associated material culture; sites that appear architecturally ‘Nubian’ might be materially ‘Egyptian’, or vice versa. These contrasts raise questions about the identities of the people who built and inhabited these places, and about the character of the socio-cultural environment in which they existed.

By combining new interrogations of legacy data plus more recent discoveries, the project challenges us to rethink fundamental questions: Why have past scholars make such hard divisions between Egyptian and Nubian? Can we and should we continue such differentiations between ancient Egyptian and ancient Nubian architecture? And ultimately, how appropriate is it to impose such clear cultural divisions and labels upon the ancient world?

CAMILLA DI BIASE-DYSON | Macquarie University, Sydney

TEXTUAL EXPLORATIONS OF THE CONTENDINGS BETWEEN THE BODY AND THE HEAD (TURIN CGT 58004): GENDER-BENDING, ANALOGICAL ARGUMENTATION AND UNUSUAL PEDAGOGICAL TECHNIQUES

This study of the writing tablet Turin CGT 58004, which contains a unique copy of the so-called Contendings between the Body and the Head, presents a new edition and the first English translation of the manuscript. Having visualised recent photos of the tablet with DStretch, new analyses of the manuscript have also been carried out.

A textual analysis reveals the highly playful and metaphorical nature of the language, whereby the feminine (and feminised) Body paints a vivid picture of her roles and responsibilities in order to challenge the primacy of the masculine Head, who, in her opinion, is not executing his duties in an appropriate manner.

Moreover, palaeographic and orthographic analyses of the manuscript allow for the establishment of a more precise date for the copying of the text and facilitate engagement with two issues raised but not expanded upon by other scholars relating to its composition. Evidence will be considered as to firstly, whether the text was written by a student and secondly, whether the Contendings are an excerpt of a longer, no longer extant, composition. What these studies revealed has the potential to change what we know about scribal education in the early Third Intermediate Period.

KARIM MOHSEN EL RIDY | Cairo University

‘TUTANKHAMUN’ IN THE LIBYAN PERIOD

Within the framework of Tutankhamun Studies, focus on his tomb and its funerary furniture, it can be said that the studies have neglected that the importance of Tutankhamun is not limited to that period only, but that it has also exceeded it in what can be called “immortalizing” his memory and summoning it in later ages!

When Eva Lange revealed the name of a new king called Shashenq II b, and upon reading his name, it is worth noting that this passage seems to be the same as the throne name of King Tutankhamun.

Despite the many controversies among scholars about this King Shashenq II b, the re-invocation of the throne name of Tutankhamun is probably related to the custom of the kings in this period to emulate other great kings such as Tuthmosis III and Ramses II.

This paper will attempt to explore the idea of re-perpetuating the memory of Tutankhamun as a case study and the purpose behind it in order to understand the political contexts that were probably associated with it.

MONA MOSTAFA MOHAMED EL-SAYED | Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Cairo

MEASURING THE EFFECT OF THE ATON-RELIGION ON THE TUTANKHAMUN OBJECTS: A PALEOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE FOUR SHRINES OF KING TUTANKHAMUN AT THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM IN CAIRO JE 60664-8

By the death of King Akhenaten, no one worshipped the god Aton and all people abandoned the new capital Akhetaten and came back to Thebes, but the artists kept some features of the Aton-art in their works for a short time. These features remained strongly in the reign of King Tutankhamun. The importance of the four shrines of King Tutankhamun lies in the appearance of two schools of art that reflect the two religious perspectives: Aten and Amun.

The research aims to study the ancient hieroglyphic signs engraved on the four shrines of King Tutankhamun, published only by R. Piankoff. The study of palaeography is one of the effective tools used to analyse and interpret texts and also scenes. Concentration is on explanations for the different shapes of the relevant signs. Some observations: the signs appear in more than one form on the same wall of a shrine, which may indicate that they were carried out by different groups of artists, and that the work had not been assigned to one of the famous artists.

LINDA EVANS | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE BROOKLYN SNAKE PAPYRUS: WHY THE ENIGMATIC *k3r3* IS A CHAMELEON

The Brooklyn snake papyrus (nos. 47.218.48 and 47.218.85) has intrigued Egyptologists since its publication by Serge Sauneron in 1989. Thirty-seven of the 38 reptiles that are catalogued in the first half of the text name and describe a variety of snakes, as well as outline the physical effects of their bites, which has enabled the scientific identification of many. However, the identity of the last animal listed in the treatise, the *k3r3*, is debated. The text describes the animal as green with three ridges on its head and possessing the ability to change colour, features that have suggested to many scholars that the *k3r3* is a chameleon (Family Chamaeleonidae). But as these lizards are not dangerous to humans, the apparent association with venomous snakes has caused others to doubt this conclusion and seek alternative explanations. Reference in the text to the creature possessing “two legs under it” has added to the confusion. Here I will present information not hitherto considered that further supports the identification of the *k3r3* as a chameleon and which explains why its grouping with snakes may have been viewed as logical according to the ancient Egyptians’ folk taxonomy.

ELEONORA FERRETTI | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE NEOLITHIC BADARIAN CULTURE OF EGYPT: A REVIEW OF SOCIAL COMPLEXITY THROUGH OBJECTS OF LONG-DISTANCE EXCHANGE

Between 1922 and 1931, the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the British Museum conducted excavations in the Badari region of Middle Egypt under the leadership of Guy Brunton, resulting in the identification of the Badarian cultural horizon. Lying approximately 400 km south of the Nile Delta, the Badari region presents both the oldest and the northernmost example of the Upper Egyptian Predynastic culture. Recent radiocarbon dates indicate that the Badarian period lasted for c. 600 years, from 4400–3800 BC, between the Neolithic and Predynastic Naqada I cultures. Despite extensive archaeological evidence, the Badarian culture is poorly understood historiographically, leading to chronological and geographic isolationism from developments elsewhere in Egypt. Previous research on Badarian society has centred on quantitative analyses of grave sizes and number of objects interred in burials as indicators of social inequality.

Foreign artefacts have been uncovered in Badarian cemeteries since the earliest excavation, however the focus has been on their manufacture rather than their existence as the outcome of long-distance interactions. Levantine ceramics have been found in Badarian contexts, and replicas manufactured from local yet valuable resources including hippopotamus ivory and stone have also been recorded. Concurrently, there is evidence of raw material and objects of Badarian origin in the Levant, indicating a demand for resources from Middle Egypt. This paper re-examines and documents the material collected during Brunton's excavations in an attempt to shift the discourse towards a holistic interpretation of traded objects. The Cultural Entanglement theoretical framework is employed to better understand how people of the Badarian cultural horizon ascribed status to foreign objects. This paper presents new insights into relations between Middle Egypt and the Levant during the Badarian period through these objects, proposing that these interactions catalysed developments in social complexity within the Badarian culture.

ROBERTO B. GOZZOLI | Mahidol University International College, Bangkok

IS THIS THE END OF PHARAONIC HISTORY?

As Champollion's code breaking and Tutankhamen's tomb discovery celebrations happen this year, this paper analyses recent trends in the study of ancient Egypt, with particular focus over the last 60 years of publications. Therefore, the analysis starts with the philological tradition of Alan Gardiner and his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, which was a product of the Berlin School. Other history volumes appeared in the late 1980s and 1990s, in which history volumes are simply paraphrases of Egyptian royal texts. Such paraphrases, however, were in contradiction to trends that were already appearing in Assyriology and Classical studies for instance, in which Marxism and Neo-Marxist ideas, which brought an attention to ideologies of royal inscriptions. While Egyptology was not directly

impacted by (Neo)Marxism, linguistic analysis brought to study textual patterns and phraseology, and researches by Spalinger and Grimal were sources of inspirations for further research.

While further research within the concept of royal ideology appeared in the early 2000s, a different tendency started to appear from the late 1990s, in the way Egyptian history was dealt with in books addressed to undergraduates or the general public, as those books became less devoted to lists of battles or royal building activities and more to general concepts of historical patterns. Therefore, histories have focused more on the social and economic aspects of Egyptian history, whereas pharaonic history, as needed to describe chronological developments and historical events, loses its attention to detail. What I argue in this paper, is that while the history of “Great Men” may look a bit passé, it can be further pursued in dealing with Egypt of the pharaohs – cultural history being one of them – as the Kadesh Battle or Piankhy’s Triumphal Stela have still a lot to tell us.

GEMMA GREEN | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE SESHEMNEFER DILEMMA: GENEALOGY AND SUCCESSION

The relationship between the owners of G4940 and G5080, who Junker termed to be Seshemnefer I and II respectively, has long been questioned by Egyptologists. One school of thought posits that the two men were father and son based on their similar scribal responsibilities, the closeness of their tombs, the identical funerary estates represented in their tombs, and the presence of a son named Seshemnefer in the wall scenes of Seshemnefer I. On the other hand, the name Seshemnefer is relatively common, and there are significant difficulties with assigning kinship based on the similarity of names. Additionally, the wife of Seshemnefer I did not share the same name with the mother of Seshemnefer II: Seshemnefer I’s wife was called Imendjefaes, while Seshemnefer II’s mother was named Meretites.

The possibility that Seshemnefer I was married to two different women, first raised by Junker in the 1930s, has garnered some support by scholars over the years. Although there is no direct evidence for multiple marriages in Seshemnefer I’s tomb, there may be some rather suggestive indirect evidence. Using wall scenes from the tombs of the Seshemnefer family, statuary and other inscriptional evidence, this paper will investigate the idea that Seshemnefer I was married more than once and will consider the implications of this on the genealogy of his children. This study aims to provide more clarity on the relationship between Seshemnefer I and Seshemnefer II, and highlight the subtleties used by tomb owners to distinguish the different maternities of their children.

JULIA HAMILTON | Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO), Leiden University

FALCONS, SHIPS, AND BULLS: FIGURAL GRAFFITI ON OLD KINGDOM MONUMENTS IN SAQQARA

The Saqqara plateau is saturated with graffiti from the 3rd millennium BCE to the present day. However, due to the lack of a global survey for graffiti on Old

Kingdom monuments at Saqqara, unlike graffiti of much later periods especially the New Kingdom (e.g. figural graffiti: van Pelt and Staring 2019; textual graffiti: Navratilova 2010), the extent and diversity of the corpus is difficult to succinctly demonstrate or quantify. Figural graffiti have been noted to be especially lacking in extant studies for the Saqqara area (van Pelt and Staring 2019, 1–2). Graffiti are often overshadowed by the rich textual and iconographic programmes of the monuments that are host to these later additions, even though they are conceivably evidence for the reception of these structures and the memory of their owners by both ancient and more modern visitors. This talk especially focuses on figural graffiti on Old Kingdom royal and non-royal monuments across the Saqqara plateau: from the 5th Dynasty mastabas north of the Serapeum to the Teti and Unas cemeteries, to the walls of Sekhemkhet's enclosure; and it also draws in comparative material from South Saqqara and Abusir. A recurrence of certain motifs can be observed: falcons, ships, bulls, and leonine-like animals. The graffiti may in many cases significantly post-date the Old Kingdom, but this by no means diminishes their communicative power and meaning or their potential reference to popular customs and beliefs (van Pelt and Staring 2019, 1). The locations for graffiti-making may have been especially influenced by the existing spatial relationships between sacred structures originating from the Old Kingdom, but they also reflect the changing patterns of movement across the plateau through time as new centres of worship were established (Hamilton, Staring, Navratilova forthcoming).

MICHELLE HAMPSON | PhD (Macquarie)

'ONE OF A KIND'. NEWLY DISCOVERED WORKSHOP SCENES IN THE TOMB OF WAHTY

Discovered at Saqqara in 2018 to the excitement of Egyptologists and international media outlets alike, the tomb of the Vth Dynasty royal priest Wahty has proved to be of major significance. Described in reports as 'one of a kind', 'a once in a generation find', 'exceptional' and 'ground-breaking', the rock-cut corridor tomb is noted for its large number and variety of engaged statues, its in situ burial of the tomb owner and its almost perfectly preserved and colourful wall reliefs featuring scenes of family life, spearfishing, food preparation, musicians and presentation of offerings.

Of particular interest to this paper, however, are the detailed reliefs of workshop activities recorded on the North Wall, depicting scenes of carpentry, metalwork, sculpture, leatherwork and stone vessel making. A description of these, illustrated by sample line drawings, will be presented for the first time, showcasing craftsmen engaged in the manufacture of staffs, wooden burial accoutrements, leather sandals and stone vessels, as well as melting crude metal, engraving a cylinder and carving and painting statues. Comparisons with other workshop scenes documented from the period, in terms of both placement and content, will also be made, while particular attention will be paid to several innovative features which potentially render the scenes unique.

LAURA HARRIS | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE WELFARE EFFECTS OF BRANDING CATTLE IN THE NEW KINGDOM

Cattle were important agriculturally, economically, and religiously to the ancient Egyptians, and as a result they are depicted frequently in art. In order for the Egyptians to fully utilise cattle, they had to be handled in many different ways, which would have positively or negatively affected their health and wellbeing.

This paper will examine one of these practices, branding, and use it as a case study to evaluate whether the ancient Egyptians practiced animal welfare. Branding and branded cattle are represented in two-dimensional art scenes from elite tombs and temples from the New Kingdom period (c. 1550-1069 BC). By analysing the scenes together with papyri that refer to the tools and surviving examples of branding irons, the process and purpose of this Egyptian handling practice will be discussed. Following this, veterinary studies will be drawn upon to determine the welfare implications of branding. Evaluation of the practice has revealed that, on balance, the Egyptians were not concerned with animal welfare with regards to their cattle.

MARY HARTLEY | Macquarie University, Sydney

DOG BURIALS FOUND IN THE DENDARA NECROPOLIS

Work on the site of the Dendara necropolis was initiated by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1898 for the Egypt Exploration Fund. His work concentrated on areas where large architectural features were visible and within these areas, he recorded one dog burial and a mastaba full of dog bones. His work also included the excavation of the animal catacombs situated on the western extremities of the cemetery. He believed these catacombs had been in use from early Dynasty 18 through to Dynasty 30. Multiple chambers revealed gazelles, cats, ichneumons, birds, snakes and two chambers completely full of dogs.

Clarence Fisher re-worked the Dendara necropolis more completely and systematically in 1915–1918, dividing the cemetery into numbered areas. Although the results of his work were never published, his handwritten diaries contain information, discussions and drawings regarding the contents of the graves he unearthed. Among these he recorded a number of separate dog burials and two tombs with large quantities of dog bones. Fisher's diaries are held at the Archives of The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia and permission for their examination was gained through IFAO's archaeological expedition in Dendara.

By comparing Petrie's and Fisher's recorded details of the Dendara dog burials with documented dog burials more recently found in Egypt, we can appreciate the important but complicated role that dogs played in the funerary practices of the Ancient Egyptians.

MICHAEL HAYES | Macquarie University, Sydney

**'THE LAND WAS IN GRAVE DISEASE (*znt-mnt*): TUTANKHAMUN'S
'RESTORATION STELA', JAN ASSMANN AND 'THE TRAUMA OF AMARNA'**

This paper offers a critical examination of the changing interpretations of the nature and importance of Tutankhamun's 'Restoration Stela' as archaeological and textual evidence for the impact of the preceding Amarna period. A quarter of a century ago, Jan Assmann in *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), secured the significance of this stela as one of the supports for a challenging theory that under Tutankhamun's 'putative' father and predecessor on the throne, Akhenaten, there emerged the initial, 'most radical and violent eruption of a counter religion' in history. Assmann characterized Amarna Egypt as a traumatised domain, whose inhabitants declared a *damnatio memoriae* against Akhenaten, endeavouring to erase and repress the existence of this monotheist royal cult. Employing Aleida Assmann's formulation of the dynamic operation of 'cultural memory', Jan Assmann argued that 'story-lines' or 'memory traces', originating in Akhenaten's reign, transmitted 'encrypted' undercurrents of disruptive and disturbing recollections. Despite being suppressed, they had inadvertently resurfaced in the historical record which allowed 'distorted and dislodged' glimpses into this obscured past.

Since then, there has been substantial critical discussion in the wake of Assmann's assessment, including among others, John Baines (2011), Janne Arp-Neumann (2015) and Marianne Eaton-Krauss (2016). Such a scholarly agenda of interaction and consequent re-evaluation form a vibrant testament to the abiding value of this stela as a key reflection on these turbulent years. These reconsiderations energise and encourage further exploration on the theological transformations of Egyptian belief and practice, the ancient human/divine interface, and allow an opportunity to revisit the elusive process of historical change in the final years of ancient Egypt's 18th Dynasty.

JENNIFER HELLUM | University of Auckland

pKAHUN AND WOMEN'S BODIES IN TRANSLATION

According to the Hippocratic authors and Plato, a number of gynaecological disorders and diseases were the result of a 'wandering womb'. In this diagnosis, the womb moved all over a woman's body, from head to feet, causing chaos, and as a diagnosis, this lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. Although this idea of a 'wandering womb' is generally associated with the ancient Greeks, it has often been attributed in the first place to the ancient Egyptians, specifically to Case II of the Kahun Gynaecological Papyrus (UC 32057). These fragments were originally published by F. Ll. Griffith (1898), who translated most of the female anatomy into Latin. He also diagnosed one of the cases (no. XI) as a 'well-known variety of hysteria'. These interpretations betray a typical Victorian understanding of the female body and condition. While Griffith's conclusion regarding 'hysteria' and Case XI have not been set into Egyptological medical lore, his translation of 'wandering womb' has led to the wide belief that Egypt was the original source for this misunderstanding of the female anatomy.

This paper will address the possible reasons for this, examining the grammar of the phrase that caused the problem: *st mr n(y) id.t=s m hp*. It will provide another possible translation and investigate why Griffith's habit of translating 'unsavoury' passages into Latin does a disservice to Egyptian women and their bodies.

MICHAEL HITCHES | Macquarie University, Sydney

WHO HOLDS THE KEY? INVESTIGATING EGYPTIAN AUTOIMMUNITY AND THE TUTANKHAMUN FAMILY CLUSTER

From hippopotamus attacks to chariot mishaps and a childhood plagued by malaria and disability, the life and death of the 18th Dynasty king Tutankhamun has continually peaked the interests of a global audience. With a focus on his demise and ill health, a multitude of hypotheses have been put forward by academics. However, the key to unlocking this ancient mystery may lie within the study of autoimmunity and genetics. Focusing on an examination of the connective spinal tissue of Amenhotep III's mummy, Ankhnesenamun's thyroid goitre, and Tutankhamun's degenerative bone disease, the likelihood of autoimmune diseases present within the familial cluster of Tutankhamun is increased, providing greater insight into the life and death of the boy king. However, autoimmune disease within the ancient world is an obscure subject, and one that has been largely neglected by the Egyptological community. With an increase in the prevalence of such diseases as Hashimoto's Thyroiditis, Pernicious Anemia, Diabetes Mellitus, and Ankylosing Spondylitis within the 21st century, our sights are cast to the beginning in history in hopes of illuminating our understanding of how these diseases come to fruition and operate, whilst also unlocking the secrets of the pharaonic health and ancient disease management. Utilizing anatomical, biochemical, and genetic examination in unison with artistic and papyrological analysis, this study addresses a multitude of differing evidence that supports the appearance of autoimmune disease within the ancient Egyptian world.

GENEVIEVE HOLT | Macquarie University, Sydney

THEN AND NOW: CHALLENGING THE EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CULTURE

1822: Jean-Francois Champollion deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphs. 1922: Howard Carter excavated the tomb of Tutankhamun. These two pivotal moments in the European discovery of ancient Egyptian culture are also two major punctuation points in the history of Egyptology. The history of the discipline of Egyptology is a history of the dominance of European thought over the construction of an ancient non-western culture. The discipline developed in Europe in the 19th century against the background of the imperial imperatives of colonial powers, particularly France and England. This background also formed an intellectual climate of European authority over knowledge, which is implicit in Orientalism and shaped the construction of the discipline's approach to scholarship.

The PhD project “Cracks in the Walls” challenges the European construction of ancient Egyptian culture and investigates the lasting effects of Western 19th century approaches to interpreting archaeological evidence. The project focusses on the discipline-specific term ‘palace-facade’ and argues that the use of this 120-year-old term in 2022 fosters the continuation of a Eurocentric tradition of Orientalism which focusses on the elite and the exotic. The term ‘palace-facade’ decontextualises the archaeological evidence from its original funerary purpose by suggesting that the motivation for the production of associated artefacts is to be found in domestic architecture.

The poster offers preliminary findings and provides the opportunity to discuss methods for employing recent interdisciplinary theories to re-contextualise the archaeological evidence from the culture of ancient Egypt.

TRENT HUGLER | Macquarie University, Sydney

THUTMOSE II: RE-EVALUATING THE EVIDENCE FOR AN ELUSIVE KING OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

Thutmose II is an elusive figure in the modern reception of early Eighteenth Dynasty history. Originating in late-nineteenth-century historiography with Kurt Sethe’s ‘Thronwirren’ theory, that postulated an ancient ‘game of thrones’, and Gaston Maspero’s instigation of the ‘sickly king’ paradigm, the historical depiction of Thutmose II has painted him as an ineffectual ruler in a secondary role, outshone by his half-sister/consort Hatshepsut during his life and reign.

Significantly, a peculiar situation exists that is seldom noted but has hitherto influenced interpretations of his kingship: substantially more evidence pertaining to Thutmose II survives from the period after his death compared with that from his actual lifetime. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to re-examine the complex image of Thutmose II, constructed from both periods, and reach a fresh understanding of his life, reign, and posthumous memorialisation. An inductive data-driven diachronic approach is adopted to establish an integrated chronology of the archaeological, monumental, textual, and iconographic data relating to Thutmose II. This focussed chronological sequencing enables a series of patterns to be deduced regarding the changing purposes of commemorative activity after his death. Through the lens of memory studies, the interplay of politics and memory, particularly the function of ‘legitimation’ within royal power, is discussed.

Thus, the core focus of this paper is to differentiate and re-contextualise the posthumously-created evidence reflected onto Thutmose II arising from the still-controversial dynamic political developments of the Hatshepsut/Thutmose III co-rule and beyond. The conclusion proposed is that while the posthumous use of Thutmose II’s iconography does not add further to the understanding of his actual life and reign, it sheds new light on the political atmosphere within Egypt after his death. This insight enables a more substantiated and critical position than the traditional historiography of the king and his lifetime.

REUBEN HUTCHINSON-WONG | Independent researcher, University of Auckland

WE ALL SAY IT'S PROMINENT, BUT WHAT DOES QUBBET EL-HAWA'S PLACEMENT TELL US ABOUT ITS ORIGIN?

We all say it's prominent, but what does Qubbet el-Hawa's placement tell us about its origin?

Established during the late Old Kingdom at the far southern reaches of Egyptian state control, Qubbet el-Hawa sits just north of the island of Elephantine, the historic capital of the first nome. Since the cemetery's first excavation in the 1880s, two questions have remained overlooked in 130 years of excavation: why place the cemetery there and what might this placement say about the people who established it? A commonly held notion is that Qubbet el-Hawa was situated in a prominent location to be seen from both up- and downstream of Aswan. However, the focus on the cemetery's tombs, art, and literature has often overshadowed explorations of its placement in its wider regional landscape. This paper will discuss the interwoven practical and religious elements that underpin the cemetery's creation as a multivariate mortuary landscape that the local Egyptians continually engaged with. Such elements included pragmatism, accessibility, landscape manipulation, visuality, memorialisation, religiosity, and the cemetery as a site of transition. By establishing this landscape of death, local and nomarchal memory and identity became cemented through local Egyptian engagement with their physical environment and the creation and maintenance of landscape.

STUART IBRAHIM | University of Melbourne

THE LEVANTINE CAMPAIGN OF SHOSHENQ I AND INTERPRETATION OF THE BUBASTIS PORTAL

Starting in 2017, I have analysed the Third Intermediate Period Bubastis Portal relief at Karnak and the history of the New Kingdom Egyptian sites in the southern Levant / North Sinai border region. This analysis addresses the fate of these sites, in relation to the political situation, to provide more insight regarding how things changed in the Sinai / Levantine region before Assyria emerged. Part of this analysis addresses the Bubastis Portal's summary of Shoshenq I's (22nd Dynasty) campaign in the Levant, c. 924 BC. The focus here is on the relief's city list, which references the Sinai sites of Rafah and Gaza besides other cities in Israel, southern Judah, the Transjordan and even the Negev. Considering that these lists usually refer to conquered settlements, various interpretations have been provided, alternating between a long-drawn-out campaign striking one site after another, and multi-pronged attacks. The seeming infeasibility of sustaining the first approach without calling off the offensive has led me to advocate the multi-pronged approach, influencing my assessment of these different interpretations. I have also considered Biblical and Egyptian textual references to wars being undertaken in the spring-summer period, which I interpret as a practical measure designed to ensure a swift resolution to any conflict. In the end, I compared the different interpretations of the Bubastis Portal and noted

both what similarities and differences they had in terms of the route advocated, to provide my own conclusions regarding how Shoshenq attacked the Levantine region.

MADLINE JENKINS | Macquarie University, Sydney

HOW CAN WE STUDY EMOTIONS IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTUAL RECORD? AN EXPLORATION OF THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The observed diversity of human emotional experiences has challenged the presumption that emotions are innate and universal. The current research on emotions has argued that emotions are bio-cultural phenomena. Whilst emotions have a strong biological basis, cultural attitudes, values, and beliefs play a significant role in shaping how emotions are conceptualised, expressed, and appraised within particular historical and cultural contexts. Further, cross-linguistic emotion research has revealed that the words used to label emotions, such as ‘sadness’, ‘anger’ and ‘happiness’ exhibit a high degree of cross-cultural variability. Consequently, emotion words seldom have exact equivalents across languages.

This insight has significant implications for studies of ancient Egyptian emotions, as it is not possible to explore questions such as “what made the ancient Egyptians ‘angry’, ‘sad’ or ‘happy’?” without first determining whether such anglophone emotion concepts existed in the ancient Egyptian context in the first place. However, many studies of ancient Egyptian emotions have not considered the cultural situatedness of emotions nor the variability of emotion lexicons. Rather, these studies have implicitly assumed that ancient Egyptian emotions directly mirror emotion concepts in the modern world.

Against this background, this paper explores the methods and approaches that can be profitably employed to study emotions in ancient Egyptian textual sources. As the ancient Egyptian emotional lexicon is poorly understood, this paper proposes that the combination of a rigorous lexical-semantic method with theoretical concepts from the History of Emotions approach can shed perceptive light on ancient Egyptian emotions, as preserved in textual sources. This paper examines lexemes traditionally ascribed to the ‘sadness’ semantic field as a case study, and in doing so, questions whether there is evidence for a ‘sadness’ semantic field in the ancient Egyptian textual record.

HEATHER JOHNSTON | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE RECLUSIVE HERMIT? THE HISTORY OF THE CRAB IN ANCIENT EGYPT

There are several species of crabs endemic to the Nile and Red Sea, and many more known from the broader Mediterranean and Levant. Despite modern evidence for their presence in Egypt, they are virtually unattested in the ancient Egyptian record until the Late Period. This is in stark contrast to neighbouring ancient near eastern cultures, where there are innumerable examples of crabs in art, language, and within the broader culture. With the introduction of Hellenistic astrological ideas in the Ptolemaic period, there are numerous references to the crab animal in the

context of the zodiac, however naming conventions and depictions vary considerably in this period. This article reviews the evidence for the broader species of ‘crabs’ from Pharaonic and late period Egypt (both the *Potamonautes* of the Nile and the *Clibanarius signatus* of the Red Sea) and discusses why they have been considered entirely absent from the pharaonic record. It proposes that the crab and the scorpion may have been taxonomically linked, with the name of the crab mistranslated as ‘mudfish’ by earlier scholars. This paper further considers the increase and variation in depictions of crabs within Late Period sources and discusses the influence of foreign cultures on the perception of the crab in Ancient Egypt.

FATEN KAMAL | Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Cairo

FIVE ADMINISTRATIVE OSTRACA FROM SHEIKH ABD-EL-QURNA

Among the group of ostraca that were found by Sir Robert Mond at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna during 1903–1906, five administrative ostraca are of special interest. These ostraca, dating to the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period, are housed in the EMC (SR 12177, SR 12180, SR 12197, SR 12213, SR 12214).

One ostrakon provides information about records of work by draughtsmen, while the other four present business transactions. SR 12214 provides a supplementary example of the third group of barter transaction formulae. Although usually such a formula is written *r rdit rh.tw p3 hd i diw A n B*, in this ostrakon there is an alternative writing *i dit n.i A*.

Although Černý transcribed these ostraca in his Notebooks, he did not include lexicographical or palaeographical studies. Thus, the present author conducted these studies as part of a project which investigates the existence of different styles of handwriting. Another focus is to find out if they relate to the known same schools or whether they come from a new school of palaeography.

The study produced interesting results. One ostrakon (SR 12197) indicates the highly professional skills of the scribe because the scribe wrote the sign in an ingenious and complex way uncommon in the administrative texts, while other words written in an unusual calligraphy system. The palaeography exhibits several parallels with texts that belong to the corpus of the so-called Deir el-Medina documents as well as from the so-called Ramesseum School where scribes active in the area of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna tombs had been trained in the traditions of both Deir el-Medina and the Ramesseum. However, the research suggests that the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna text seems to have been an isolated example and not part of the Deir El-Medina community, based on a new style of handwriting.

SUSAN KELLY | Macquarie University Sydney

WOMEN'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE IDEOLOGICAL DOMAIN, DYNASTIES 1–6

The nucleus of ancient Egyptian culture was the set of beliefs, rituals and customs that helped shape the empire. All aspects of ancient Egyptian ideology were fundamental to the structure of the society and state. The ideological domain generated many occupations in the administration, construction, goods trade, and craft specialisation required for the state's monumental architectural

programs of pyramids, temples and tombs, and associated industries. Thus, the ideological practices empowered much of the economic might of ancient Egypt. While men dominated the workforce in most of these occupations, a recent study has revealed women's diverse participation in maintaining the religious practices of the early Egyptian state. The study examined a cross-section of women in society, 1400 royal and non-royal women's names and/or titles from Dynasties 1–6, from the Nile Valley and desert regions. Most of the female engagement contributes to this pivotal domain of the state. From the 115 engagement titles identified in the study, 73 different titles refer to the ideological domain accounting for 63.5% of the titles in this corpus and identify the active engagement of 321 (23%) royal and non-royal women in varying sectors of cultic practices. The scope of the titles denotes service in the kingship cult, mortuary cult, priestesses, and other sacerdotal roles. These titles demonstrate a diverse labour force that maintained the religious customs, which challenges the notion of minimal female involvement in religious contexts. In these roles, women would have attained aspects of social power to varying degrees, indicated by the influence, prestige, rights, and authority associated with their occupations. This research transforms existing narratives on women's roles from the Early Dynastic and Pyramid Age Egypt (c. 3080–2181 BCE), which re-aligns the position of women and the nature of their contribution towards the preeminent religious goals of the Egyptian state.

HEIDI KÖPP-JUNK | Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences Warsaw

MUSIC IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND ITS BEGINNINGS - LATEST RESEARCH IN MUSIC ARCHAEOLOGY (PRESENTATION INCLUDING LIVE MUSIC)

In the Old Kingdom, a great number of textual and iconographic documents refer to music and musicians, and even a complex hierarchy of musicians. Music was not only an entertaining factor, but played a major role in ritual context, be it in temples or tombs, and at the royal court.

But the earliest evidence for music in Egypt is much older and dates back to the 5th millennium BC. The paper, showing the current research results of ancient Egyptian music archaeology, deals with the origins of Egyptian music in Neolithic, Predynastic and Early Dynastic times that allowed the development of the complex system as attested in the Old Kingdom.

Moreover, the musical instruments attested in Ancient Egypt will be presented in the form of more than 25 research-based replicas of ancient Egyptian instruments and modern equivalents, including the so-called dancer's lute from the time of Thutmose III (c. 1400 BC). These instruments are combined with song texts like the Song of the Palanquin Bearers, the Harper's Song or the Love Song "Travel to Memphis" and others. Even if no notation from pharaonic times has been preserved, this allows a completely new approach to ancient Egyptian music.

DIMITRI LABOURY | Université de Liège

ON LITERACY AND EDUCATION OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARTISTS

One of the most salient and noticeable characteristics of ancient Egyptian culture undoubtedly is its hieroglyphic script, whose « code » was cracked precisely two hundred years ago, in 1822, by the brilliant French linguist Jean-François Champollion, the founding father of Egyptology. The complexity of this writing system resulted in a low literacy rate among the Pharaonic population. The paper will address the important question of the level(s) of literacy and scholarly education among the makers of the countless hieroglyphic monuments which still make the fame of ancient Egypt today. Was every ancient Egyptian artist capable of reading and writing hieroglyphs? Can we use the relation of ancient Egyptian artists to written culture as a probe to analyse their education and professional hierarchy? And in that society, who were the real experts in hieroglyphic writing?

VÉRONIQUE LACROIX | Université of Quebec in Montreal

FROM POLITICAL LEADER TO SEX ICON: HOW PATRIARCHY TRANSFORMED CLEOPATRA VII'S ACHIEVEMENTS INTO A SEDUCTION ACT

In our tendency to glamorize Ancient Egyptian history, we also have a tendency to perpetuate specific stereotypes that have been developed over the centuries. Those stereotypes are generally the results of culture, religion and perspective. In this presentation, I would like to explore how centuries, even millennia of history being studied threw the lenses of a patriarchal western society contributed to reduce an ancient Egyptian female leader to a simple, sexy seductress. I will therefore address how Cleopatra VII went from being an educated and successful ruler, who once drove an army against her brother to take back her throne, negotiated and associated herself with two of Rome's most powerful political figures and made Egypt stable and prosperous under her reign to a loose-morale woman whose only weapon was seduction and who is now mostly remembered as being a femme fatale.

To demonstrate my point, I will first and foremost introduce the main points of Cleopatra's life and reign to highlight her achievements and how she managed to use her wits and political skills to turn her less than ideal situation as a woman ruler in a society dominated by male power into a secure position as a female pharaoh. Then, I will proceed to explain how her achievements got reduced to the ones of being a great seductress. Firstly, most sources come from the Roman perspective, including Octavian propaganda against her. Secondly, through the following centuries, her story was adapted into over-dramatized plays (notably by Shakespeare), written tales and stories and over-sexualized work of arts, all leading to many cinematographic adaptations where Cleopatra's character was then used to sell fashion products to female movie-goers. The point of this presentation is to show how women's history from an overly glamorized ancient society can be reshaped and reinterpreted through cultural stereotypes, especially when those writing and reshaping history to their personal or commercial advantages are men.

TRACY LAKIN | Monash University, Melbourne

THE NEW KINGDOM CEMETERIES AT GUROB: TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF GROUP BELONGING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

The interpretation of mortuary data has been the subject of vigorous debate in both world archaeology and Egyptology. Dominant theoretical models associated with Processual Archaeology were – and primarily still are – concerned with situating mortuary practices within a socio-economic framework, where burial paraphernalia and mortuary treatment reflect the status of the deceased. This poster presentation will outline the aims, conceptual frameworks, and methodology underlining my study which explores the extent to which community and belonging can be traced in the archaeological record at the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1069 BCE) mortuary landscape of Gurob. It will provide a glimpse of how 20th century excavation data can be approached in a new light by reflecting upon the nature and influence of social dynamics on mortuary behaviour. This presentation seeks to open a window into the development and application of new approaches with regard to cemetery research, by considering the ways in which horizontal social distinctions may be reflected in a burial environment compared to vertical social dichotomies.

SHYAM LEE-JOE | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE DIFFERENT FACES OF THE GODDESS MA'AT IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN OLD KINGDOM

The Ancient Egyptians believed that the principle of Ma'at was established at creation to ensure the world's natural order; it corresponded to justice and proper behaviour in individual human lives. Therefore, Ma'at was integral to ancient Egyptian society. Among the Old Kingdom titles for officials is *ḥm(w) ntr M3't* (Priest(s) of Ma'at). This paper summarises the results of my prosopographical study of the holders of this title in the state administration of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. It explores the significance of the title and its associated epigraphic features. One of my findings pertains to the relative frequency of the title; it was introduced and used mainly in the Fifth Dynasty, declining in the Sixth. Another finding refutes the widely held theory that all Viziers were holders of the title Priests of Ma'at; this was certainly not the case in the Old Kingdom.

A key aspect of my approach to the topic is a close study of the hieroglyphic signs used to write *ḥm(w) ntr M3't*, particularly the word *m3't* itself and how it relates to the graphic representation of the goddess Ma'at. Throughout the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties, we see a distinct development in the writing of the title, especially the image of the goddess. The final stage of this development in the Sixth Dynasty established a canonical representation of the goddess, which would persist through to the New Kingdom depictions of the king's presentation of Ma'at to the gods. The sources for this research pertain to the Memphite region, namely Giza, Saqqara, Abusir, Abu Rawash, Dashur, and Heliopolis, and the provinces of Akhmim and Meir. The majority of the Priest(s) of Ma'at were interred at Giza and Saqqara and their distributions are contrasted.

CONNI LORD | The University of Sydney

JAMES FRASER | The British Museum

THE NICHOLSON COLLECTION MUMMY PROJECT: NEW DISCOVERIES THROUGH NEW APPROACHES

In 2017, a group of museum professionals at the Nicholson Museum (now the Chau Chak Wing Museum) at the University of Sydney opened the lid of a 26th Dynasty coffin, expecting to find a few pieces of burial wrapping. Upon finding the coffin filled with the highly disturbed remains of at least one mummy, our thoughts turned to research possibilities. These thoughts crystallised into the Nicholson Ancient Egyptian Mummy Project, which was then extended to include study of all mummies and the coffins housed within the collection. The project soon became interdisciplinary and international with over twenty scholars incorporating non-invasive and ground-breaking analytical techniques into their work. The results of the project answered some questions we had, raised many more, got us thinking about future research and changed what we thought we knew about our ancient Egyptian collection.

In this presentation, we discuss the opportunities we had over the last four years, the approaches we used, as well as the remarkable findings that confirmed to us that research into museum collections should be ongoing, as analytical methods and our understanding of the ancient world advance.

This presentation will also consider the important question of ethics within the field of ancient Egyptian human remains, regarding both research and display. It will explore the question whether just because science and technology have given us these tools, it is necessary or right to use them on people from ancient cultures; and if so, whether we are doing it the best way.

The Nicholson Mummy Project has been an interdisciplinary, innovative and exciting endeavour that has provided us with updated information about our mummies and utilised techniques new to the field of mummy research. It has also provided us with an opportunity to consider the research we undertake.

UROŠ MATIĆ | Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna

ENGENDERING ANCIENT EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM IN NUBIA: NUDITY, SEXUALIZATION AND COLONIALITY OF GENDER

Taking off from the concept of “coloniality of gender” developed by Maria Lugones, this paper examines sexualization of Nubian women in New Kingdom Egypt (1550-1070 BCE) and the introduction of new gender specific attitudes towards nudity in Nubia. New Kingdom occupation of Nubia caused considerable changes through the introduction of Egyptian temple-towns and the settling of Egyptians among the locals. Simultaneously, in the process of conquering Nubia, men, women and children were imprisoned and deported to Egypt where they were distributed to temple workshops and fields. The lists of spoils of war and the iconographic types in tribute scenes indicate that Egyptian scribes imposed their own classifications on foreign captives, based on gender and age/sexual

maturity. Adult imprisoned Nubian women and mature girls are depicted bare-breasted and wearing only long leather skirts and jewellery. There are both archaeological (burials, iconography) and ethnographic evidence suggesting that this was traditional Nubian dress for women. However, in ancient Egypt such exposures of the body were sexually charged. Considering that Egyptian presence in Nubia also meant the presence of new attitudes towards nudity and gender, it will be argued that it could have affected local attitudes to nudity and consequently the gender system too.

LISA MAWDSLEY | Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne

SEREKHS AND THE CEMETERY: TARKHAN DURING THE NAQADA IIIC1 PERIOD

The Fayum cemetery of Tarkhan was excavated by Flinders Petrie in two short winter seasons between 1911 and 1913. It is one of the largest recorded mortuary landscapes in northern Egypt with over 2,400 graves dating from the Naqada IIIA2 period through to the Graeco-Roman Period. The majority of these graves can be assigned to the Naqada III period. This paper examines the Naqada IIIC1 phase of cemetery use, which still remains a poorly understood but crucial period of time associated with the formation of the state and early First Dynasty.

There are significant problems with the legacy data for this phase, which is represented by only 84 graves or less than 6% of the total Naqada III period graves available for study. This paper will discuss these problems and how they impact our understanding of the mortuary landscape as well as both localised and regional scales of development at this time. Vital but contradictory information in the form of select graves and the named serekhs of Narmer will also be presented. The interpretation of these complex data sets will provide a new perspective on community-based practices and social change processes at this important Fayum cemetery.

KIM MCCORQUODALE | Macquarie University, Sydney

POLYGAMY IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

This paper examines the instances of polygamy (or more correctly polygyny) among both the provincial governors and lesser officials throughout the Middle Kingdom Period. Iconographic and inscriptional material offers the ability to document a number of men who had more than one wife at the same time. Polygamy was originally only practised by ruling kings but in the last dynasty of the Old Kingdom, a small number of high officials practised polygamy. This continued during the First Intermediate Period, such as evidenced in the tomb of Mery-aa at El-Hagarsah. During the 12th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, provincial governors built and decorated large tombs in the provinces, many of them leaving iconographic evidence of concurrent wives. This may have been because of their wealth and status, but may also have occurred on the account of the need to produce a male heir as the mayoral position had become largely hereditary.

In the Middle Kingdom, unlike the Old Kingdom, polygamy does not seem to be confined to the upper echelons of the elite. Some of the stelae set up by lower officials, at Abydos or in other funerary contexts, provide detail for those of non-elite status practising polygamy. Due to the introduction of the term *mꜣꜥ hrw*, we can more easily distinguish between deceased and living wives and determine those men with more than one living wife at the same time. This paper explores instances of polygamy and considers why the practice of polygamy filtered down to the lower officials during the Middle Kingdom (c. 1938–1759).

ANNA-LATIFA MOURAD | Macquarie University, Sydney

WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT IN THE EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM: A CASE FOR THE ROLE OF BOUNDARIES

Ancient Egyptian representations of the foreign and the ‘other’ have been commonly approached in view of the cosmic significance of the maintenance of order and chaos. Associated with the latter are the concepts of existence and non-existence. In a seminal analysis on ‘the challenge of the non-existent’, Erik Hornung proposed that it permeates and surrounds all that exists and can thus be encountered at any time or place (Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* [1971] / *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* [1982]). An entity or event may also be described as non-existent if it has not yet been created or has not yet occurred. Representing these varied meanings is the expression *n.tt iw.tt* ‘what is and what is not’, or, as translated by some, ‘everything’. Among its earliest attestations are those in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, which clearly reflect the importance of existence and non-existence in cosmic and funerary beliefs. However, by the early Middle Kingdom, ‘what is and what is not’ also occurs in titles and epithets of officials, some of whom were involved in boundary formation and boundary transgression. This paper provides an overview of these developments and the insights they offer on early Middle Kingdom conceptions of the world and the cosmos. It explores the role of transregional activities in association with these developments, and questions whether altered representations of ‘what is and what is not’ were related with increased activities at and beyond the mutable borders of Egypt.

HELEN NEALE | University of Oxford

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST-HAWARA PYRAMIDS: AN EARLY DATE FOR THE SOUTH SAQQARA UNFINISHED PYRAMID?

The Unfinished Pyramid at South Saqqara, also known as SAK S6, is one of the five ‘post-Hawara’ pyramids of the late Middle Kingdom, so called because they adopt specific architectural features of the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III such as portcullises which close from alternating sides, passageways with ninety-degree turns, and a monolithic burial chamber with integrated sarcophagus carved from a single block of quartzite. Of these five, only the pyramids of Amenemhat III and Khendjer can be securely dated, to the fourth and eighteenth kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty respectively. The remaining three pyramids may only be generally attributed

to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasties. The Unfinished Pyramid, which is the largest and most sub-structurally complex of the group, is typically regarded as the latest pyramid among them (Dodson *ZÄS* 114, 43; Ryholt *Political Situation*, 194; Theis *GM* 218, 101–04). However, the Unfinished Pyramid has more architectural features in common with the Hawara Pyramid of Amenemhat III than any other post-Hawara pyramid. These parallels suggest that the Unfinished Pyramid, rather than being the latest of the post-Hawara pyramids, may be the earliest. Moreover, the other post-Hawara pyramids may be subdivided based on the mechanism of the sarcophagus lid: two have a sliding lid, and two have a lowering lid. The Unfinished Pyramid, however, has two burial chambers, with one of each lid type, and may be the source from which the two pyramid forms later diverged. As a group, the post-Hawara pyramids offer insight into royal power and monumental display during the drawn-out decline of the Middle Kingdom. An early dating of the Unfinished Pyramid provides a new understanding of the development of late Middle Kingdom funerary monuments, acting as an intermediary between the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III and the subsequent pyramids of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

BOYO OCKINGA | Macquarie University, Sydney

TUTANKHAMUN IN TT148: AN ANALYSIS OF RE-USED BLOCKS FROM A TEMPLE STRUCTURE IN A THEBAN TOMB

Extensive recycling and re-use of building blocks was undertaken in the construction of the Theban tomb of Amenemope (TT148), the funerary complex of the Third Prophet of Amun in the reigns of Ramesses III to Ramesses V in the 20th Dynasty. Interestingly, many of these blocks were taken from earlier temple structures, as indicated by the primary inscriptions and reliefs they bear. A number of blocks and smaller fragments can be identified as having come from a dismantled memorial temple of Tutankhamun. In this paper, this material will be presented and the implications that its re-use in TT148 may have for the debate concerning the original location of the temple will be discussed.

JOSÉ PÉREZ NEGRE | University of Alcalá de Henares, Madrid

LETTERS, PRAYERS, DEEDS AND REIGNS. NEW CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ROYAL SUCCESSION IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD: AKHENATEN, TUTANKHAMUN AND THE DAḤAMUNZU AFFAIR

In recent years, a good number of papers have focused on this complex framework of the limited period of time between the so-called Amarna period and the end of the 18th dynasty, more specifically between the death of Akhenaten and the coronation of Ay after the burial of Nebkheperura Tutankhamun. Many of the reflections on the matter, based on data from archaeological and documentary sources, both from the Egyptian and Hittite perspectives, has proven sometimes inconclusive. The present study, taking into account the previous contributions and the limitations, presents as novel aspects, on the one hand, a detailed comparative analysis of the Egyptian and Hittite calendars, which together with the study of the different documentary compositions and archaeological materials,

has allowed us to define the royal succession in a clearer chronological way in this complex era, providing new data on the succession of Akhenaten, the accession to the throne of Tutankhamun, and, at the same time, giving a sufficiently conclusive solution to one of the questions most significant for this historical period, the Daḥamunzu affair; and, on the other, it has made it possible to obtain a more clarifying vision of the international policy carried out by the country of the Two Lands in the context of a conflict between the two predominant empires of the time, the Egyptian and the Hittite. With regard to this latter aspect, a new interpretation of the epistolary documentation in Akkadian and Hittite gives an innovative vision of the conflict, its dynamics and its temporal resolution.

MELANIE PITKIN | The University of Sydney
HELEN STRUDWICK | University of Cambridge
MARTIN ÖDLER | Charles University, Prague
JIŘÍ KMOŠEK | Vienna Academy of Fine Arts
ANDREW TANSER | Stonemason/Designer
TREVOR F. EMMETT | Independent Scholar
GEOFFREY KILLEN | Independent Scholar

HOW TO MAKE AN EGYPTIAN FALSE DOOR

In December 2021, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge conducted an experiment to recreate details of an ancient Egyptian false door of the First Intermediate Period (c. 2150 BC). Bringing together a stonemason, a geologist, an archaeological metallurgist, conservators and Egyptologists, we used Tura limestone sourced from Helwan/Massara in Cairo (as well as limestone equivalents found in the UK), and made craft replica tools to understand better the order in which the false door was carved, the different types of carving techniques used to produce textual and iconographic features, the environmental conditions, as well as the time it took to complete the tasks. The results of the 3-day experiment were enlightening and illustrate that, despite First Intermediate Period art typically being dismissed as inferior and of poor quality, the carving of the decorative programme on this particular false door demonstrates exceptional skill and workmanship. Among the key foci of this experiment was the production and use of a set of low tin bronze chisels (mimicking the arsenical copper that was most probably used for the production of this object). These were recreated from the forms of surviving examples from the late Sixth Dynasty found at Giza and are chronologically close to the production of the false door in question. We will also share some preliminary conclusions about the making of false doors at this time.

ANITA QUILES | Institut français d'archéologie orientale
KARIN SOWADA | Macquarie University, Sydney
NAGUIB KANAWATI | Macquarie University, Sydney

THE MUMMY OF DJAU AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATE OLD KINGDOM

Defining the Old Kingdom absolute chronology is still a work in progress. Radiocarbon dating projects have largely focussed on the early periods, with

considerable progress when synchronised with Levantine chronologies.

Modelling a framework of absolute dates for the Old Kingdom using Bayesian statistics is underway at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo) in a project led by Dr Anita Quiles (ANR Programme MERYT). Datasets include material contributed by missions at Saqqara and Wadi el-Jarf, focussing on well-contexted samples linked to known historical anchors.

In 2019, permission was granted by the Ministry of Antiquities to take five samples of linen textile from the mummy and a wood sample from the coffin of the 6th Dynasty official Djau, located at Deir el-Gebrawi. Djau was overseer of Upper Egypt and nomarch of the 8th and 12th provinces under Pepy II. His tomb was re-excavated by Macquarie University in 2006 and his burial chamber discovered for the first time. Examination of the body determined his age as between 50–65, with a mean of 55–60 years old. When Djau died under Pepy II is unknown; a date late in the reign is postulated.

With Ministry permission, the samples were radiocarbon dated at the IFAO radiocarbon laboratory during 2021. The calibrated results indicated a date for Djau's death in the 23rd century BC, no later than c. 2200 BC. This result helps confirm placement of the reign of Pepy II during this period and underscores a date for the end of the 6th Dynasty at c. 2200 BC.

CANDACE RICHARDS | The University of Sydney

SENSENEB'S SHABTI AND THE DISPERSAL OF TT15

In 1908, Lord Carnarvon first partnered with Howard Carter for the excavation of an early 18th Dynasty tomb on the western edge of the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis in the Theban Valley, TT15. The owner, Tetiky, was an administrative official with ties to the royal family. The excavations uncovered elaborate wall paintings, sculpture fragments, an offering table, caches of stick shabtis and eight mummiform gilded shabtis with model coffins deposited surrounding a central burial shaft in the main courtyard.

In 2021 the Chau Chak Wing Museum was gifted one of the gilded mummiform shabtis in its model coffin from TT15. It is named for Senseneb, Tetiky's mother. The donor had inherited the shabti from her grandfather, who had received it as a reward from Lord Carnarvon's son, the 6th Earl, after returning Egyptian artefacts accidentally left in a cupboard sold at Sotheby's auction house London in 1926.

This paper will introduce the excavation history of TT15 and trace the dispersal of artefacts from the tomb across international collections, then examine the legacy of the Carnarvon collection at Highclere Estate to understand how Senseneb's shabti and other ancient Egyptian material could have been forgotten in a cupboard. This paper will demonstrate the importance of provenance studies, not only for individual artefacts but whole assemblages, in modern museum acquisition processes.

SOPHIE HARRIS RICHARDSON | Macquarie University, Sydney

SEX, WAR, AND HOUSES: RE-EXAMINING THE METAPHORIC LANGUAGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH MAXIM FROM THE MAXIMS OF PTAHHOTEP

The Maxims of Ptahhotep has been widely acknowledged as a notoriously difficult text to translate, a reputation not only heightened by its lexicographical and grammatical anomalies, but by its abundant use of metaphor. A classic example of the text's difficulty and complexity is exemplified by Ptahhotep's eighteenth maxim, which counsels the addressee, when conducting himself as a houseguest, to refrain from engaging in a sexual relationship with the women from the host's household. Translations of the eighteenth maxim can vary considerably, with the greatest variations in translation occurring at junctions of the maxim that are highly metaphoric.

By utilising a multi-level analysis, which consists of Steen et al.'s (2010) Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University Amsterdam (MIPVU), and Semino's (2008) typology of metaphor distribution, this paper will demonstrate that the metaphors in Ptahhotep's eighteenth maxim are not purely ornamental flourishes but deliberately chosen and exploited to persuasively clarify and reinforce important ideas and encourage proper behaviour in the audience. Subsequently, the misidentification, misinterpretation, and mistranslation of metaphoric language will be shown to significantly impact the rhetoric of Ptahhotep's Maxim 18, since metaphoric language is often used at crucial, strategic points of a text to persuasively convey the ancient author's message.

Moreover, that identification of previously undetected metaphors in Maxim 18 will confirm the early use and development of certain metaphorical concepts (i.e. sexual intercourse is expressed in terms of architecture), which is seen to be fully developed and exploited in later Ramesside love poetry.

KHYA RYDER | Macquarie University, Sydney

COMPOSITE-CREATURES OF DYNASTIC EGYPT: REPRESENTATION & IDENTITY

The composite creatures known as a sphinx, comprising the body of a lion and the head of a human, appears throughout the ancient world; they are, however, predominantly from ancient Egypt. The griffin (body of a lion with the head and wings of a bird) also appears in multiple ancient civilisations, as does the serpopard (body and head of a leopard with an elongated serpentine neck). This research will focus on these three composite creatures originating from the 3rd–18th Dynasties of ancient Egypt. Who do these fantastic creatures represent and what does this reveal about their identity? How was this expressed? A diachronic analysis of the creature's attributes was conducted in order to identify universalisms and variability in representational style. Issues of materiality, including the production process and intent of output across different contexts was addressed. The creatures were then culturally contextualised to consider modes of identity construction dependent on setting and space. The aim is to understand the significance of the composite creatures in respect to their

physical and cultural context. A dataset of two and three-dimensional objects that originate from royal/elite and temple/tomb environments were analysed. The objects included were collated from museum collections and compiled with in-situ examples. The varying physical attributes of each object were categorised into initial groups and entered into a spreadsheet. A software program that exposes similarities, based on identifying connections between text and images, was then applied. This novel methodology produced some previously unknown latent connections between the composite creatures and the process self-representation and identity construction within the context of elite and royal individuals.

NERMEEN SAMIR | Ain Shams University, Cairo

REVIEWING A WOODEN CHAIR (JE 56353) IN THE NMEC

This research aims to identify the function of the wooden chair currently in the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (JE 56353 - SR5253) as a birth-chair; in the database register it is described as a “latrine seat/birth chair” that was found in the Tomb of Khnemôse (TT253), in the el-Khokha area of the necropolis at Thebes and dated to the 18th Dynasty; these two completely different registered functions attributed to this wooden chair were mentioned by Pillet (1952), the first to publish this chair, who provided only some basic information about it. Based on an analytical discussion of its material and a comparative study of its shape with other latrine seats of the 18th Dynasty and with birth chairs displayed in some scenes from Egypt until the Ptolemaic, Roman and Islamic periods, as well as with parallel scenes from outside Egypt from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, the chair under investigation is most likely to be a birth chair than a latrine seat.

GILLIAN SMITH | Macquarie University, Sydney

INVESTIGATING THE HYPOSTYLE HALLS AT KARNAK: THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM OF THE KHONSU TEMPLE

Built during the 20th Dynasty, the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak is a small but well-preserved example of Ramesside architecture. Much like the Karnak complex more generally, the temple is an amalgamation of work by several kings. Initiated by Ramesses III, the pylon, court, and first hypostyle hall were completed by Ramesses XI and Herihor, including the ornate decorative program in these spaces. In the hypostyle hall, the scenes are predominately carved by Herihor as High Priest of Amun, prior to his adoption of the titles of kingship. It is also during this period that Herihor contributed to the decorative program of the Great Hypostyle Hall nearby in the Temple of Amun-Re through the addition of marginal inscriptions. These inscriptions as well as the physical closeness of the Khonsu Temple to the Great Hypostyle Hall and a general similarity in Herihor’s scenes with those of the Great Hypostyle, has led to discussion that there was a connection between these two spaces and that Herihor may have perceived the southern half of the Great Hypostyle Hall as an extension of the Khonsu Temple.

This paper provides a case study into the connection of these two spaces focusing on the largely unstudied scenes of the first hypostyle hall in the Temple of Khonsu. Comparison of the two decorative programs is focused on the identification of thematic similarities and on the methodical and structured analysis of the motifs and structural elements of individual scenes. This will determine if decorative principles used in the 19th Dynasty in the Great Hypostyle Hall were adopted later in the reliefs of Herihor in the Khonsu Temple. This allows for preliminary conclusions to be drawn on the functional and symbolic relationship between these two important ritual spaces.

ANTHONY SPALINGER | University of Auckland

MORAL AND CALCULATIVE ELEMENTS IN EGYPTIAN WARFARE IN THE EMPIRE PERIOD

The issue of courage, cowardice and human battlefield reactions in ancient warfare can be addressed from many viewpoints. For the moment I am involved in one project connected with royal texts from the New Kingdom. In particular, my thrust will be upon the issues of the Battle of Kadesh under Ramesses II from the general's or pharaoh's point of view. Here I wish to stake out another zone of interest: namely, the opposite side. How, for example, in both those well-known monumental records as well as in the literary papyri of the same time period, do private individuals show their mettle or indecision with respect to combat, violence, success and perhaps failure? Thus I shall place attention upon the exemplary characteristics of the king's warriors and not put the spotlight on the monarchs. The important difference between literary genres and royal epic accounts will be discussed as the non-royal personages often appear, to be sure, in the former. My net of source material will run down into the middle of the first millennium BC as Pianchy and Tanwetamani must be included.

KARIN SOWADA | Macquarie University, Sydney

GIL DAVIS | Australian Catholic University

TIMOTHY MURPHY | Macquarie University, Sydney

DAMIAN GORE | Macquarie University, Sydney

METALLURGY AND THE SILVER BRACELETS OF QUEEN HETEPHERES FROM EARLY 4TH DYNASTY GIZA

Silver bracelets found in the tomb of Queen Hetepheres, mother of pyramid builder King Khufu (c. 2580 BC), form the largest and most famous collection of silver artefacts from early Egypt. They have previously only been analysed in the 1930s. Egypt possesses no local silver sources, and few silver artefacts are attested in the ancient Egyptian archaeological record until the Middle Bronze Age. Traditionally, silver is thought to have been extracted from local gold containing a high silver content, or from electrum. To test this hypothesis, and to add to scientific understanding of the artefacts, our team analysed samples from the bracelets located in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. We used a range of analytical techniques including bulk XRF, micro XRF, SEM-EDS, X-ray diffractograms

and MC-ICP-MS to obtain elemental and mineralogical compositions and lead isotope ratios, and to understand the nature and metallurgical treatment of the metal and identify the possible ore source. We found that the pieces consist of relatively pure silver with trace levels of copper, gold and lead, and the minerals are native silver, silver chloride and possibly trace copper chloride. Lead isotope ratios are consistent with ores from Lavrion (Attica, Greece) indicating that the artefacts derived from cupellated ore. Imaging of a bracelet cross-section reveals that the metal was repeatedly annealed and cold-hammered during manufacture. The results provide new information about Mediterranean trade, commodity exchange networks and silver metallurgy in Egypt during the Early Bronze Age.

NICO STARING | Université de Liège

THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS THROUGH THE AMARNA PERIOD: A STUDY OF PRIVATE PATRONAGE AND TRANSMISSION OF ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS

The study outlined in this paper aims to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the commissioning patrons and the artists who were employed to construct and decorate monumental elite tombs at Saqqara during the New Kingdom (c. 1539-1078 BCE). It does so by exploring the patronage system that commissioned these private tomb structures. The hundreds of tombs that once dotted the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis are now largely lost. Early 19th century explorers of the site removed large numbers of inscribed and decorated elements from the funerary structures. These items are today housed in countless museum collections around the world. It has led to the paradoxical situation where the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis exists largely outside ancient Memphis, which forms a major obstacle in studying the tombs as a group. The results of archaeological excavations carried out over the last few decades, including the work carried out by the author, have contributed significantly to advancing our knowledge of the site, which now allows us to study the tombs and their iconographic programmes in spatial context. This paper looks into the continuity, discontinuity and change in the iconographic programmes of a select number of late 18th tombs through the Amarna period by focusing on specific iconographic motifs and scene details, and by tracing their transmission through time and space, crossing the royal and private sphere. In so doing, the Saqqara necropolis will be taken out of isolation, to be viewed in relation to two of the kingdom's major contemporary necropolis sites, at Amarna and Thebes.

DANIJELA STEFANOVIĆ | University of Belgrade

GENDER-LINKED TITLES AND STATUS MARKERS – SOME MIDDLE KINGDOM AND SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD EXAMPLES

“Of the masculine title I know nothing, but believe myself in a position to prove that the corresponding feminine has been wrongly read”. This sentence was written by A. H. Gardiner in 1951 in a short comment on the title(s) *tj-šps* and *tjt-šps* (JEA 37, 1951, 110). Although that may sound outdated, it still reflects

to a certain extent our understanding or misunderstanding of gender-linked titles and status markers. The present paper will focus on some Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period examples, i.e. on the titles and status markers *ꜥḥw* (commander, tutor ?) and *ꜥtjyt* (nurse; attendant ?), *ꜥnh n njwt* (townsman, citizen, officer of the city regiment ?) and *ꜥnht nt njwt* (townswoman, citizen [fem.] ?), *nmḥw* (orphan; free man [of lower social status] ?) and *nmḥjyt* (free woman [of lower social status], orphan of the city [fem.] ?). The given pairs of masculine / feminine markers, although derived from the same root(s), have been rendered in diametrically opposite way, such as *ꜥḥw* ‘the living one’ vs. *ꜥnht* ‘concubine’ exemplifying gender-biased approach(es) in the discipline.

ANNA STEVENS | Monash University, Melbourne, and
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge

ARCHAEOLOGIES OF AFTERLIVES AT THE AMARNA CEMETERIES

For over 15 years, the Amarna Project has been investigating the non-elite cemeteries of ancient Akhetaten, Akhenaten’s short-lived capital. The work has produced one of the largest assemblages of pharaonic burials to have been recorded using modern archaeological techniques. Although the cemeteries have been heavily robbed, their research significance is clear: this is as close as we get to seeing a single pharaonic population and their approaches to burial laid out in the archaeological record. This largely non-textual environment prompts us to further develop our archaeological ways of thinking about non-elite Egyptian burial grounds. This paper will offer some thoughts on the layered influences that shaped the archaeological record of the Amarna cemeteries and what might have been in people’s minds as they prepared the dead for burial.

MEREDITH STEWART | Macquarie University, Sydney

PAINTED BY FIRE: AN INVESTIGATION OF PREDYNASTIC BLACK-TOPPED POTTERY

Predynastic Egyptian black-topped pottery, dating from 4500 to 3200 BCE, is prized by museums for its unusual beauty and deep antiquity. The pots were hand-made from Nile silt and characterised by a polished red surface with the rim blackened during the firing process; they are evidence for early craft specialisation as their production requires practiced skill and knowledge. These artefacts were often included in burial assemblages to accompany the deceased into the afterlife, leaving no doubt that black-topped pottery was significant for Predynastic people. Since the modern rediscovery of black-topped pottery there have been many competing ideas about how it was created, how the top became black, and whether the firing was completed in one step or two.

Predynastic technological processes remain opaque despite several experimental archaeology projects employed to understand firing techniques for black-topped pottery. Previous firing experiments have generally been conducted with use of modern equipment, including pottery wheels and electric kilns. This paper will explore experimental firings to reproduce black-topped pottery using

firing methods, equipment, and tools that were available to Predynastic people, aiming to authentically replicate their techniques. To test the hypothesis that black-topped pots were produced in a single firing, the pottery is built by hand from coils and finished on a solid fuel fire to replicate Predynastic processes. The experiments will extend to test designs for early kiln technology to recreate a Predynastic kiln, exploring how red polished wares may have been stacked above black-topped pots in the same firing, an untested technique that has been hypothesised by several archaeologists. The research aims to understand the technology and methods employed by Predynastic potters who created enduringly beautiful artefacts that functioned for their developing society both in daily life and the afterlife.

SUSAN THORPE | University of Auckland

THE MESSAGE AND THE MEDIUM: INTERPRETING THE SOURCES EVIDENCING TUTANKHAMUN'S RELIGIOUS RESTORATION

Discovered in a corner of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and known as the Restoration Stela, this monument has been considered a source of information regarding Tutankhamun's religious restoration following Akhenaten's destruction of the traditional ancient Egyptian gods. This paper will discuss the various interpretations that have been presented regarding the textual and visual messages it contains in relation to this topic. It will also look at the interpretations and historical context of other texts and images that are thought to reflect Tutankhamun's religious restoration, among others those identified at Soleb, the Karnak and Luxor Temples, as well as the funerary temple of Amenhotep III. Also discussed are other instances which have been interpreted as being subject to the later influence of Horemheb in overriding Tutankhamun's restoration with his own attribution. The object of this paper will be to assess the conclusions that can be drawn by comparing and contrasting the interpretations from these sources – interpretations which have been based on their textual and visual content together with the reason for the location – and in this way providing an insight into the message and the medium evidencing Tutankhamun's religious restoration.

HANNAH VOGEL | Macquarie University, Sydney

AN INTRODUCTION TO DISABILITY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Disability is a complex and multifaceted experience. Human bodily variation, which can manifest as disability, has been a constant across all geographical spaces and times. However, disability is an underrepresented and understudied area of research in Egyptology. Several sources surviving from ancient Egypt allow us to explore disability in the ancient Egyptian context. This includes material culture, textual sources and artistic data, as well as human remains that have been preserved.

This paper aims to provide an introductory discussion of disability in ancient Egypt through the lens of embodiment theory and disability studies. Disability

studies prioritise the embodiment, experience and voices of disabled persons and persons with disabilities when considering bodily differences, intellectual or physical impairments, and/or pathologies. As such, this paper will explore the key evidence for disability in ancient Egypt and consider some prominent approaches to the topic. Further, this paper will additionally consider the relevance of this area of research today. By providing an overview of the material and graphical culture, as well as human remains, which can provide evidence for disability in ancient Egypt through these theoretical approaches, this paper also highlights the work of disabled Egyptologists / Egyptologists with a disability.

Overall, this paper promotes an approach to disability in the ancient world that carefully considers the complexities of disability in the past, in our disciplines and today's society.

EMILY WHITEHEAD | Emory University, Atlanta

I'M ALL EARS: PERSONIFICATION IN ROMAN EGYPTIAN COFFIN VIGNETTES

In Roman Egypt, a coalescence of multiple approaches to death, funerary rituals and mortuary observances was made manifest in innovative funerary art. Previous studies have focused on the striking mummy portraits, with less interest in other funerary art such as coffins and their decoration. In the Roman period, coffins, both anthropoid and rectangular, could be decorated with striking vignettes. These coffin vignettes exemplify hybridity and innovation in the funerary art of Roman Egypt. They demonstrate the entanglement of concepts and images from Roman and Egyptian funerary art, as well as Ptolemaic and contemporary temple decoration. This presentation will explore how personification, a common concept in Roman art, merges with earlier Egyptian images in Weighing of the Heart vignettes. Several coffins from Roman Egypt depict the Weighing of the Heart with eyes and ears depicted around or under the famous scales, occasionally forming a face. It will explore the variety of questions that this phenomenon elicits, including how these images and ideas are working together – what is being emphasised in these new hybrid images and what function the new image may have. This presentation will also suggest what innovations on such a famous, long-lasting scene may say about earlier vignettes.

ALEXANDRA WOODS | Macquarie University, Sydney

JULIA HAMILTON | Leiden University

NICOLLE LEARY | Macquarie University, Sydney

SARA HANY ABED | Macquarie University, Sydney

TRANSFORMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE ON BENI HASSAN: THEORISING THE DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL EFFECTS OF A DIGITAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVE

Recent discussions on historic and future relationships between Egyptian archaeology and museums, libraries, and archives have called for (re-)contextualization and confrontation of the colonial legacy of excavation in Egypt. In Egyptology there

remains a tendency to approach institutional archives primarily as storehouses and sources of documentation on Egypt in antiquity. Archives are rarely viewed as constructed, colonial sites of encounter where Western voices are privileged at the expense of indigenous visibility and participation.

The paper will introduce a newly-established collaborative venture between the Griffith Institute (GI) in Oxford and Macquarie University – Antiquity in the Archive – which aims to theorise and critique the development of an archaeological archive through the digitisation of Beni Hassan documentary material in the GI. Complementing the epigraphic work undertaken at the site by MQ (benihassan.com), the project will view the archive as its subject and treat the documentation as historical artefacts with complex conditions of production. Photographic and print documentation will be analysed both as historical sources, and as remnants of broader political, theoretical and societal circumstances and/or conditions that influenced the archaeological recording processes. The paper will offer an early view of public, digital tools and research outcomes to be produced in the course of the research.

ALICE YOUNGER | Macquarie University, Sydney

REMEMBER ME: FUNERARY PRACTICES AND MEMORY AT THE MONASTERIES OF EGYPT FROM THE FOURTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY CE

From approximately the 4th century CE, evidence for monasticism becomes visible in the archaeological record of Egypt. Several monastic cemeteries in Lower Egypt have been excavated and published, usually in brief. However, a comprehensive study of the funerary practices of Egyptian monasteries incorporating statistical analyses is lacking. Moreover, although the approach of memory has been used to study monastic texts and medieval British cemeteries, it has not yet been applied to a study of monastic cemeteries.

Collective memory is socially constructed and recreates ‘images of the past’ that harmonize with the views of a particular group at a particular time. For Egyptian monasteries, construction of collective memory can be assessed through investigating monastic burial practices. Drawing on approaches to collective memory developed by Halbwachs (1992) and incorporated by Jones (2003, 2007), Williams (2003) and Devlin (2007), a theory and method of ‘technologies of remembrance’ (or memory) can be developed.

In order to examine collective memory as expressed in burial practices, the paper first presents the results of a comparative statistical analysis of three monastic cemeteries of Lower Egypt: those of Qusur Isa 1 at Kellia, Apa Antinos at North Saqqara and Apa Jeremias, also at Saqqara. The analyses found patterns of practice that indicate high levels of uniformity, although there were always variations and indications of possible changes over time. The paper argues that the burial practices were strategies, or technologies of memory for the construction and negotiation of memories of the deceased within the monastic context. Although we cannot know the thoughts of individual monks as they attended a funeral, this method does enable us to approach indicators of monastic collective memory.

FEDERICO ZANGANI | Charles University, Prague

TUTANKHAMUN'S RESTORATION STELA AND THE FAILURE OF EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM IN THE LEVANT: FACT OR FICTION?

The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun includes a concise but unequivocal lamentation over the international standing of Egypt at the end of the Amarna period: “If the army was sent to Djahy to extend the borders of Egypt, no success of theirs would happen” (Urk. IV, 2027.13-14). Contrary to the early notion that the Amarna letters portray the collapse of the Egyptian empire in the Levant as Akhenaten was preoccupied with his religious reforms, this sentence has been traditionally dismissed as part of Akhenaten’s *damnatio memoriae*, and therefore devoid of any historical information. However, a closer analysis of both Egyptian and Akkadian sources, particularly with a focus on local dynamics in the Levant, is virtually incontrovertible as to the failure of Egyptian imperialism from Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II through the Amarna period, particularly in the Orontes valley and in the coastal areas north of Byblos, to the extent that Egyptologists should question the idea of an Egyptian empire in the northern Levant. Rather, the traditional Egyptological view of an ‘empire’ stretching as far as northern Syria is steeped in Egyptian exceptionalism, based on outdated conceptions of sovereignty, territoriality, and pharaonic power, and justified only by a complete disregard of the socio-political complexity and diversity of the Levant. Therefore, this paper challenges the Egyptological consensus and yields a disenchanting view of 18th-Dynasty Egypt as a more modest geopolitical actor, while the implementation of concepts and theories from the contemporary fields of International Relations and political science, particularly from the current research trend on global cities, city networks and city diplomacy, suggests alternative ways in which the 18th Dynasty sought to exert its influence over the Levantine cities and the global political and economic networks of the Late Bronze Age.

The Australian Centre for Egyptology
with the Rundle Foundation for Egyptian Archaeology
Macquarie University

Annual Conference 2022 - Sunday 12 June 2022

Function Centre (Faculty of Arts) 10 am - 5 pm

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TUTANKAMUN

Gale Visiting Fellows 2022

DR DIMITRI LABOURY | University of Liège, Belgium

THE MAN BEHIND THE MASK. ON ROYAL PORTRAITURE IN POST-AMARNA ART

The discovery of the almost untouched tomb of Tutankhamun by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon a century ago immediately kindled a worldwide fascination for the boy-king, with a phenomenon nowadays designated as the Tutmania. In this context, many reconstructions of the physical appearance of the young pharaoh were generated, meeting the general expectations of feeling – visually – close to the historical figure of the end of the 14th century BCE, affectionately called “king Tut”. Intriguingly enough, all these reconstructions differ from one another and betray a more or less strong influence exerted by the artistic portraits of his time. - The preservation of his mummy in an indisputably secured archaeological context allows us to address the issue of portraiture in ancient Egyptian art, and more specifically in the framework of the so-called Amarna and post-Amarna art, which has often been described as “the most lifelike of Egyptian art”. The lecture will discuss these topics, aiming at characterizing the portraits of Tutankhamun and portraiture in ancient Egyptian art in general.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARTISTS AT ISSUE. A NEW KINGDOM PERSPECTIVE

At the end of the previous century, an expedition of Macquarie University led by Boyo Ockinga in the prestigious cemetery of Saqqara excavated the lost tomb of a certain Amenemone, “overseer of craftsmen and chief goldworker”, who might have been the author of the world-famous and iconic golden funerary mask of Tutankhamun. Since the Australian Centre for Egyptology at Macquarie University has a strong tradition in studying ancient Egyptian artists, especially of the Old Kingdom, this important discovery will be used as a starting point to address the issue of artists in New Kingdom Egypt, their social identity, mobility, relations to their patrons and artistic freedom.

DR ANNA STEVENS | Monash University Melbourne, Macdonald Institute Cambridge

THE CEMETERIES OF AMARNA: EXPLORING LIFE AT TUTANKHAMUN'S CHILDHOOD HOME

Since 2006, the Amarna Project has been excavating the cemeteries of Akhetaten (modern Amarna), the ancient city built by Akhenaten, and the place where Tutankhamun likely spent his early years. The excavations have provided a wealth of new information on the lives of the general population of Akhetaten, from the kinds of diseases they were exposed to, their labour loads, and how they responded to the religious shifts of Akhenaten's reign. This talk will provide an 'armchair tour' of the Amarna cemeteries. It will explore what life was like for the people of Akhetaten, and place the childhood of Tutankhamun – Egypt's most famous pharaoh – within a wider context.

DR SIMON CONNOR | Brussels and Liège

CONDEMNING TUTANKHAMUN TO OBLIVION

Some Egyptian rulers were the targets of *damnatio memoriae*. Among them, the most famous are certainly Hatshepsut and Akhenaten. Tutankhamun, like the members of the Amarna royal family, was victim of the official campaign of oblivion initiated by Horemheb. His name was erased and his images were reinscribed in the name of the last king of the 18th dynasty. For that reason, scholars often hesitate, in front of a statue of Horemheb, whether it is not usurped from Tutankhamun.

Like most surviving pharaonic antiquities, statues of Tutankhamun generally display broken nose, uraeus, beard and arms. How can we interpret these stigmata? Should we attribute all the damage done to Tutankhamun's images to this *damnatio memoriae* campaign organized by Horemheb?

As archaeologists, Egyptologists, art historians or restorers, we are trained to reconstitute the original appearance of an ancient object, but approaching the work precisely as an altered object, studying its injuries, placing it in its context and exploring the causes that may have caused this damage are also avenues of investigation, just as revealing about the meaning of history. Acting on images, modifying them or mutilating them have always been significant acts. The same object can even bear the scars of several phases of the past. It is important to identify and date these different traces, to distinguish their causes. The transformations of the object are likely to be witnesses of episodes not only of its own history, but also of human history.

KING TUT IN BELGIUM: REPLICAS AND IMMERSIVE SPACES AS EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC TOOLS

The choice of integrating casts and replicas into a display of ancient artefacts, while common in the 19th and first half of the 20th century, is no longer in fashion today. Casting or copying is often rejected as a matter of good taste and

authenticity. However, for the past twenty years, large popular and travelling exhibitions, such as those devoted to the treasure of Tutankhamen or the terracotta soldiers of the Qin emperor, have brought replicas back into fashion with the general public. At the same time, the development of experimental archaeology is gradually giving these modern “fakes” their rightful place, allowing research to progress while serving as a valuable tool for educating and presenting to the public. - In 2019-2020, an exhibition was organised in Liège on the discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb and the universe in which the young king grew up and ruled. The vast space available allowed for a didactic and creative display, putting in dialogue 300 ancient objects, loaned by museums and private collectors, and immersive sets, life-size reconstructions of architectural interiors (the king’s tomb, a palace hall and a sculptor’s workshop in Amarna). These immersive sets, experimentally made of materials similar to those of the 18th dynasty, allowed visitors to move around in these furnished spaces, in a more tangible way than virtual 3D reconstructions would permit. They thus conveyed an educational discourse, allowing to recontextualise the ancient objects on loan, displayed next to these reconstructions in more traditional showcases.

