

# Abstracts

SCOTT ALLAN

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***One palette, two lands:  
The myth of the unification of Egypt by the Narmer Palette***

The Narmer Palette has often played a pivotal role as evidence for the unification of Ancient Egypt. However many scholars have not considered its contextual or temporal associations or archaeological evidence for the unification process supporting political unification by a number of rulers before and after Narmer, with the Palette indicating a stage in the development from acculturation to statehood. Identified as their founding ruler on mid-Dynasty 1 seals, contemporary evidence of Narmer's role in the political unification of Egypt is limited.

Previous studies of the Narmer Palette restrict themselves to comparisons with other palettes or artefacts with the same iconography. Studies of unification use the Narmer Palette without question as evidence of a military campaign by a southern ruler against an unclearly identified northern people, possibly from the Delta, Libya, or the Levant. This study combines other evidence of unification, both iconographic and archaeological, to show that the Narmer Palette cannot be used in isolation. Narmer's role in the political unification of Egypt and his position as founding ruler of Dynastic Egypt is based solely on the later attestation of the Ancient Egyptians themselves. The Red and White Crowns on either side of the Narmer Palette are commonly used to support the long held belief of the unification of Egypt by a sole ruler in a single swift military campaign.

This study places the Narmer Palette in its historical context and allows a clearer understanding of the political and cultural unification processes. The Narmer Palette will remain one of the most important artefacts of the Early Dynastic period but it is here reconsidered in line with the formation of the state administration and the changing authority of the position of kingship: Dynasty 1 must now include Narmer, identified with Menes, while the disputed Dynasty 0 should cover the period of the start of the political unification process that may not have been complete until the time of Den.

**ELIZABETH BETTLES**

Independent scholar

***Colour and depictions of the gods:  
Observations from Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis***

The Egyptian temple was regarded as the home of the gods. Divine beings were believed to unite with the figures of deities rendered on the walls and reside there. From these images the gods could employ their powers to benefit the King and Egypt.

But to unite with their figure the deity had to recognise the 2D image as themselves. It had to possess features that reflected their appearance, nature and powers. One such feature was colour. Yet our understanding of how colour was used symbolically in the image of a deity has been hampered by the scarcity of surviving colour traces. This is especially the case in cultic contexts where environmental and human factors have destroyed colour remains on exposed walls.

In 1991 a discovery in the Roman temple at Kellis changed this situation dramatically. During excavations led by Dr. C. A. Hope, a room was revealed whose plastered mud-brick walls and vaulted ceiling had been covered with a painted schema. The painted surface in this room, identified by Prof. O. E. Kaper as a *mammisi*, offers an unsurpassed opportunity for analysing the symbolic use of colour in the rendition of the divine cosmos on the periphery of Egypt during the Roman period. The schema includes pharaonic-style depictions of c. 400 gods.

The first step in my colour-use analysis of these depictions has been to investigate the level of complexity of colour-use. Past studies regarding the symbolic use of colour in pharaonic art have focussed on individual hues. My hypothesis is that in Roman period Egypt, when decoration of cultic monuments reached a zenith of complexity, colour-use and its symbolism would have been similarly complex, with not just single hues but pairs and groups of hues functioning meaningfully.

As a pilot project to test this hypothesis I have analysed the rendering of the Seven Hathors occurring in a scene with sixteen goddesses and a boy-god. By manipulating digitally coloured epigraphic drawings I have identified pairs and groups of hues whose contextual location suggest a meaningful link. When all goddesses in the pharaonic-style decoration are recorded, my aim is to examine whether these patterns of colour-use denote aspects of the nature of female divinity as it was conceived at Kellis.

**SUSANNE BINDER**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***The travel diary of Max Weidenbach,  
draughtsman of the royal Prussian expedition to Egypt 1842-45:  
Insight into recording methods of a 19<sup>th</sup> century expedition***

In April 2013, an extensive diary, hand-written in German, was rediscovered in the South Australian Museum in Adelaide. It belonged to Max Weidenbach, the youngest member of the expedition led by Richard Lepsius, commissioned by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, to explore and record the ancient monuments in the Nile Valley from Alexandria to Khartum.

From the perspective of the 19 to 23 year-old, the text contains fascinating detail and commentary on numerous aspects of the expedition: landscape and nature, the ancient sites, daily life in the expedition camp, the practicalities of travel by donkey, camel and boat, the encounters with the authorities, locals and other Europeans. Even the cost of food and labour, the remedies for illnesses and discomforts from diarrhea to being bitten by camel lice, the works in the expedition library, the pastime and leisure occupations, and particularly the menu get mentioned. Of special interest to scholars, among other topics, are the details on the methods of recording the ancient monuments: the drawings, the copies, the squeezes (*Abklatsch*), the corrections to Champollion's earlier drawings, the team-work in completing the recordings, the use of the camera lucida, and the experiments with early photography. With the information given in the diary, the exact original drawings, now in the Lepsius Archive in Berlin, can be identified and their date of production assigned. The progress of the expedition's work, ultimately published in the monumental 13-volume work *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849), can be traced in a degree of detail that is unique among all the archival documents on this expedition.

This 440-page manuscript is currently being transcribed from hand-written 19<sup>th</sup> century German, and the information is being made available to scholars for the very first time. How the diary got to the South Australian Museum will also be explained. This paper reports on the Weidenbach-Diary-Project supported by Macquarie University and the collaboration with the South Australian Museum and the Lepsius-Archive in Berlin.

**GILLIAN BOWEN**

Monash University, Melbourne

***The triconch church at Dayr Abu Matta and its foundation date***

Triconch churches represent an evolutionary development of the basic basilica design with a nave and two side aisles. The triconch church at Dayr Abu Matta, Dakhleh Oasis, is the only one of its kind in Dakhleh and one of very few in Egypt. Such churches are thought to date to the mid-fifth century based upon the triconch church at the White Monastery, Sohag, which is dated on inscriptional evidence. Recent radiocarbon dates on samples from Dayr Abu Matta indicate that it predates the church at the White Monastery. This will call for a reassessment of the dating of such structures and further establish Dakhleh's importance in the archaeology of early Christianity.

**JOHN W. BURN**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Drought, famine, food and fishing:  
Changing food acquisition strategies as a response to a changing  
climate at the end of the Old Kingdom?***

Significant amounts of scientific evidence from many varied fields exists, which suggests that Ancient Egypt experienced a prolonged drought at the end of the Old Kingdom, the worst of which was reached about 4200 years ago. It is thought that because of these conditions, the resource base of the land diminished and the administration could not cope. As a direct or indirect consequence, this led to the fall of the Old Kingdom.

Since the environment influences human society and art reflects the culture that produced it, then we should be able to make inferences about past environmental conditions through an analysis of decorations that society produced. If Egypt did experience a severe drought during the late Old Kingdom, then the evolution, composition, and context of tomb scenes, for example, should reveal evidence of a developing environmental awareness or a changing societal response.

The corpus of Old Kingdom tomb themes produced by the Oxford Expedition to Egypt was investigated to see if the decoration programs in tombs changed during the time frame in question. A distribution and abundance analysis of the data was performed in order to identify if a succession sequence over time could be identified. Within this succession, certain scenes relating to particular marshland activities were observed to come into prominence and constitute an increasing importance in the proportion of decoration themes. The data suggested that fishing techniques and technologies changed in proportion, complexity and form over this time.

A summary of the data will be presented and a link between the artistic evidence and changing environmental conditions will be suggested. Finally an interpretation of the ecological conditions of the marshlands at this time will be offered.

**MALCOLM CHOAT**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Monastic genealogies in Coptic inscriptions***

Among the Coptic inscriptions from late antique Egypt are many stelae and dipinti that preserve monastic funerary and commemorative texts. A subset of these present a type of 'monastic genealogy', beginning with divine figures, then proceeding through patriarchs, prophets, and apostles to famous monks, before mentioning the monk in whose memory the inscription is. By constructing a monastic genealogy and emplotting themselves within it, the deceased is thereby placed in a lineage within a wider narrative of monasticism.

This paper will survey these texts, noting regional and/or formulaic variations, and explore the manner in which monastic communities express their collective identity, communal memory, and relationships with other communities through these inscriptions. Beyond the epigraphic record, it will compare the traditions that lie behind these texts with the narratives constructed in various literary genres generated by and about Egyptian monasticism, to see how these parallel expressions of monastic memory illuminate the translocal construction and maintenance of Egyptian monastic identity.

JULIEN COOPER

Macquarie University, Sydney

***The wadi you know: The many names of Wadi Hammamat***

The Wadi Hammamat was one of the few routes connecting the Nile Valley with the Red Sea and hence maritime trade networks. In addition to its status as a trade-route, the wadi itself was also the seat of geological exploitation, being the location of the *bekhen*-stone quarries (metagreywacke) and several gold deposits. The large corpus of rock inscriptions and petroglyphs in the wadi and surrounding desert attest to the usage and exploitation of this area from the Pharaonic period to the present day. In the study of historical geography in Egypt, the Hammamat area is the subject of Egypt's only Topographical Map, the Ramesside *Turin Geological Papyrus*. In the Graeco-Roman period the many watering-stations (*Hydreumata*) found in the wadi testify to the continued use of this route through the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods. Given the relatively large mass of ancient material in this region *vis-à-vis* the rest of the Eastern Desert, discussion of the wadi is usually included in almost all academic works relating to rock inscriptions (from Predynastic onwards), the organisation of expeditions and logistics, as well as mining and quarrying.

Due to this quantity of textual material preserved here, it is perhaps the only area of the Eastern Desert from which we have detailed onomastic data. One of the peculiar aspects of this area is its plethora of placenames from different periods (*T3h.t*, *R3-hnw*, *Dw-Bhn*, *H3s.t-Gbtw*, Πέρσου to mention a few), there being no continuity in the name of the wadi over the various epochs. A close analysis of the wadi's toponyms reveals the competing nature of differing onomastic layers, some names being functional and administrative, others grounded on intimate knowledge of the wadi's geography, and there are even a few names in non-Egyptian language. This paper will analyse these placenames and suggest reasons for the multi-layered toponymy of this region. A holistic treatment of the wadi's historical geography unifying philological, linguistic, archaeological and geological evidence allows the placenames to be treated as contextualised *artefacts*, entities that were culturally constructed at a specific point in time. The change of names for the wadi area then is not entirely accidental, but reveals specific use of the wadi by differently aligned groups. Given that our knowledge of desert toponymy is poor or non-existent for most regions of Egypt, this data can be taken as a case study of the rather complex and semantically diverse ways Egyptians could label marginal environments.

**JESSICA COX**

Monash University, Melbourne

***The distribution of bird motifs on Predynastic Decorated Ware  
and the curious case of Liverpool vessel E6111***

This paper is based on wider research regarding the production and distribution of the iconic Upper Egyptian Decorated Ware (D-Ware), produced between c. 3600 and 3100 BCE, in the hope that this may shed some light on the socio-economic atmosphere of Egypt prior to unification. The nature and extent of Predynastic Egyptian craft specialisation and socio-economic interaction between different sites throughout Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt is not yet properly understood. To date, there has been no study that takes into account the entire corpus of D-Ware vessels and sherds and due to the unique nature of the decoration, it may be possible to isolate potential centres of manufacture from a detailed distribution analysis.

This paper will focus on one particular aspect of this decorative analysis – the distribution of different bird motifs throughout Egypt. This paper will also discuss the unusual decoration of vessel E6111 from the collection of the John Garstang Museum at the University of Liverpool. This vessel was found at the Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis and has not before appeared in any publications of D-Ware vessels, making it a unique case-study in Predynastic bird iconography.

**JANET DAVEY**

Monash University, Melbourne

***The use of medical imaging in the identification of mummification practices found in fourteen Graeco/Roman child mummies***

Non-invasive modern medical imaging methodology including Computerised Tomography (CT) scanning have allowed for previously unseen views of both internal and external aspects of the mummified bodies of Graeco/Roman children. The images have presented new evidence on mummification techniques used in this period of ancient Egypt. This study of fourteen child mummies from Australian and international collections has identified various methods used by ancient embalmers to preserve the bodies of children.

The ancient texts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus were consulted and used as guides to possible mummification procedures. Recent academic papers were consulted on findings produced from other radiological examinations of mummies. The majority of the mummies were CT scanned using a Toshiba Aquilion 64 machine and the raw data was loaded into a Vitrea 2 computer graphics workstation to produce 3 dimensional (3D) images of areas of interest within the mummified bodies.

Only one mummy, found at Hawara Egypt by William Matthew Flinders Petrie, had secure provenance. The dental development age range was between approximately 18 months to approximately seven years at time of death. There was evidence of excecration in nine cases and of evisceration in eight cases. In some cases no organs were removed post mortem. Evidence of inclusions was found in the majority of mummies and these included jewellery, inorganic material and unidentified fabric. Of significant interest was the placement of chins towards the sternums, which in a number of cases caused severe disarray of the cervical vertebra. The placement of the head had occurred in all mummies, which suggested a possible method of arranging the body that may have been peculiar to the Graeco/Roman Period.

This study has produced evidence that modern medical imaging provided a non-invasive and non-destructive methodology which could be used to determine the post mortem condition of mummified bodies and the procedures used to preserve the human remains.

**ARKADIY E. DEMIDCHIK**

Novosibirsk State University  
& Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University

***On the origins of the 'royal domains' in the First Intermediate Period***

In the areas conquered by the Theban kings of the early Eleventh Dynasty, the evidence for the existence of nomarchs gradually stops, probably because of these areas coming under the direct control of the palace. This emergence of a sort of 'royal domain' is often considered as "dramatic change in administrative policy by the Thebans" (H. Willems) and one of the reasons for their final victory over the Heracleopolitans. The paper points out, however, that since the Eleventh Dynasty not a single official with the 'nomarch' title *hry-tp* Ⲫ is known to the north of Upper Egyptian nome XV as well. Thus, the Heracleopolitan kings also had a 'royal domain' around their residencies, which is referred to in the tomb inscription of the Asyut ruler Khety II (ll. 10–12) and described in the *Teaching for Merikare* (ll. 80-105). Since the Heracleopolitans' 'domain' was certainly older, there are good reasons to believe that the Thebans just emulated the northern kings' practice. Even while rivaling with the northern state, the early Theban kings seem to have felt their own monarchy younger and somewhat provincial: they contented themselves with an abridged royal titulary, did not wear royal crowns and – also emulating the Heracleopolitan monarchy – did not establish the post of the vizier.

**AARON DE SOUZA**

Macquarie University, Sydney

**JAMES VALENTINE**

Charles Darwin University, Darwin

***Cladistics and Middle Nubian Ceramics:  
Unravelling the networks of cultural interaction at the Second  
Cataract***

The late Middle Nubian Period (c. 1650 – 1500 BC) saw the Second Cataract region in a state of flux with Egyptians, C-Group, Kerma and Pan-Grave Nubians intermingling at the frontier between Egypt and Kush. This is said to have led to the decline of C-Group cultural identity, primarily as a result of so-called 'Egyptianisation', however the situation is far more complex and the patterns of cultural exchange are not so easy to define. The current study uses cladistics to offer a new perspective on this issue.

Cladistics is a quantitative method for establishing evolutionary relationships between a group of organisms based on shared derived characters. Originally developed for use in the natural sciences, the method has recently been applied to archaeological material and this study is the first attempt at a cladistic analysis of Nubian archaeological material, in this case Nubian ceramics. Particular focus is placed on what will here be called 'hatched' decoration, otherwise known as 'combed' decoration, a type of ornament common to all Nubian cultures active during the late Middle Nubian Period. Cladistics offers a way to quantitatively analyse the extent to which the Middle Nubian and Egyptian cultures influenced one another based on the degree of relatedness between the hatched ceramic traditions of the C-Group, Kerma and Pan-Grave cultures and thus by extension between the cultures themselves. The addition of a chronological and geographical element to the analysis allows developments in patterns of similarity and difference between the three traditions to be observed over time and space that may in turn reflect the wider social processes taking place at the time.

It is expected that the results of the cladistic analysis will reflect a gradual merging of the three ceramic traditions with regard to hatched decoration. Such a merging of ceramic styles may be taken to represent increased contact and exchange between the groups during the late Middle Nubian Period and it is the direction of this exchange that is of interest.

**BRENAN DEW**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***The Hour Ritual in TT 148***

Within the northern hills of Dra' Abu el Naga' near modern day Luxor, lies the tomb of the Third Prophet of Amun, Greatest of the Seers of Re in Thebes, High Priest of Mut in Isheru, Amenemope. His tomb, TT 148, has been the subject of investigation by the Macquarie Theban Tombs Project since the winter of 1990/1991, yet more than two decades later we are still learning about this Ramesside official and his place of burial.

TT 148 is a typical T-shaped tomb decorated with texts and images that are, for the most part, common throughout this time period. However, it is the rather enigmatic text and iconography that appears upon the ceiling of the broad hall that draws the attention of this paper. The largely fragmentary nature of the ceiling has hindered the identification of this text, excepting its apparent concern with the hours of the sun-god's journey across the sky (Ockinga 2009: 92). However, recent consideration of several parallel texts which appear both in the royal religious sphere of the New Kingdom, and more commonly within private religious sphere of the Late Period, have enabled the text of TT 148 to be identified as a part of the so-called *Stundenritual*, or Hour Ritual. With these parallels, it is possible to reconstruct some of this text and, moreover, discuss the implications of its appearance within the tomb.

**REBECCA DIXON**

Monash University, Melbourne

***"War-like" and "Aggressive":  
Exploring another side of the C-Group***

The C-Group were a local population living in small settlements along a small stretch of the Lower Nubian section of the Nile Valley during the Middle Kingdom. Despite this being a period of Egyptian domination in the region, the C-Group settled close to the Egyptian fortresses, unconcerned about living so close to what could be termed invaders. The excavation of their sites, both settlement and cemetery, has yielded no evidence that they were warlike, violent or a threat to Egyptian interests in Lower Nubia. Yet there is a growing belief that the C-Group were in fact resistant to the movement of Egypt into Lower Nubia, and Egypt's exploitation of the natural resources in the area. Although there is an apparent lack of formidable weaponry excavated at their sites or in their burials, the C-Group are coming to be known as "war-like", with proponents of the view using their employment in the Egyptian army during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period as proof that they were far from the vulnerable and easily managed population that appears to be the C-Group of common perception. Through the physical evidence, as well as through Egyptian records and depictions of the C-Group, I wish to explore this resistant side of this Nubian population in order to determine if there is indeed a possibility that, despite this lack of weaponry, they could indeed have displayed aggression towards the Egyptians living in Lower Nubia.

**KORSHI DOSOO**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Magic as spectacle in Roman Egypt***

Émile Durkheim (1915) tells us that the magician has a clientele, not a church - but could he have an audience? Recent studies of Egyptian magic have drawn extensively on S. J. Tambiah's (1979) work on ritual as performance, yet the idea of magic as a more literal performance - as something closer to the concept of a modern 'magic trick' - has been relatively unexplored in recent scholarship, despite abundant attestations in ancient 'outsider' sources, principally in discussions of Egyptian priest-magicians in the works of disapproving Neoplatonist philosophers and Church fathers. Yet this material is often difficult to reconcile with the insider sources, the hundred or so surviving handbooks on papyrus, written in Greek, Demotic and Coptic, which document the rituals employed by the practitioners of magic. This paper will set out these two bodies of evidence, discussing the ways in which outsider descriptions may at the same time exaggerate or fabricate particular features, while accurately describing others, as well as finding ways in which these accounts may be reconciled with the direct evidence of the magical papyri. I will argue that the primary sources for Graeco-Egyptian magic contain evidence for a public aspect to their practices, and even an engagement with the visual culture and ideology of the Roman-era spectacle.

LINDA EVANS & ALEXANDRA WOODS

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Entwined lives: More evidence that  
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep were twins***

The mid-Fifth Dynasty tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara has been the subject of considerable debate regarding the relationship between its owners. Most studies to date have focused on specific wall scenes where the two men touch one another in a deeply affectionate manner - both holding hands and embracing. The intimacy implied by such gestures has led to much speculation about their relationship. The behaviour represented has been interpreted in different ways: some scholars have suggested that the two were simply brothers and show filial affection, others have instead proposed that they were twins, ranging from identical to conjoined siblings; while a third hypothesis is that the scenes reveal a homosexual relationship between the pair.

This paper will present the results of our re-examination of the wall decoration in the tomb in which we have noted a significant number of paired images where one scene or motif 'mirrors' another, e.g. two *Tilapia niloticus* speared by Khnumhotep in the portico and chapel; double lions and black kites in room 2; pairs of donkeys that carry the men into room 4, etc. Many of these details are either the first known example in an elite tomb context or are images that are exclusive to this tomb. We propose that the frequency and placement of these dualities may be interpreted as visual puns that allude to the tomb owners' relationship. Such information adds further support to the hypothesis that Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep were identical twins, who celebrated this aspect of their lives visually through repeated references in doubled and mirrored images.

**ADAM FAZZOLARI & MATTHEW GEORGE**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***A new examination of state formation in Early Dynastic Egypt***

Egyptologists have long associated the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt and the formation of the Egyptian state as being a singular event. However, evidence that is synonymous with a unified Egypt, dating to the Early Dynastic Period, suggests that this is not the case. The most convincing attestations of a politically unified Egyptian state are found later during the reign of Den. Examinations of administrative evidence throughout the Early Dynastic Period suggest that the country was administered in a somewhat decentralized manner in the early stages of the First Dynasty, suggesting a lack of cohesion under its early rulers. We suggest therefore that the formation of the Egyptian state is in fact the product of two separate events that occurred individually as the result of different catalysts, these events being the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, which occurs at the beginning of the reign of Narmer, and the formal establishment of the Egyptian state, which occurs in the reign of Den.

In order to prove our theory we will first provide a brief explanation of what factors comprise a state, enabling us to explain why unification and state formation were separate events. Our attention will be focused on the time period between the reigns of Narmer and Den, where we will examine available evidence for conflict as well as the changes in administration during this period. This will be done in order to prove that up until the reign of Den the country still functioned, in many ways, as if it were two separate entities. This suggests that at this time there was insufficient centralized control in Egypt due to the lack of a formal state, which at times caused the possible need for militaristic intervention.

Finally we will turn our attention to the reign of Den and his immediate successors where we will show the evidence that ultimately tracks the course of the creation of the Egyptian state. We will build on our aforementioned explanation of state formation through examining the various changes that occur in the administration. We will also examine the effect that conflict had on these changes and whether it was a necessary element for state formation.

CALEB R. HAMILTON

Monash University, Melbourne

***Ancient Egyptian activity in the southern Sinai during the Early Dynastic Period: A re-evaluation of the evidence***

Until recently it was a commonly held notion that the ancient Egyptians' interest in the southern region of the Sinai declined after the beginning of Dynasty 1 (Wilkinson 1999: 166; Parcak 2004: 50). As such the Third Dynasty reliefs left by Netjerikhet, Sekhemkhet and Sanakht in the Wadi Maghara were seen as the first state-sponsored expeditions to this region, and that no military presence existed here before this time. Indeed it is noted that the archaeological evidence seems to indicate a reduction in the Egyptian presence along the northern Sinai towards the end of the First Dynasty, with no Dynasty 2 ceramics found in the surveyed sites in this region (Redford 1992: 37; Mumford 2006; Sowada 2009: 45-46). It is possible that this is a consequence of the increase in maritime trade between Egypt and the southern Levant during this period. Because of this, and until recently, the lack of evidence from the Early Dynastic Period in the southern Sinai, it is an understandable perception that Wilkinson, Parcak, and others have had about an Egyptian presence here.

However, in light of recent surveys and excavations (Ibrahim & Tallet 2008, 2009; Tallet 2010; Mumford 2012; Tallet 2012a, 2012b; Tallet & Laisney 2012), this notion should now be re-evaluated. These excavations have yielded Early Dynastic reliefs present in the southern Sinai from the reigns of Narmer, Djer, Den, Nebra/Raneb, and even earlier, with the name of Iry-Hor also found.

An evaluation of this new material will be discussed here in light of the on-going interest that ancient Egyptians had in this region. This will allow a fresh approach to their presence in this region, prior to the Third Dynasty reliefs at Wadi Maghara, and will help to show a continuation, (and possible starting point) of the iconography present there, as well as the economic interests that the later Old Kingdom Egyptians may have had in the Sinai. These expeditions can then also be seen in the context of the other foreign interactions that the Egyptians were conducting during the Early Dynastic Period.

JULIA HAMILTON

University of Auckland

***Invocations of Vizier Kagemni in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara***

The Sixth Dynasty Vizier Kagemni is well-known to Egyptologists and is described variously as a deified sage or 'saint' (Firth & Gunn 1926: 130; Baines 1987; Silverman 1991; Daoud 2005: 3, 61, 81; Goedike 2005). No substantial study, however, has been undertaken concerning his posthumous veneration and what little evidence exists of Kagemni's reverence has been redacted in summaries of deification. This falls within a wider trend in studies of deification in ancient Egypt, whereby the worship of deified figures in the New Kingdom and Late Period is well-represented in scholarship while similar activity in the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom has received haphazard attention. In part, this can be attributed to the fact that, despite the apparent wealth of material, many cases from the Old Kingdom, including Kagemni, are known only through mortuary finds. Drawn from my MA thesis concerning the evidence of Kagemni's veneration in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara, this paper will closely analyse the arguments made by Goedicke, and most recently Daoud, that Kagemni's appearance in the *im3hw hr* offering formulae upon stelae in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is evidence of his deification. The claim originates from Batiscombe Gunn's assessment of the excavated material, that "[it is] almost as good evidence as one could wish for his deification" (Firth & Gunn 1926: 130). The pitfalls of extrapolating mortuary data as evidence of deification will be briefly addressed and comparisons will be drawn with contemporaneous evidence attested for Hordjedef at Giza. Appeals made through the *im3hw hr* formula recognised the ability of the revered figure, or the 'potent spirit' of Kagemni to provide effective help in the afterlife. They communicated the desire of the deceased to be closely associated with Kagemni in the afterlife, a closeness that was manifest physically in the placement of the funerary monument or burial in the vicinity of Kagemni's mastaba. It will be posited that the three extant instances of *im3hw hr K3-gm.n=i* occurring in the cemetery are invaluable as evidence of Kagemni's local reverence in Saqqara, but they are not overt evidence of deification.

**MICHELLE HAMPSON**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***"From start to finish": Communicating a sense of process in workshop scenes of the Old Kingdom***

The aim of this paper is to provide evidence to challenge some of the conventional assumptions pertaining to Old Kingdom tomb decoration, specifically that objects are always shown as complete in order to fulfil their ritual function and that there is little or no continuity within scenes or between actions, by referring to the theme of workshop activity as a case in point.

It will be argued, supported by a selection of illustrated examples from both Memphite and Provincial tombs and dated to all dynasties within the period, that the Egyptian artist regularly utilised up to seven distinct methods or devices to suggest causality or a sense of 'process'. It will be demonstrated that narrative continuity and sequencing, including cases of sequenced animation, are indeed evident in the scenes, contrary to the views of Eyre and Müller who describe these features as 'restricted' and 'interrupted' respectively, and that objects can and frequently are depicted in various stages of completion and construction or as disarticulated. Instances of the artist subtly altering the appearance of an object as it is worked and the importance of absent component parts, uneven pairs and the juxtaposing of completed and early stage production objects will be explored.

Material will be drawn from an available database of forty two examples, including both well documented tombs such as *Ppj-ᜥnh:Hnj-km* from Meir, *Nj-ᜥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* from Saqqara and *Wb-m-nfrt:Wp* and *Nb.j-m-3htj* from Giza, in addition to several newly identified and interpreted scenes. Inscriptional evidence pointing to possible conversational or command links between workmen will also be cited.

**NICOLA HARRINGTON**

University of Sydney

***'Darkness by day', demonic possession, and delirium:  
Mental illness in ancient Egypt***

A group of votive stelae of the Nineteenth Dynasty refer to a state of 'darkness by day' or a darkness of a particular deity's making. These small monuments have traditionally been understood as recording the temporary or permanent physical blinding of the dedicator, and placed into the category of objects indicating 'personal piety' – a phenomenon attributed to the post-Amarna period. I will argue in this paper that these stelae document depressive episodes; metaphorical rather than physical blindness. Such states could be caused by personal tragedy (including the death of a loved one), perceived abandonment by the gods, defamation of character, or the inability to participate in social events. The stelae form the starting point for a discussion of mental illness in ancient Egypt, from the belief in demonic or ghostly possession to medical prescriptions for the treatment of hysteria associated with the goddess Sekhmet. The social implications of mental disturbances and neurological conditions, such as exclusion from sacred places and fear of ostracism, are also considered.

## ABSTRACTS

**MARY HARTLEY**

Macquarie University, Sydney

### ***Canid burials in ancient Egypt: Pet or paraphernalia?***

The deliberate interment of canids occurred in Egypt from as early as the Late Neolithic Period, continued intermittently through the Dynastic Periods, and then had a resurgence in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. Most of these canids have been recorded as 'dogs' (*Canis familiaris*), and because of this labelling, have invariably been interpreted as the beloved 'pet' of the deceased, whom they were buried alongside. Indeed, it may be that most of these canids were domestic dogs, however, wolves, foxes, jackals and the African hunting dog were also present in Egypt at this time, and are all similar in skeletal morphology. As such, the allocation of the term 'pet' simply because the animal was found buried in association with a human is problematic. Using archaeological, osteological and iconographic evidence, this paper will examine documented canid burials from the Predynastic to Graeco-Roman Periods in an attempt to explore ways that canids, and in particular dogs, are represented in ancient Egyptian funerary behaviour. This research will elucidate the treatment of these animals in the past, and provide insights into their possible roles as 'pet' or 'paraphernalia'.

**JENNIFER HELLUM**

University of Auckland

### ***"In your name of sarcophagus": The name as personality trait?***

The Pyramid Texts contain a number of different literary devices that are used to highlight royal or divine abilities and personality traits. One of the most prevalent of these is the phrase "In your name of ..." - *m rn=k*, which intends to draw on different aspects of a personality or character. This particular phrase is used predominantly by the king, but it can also be found with reference to deities, and is then "in his/her name of...". The contexts in which this phrase is found are circumscribed, in clusters within certain texts. While the name is often that of a deity, it can also be a characterisation of the geography, a deity, various divine objects, or even constituents of the soul, thus ranging from the abstract to the concrete. This paper looks at the contexts in which the phrase "in your name of..." appears, and seeks an understanding of the word 'name' in these contexts.

**STAN HENDRICKX**

Hasselt University – PXL

**RENÉE FRIEDMAN**

British Museum, London

***A re-evaluation of 'formal' and 'preformal' culture from a  
Predynastic point of view***

Twenty-five years ago, B.J. Kemp (1989) published a fundamental study in which he argued that with the emergence of the state in Egypt a specific material culture and iconography was created by the court elite, termed by Kemp 'formal'. In contrast to this, the vast majority of the population perpetuated a 'preformal' material culture, which was supposed to be a continuation from Predynastic times. However, when formulating this argument, Kemp focused on temple architecture, for which very little is known from Predynastic times. The only ritual site known in some detail is site HK29A at Hierakonpolis, an oval courtyard with a monumental entrance, which was presumably part of a much larger complex (Friedman 2009). In its lay-out, size and permanence, it resembles not at all the 'preformal' temple sites reconstructed by Kemp, which are of an entirely different architectural concept.

The votive objects found at several Early Dynastic sites are another part of Kemp's argument for distinguishing a 'preformal' culture. However, it has since been shown that these cannot be considered a homogeneous cultural complex but instead exhibit clear evidence of social stratification (Bussmann 2010). Furthermore, the baboons and dwarfs, amongst others, frequently depicted in votive figurines are entirely lacking in the Predynastic iconographic record. While it would seem the votives have no connection with the Predynastic tradition, there is one exception of fundamental importance, the early Naqada II 'royal' cemetery at Hierakonpolis HK6 (Friedman et al. 2011), which differs in many aspects from anything else known from this period. Excavations here have revealed several 'formal' iconographic elements such as the falcon (Hendrickx et al. 2011), which were present in this elite context at Hierakonpolis from the early Naqada II period onwards. In addition, the correspondence between the animals represented in the votive figurines and the actual animals buried in the subsidiary tombs of the funerary complexes surrounding the elite burials at HK6 is thought provoking (Friedman et al. 2011). Several of these animals are also attested as figurines in flint, which can tentatively be considered the predecessors of the votive figurines. Most remarkable, actual dwarfs,

recently found in two subsidiary burials, provide another important link with the imagery of the temple votives.

Because links between Predynastic and 'preformal' visual representations and concepts are generally lacking, the new finds from Hierakonpolis may suggest new ways of interpretation. The analysis of Predynastic material culture and iconography allows two different traditions to be distinguished, one of which is almost exclusively attested initially in Naqada IIA-B elite contexts at Hierakonpolis, while the other involves the complex iconography of the Naqada IIC-D Decorated pottery that disappears by the beginning of the Naqada III period. At present it is impossible to say whether or not the 'Hierakonpolis tradition' continued to evolve in the Naqada IIC-D period, but a further elaboration during the final period of state formation seems most likely.

**COLIN HOPE**

Monash University, Melbourne

***The proscription of Seth in the first millennium:  
New light from Dakhleh Oasis***

In his seminal study of the cult of Seth, Hermann te Velde proposed that throughout the first millennium BCE it was the target of an official proscription that resulted from the god's association with foreign regions, foreigners and notions of their link with the forces of chaos, and also the rise in popularity of the cult of Osiris. He claimed that no new temples to the god were erected and that existing ones were allowed to go into decline; names incorporating that of the god became unpopular. This has generally been accepted, but within the last decade reservations have been raised, especially by Eugene Cruz Uribe and Mark Smith, who emphasise the care that should be taken in interpreting the limited data that survives and propose that any proscription was 'situationally-specific', thus described primarily within a religious/theological milieu. Excavations at Mut al-Kharab in Dakhleh Oasis since 2000, though intermittent and on a small scale, have yielded a variety of data that documents the flourishing of the cult of Seth throughout the first millennium and indeed into the Late Roman period. This paper will present the data and question the supposition that the cult persisted in Dakhleh because it was distant from the centres of power and devoid of state patronage, and thus questioning the validity of assuming that any proscription affected the whole country.

**SAMUEL JACKSON**

Arndell Anglican College, Oakville NSW

***Hittite vs Egyptian historiography during the reign of Ramesses II***

The focus of this paper will be on identifying Hittite and Egyptian features in the ideological framing of the treaty between Hattusilis III and Ramesses II. Both copies of the treaty contain Hittite and Egyptian sections which can be clearly identified, not only due to our understanding of the process of creation which lay behind them, but also due to distinctive features of the historiography of each civilisation. It will be argued that these texts display the Egyptian discomfort in according parity to foreigners, and their reticence to officially acknowledge change, error or defeat. This will be contrasted to the more pedagogic use of History found in the Hittite sections of these texts. These distinctives will be related to the features of each culture's royal historiography and representation more generally, focusing on texts relevant to Egypto-Hittite relations under Ramesses II. There will be some discussion of the difference between Egyptian texts designed for internal and external consumption and the implications this may have for understanding the purposes of Egyptian royal representation. The findings also seem to confirm Weeks' postulation that the Egypto-Hittite treaty is essentially Hittite in form and outlook.

**MILENA KOOYMAN**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Walking the line of love & hate:  
Seth on the private stelae of the Ramesside Period***

Seth is one of the most enigmatic deities within the Egyptian pantheon. He is first attested in the Early Dynastic period and since then has played an important role in the concept of kingship and funerary beliefs until he was 'demonised' during the early Third Intermediate Period; his statues were destroyed and name and image altered or erased. Evidence on Seth in New Kingdom Egypt is primarily found in the Osirian and solar tradition, which lie at the core of Egyptian funerary customs. As a result, scholarship on Seth has centred on his role in these texts; as murderer of Osiris and as slayer of the snake Apophis in protection of the sun-god's barque (respectively). Recently, Seth has garnered more attention in an attempt to gain a more in-depth perspective of this complex deity.

This paper aims to look at Seth in a different way through the dedicatory stelae of the Ramesside Period. These expressions of personal piety show that Seth functioned as a personal patron to certain individuals. This paper focuses on how Seth was regarded by the Egyptian population by examining the text and iconography of these private stelae. Studies have not considered Seth in the personal piety of the Egyptians – and this paper aims to open this up to discussion. This presentation will look at what aspects of Seth's character were venerated and showcased on these stelae.

It is evident from the stelae that Seth's great strength is one of the key characteristics the Egyptians admired and esteemed. It is strength and ferocity that make him the best candidate for certain roles within the Egyptian pantheon. His strength was channelled into the defence of the sun-god, and thus divine order (*maat*) and his part in this tradition was clearly recognised by several Egyptians. As representative of foreigners, in particular Baal, Seth's ferociousness was a great asset in maintaining Egypt's dominant position in foreign countries. The Egyptians were also aware that Seth played an important part in the ideology of kingship and this is reflected in the iconography of various Ramesside stelae. This paper attempts to examine Seth through the eyes of those who erected stelae in his name, ultimately providing a different perspective of this complex deity.

**CONNI LORD**

Independent scholar

***One and the same? An investigation into the connection between veterinary and medical practice in ancient Egypt***

When people consider the development of science in the ancient world, their minds usually turn to the Greeks who are given credit for the establishment of a rationally-based discipline including the origin of medical practice. However, over 2000 years earlier, the Egyptians had already established a body of practice.

The study of ancient Egyptian medicine was greatly assisted by the discovery and consequent translation of twelve known papyri concerned with matters of human healing; one of the earliest of these dates to approximately 1875 BCE and concentrates on gynaecological issues. The papyrus was found as part of a cache in the important Middle Kingdom township of Kahun near the Fayum, alongside papyri concerned with administrative and personal issues, legal matters, temple archives, mathematics and one very unique document now called the Veterinary Papyrus of Kahun.

The discovery of the Veterinary Papyrus with the gynaecological document, its early origins, as well as its similarity in approach to the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus raises the question of a possible relationship between animal and human healing in ancient Egypt. The importance of animals, both economically and ritually, leaves little doubt that if remedies for animal diseases were known, they would have been utilised, especially for the temple herds or animals that served as the *ba* of certain gods, such as the Apis, Buchis and Menwer bulls.

This paper investigates the connection between ancient Egyptian medicine and veterinary practice. Sources include medical and veterinary texts, the Metternich stela and a papyrus from Ptolemaic Tebtunis, possibly describing a cattle plague and quarantine procedures. The questions addressed: Were medicine and animal healing related? Did medical and veterinary practices evolve together, separately or did one inform the other? Were the same personnel charged with human healing also those who cared for ailing animals? Were the treatments corresponding?

An understanding of the relationship between ancient Egyptian human and animal healing will lead to insights into these specialities, and beliefs and achievements of the ancient Egyptians more generally.

**ALICE McCLYMONT**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Reconstructing destruction: The study of Amarna period erasures in the private tombs of the Theban necropolis***

The deliberate destruction of certain words and images, particularly the name, figure and symbols of the god Amun, is one of many intriguing and puzzling aspects of the Amarna period. Recognised as a practice of the reign of Akhenaten from more or less the start of academic analysis of this time, the study of these erasures has developed only slowly. Their interpretation has somewhat suffered from, on the one hand, sweeping generalisations and assumptions, and on the other, the emotional, social and historical bias that has accompanied many commentaries of Akhenaten and his reign.

In considering the purpose and impact of this campaign of erasure, there is perhaps no better case-study than that of the private tombs of the Theban Necropolis. These tombs provide a neat, though of course often fragmentary, data set in order to catalogue, compare and analyse the proscription of Amun and other specific words and icons. Yet, in attempting to undertake this analysis, we are faced with several historiographical and methodological problems, including the above-mentioned bias, particularly in earlier publications, the inconsistent treatment of erasures as 'artefact' and the specific terminology used to describe this intentional damage.

Nonetheless, if it is at all possible to approach this subject in an impartial, rational and *useful* manner, we may be able to contribute further discussion to some old and new questions, for instance the purpose and motivation of the proscription, the mechanics behind the erasure campaign and the significance that such 'controlled damage' (Wilkinson 2011) had on the sacred space of both tomb and necropolis. How much more can be said on the Amarna period without the boon of new evidence? Possibly a great deal, if we view the data from a different perspective or with different questions in mind.

**BOYO OCKINGA**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***The four akh-spirits:***

***Ancient Egyptian guardians in this world and the next***

The ancient Egyptians believed that their lives, health and well-being were threatened by malevolent demons of various kinds, also attributing illness to such beings. They also held the view that such spirits could threaten them in the afterlife as well, and there is a rich vocabulary in the texts designating these malevolent powers, who also included the spirits (*akhu*) of deceased persons. But it was also thought that there were other, benevolent, spirits upon whom they could call to protect them from such negative forces. One group of these protective beings is referred to as "the four *akh*-spirits", *ꜥḥw fdw*. Early attestations are few. They are first briefly mentioned in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (§1092b-c) and also appear twice in the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom (V 170g; VI, 402b-g). Only one text from the Eighteenth Dynasty is known in which they occur, which is inscribed in the tomb of Khaemhet (TT 57). It is from the late Ramesside Period down to the Graeco-Roman Period that most attestations come, including a new text recovered in the tomb of Saroy (TT 233) by the Macquarie Theban Tombs Project. This paper traces the history and development of the four *akhu* over the two and a half millennia during which they appear in the Egyptian sources and discusses their background and significance in Egyptian funerary beliefs.

**RYNA ORDYNAT**

Monash University, Melbourne

***Identifying Gender in Predynastic Tags, Tusks and Figurines***

This poster will examine a wide range of objects from the Predynastic period, predominantly excavated in burials. It will focus specifically on those objects which bear the human image, or which are carved to resemble a human form. These include hippopotamus carved tusks, tags (pendants with a grooved edge intended for a leather strap) and human figurines encompassing the Badarian period to late Naqada III, but with the majority dating to the Naqada I and Naqada II periods. These objects were of obvious significance in the life as well as in death of the Predynastic Egyptians, and had served particular functions in their social and religious practices. They are also some of the most commonly found objects in Upper Egypt, and come from a variety of sites in the region.

The aim of this poster is firstly to define possible criteria for identifying the gender of the human image depicted in these objects. It will attempt to analyse different features of tusks, tags and figurines and to compose a possible guideline for assigning sex to the image. These features include beards, breasts and genitalia, decoration and adornment, facial features and the shape and form of the object itself. In studying and comparing the tusks, tags and figurines together, rather than in separate groups, some new light may be shed on the ways Predynastic peoples may have identified and depicted gender, and what importance they may have assigned to it.

Secondly, the poster will look at the distinctness and individuality of the objects' design and embellishment and consider the possibility of actual real or divine individuals being represented in tusks, tags and figurines. Their small size, their frequent close positioning to the body in the grave, signs of wear, and their unique and individual design indicate that these objects would have been of higher personal affinity and connection to their owner than bulkier and larger objects placed in graves, such as pottery or palettes, and would have held special significance in the grave occupant's lifetime, perhaps on a daily basis. Therefore, it may be reasonable to suggest that these objects represent individual people or specific persons known or recognised by their owners.

DOMINIC PERRY

University of Auckland

***The economic priorities of King Neferirkare Kakai***

This study concerns itself with economic activities of the mid-Fifth Dynasty, and the relationship between temples and the royal household. Previous scholarship has emphasised a study of such institutions in isolation from each other, demonstrating temples (particularly of the New Kingdom) as distinct economic entities. Building on these works, I will demonstrate the nuanced and heterogeneous relationships which existed between provincial temples, necropolis temples and the royal household during the mid-Fifth Dynasty.

The sources are primarily documentary: the Abusir archives of Neferirkare Kakai and Neferefre Izi, the Abydos Decree of Neferirkare Kakai, and the Palermo Stone. These documents reveal the variant priorities of the Fifth Dynasty rulers regarding different temple institutions, especially during the reign of Neferirkare and his immediate successors. The Palermo Stone and Abydos Decree suggest a degree of quasi-autonomy was granted to provincial cult centres: references are made to extensive land endowments and the *ꜣt-ntꜣ* "field of the god", which seems to be land dedicated to the maintenance of a cult. The testament of Nyka-ankh of Tehne corroborates this representation. However, the situation at Abusir differed considerably – the necropolis temples (Sun and Mortuary) were entirely dependent upon external provisioning. This came almost exclusively from the *Hnw*-"Residence" of the king. Any references to institutions besides the Residence are few, and tend to be directly related to the royal cult or household, e.g. the funerary Domains (*Hwt*) established by the rulers.

Treated collectively, these sources suggest that the mid-Fifth Dynasty kings put more resources into the provisioning of their own cults than they did the temples outside the Memphite region. During this period royal permissions favoured a 'quasi-autonomous' status for the provincial temples. As part of the larger Nile-valley economy, the provincial temples acted as regional representations of royal authority, rather than direct expressions *per se*. By contrast, the Abusir centres were kept entirely dependent upon the Residence for their operations, with few visible opportunities for external provisioning. It is concluded that the royal household's priorities were directed at maintaining a high degree of control of the necropolis temples – the most 'symbolically potent' expressions of religious attitudes and behaviour in this era.

## ABSTRACTS

**MELANIE PITKIN**

Macquarie University, Sydney

### ***Hybrid false-door stelae in the First Intermediate Period***

Towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty, a new and rare type of architectural element begins to appear in tomb chapels – the hybrid false-door stele (referred to by Fischer as the 'atrophied false door'). While very similar, in many respects, to the slab stele, what distinguishes this type of tomb feature are the borrowed attributes normally only found on false doors, but rendered without any differentiation of planes. These attributes include the incised representation of the cavetto cornice and/or torus moulding, the central niche sometimes with door bolts, wedjat-eyes on the cross bar and an imitation lintel or central panel depicting the deceased seated before offerings and inscriptions. Only 28 examples of hybrid false-door stelae are known from the reigns of kings Pepy II to Mentuhotep II and all are said to come from between Upper Egyptian nomes 4–8, but most commonly at the cemetery site of Abydos in the 8<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Thinite nome. This paper will examine these 28 examples of hybrid false-door stelae from the First Intermediate Period, with a particular focus on the Abydos grouping, to show patterns in development, as well as their usefulness for dating. These findings will be studied in the context of other funerary monuments of the period, namely false doors and slab stelae.

**SARAH RICKETTS**

Monash University, Melbourne

***Sickle blades and scrapers:  
Function and tool classes from an oasis assemblage***

The site of Mut al-Kharab is located on the southern edge of the modern cultivation belt within Dakhleh Oasis, in the Egyptian Western Desert, near to the modern town of Mut. The on-going excavations, which commenced in 2001, have revealed occupational evidence stretching from the indigenous Sheikh Muftah Cultural Unit through to the arrival of the Old Kingdom Egyptians and the subsequent conquest by the Arabs. This paper will focus on one aspect of the archaeological evidence of co-existence and/or interaction between this indigenous Sheikh Muftah culture and Nile Valley Egyptians during the Fourth and Sixth Dynasties, which occurs at various sites within the Dakhleh region, although the site of Mut al-Kharab is perhaps one of the most compelling.

During the 2012-2013 field seasons, the stone artefact assemblage from Mut al-Kharab was subjected to a preliminary lithic analysis. As a result of this analysis, it is possible to present an initial discussion of the formal tool classes that have been identified, which include sickle blade inserts, scrapers, geometrics, burins and a re-worked Middle Stone Age (MSA) lithic artefact collected by occupants from the surrounding desert areas. This is accompanied by comments on the functional implications for these formal tool classes, as well as their significance for overall site function. In an attempt to contextualise these tools in relation to a wider cultural setting, the relative frequencies of tool types from Mut al-Kharab will be compared to those from other published sites, including the Old Kingdom settlements of Ayn-Asil, Ayn el-Gazareen, the Sheikh Muftah 'base-camp' of El Kharafish and various Sheikh Muftah 'Localities' identified by the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP).

ELLEN RYAN

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Climbing the ladder of success:  
Expressing 'promotion' in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Theban biographies***

Biographies of the 18th Dynasty are one of the best sources of information about the careers and professional lives of the elite. The so-called *career biographies* describe the various positions held by the elite, and the duties they performed in each role. In recent years, attempts have been made to refine this very general term of *career biography* by focusing on the way in which the overall career is expressed, and in 1996, Gnirs suggested the subdivisions of the 'action' and 'event' biography. In the *action biography* (*Handlungsbiographie*), a series of life events are arranged in the narrative in a chronological order, whilst the *event biography* (*Ereignisbiographie*) isolates and describes particular moments in one's life. These two different methods of narration are used to express a key event in the professional life of the elite – the promotion.

The theme of promotion occurs frequently in the Theban tomb biographies of the 18th Dynasty officials in the pre-Amarna Period. Yet within this common theme, there is a considerable amount of variation in the way promotion is described and expressed. These differences fall into three main categories: structure, language and content. The structure refers to how the promotion is expressed in the narrative, either as part of chronological events or as a moment. There are variations in the language, both lexically with the use of different verbs relating to promotion, and grammatically with the type of verb form chosen. The contents of the promotion vary, some individuals justifying their promotion through recounting their actions, relationships, and personal qualities. These variations indicate that there was a degree of flexibility in expressing this crucial moment in their career.

Examining promotion in the Theban biographies may provide insights into both the individual and the broader society in which they operated. Recounting one's promotions and one's overall career success in the biography is one way an individual can portray their professional identity, thus engaging in self-presentation. As the majority of Theban biographies come from the civil, administrative and military professions, any similarities or differences in the way professions express promotion can be observed. But promotion goes beyond the individual to involve the agent of promotion, a superior or the king, which may reveal other forces connected with promotion, such as political agendas and alliances.

**NERMINE M. SHOUKRY**

Mansoura University

***A reconsideration of ancient Egypt's Royal Harem institution***

The royal harem has always been a mystery. We have some information dating back to the Old Kingdom about the women who bore the title "Responsible of the Royal Harem", such as queen Hetep-Heres wife of king Snefru and mother of King Khufu. We also have many women bearing the title of "royal nurse" or "nurse", but we know very little about the institution itself, its organisation, administration, possessions, or its working system. Generally, the royal harem has been more or less studied in the light of discoveries made in archaeological sites that featured harem institutions. Consequently some of these older studies focused on the locations of these institutions in terms of their planning and architecture, others on the terminology itself of the word Harem, and the queens presiding over these institutions across ancient Egyptian history.

This paper, however, will focus on the organisation of these institutions throughout pharaonic history. It will not be limited to a certain location or site. It includes the personnel concerned with the different administrative departments, estates, and possessions of the institutions, which have not been fully studied before. Some of them were promoted to other posts thanks to their good work at the royal harem. It will also highlight the most important activities of the institution. This will include the mention of some of the most important children who were brought up inside the *Kap*, which was a part of the same institution, some of whom became important men at court when they grew up.

The results of this research will present an updated detailed list of the personnel serving inside the royal harem institution and a list of the activities held inside the institution following recent finds in relevant sites. It will show the importance of this kind of institution and whether it affected the politics and history of Ancient Egypt.

**KARIN SOWADA**

Macquarie University, Sydney

**G. JACOBSEN, F. BERTUCH & A. JENKINSON**

Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation, Lucas Heights

***I'll have what he's having:  
A unique example of elite emulation in late New Kingdom  
mummification***

Over the last decade, an adult mummy in the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney (NM R27.3) has been subjected to CT scans, DNA analysis and radiocarbon dating. The results not only illuminate our understanding of mummification, but also the modern dynamic of artefact acquisition and interpretation.

Multidisciplinary research on NM R27.3 revealed that the body was wrapped in linen and then encased in a painted plaster carapace, before the addition of further wrappings. In addition, the torso of the mummy was densely packed with a hard substance, likely sawdust, sand, lichen or mud, to make it more life-like. This practice appears more commonly in the late New Kingdom, from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, and into the early Third Intermediate Period.

Radiocarbon dates on textile samples place the body from the thirteenth to eleventh centuries BC, coeval with the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. However, the combination of the shell and the torso stuffing find their best parallels in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. The  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates and parallels from other mummies mean that NM R27.3 likely dates to this period.

NMR27.3 is the earliest hitherto known example of a full-body plaster shell on a mummy from the late New Kingdom. The practice of creating resin shells within the wrappings is known on mummies from the late second millennium BC, first appearing on royal mummies of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The plaster shell is an attempt to emulate the elite practice of a resin shell, but in a cheaper material. Moreover, the surface pigment, while seeking to imitate the practice of painting the skin of mummies, may also identify the deceased with the god Osiris, in line with funerary beliefs of the era.

**ANTHONY SPALINGER**

University of Auckland

***Feast and religious performances in Dynasty 5:  
The Abusir archival data***

A second development of the author's present research in the Old Kingdom economic data from Dynasty 5 has been the necessity to re-address certain religious festivals and their implications. The ones presently under consideration involve a further look at and re-analysis. The Wag-y-*Thoth* link has already been covered (FS Karol Mysliwiec: *Études et Travaux* 2013/14), but additional data from the sun temples, the famous Niuserre festival 'calendar' and, of course, the private feast lists need to be analysed in order to explain further the lunar settings of many of the celebrations as well as the obvious connection with the sun, Re. All of which, I add, were placed into the civil calendar.

**PIERRE TALLET**

Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris

***A building project in the Delta at the end of Khufu's reign***

During the 2013 archaeological campaign at Wadi el-Jarf on the Red Sea shore, about 700 papyrus fragments were found at the entrance of caves n°1 and n°2 on the site. The study of those fragments – some being well preserved sheets of papyrus, others being torn to pieces – demonstrates that there was at the beginning about a dozen complete rolls, including accounts and diaries of a team of workers involved in several operations on behalf of the Crown. The file we would like to present here is not the most impressive – it is made out of about 30 small pieces of completely decayed sheets of papyrus – but it allows us to know that the team was involved in the building of a monument in the Central Delta, probably during the very last year of the reign of Khufu.

**SUSAN THORPE**

University of Auckland

***Aspects of military life found in ancient Egyptian  
personal correspondence***

There has been considerable interest in ancient Egyptian letters, but the focus has been on individual letters and collections, rather than considering the wide range of extant personal correspondence from a societal perspective over differing timeframes. This paper draws on research from my ongoing PhD thesis *Social aspects in ancient Egyptian personal correspondence*, which focuses on this societal perspective by considering a range of personal individual letters from differing periods in ancient Egyptian history, giving insight into contemporary and generic attitudes with regard to behaviors, beliefs and lifestyle, together with the differences that may have occurred over time in these areas. These letters represent social aspects within such topics as complaints, religious belief, personal lifestyle and interaction, daily life and military organisation. The latter topic is the one I have chosen for this paper.

While current and previous research has provided considerable information regarding ancient Egyptian military campaigns, equipment, rank and custom, this information has come primarily from reliefs, inscriptions and military scribal documents. This selection of private letters from varying periods of ancient Egyptian history not only gives additional insight into military practices and personnel, but is also able to personalise the senders and recipients as well as provide first-hand information about the daily responsibilities of a soldier's life when not involved in active duty. The letters illustrate the importance attached to such responsibilities and the requirements associated with them. Additionally researching other protagonists and occurrences included in the correspondence enhances knowledge and historical context. By focusing on these aspects, this paper will be able to show how private letters can provide an important primary source for information on ancient Egyptian customs, people, and societal structure, in this case with regard to military life.

**YANN TRISTANT, JOHN MAGNUSSEN, ELLEN RYAN, JACINTA CARRUTHERS,  
LEONIE DONOVAN, ADAM FAZZOLARI, MARY HARTLEY, OLIVIER ROCHECOUSTE**  
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**RONIKA POWER**  
University of Cambridge

***Strangers in a Strange Land:  
The ancient Egyptian mummies of Macquarie University***

*Strangers in a Strange Land* is an interdisciplinary research project enhancing the partnership between the Department of Ancient History and Macquarie Medical Imaging, Macquarie University Hospital. The project aims to undertake scientific investigation of archaeologically-derived human remains from ancient Egypt using non-invasive techniques, especially high resolution CT scanning as well as 3D printing, 3D geometric morphometrics and forensic facial reconstruction. The first stage of the project was designed to operate as a research proof-of-concept in order to ascertain its suitability for the biocultural investigation of archaeologically-derived human remains.

The methodology was applied in May 2012 to a single specimen from the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University. A mummified human head (MU1695) on permanent loan from the Australian Museum (Sydney) was studied using an high resolution imaging CT-scanner. This equipment enables the examination of the smallest anatomical and pathological structures at the highest possible resolution available for clinical diagnostic purposes. The second stage of the project was initiated in December 2013 with the study of a complete Egyptian mummy (MU2670) from the Australian Museum on permanent exhibition in the Museum of Ancient Cultures.

This study enabled original contributions regarding the anatomical description of the mummified remains, their cultural, religious and technological significance, and different aspects related to mummification practices and other post-mortem engagement with bodies in antiquity. The benefits of the non-invasive methods employed for this project are significant. Scientific investigations combining non-destructive analysis with 3D printing for 3D geometric morphometric analyses and facial reconstruction, are at the forefront of international research in the study of Egyptian mummies. This cutting-edge process combines the expertise of archaeologists, Egyptologists, physical anthropologists, forensic anatomists and medical practitioners in a single interdisciplinary project. It also affords a great opportunity to test and develop innovative methodologies that can be applied to curated ancient human remains in other Australian museums.

**MATTHEW UNDERWOOD**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Christian Occupation in Southern Sheikh Abd el-Qurna***

The hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the Theban necropolis is well known for its terraces of rock cut tombs of high officials of the New Kingdom. These tombs were adapted for Christian monastic occupation during the latter half of the first millennium CE. The first comprehensive documentation of the Coptic occupation of the hill started with the seminal work of Winlock and Crum in 1926. The Christian monastic settlements identified by them included the well-known Monastery of Epiphanius, the so-called 'Monastery of Cyriacus', and a settlement cluster at the southern end of the eastern face of the hill that Jean Doresse tentatively named the 'Monastery of Severus' (Doresse 1949).

During this talk I shall survey the known Coptic remains for the southern cluster that include at least Theban Tomb nos. C3, 29, 84, 85, 87, 95, 96, 97 and 99. In particular I will refer to textual finds from TT 95 and explore the significance of the textual material from this period for the use of the tomb, the surrounding tombs and for the monastic and lay settlements in the wider Theban region.

TT 95 was constructed for the High Priest of Amun Mery and his mother Hunai in the Eighteenth Dynasty under the reign of Amenhotep II. It has been excavated by a joint mission of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo and the Egyptological Seminar of the University of Basel directed by Andrea Gnirs in a number of seasons since 1991. Since 2008 the Coptic and Greek texts from TT 95 have been studied, initially from mission photographs and later collated on-site by Heike Behlmer, Matthew Underwood, Cornelia Römer and Matthias Müller in the 2010, 2012 and 2013 field seasons.

**ASHTEN WARFE**

Monash University, Melbourne

***On the origins of pottery in Egypt's central Western Desert***

The Early Holocene reoccupation of Egypt's Western Desert saw the beginning of widespread habitation in the oases and the southern playas that would last for several thousand years. Movement between these regions seems to have occurred on a semi-regular basis, as demonstrated in the spread of common material traits. The toolkit of the oases' Masara unit, for instance, shares several elements with the el Adam and el Ghorab variants of the Nabta-Kiseiba sequence, some 250km south of the oases. Curiously, the material assemblages of these regions also demonstrate some key differences, perhaps the most striking example being the presence/absence of pottery. Ceramic-bearing groups are recorded for the southern playas from the ninth millennium BCE onwards, while the central oases remained a-ceramic for another 2000 years. Despite strong evidence for cultural interfacing with the south, there was apparently little interest among the oasis dwellers to adopt the new technology before the late seventh millennium BCE.

This study will examine possible causes for this delayed action. It will present the argument that the oasis ceramics belonged to a repertoire of objects that functioned within a social exchange network, and were produced and circulated as part of this network. Only later would they become an important component of the domestic sphere. The argument challenges the assumption that pottery emerged as an economic by-product of the Neolithic process, possible only through sedentary activity and intended to enable a new range of tasks associated with processing foods. This position no longer holds for many early pottery-producing societies in the world, and the current study offers another case to rethink the conditions and motivations for the emergence of pottery globally. Importantly, this study will highlight the growing need to examine social nuances in the material culture of the central Western Desert, especially in light of potential influences on the emerging Neolithic communities of the Nile Valley.

**ALEXANDER WOOD**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Unidentified Christian literary papyri in the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE***

This paper will concentrate on Christian literary papyri of unknown authorship dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, written in Greek and found in Egypt, a corpus which has not previously been collected or discussed in full. This investigation has two main emphases: (1) an examination of the papyri as physical objects, concentrating in particular on what this may tell us about their production and use; (2) an analysis of the content of the papyri and its relation to religion, literary culture, and scribal practice in late antique Egypt.

The paper will concentrate in the first instance on what the papyri say: as 'literary' papyri, do they reference other works of literature? If so, how is this achieved? The content of each papyrus aids in establishing a context for the papyri. Why were these works not preserved in the medieval manuscript tradition in Greek? Is their content and context related to this disappearance?

Secondly, the paper addresses their context: who were the communities that produced, used and in some cases re-used these papyri? How were they produced? Were they copied from an original manuscript, or are they the result of a process of oral transmission? As 'unidentified' literary papyri, this paper will endeavor to establish a context through the physical evidence such as paleographical and codicological features (i.e. their handwriting, and whether the papyrus survives as a sheet, roll, or part of a codex), as well as consideration of their provenance and date.

The study of these particular papyri will provide a new perspective on the dissemination and presence of Christian literature throughout Egypt in this period. Examination of these unidentified papyri, may further suggest preferences and models by which works were copied, which can help answer questions concerning textual transmission. Christian literature from late antique Egypt is often assumed to have been produced within a monastic context. This corpus will allow further testing of this assumption, better illuminating the breadth of the textual communities involved.

**LAWRENCE XU**

University of Auckland

***Narrative time lords: The manipulation of time and chronology  
in the narration of the Inaros cycle***

The Demotic story cycle of Inaros has received much attention over the last few decades, with a growing interest in their composition, reception, and potential entertainment value. However, its analysis and interpretation can be problematic due to the gaps in our knowledge of the external reader/writer and the audience of the story cycle. Therefore, rather than focusing on the external or historical level where evidence is insufficient, the present research will take a narratological approach by examining the relationship at an internal or story level between the narrator and the narratee, which can then be extrapolated to the external/historical level. Such approach functions on the basis that internal and external narrators having parallel motivation behind the presentation of the narration. Thus, for the purpose of this paper, the question being asked is what narrative devices these internal narrators use to make their story interesting, and how this can reflect the presentation of the external reader/writer to the audience. This question can be addressed by analysing the internal narrator's use of rhythm, prolepsis, and analepsis – all devices relating to the deliberate manipulation of time and chronology. This approach also values the absence of such devices, resulting in the elimination of unlikely narrative situations, which can be equally informative.

**Rachel Yuen-Collingridge**

Macquarie University, Sydney

***Reading and writing in PGM XIII: Scribal interventions in the transmission and reception of magical texts***

Little explicit information is known from the literary record about the production of Greek magical texts on papyrus in Egypt during the Roman period. What may be recovered about the individuals who produced and used these manuscripts must be deduced from the physical characteristics of the manuscripts themselves. These manuscripts fall into two distinct categories: those single-use manuscripts, which were produced for an applied, unique and personalised magical operation, and the formularies comprised of multiple, anonymised spells designed to be a repository of magical knowledge. The sophisticated use of paratextual aids (marginalia, formatting, ekthesis, abbreviation, supralineation, etc.) to guide the user through these complex compilations are often lacking in the single-use manuscripts. In the close attention to the organisation, reception, and transmission of magical material, these composite texts are suggestive of something we might characterise as a professionalised trade. However, the use of paratextual aids is not uniform across the formularies, nor across all the texts preserved in a single formulary. In this paper, a close examination of the paratextual elements in PGM XIII will be used to look at how scribes balanced the heterogenous conventions of their models with the organisational principles they imposed on their formularies.