

Edited by
OLA EL-AGUIZY, BURT KASPARIAN

ICE XII

Proceedings of the Twelfth
International Congress
of Egyptologists

3rd – 8th November 2019
Cairo, Egypt

I

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND ANTIQUITIES



Ola el-Aguizy, Burt Kasparian (eds.)

Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Egyptologists

ICE XII

3rd–8th November 2019
Cairo, Egypt

Volume I



INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
المعهد الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية



Bibliothèque générale 71 – 2023

Table of Contents

Khaled el-Enany

Foreword	V
----------------	---

VOLUME I

I. ARCHAEOLOGY, CURRENT METHODS AND FIELD WORK I

Alberto Abello Moreno-Cid

Analysis of Human Skeletal and Mummified Remains Found in the Secondary Burial AT-28-A of the Tomb of the Vizier Amenhotep Huy (North Asasif, Luxor, West Bank)	3
---	---

Roqaya Ali Massoud

The Funerary Cones of the Scribe Amenemhat, Owner of TT 123	13
---	----

Aiman Ashmawy Ali

Forgotten Excavation. Part 2: Tell El-Ku'	21
---	----

Aiman Ashmawy Ali, Dietrich Raue

The Temple of the Sun-God at Heliopolis: Seasons 2016–2019	31
--	----

Bettina Bader

Beyond Politics: New Developments in Second Intermediate Period Archaeology in Egypt (ca. 1800–1550 BC)	39
--	----

Grażyna Bąkowska-Czerner, Rafał Czerner, Szymon Popławski

Topography of the Ancient Town in Marina el-Alamein: Recent Data on the Town's Centre	47
--	----

Randa Baligh	
Sarcophagus of Hat, 19th Dynasty (Egyptian Museum in Cairo SR 4/13636, TR 14.11.24.3, GEM 6766)	57
Anna Consonni	
Pottery in Context: Remarks Regarding Some Funerary Deposits of Vases at the Temple of Amenhotep II in Western Thebes	71
Kylie Cortebeeck	
Regional Variation in First Intermediate Period and Early Middle Kingdom Ceramic Assemblages and Craft Technologies in Middle Egypt	83
Lucía Díaz-Iglesias Llanos	
Eight 22nd Dynasty Cartonnage Mummy-cases Found at Dra Abu el-Naga	91
Rabee Eissa	
Hieroglyphic Signs Comparing Writing and Architecture in Ancient Egypt: A Case Study of the  and  Signs	99
Basem Gehad, Ahmed Hammad, Mahmoud Ibrahim, Mohamed Samah, Mohamed Hussein, Doaa Badr El Din, Gert Baetens, Mona Mostafa, Mohamed Atef	
Ancient Philadelphia Necropolis: Understanding Burial Customs in Fayum during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods	111
Maria Cristina Guidotti	
Pottery from Medinet Madi (Fayum): Preliminary Study	121
Zahi Hawass	
The Discovery of the Royal Workshops in the West Valley of the Kings	127
Irmgard Hein, Sandra Müller	
Digital Documentation and Visualisation of the 18th Dynasty Delta Residence at ‘Ezbet Helmi (Eastern Nile Delta)	143
James K. Hoffmeier	
Reflections on a Decade of Research and Excavations at Tell el-Borg and Its Environs (1998–2008)	151
Regina Hözl, Vera Müller	
Centre or Periphery? A New Project in Vienna Re-evaluating the Late Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period Cemetery of Turah	165
Balázs J. Irsay-Nagy	
The Burial of Thutmosis II: Questions	173

Christiana Köhler, Delphine Driaux, Herbert Böhm	
New Archaeological Fieldwork in the Late Period Necropolis of el-Sheikh Fadl in Middle Egypt	183
Eleonora Kormysheva	
Excavations of the Institute of Oriental Studies Russian Academy of Sciences at Giza	191
Maksim Lebedev	
Stratigraphy of Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza: New Perspectives on the Once Neglected Data	201
Hisham el-Leithy, Philippe Martinez, Philippe Walter	
Towards an Interdisciplinary 3D Atlas of the Theban Decorated Chapels	209
Shaimaa Magdi Eid	
Recent Work at the Tomb of the Captain of the Archers Paser (TT 367)	219
Yaser Mahmoud Hussein	
The Recently Discovered Naqada III Settlement at South Abydos	227
Francisco J. Martín-Valentín, Teresa Bedman	
The Long Coregency Confirmed. Asasif Tomb No. 28 Belonging to the Vizier of the South Amenhotep Huy: Excavations Results (Seasons 2015–2018)	237
Hesham Mohamed Hussein	
Mapping an Ancient Ptolemaic-Roman Frontier Necropolis at Al-Qantara	247
Marcus Müller	
Die Nachnutzung des Tempels von Ptolemaios XII. in Athribis	255
Essam Nagy	
Recent Discoveries South of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak	265
Andrzej Niwiński	
Deir el-Bahari in the Early 18th and in the 21st Dynasty: The Best Protected Ancient Secrets of the Theban Necropolis Unveiled	273
Suzanne Onstine	
University of Memphis Work in Theban Tomb 16	281
José Ramón Pérez-Accino, Hisham el-Leithy	
Newest Research in the Royal Cache Wadi, Luxor: The C2 Project	289

Andrea Pillon, Lilian Postel

- On the Periphery of the Hathor Temple:
Overview of a New Fieldwork Project in Dendara 297

Lilian Postel

- À la recherche des cimetières d'Ermant : un nouveau regard
sur la nécropole de Salamiya (Mahgar el-Salamiya) 305

Daniela Rosenow

- Current Work of the German Archaeological Institute at Dahshur 317

Hourig Sourouzzian

- Celebrating Twenty Years of Discoveries and Conservation Work
at the Temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III at Thebes 325

Kazumitsu Takahashi

- The New Kingdom Pottery from a Layer of Limestone Chips
above the Tomb of Userhat (TT 47) in the Theban Necropolis 335

II. ART AND ARCHITECTURE 343

Elsayed Abd el-Alim

- La plateforme de soubassement en briques crues à caissons de Tell Heboua I
(Sinaï du Nord) 345

Alessia Amenta

- 'Progetto Sekhmet': First Results of an Interdisciplinary Team Project 355

Nils Billing, Philippe Martinez, Maria Nilsson, John Ward

- A Baroque Period: Gebel el-Silsila at the End of the 18th Dynasty 365

Patricia A. Butz

- Dialogue at Edfu? The Dedications of Lichas, Son of Pyrrhus
and the Concept of Egyptian Double Composition 373

Alexis Den Doncker

- Reactions to Images in the Theban Necropolis:
Towards Socio-professional *Visualities* 383

Alisée Devillers

- Un art sans artiste... vraiment ? Pour une approche iconographique :
les (auto)représentations des praticiens de la *ḥmw.t* 393

Dorothee Elwart, Sibylle Emerit	
Espace rituel et polysensorialité : l'exemple du temple d'Hathor à Dendara	403
Jérémy Hourdin	
Les prières de Taharqa à Karnak : un nouvel examen	413
Konstantin Ivanov	
Functions of Pharaonic Purification Scenes in Greco-Roman Temples	425
Katarzyna Kapiec	
The Southern Room of Amun Project: Preliminary Results of the Study on Its Decoration and Function in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari	433
Mohamed el-Mezain Mataria, Mohamed Mahmoud Kacem	
Unpublished Blocks of Ancient Egypt from Old Cairo	445
Luca Miatello	
A New Study of an Outstanding Decoration in the 3rd Dynasty Tomb of Hesyra at Saqqara	455
Vincent Oeters	
The Sharing of Ideas: The Position of Belgian Egyptology in Western Intellectual History 1900–1950	465
Moamen Othman, Gamal Elbelem, Kathryn Piquette, Mohamed Abd el Rahman, Ibrahim A. Mohamed Ali, Eid Mertah, Mohamed Ibrahim, Akram Atallah	
Non-invasive Investigation of the Meidum Geese Painting: New Insights from an Old kingdom Remarkable Masterpiece	471
Valentina Panetta	
Egyptian Rock-Cut Temples and the <i>Speos Artemidos</i> : A New Interpretative Hypothesis on its Architectural Structure	479
Gloria Rosati	
A Headdress Full of Flowers: Special Coffins from the Third Intermediate Period	487
Marina Sartori	
Between Freedom and Formality: The Visuality of New Kingdom Theban Tombs	495
Martina Ullmann	
The Temple of Amenhotep III at Wadi es-Sebua	503

Robert Vergniew	
La fenêtre d'apparition sous Amenhotep IV-Akhenaton : de l'édifice prototype de Karnak au dispositif amarnien	511
Manuel Villarruel Vázquez	
Architectural and Dimensional Analysis of the Tomb of Puimra (TT39)	519
Inmaculada Vivas Sainz	
An Unusual Graffito in the Cachette Wadi: Hunting in the Desert Boundary? Meaning, Function and Authorship	527
Yoshifumi Yasuoka	
Waking-up a Sleeping Beauty: An Analysis of the So-called "Sculptors' Models" in Museum Collections	535
III. SITE MANAGEMENT, CONSERVATION, PRESERVATION	543
Dulce María Grimaldi, Patricia Meehan	
Conservation Criteria for Decorative Elements at TT39, from Norman de Garis Davies to the Mexican Mission	545
Mostafa al-Saghir	
Accessibility of the Karnak Temples for People with Disabilities	555
IV. HISTORY	563
Sherif Abd el-Monaem, Hanan Mahmoud	
The Naqada Period in Thebes: New Evidence	565
Galina Belova	
The "White Walls" of Herodotus	573
Ksenia F. Karlova	
On Certain Aspects of Seth Worship in the Oases: The Smaller Dakhla Stela	581
Agnieszka Mączyńska	
Last 100 Years of Research on the Origins of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic Communities	587

Mohamed Raafat Abbas	
Historical Observations on the Libyan Captives of Ramesses II	595
Felix Relats Montserrat	
Les fouilles du « temple primitif » de Médamoud (1938-1939) : étude archivistique d'un bâtiment polémique	603
Jakob Schneider	
Notes on the Rediscovery of the Past During the 18th Dynasty	613
José M. Serrano	
A Ramesside High Official of the Domain of the Amun Buried in Dra Abu el-Naga	621

VOLUME II

V. VIEWS ON THE EGYPTIAN PAST	643
Nathalie Couton-Perche, Sophie Labbé-Toutée, Elisabeth David	
Hippolyte Boussac, a French Architect and Copyist (1846–1942): Watercolours and Tracings of Theban Tombs in the Musée du Louvre	645
Marcin Czarnowicz	
The Role of the Nile Delta in Early Egyptian State in Foreign Relations with the Near East	655
Marleen De Meyer	
Jean Capart, from Brussels to Brooklyn in the 1930s	663
Christos Kekes	
Communicating with the Hands in Egypt and the Aegean World: Aspects of a “Gestural Koiné” in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean	671
Valeria Tappeti	
The Concept of Copy During the 25th–26th Dynasties: Editing or Copying?	679
Kento Zenihiro	
Funerary Cones as Tools for Dating Theban Tombs	687

Maha Akeel

- Two Demotic Ostraca from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 699

Mahmoud Amer Ahmed Mohamed

- Five Unpublished Ostraca Preserved in the Coptic Museum, Cairo 705

Susanne Beck

- How Do You Spell This? Deviations and Corrections in Papyrus AMS 23b
(Old: Leiden I 347) 715

Marco De Pietri

- An Amduat Papyrus at the Archaeological Museum of the University of Pavia 723

Roberto A. Díaz Hernández

- Defining the Concept of “Egyptian Temple Inventory”:
The *š:ip(.ti)*-Texts as an Administrative Text Genre 733

Massimiliano Franci

- The Stela of Khentykhetjwn (Florence, Egyptian Museum no. 2564)
and the Ancient Egyptian Lexical Field of “The Man, Ages, and Kinship”:
An Invitation to an Anthropological Analysis 743

**Kathrin Gabler, Elena Hertel, Antonio Loprieno, Matthias Müller,
Renaud Pietri, Stéphane Polis, Stephan Unter**

- Crossing Invisible Boundaries: An Erased Letter
to the Chief of the Storehouse *Hwy* 753

Svenja A. Gülden

- Studying Hieratic and Cursive Hieroglyphs in a Digital Age 761

Annette Imhausen, Tanja Pommerening

- New Ways to Think About Egyptian Science 769

Jessica Kertmann

- The King’s Speech: Some Remarks on the So-called *Titre* and *Formule*
in the temple of Horus at Edfu 777

Tobias Konrad

- Hieroglyphs in a Multidimensional Space: A Case Study
on the Applicability of Digital Paleography to Cursive Hieroglyphs 787

Hisham el-Leithy	
Spells and Vignettes from the Book of the Dead on Funerary Wooden Stelae from Thebes from the 21st to 26th Dynasties	795
Eliese-Sophia Lincke, Daniel A. Werning	
Spatial Prepositions in Egyptian-Coptic: The Long-term Perspective	811
Nagwa M. Metwally	
New Cryptograms and Cryptographic Lexicon	823
Hana Navratilova	
Secondary Epigraphy in the Temple of Ramesses II, Abydos: A Brief Report	833
Mark-Jan Nederhof, Stéphane Polis, Serge Rosmorduc	
Unicode Control Characters for Ancient Egyptian	845
Rebekka Pabst	
Investigations into Ancient Egyptian Concepts of the Dead Body: A Case Study on the Lexemes <i>ḥꜣ.t</i> ('corpse') and <i>s'ḥ</i> ('mummy')	853
Sophie Richardson	
Lost in Metaphor: MIPVU and its Benefits for Translating Ancient Texts	863
Jonny Russell	
The Ancient Egyptian Aetiological Model <i>st.t</i>	871
Elena Urzì	
The God Anubis: The Keeper of Medical Papyri Concerning the <i>whd.w</i>	879
Ursula Verhoeven	
The Second Half of the "Teaching of Hardjedef"—in Fact Well Known	887
Nina Wagenknecht	
How Text Registers Influence the Readings of <i>jṯ(j)</i> , 'to take': An Insight into the Applicability of Corpus-based Studies on Egyptian Lexemes	893
Mareike Wagner	
The Coffins of Imeni and Geheset: Sources of the Transition Period Between <i>Coffin Texts</i> and <i>Book of the Dead</i>	901

VII. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY 909

Janet Davey, Richard Based

- A Unique Radiological Study of Eleven Ancient Egyptian
Graeco-Roman Child Mummies 911

Eid Mertah, Wafaa Mohamed

- A Large Gilded and Inlaid Bronze Statue of Osiris:
Imaging and Spectroscopy of a Piece in the Basement of the Cairo Museum 919

Antonio Muñoz Herrera

- Digitalization of the Graffiti in the Royal Cache Wadi: The C2 Method 927

Danielle O. Phelps

- The Spatial Distribution of the Post-Amarna Tombs
in the Valley of the Kings 937

Lorenzo Uggetti

- GESHAEM – The Graeco-Egyptian State:
Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies 945

VIII. MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS 951

Mario Cappozzo

- Egyptian Textiles from the Pharaonic Period
in the Pfister Collection (Musei Vaticani) 953

Faïza Drici, Camille Labia, Vincent Rondot

- Le Répertoire d'iconographie méroïtique : premières approches
des collections du Musée égyptien du Caire – rapport d'étape 965

Caroline Dugand, Maëva Gervason

- Champollion en Isère : un nouveau lieu muséal
dédié aux origines de l'égyptologie 975

Christian Greco

- The Archaeology of the Invisible: Museums and Digital Revolution 983

Nika Lavrentyeva

- The Third Intermediate Period Objects in the Collection
of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow 991

Jean-Louis Podvin	
La collection égyptologique du musée de Calais	999
Renata Tatomir	
The Collection of the Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities Sector of the 'Vasile Parvan' Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest, Romania	1007
Athena Van der Perre	
Jean Capart and the Collection of the Cinquantenaire Museum, Brussels	1015
IX. RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS	1025
Ola el-Aboudy	
The Protective Role of the <i>Synodontis Batensoda</i> : Upside-down Catfish	1027
Guilherme Borges Pires	
A Glimpse into Joint Mentions to Theogony and Anthropogeny in the Religious Hymns of the New Kingdom	1039
Ilaria Cariddi	
"A God Who Perceives What is in the Hearts": On the New Kingdom Concept of Silent Prayer	1047
Emanuele Casella	
Les <i>ex-voto</i> à Bastet/Bubastis aux périodes ptolémaïque et romaine	1057
Emanuele M. Ciampini	
Some Suggestions on the Androgynous Creator from the Texts Mentioning Neith at Esna	1065
Ilaria Davino	
Mummies and Coffins: New Perspectives on a Funerary Rite	1071
Kristina Hutter	
Locating the Beyond On Problems and Possibilities of Interpreting Spatial Information in the Pyramid Texts	1079
Francesca Iannarilli	
Watchers, Slaughterers and Messengers: On Some Extra-Human Beings from the Pyramid Texts	1085

Edyta Kopp	
Rekonstruieren einer göttlichen Welt: Götterprozessionen im Tempel der Hatschepsut von Deir el-Bahari	1093
Nora Kuch	
Fragments of a Ritual: Deliberately Broken Stone Vessels as Part of Early Dynastic Burial Practices in the Necropolis of Helwan, <i>Operation 4</i>	1101
Franz-Stephan Ladinig-Morawetz	
Defining “Magic” Using the Example of Egyptian Gynaecology	1109
Anne Landborg	
“I am Horus”: Ritual identity in mortuary and medical texts	1117
Heba Magdy	
The Dancing of the King Before the God in Egyptian Temples During the Graeco-Roman Period	1125
Leah Mascia	
Practices of Ritual Power in the Necropolis of Oxyrhynchus: A New Assessment	1137
Daniel M. Méndez-Rodríguez	
The Book of the Twelve Caverns in Osirian Liturgies	1145
Ghada Mohamed	
Zwischen Bild und Schrift: Formen und Funktionen des anthropomorphisierten <i>wꜥs</i> -Szepters im Alten Ägypten	1153
Carmen Muñoz Perez	
Egyptian Funerary Amulets: A Century of Research	1163
Andrzej Niwiński, Dagmara Haladaj	
An Encyclopedia of Religion: Presentation of the Warsaw University Coffin Project Devoted to the Religious Iconography of 21st and Early 22nd Dynasties	1171
Federica Pancin	
The <i>Nbs</i> -Tree and Its Geographies: Egyptian and Nubian Traditions in Graeco-Roman Temples	1175
Gyula Priskin	
The 1000-Day Scheme on Akhenaten’s Boundary Stelae	1183

Frederik Rogner

- Decorative Programmes of New Kingdom Temples
and their Role in Socio-Religious Discourses: Conceiving and Communicating
the Transgression of Ontological Boundaries by Kings and Gods 1191

Tadas Rutkauskas

- What about Wrongdoing and Evil? Some Remarks
about Negative Phraseology in the Texts from the Amarna Period 1199

Paola Sanabria, Diana Carvajal Contreras

- Evidences of Modern Magical Practices in the Tomb AT-28 in Assasif-Luxor:
An Anthropological Approach 1205

Benedetta Torrini

- Private Devotion in Ancient Egypt:
Newly Recognized Ancestor Busts in Museum Collections 1215

X. SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT 1221
Marion Claude

- Towards a Digital Edition of the Prosopography of the Priests of Akhmim
from the Late Period to the Roman Period 1223

Kathrin Gabler

- Deir el-Medina in the Ramesside Period: 250 Years of Changes and Developments.
Exemplified by the *Service Personnel*, the *smd.t n p3 hr* 1229

Simone Gerhards

- The Visual Perception of Fatigue and Sleep in Bas-relief from the Old Kingdom
to the End of the New Kingdom 1237

I

ARCHAEOLOGY, CURRENT METHODS AND FIELD WORK

Beyond Politics

New Developments in Second Intermediate Period Archaeology in Egypt (ca. 1800–1550 BC)

IN 2015 the project *Beyond Politics: Material Culture in Second Intermediate Period Egypt and Nubia*¹ was initiated to assess archaeological finds in their own right, independently from the historical, written sources. This approach was born out of necessity because the majority of archaeological finds do not bear dynastic affiliations. This is particularly true of the non-élite strata of ancient society.

The difficulties would not be alleviated even if such data were more frequent, because in the Second Intermediate Period (SIP) a) the sequence of pharaohs is not completely preserved² b) the reconstruction is not agreed upon³ and c) numerous archaeological SIP sites do not include any king's names.

Most objects discussed here lack inscriptions or names, to demonstrate the complications and the need to add archaeological interpretations to obtain greater insight into the reconstruction of the lives of past people in the SIP. This is not to say that texts should be ignored, but the *full* value of archaeological finds should be used to add knowledge of the past.

I. PROJECT SCOPE AND CHRONOLOGICAL RANGE

The aims of the project are to undertake new analyses of material remains of the entire SIP, providing data for typical material culture in the various regions of Egypt (e.g. the eastern Delta, Memphis-Fayoum Region, Middle Egypt, Theban area, southern Egypt⁴). A representative selection of contexts from the quantity of available material is made.

In order to define the limitations of the SIP, differences to before and after need to be ascertained, thus the chronological range goes from the late Middle Kingdom (MK) to the beginning of the New Kingdom (NK). The transitional periods between the end of the MK and the SIP and the end

* Austrian Academy of Sciences.

1. Funded by the Austrian Science Fund FWF, START-project Y754-G19, hosted by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, initially the Institute for Oriental & European Archaeology, renamed to Department of Prehistory and Western Asian & Northeast African Archaeology in 2021.

2. RYHOLT 1997.

3. SCHNEIDER 2006; POLZ 2007.

4. BOURRIAU 2010.

of the SIP and the beginning of the NK are most difficult to comprehend as these limits were defined in modern times and projected back. The focus of the research is on relative sequences for a number of sites (e.g. Tell el-Daba, Abusir el-Meleq, Ehnasya el-Medina, Bersha, Abydos, Mostagedda, Qau, Elephantine, Kerma). The distribution of sites is spread across Egypt and Lower Nubia.⁵

2. UNDERLYING THEORY

The Second Kamose Stela,⁶ an important historiographic monument, influences the interpretation of the archaeological remains found, even if written evidence is lacking. This narrative represents the view of the victor⁷ and contains an ideological bias, which needs to be critically assessed.

The *Beyond Politics* approach uses both source types, archaeology and texts, acknowledging their particular idiosyncrasies and avoids imposing preconceived ideas onto the material culture. The result is a different “type” of history. Instead of a history of events of single powerful people, insights into cultural, social and economic processes in the SIP are obtained. Some of these insights may shed light on the political history of this time but *per se* most material culture is unlikely to carry direct information about political events (except elite items – stelae, inscribed finds).

The theoretical grounding of the project is influenced by Bourdieu’s habitus theory,⁸ the scrutiny of the *chaîne opératoire*, and by considerations of materiality.⁹ The *chaîne opératoire* concept¹⁰ considers in depth the sequence of steps chosen by the maker and the choices that are made to produce an object (e.g. Tell el-Yahudiya juglets¹¹).

The observation of how objects are made plays a major role because it allows one to ascertain whether one single or several method(s) of object manufacture of the same design exists. Simplified, the first option would support the thesis that objects were made in one central place even by more people (who were taught to do things in only one way), whereas if the second supposition were true, the likelihood of several manufacturing places increases. Assumptions about workshop traditions can be made, which have immediate repercussions on the appearance of regionality.

The study of contextual assemblages of material culture to overcome the artificial division of object types, which archaeologists have followed since Petrie’s work¹² in the early 20th century, is crucial. It is necessary to collaborate in larger groups of specialists to fully appreciate the contextual information material culture can provide.

Another important aspect is the use of finds from settlements and cemeteries. While objects from cemeteries are often inspired by those used in daily life, we still know very little about material culture in settlements, which is more fragmented than in tombs. Nevertheless, it gives evidence of what was done where and how. Data from old and new excavation projects needs to be

5. A. de Souza researches the finds of Nubian tradition.

6. HABACHI 1972.

7. SELBIN 2010.

8. BOURDIEU 1977.

9. DEMARRAIS, GOSDEN, RENFREW (eds.) 2004.

10. GOSSELAIN 2000.

11. DE VREEZE 2017, fig. 2.

12. PETRIE 1909.

combined because many of the previously explored sites are now destroyed and we cannot afford to disregard this information. Moreover, contexts can often be reconstructed, and materials can be re-studied in museums. Data from museums and archival information combined with secondary studies, published data, and collaboration with ongoing projects taken together provide at first a local relative chronology, hopefully quite independent from the “dynastic chronology” to prevent circular arguments. The next step is to work on a diachronic development of different categories of material culture, and, finally to compare such developments with each other.

3. CASE STUDIES

The project idea is to collect archaeological materials from contexts as intact as possible and then put them in chronological order, rather from evidence within a site than by external parallels, to avoid argumentative circles. The term *bottom-up approach* was chosen to start with the smallest unit—the find assemblage—and build up a sequence from here, instead of starting by creating a corpus, which only partially represents the single contexts or assemblages.

3.1. CONTEXTS

The intact burial of a woman from Dra Abu el-Naga includes a number of different categories of material culture. The dynastic date of this group has been discussed many times (late 17th, early 18th Dynasty, Thutmosis III¹³). It is a typical example for the difficulties of dating a very rich group that does not include conclusive inscriptional evidence. The procurement of these items, some very valuable, indicates that the deceased belongs to a privileged stratum of society. Nevertheless, the lack of an affiliation makes the possibility to tie this group of material culture into the dynastic system difficult. It should not be forgotten that dynasties are imposed by later sources (Manetho)¹⁴ and the ancient people were not aware of them. The find circumstances, manufacturing technology of objects,¹⁵ the way the materials are used, the origin of the materials, the distribution in the context and existing parallels all shed light on the frequency of such materials and how they were integrated in ancient society.

Often intact assemblages are dominated by pottery, and therefore every effort has to be made to understand it as a source beyond dating.¹⁶ Pottery does not tell history in events but general social and economic changes become visible more quickly, than in rare and costly object categories (e.g. jewellery, stone vessels), which are frequently re-used.

The assemblage from Abusir el-Meleq provides more diverse items.¹⁷ The rarer object types (figurine, stone vessels) are not numerous enough to provide good criteria to create a sequence. Moreover, stone vessels, are very sturdy and can be handed down for long periods, which are hard to estimate. Several tomb groups at Abusir only contained pottery, so that is often the best indicator to construct a sequence.

13. PETRIE 1909, pp. 6–10, pl. xxii–xxix; ASTON 2007, pp. 217–219; BOURRIAU 2010, p. 35; MINIACI 2011, pp. 141–145, 249 with earlier bibliography on the coffin; MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN 2022.

14. VON BECKERATH 1997, p. 5.

15. TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA 2014.

16. BADER 2020; BADER 2021.

17. MÖLLER, SCHARFF 1926, pp. 84–101. KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, pp. 54–55, 90–91.

Subsequently the material culture sequences will be compared. The archaeological phases, detached from the dynasties, can be synchronised so that a network of archaeological phases is the starting point. If finds with clear dynastic connections exist, so much the better. The sequences can be combined in a multiscalar manner, e.g. by object category or context type.

3.2. OBJECT TYPES

Practical field work by the author in all regions mentioned, confirmed the regional variation of material culture in the SIP, which is most visible in the pottery, simply because it is so frequent. Stone vessels are much more uniform, but this may just be because these finds are too rare to see differences clearly.

“Hemispherical cups” are highlighted as an example for an object type. These vessels appear in settlement contexts and tomb groups and were considered as important type “fossil” from the MK to the later SIP. The change in form of these vessels was formalised by the vessel index (relation of the maximum diameter to the height of the vessels).¹⁸ The change of this index at Tell el-Dab’a to smaller numbers coincides with the change of the shape from shallow and wide to narrow and high vessels.¹⁹ Work at the site of Memphis/Kom Rabia showed cups with a higher index but later in the sequence. While the index was as high as stratigraphically earlier cups, scrutiny of shape and technology made it clear that both differed from the earlier MK cups. They clearly represent a separate, local development.²⁰ Similar discrepancies were noted at Balat,²¹ Thebes,²² Edfu²³ and Aswan.²⁴ Thus, regional variation is more important than has hitherto been given credit. Hemispherical cups exist at most sites in the late MK and the SIP, but how long they continue at which sites needs more research. At Tell el-Dab’a cups continue into the NK undergoing severe morphological changes,²⁵ while at Memphis they come to an end in the later SIP.²⁶ The great variability of the manufacturing technology of the cup bases also needs attention. The trimming patterns and the shapes are different at various sites (fig. 1a–c).

Details in manufacturing technology, shape and size need more attention, but also raw materials. They need to be well documented. This is particularly true for base technologies.²⁷ In the later SIP open vessels begin to be set upside down on the wheel and flat based dishes were trimmed with a tool to produce deep horizontal scratches in the lower part of the vessel and circular ones on the underside of the base (fig. 1d). This tradition continues into the NK levels at some sites, but handmade bases still occur side by side. It needs to be stressed, that no single base manufacturing

18. SCHIESTL, SEILER 2012, pp. 84–110 with references.

19. BIETAK 1991, pp. 50–51.

20. BADER 2007.

21. BALLETT 1990, pp. 25–28.

22. SEILER 2012, pp. 318–320.

23. Natasha Ayers, pers. comm. 15/11/2020.

24. VON PILGRIM 1996, pp. 186–188.

25. David A. Aston, pers. comm. 20/01/2021.

26. BADER 2007, pp. 251–258.

27. Assessment of base technologies was sadly neglected in SCHIESTL, SEILER 2012.

technology can as yet be used for unequivocal dating purposes to divide the late SIP from the early NK at every site in Egypt. Scrutiny of details is not only important for pottery but every other object type, ideally in combination with scientific analysis.

4. CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS

Although much work still lies ahead until final results can be presented, awareness should be raised concerning problematic chronological terminologies, which do not help to solve any difficulties.

Historical sources are used to map dynastic influences²⁸ visualising the political division of the SIP, with several social groups exerting changing political influences. These groups are referred to as the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Dynasties and the rulers of Kerma. Recently, a new, local, ruling group, the “Abydene” Dynasty, became better known,²⁹ keeping the modern definition of the dynasties in flux.³⁰ The use of such schemata to refer to archaeological stratigraphies for the description of material culture often leads to confusion and uncertainties, as not every site is clearly affiliated to a dynasty and several dynasties were probably in power at the same time. The 13th Dynasty is particularly ambivalent in relative dating, because due to historiography Egypt’s political union broke apart during that dynasty. Hence, the 13th Dynasty is likely of uneven duration in different regions, depending when the 13th Dynasty rulers were no longer recognised.³¹ Thus, the 13th Dynasty ended at different times in the regions,³² and the term “late 13th Dynasty” becomes contemporary with the 15th, 16th or 17th Dynasty at other sites. Moreover, this process is not necessarily visible in archaeology.

This example shows that the previously assumed and practised subordination of production of (uninscribed) material culture to these political divisions needs to be questioned,³³ because it has deeply influenced the study of material culture and led to simplistic interpretations. Besides, is it likely that the material culture would look different if a different élite group (“dynasty”) rules? Theoretical work suggests otherwise, because material culture is not a 1:1 reflection of historical events or group identities.³⁴ Thus, using dynastic assignments for purely archaeological finds needs to be done with great reluctance.

The solution would be to first use archaeological phasing and then try to seek connections to dynastic information. That may work better at some sites than at others, e.g. currently it is unclear which dynast(ies) reigned at Deir el-Bersha in the SIP. Nevertheless, the presence of some material culture there makes fairly clear that people were active there during this time, but their allegiance (if it existed) remains unknown, unless interpretations of the Kamose Stela are brought in. Then again sites like Abydos or Thebes keep providing more information about the SIP and the élite groups ruling it. Nevertheless, material culture serves as valuable source on a broader basis and provides the backbone for any history, in which the lives of ancient people are the subject, but it does not carry clear name tags.

28. E.g. MANLEY 1996, pp. 52–53; RYHOLT 1997.

29. WEGNER, CAHAIL 2021.

30. RYHOLT 1997; POLZ 2007; WEGNER, CAHAIL 2021.

31. BOURRIAU 2000, p. 185–186.

32. Cf. RYHOLT 1997, table 1; MINIACI 2011, table 1.

33. BADER 2021.

34. BADER 2021 with further references.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank team members N. Ayers, A. de Souza, L. Hulková, C. Knoblauch, E. Kraft and co-operation partners (J. Bourriau, I. Forstner-Müller, J.-M. Galán, M. Gatto, C. Gallorini, P. Lacovara, S. Marchand, N. Moeller, C. Pérez-Díe, C. von Pilgrim, S. Rzepka, J. Hudec, H. Willems and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities) without whom this work would not be possible. I would like to thank especially K. Firneiser and J. Helmbold-Doyé (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin) for access to material from Abusir el-Meleq. “Thank you” to all other colleagues too numerous to mention here due to space restrictions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ASTON 2007

Aston, D.A., “Kom Rabia, Ezbet Helmi, and Saqqara NK 3507. A Study in Cross-Dating”, in M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. 3: *Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000–2nd EuroConference Vienna, 28th of May–1st of June 2003*, Vienna, 2007, pp. 207–248.

BADER 2007

Bader, B., “A Tale of Two Cities: First Results of a Comparison Between Avaris and Memphis”, in M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. 3: *Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000–2nd EuroConference Vienna, 28th of May – 1st of June 2003*, Vienna, 2007, pp. 249–267.

BADER 2020

Bader, B., “Ancient Egyptian Pottery”, in I. Shaw, E. Bloxam (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Egyptology*, Oxford, 2020, pp. 312–332.

BADER 2021

Bader, B., *Material Culture and Identities in Egyptology: Towards a Better Understanding of Cultural Encounters and their Influence on Material Culture*, Archaeology of Egypt, Sudan, and the Levant 3, Vienna, 2021.

BALLET 1990

Ballet, P., “La céramique du Kôm I”, *BIFAO* 90, 1990, pp. 18–28.

BIETAK 1991

Bietak, M., “Egypt and Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age”, *BASOR* 281, 1991, pp. 27–72.

BOURDIEU 1977

Bourdieu, P., *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, 1977.

BOURRIAU 2000

Bourriau, J., “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650–1550 BC)”, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 185–217.

BOURRIAU 2010

Bourriau, J., “The Relative Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: Problems in Linking Regional Archaeological Sequences”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, OLA 192, Leuven, 2010, pp. 11–37.

DEMARRAIS, GOSDEN, RENFREW 2004

DeMarrais, E., Gosden, C., Renfrew, C. (eds.), *Rethinking Materiality*, Cambridge, 2004.

DE VREEZE 2017

de Vreeze, M., “A Strange Bird Will Breed in the Delta Marsh’: The Evolution of Tell el Yahudiya Juglets and the Role of Tell el-Dab’a as a Hybrid Zone”, in B. Bader, C.M. Knoblauch, E.C. Köhler (eds.), *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Vienna 14th–18th of May, 2012*, OLA 245, Leuven, 2017, pp. 155–177.

GOSSELAIN 2000

Gosselain, O.P., "Materializing Identities: An African Perspective", *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 7/3, 2000, pp. 187–217.

HABACHI 1972

Habachi, L., *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle Against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*, ADAIK 8, Glückstadt, 1972.

KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980

Kemp, B.J., Merrillees, R.S., *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, Mainz, 1980.

MAITLAND, POTTER, TROALEN 2022

Maitland, M., Potter, D.M., Troalen, L. "The burial of the 'Qurna Queen'", in G. Miniaci, P. Lacovara (eds.), *The Treasure of the Egyptian Queen Ahhotep and International Relations at the Turn of the Middle Bronze Age (1600–1500 BCE)*, London, 2022, pp. 205–233.

MANLEY 1996

Manley, B., *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1996.

MINIACI 2011

Miniaci, G., *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt*, GHP Egyptology 17, London, 2011.

MÖLLER, SCHARFF 1926

Möller, G., Scharff, A., *Die archäologischen Ergebnisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes von Abusir el-Meleq*, WVDOG 49, Leipzig, 1926.

PETRIE 1909

Petrie, W.M.F., *Qurneh*, BSAE, ERA 16, London, 1909.

POLZ 2007

Polz, D., *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*, SDAIK 31, Berlin, 2007.

RYHOLT 1997

Ryholt, K.S.B., *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 BC*, Copenhagen, 1997.

SCHIESTL, SEILER 2012

Schiestl, R., Seiler, A., *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. 1: *The Corpus Volume*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 72, CCEM 31, Vienna, 2012.

SCHNEIDER 2006

Schneider, T. "The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period (Dyns. 12–17)", in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, D.A. Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HbOr 83, Leiden, Boston, 2006, pp. 168–196.

SEILER 2012

Seiler, A., "Middle Kingdom Pottery in the Theban Necropolis", in R. Schiestl, A. Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, vol. 2: *The Regional Volume*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 72, CCEM 31, Vienna, 2012, pp. 299–320.

SELBIN 2010

Selbin, E., *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story*, London, New York, 2010.

TROALEN, TATE, GUERRA 2014

Troalen, L.G., Tate, J., Guerra, M.F., "Goldwork in Ancient Egypt: Workshop Practices at Qurneh in the 2nd Intermediate Period", *JAS* 50, 2014, pp. 219–226.

VON BECKERATH 1997

von Beckerath, J., *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.*, MÄS 46, Mainz, 1997.

VON PILGRIM 1996

von Pilgrim, C., *Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, ArchVer 91, Mainz, 1996.

WEGNER, CAHAIL 2021

Wegner, J., Cahail, K., *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb and the Necropolis of a lost Dynasty at Abydos*, University Museum Monograph 155, Philadelphia (PA), 2021.

© ÖAW/B. Bader.

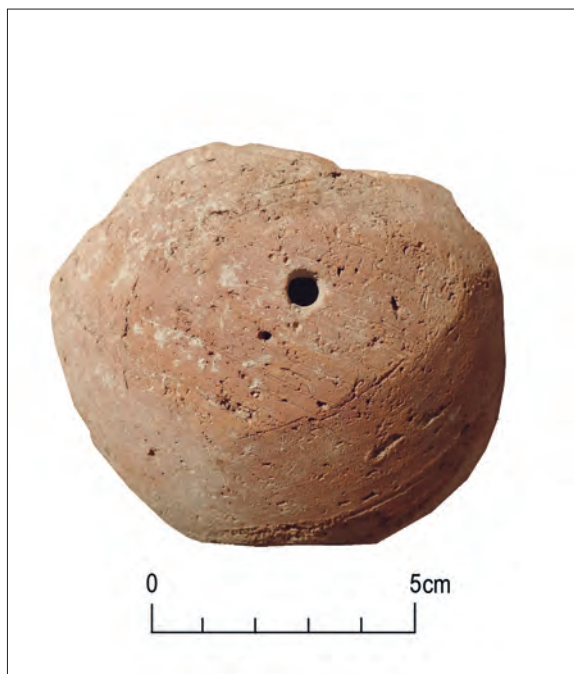


Fig. 1a. Base of hemispherical cup, late Middle Kingdom, Tell el-Dab'a.

© KU Leuven/B. Bader.



Fig. 1b. Base of hemispherical cup, early SIP, Deir el-Bersha.

© Swiss Institute/ÖAW/B. Bader.

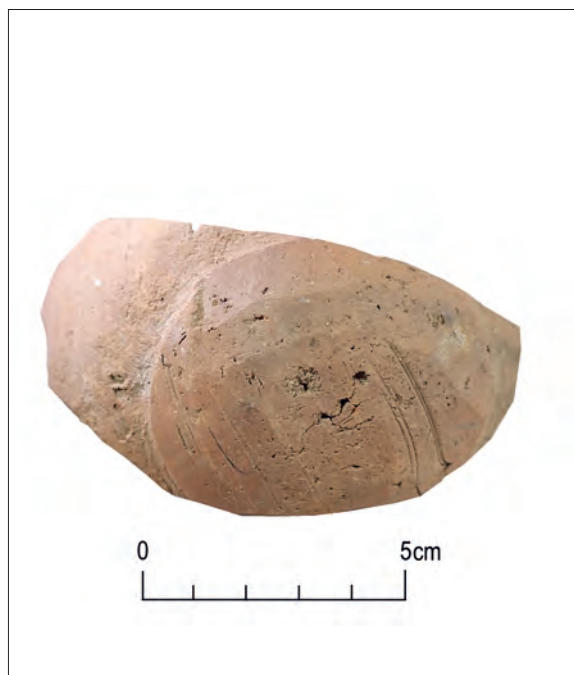


Fig. 1c. Base of hemispherical cup, early SIP, Elephantine.

© ÖAW/B. Bader.

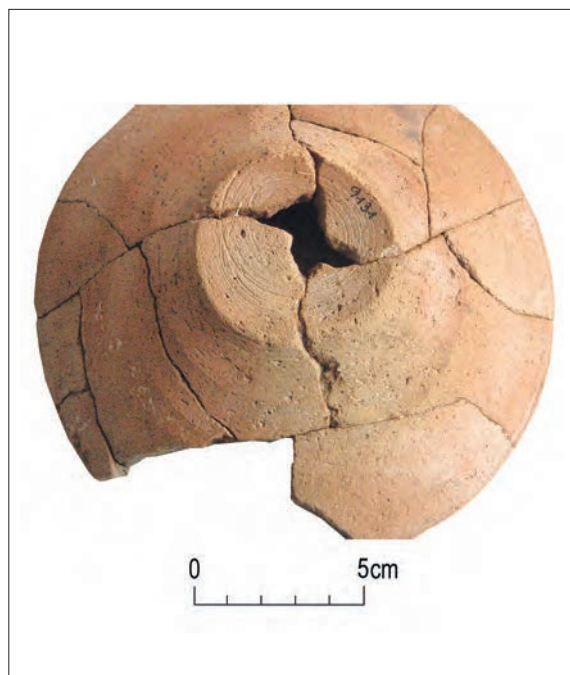


Fig. 1d. Base of dish, Tell el-Dab'a, late SIP/early NK.