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FORMING MATERIAL EGYPT
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Editorial
From the formation of Egyptological archives to Forming Material Egypt

Patrizia Piacentini

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO

The Egyptological Archives and Library of the Università degli Studi di Milano have a quite recent origin. It is only from 1999 that the University has started a systematic policy of acquisition of Egyptological books and archive collections, creating in just fifteen years a research center of excellence.

The first collection arrived in Milan in 1999 was the complete library and a rich portion of the archives of Elmar Edel, the well known German philologist and archaeologist. This has been considerably enriched in 2011 by the portion of the Edel archives owned by the late professor Manfred Görg who left this documentation to the Milanese archives in his testamentary wishes. Over the years, we bought or received in deposit or as a donation the complete or partial archives of Alexandre Varille, including those of Victor Loret, James E. Quibell and Bisson de la Roque (in 2002); the Gant Collection of objects inspired by ancient Egypt, witness of the Egyptomania trend since the end of the 19th century (in 2003); the Heinrich Brugsch correspondence, including more than 150 letters by Auguste Mariette (in 2004); the George W. Fraser archives (in 2004); offprints and some documents form the Erich Lüddeckens collection (in 2006); the archives of Wolja Erichsen (in 2006); the Egyptological corre-spondence, notes for lectures and other documents from the William Kelly Simpson archives (in 2007); the personal archives of Bernard V. Bothmer (in 2008); the personal archives of Pierre Lacau (in 2009); the private correspond-ence of Giuseppe Botti "the First" (in 2011); the portion of the Edel archives in possession of Manfred Görg and other documents of the latter (in 2011); an unpublished album and notes on the Serapeum by Auguste Mariette and many rare photographs (in 2014).

The importance of the Archives of the Egyptologists of the past is now well established, as proved by the existence of the present journal EDAL that

begun to be published in Milan by Pontremoli Editore in 2009, under my direction, as well as by books and articles edited in the last years, and by different exhibitions and conferences organized on the subject, from *Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives*, held at the Università degli Studi di Milano in 2008, to mention just an example, to nowadays.

Through comparing the different records kept in the archives of Universities, Museums, and other Institutions, interesting information related to the history of the discipline can be discovered. Thanks to these documents, we can understand the personality and the private and professional lives of the great Egyptologists of the past two centuries better. But it is also possible to develop and broaden important chapters in the history of Egyptology and the formation of Egyptian collections. This is proved by the important contributions collected in the present volume, written by Egyptian, European and American scholars who have dealt with different museological and egyptological topics during the international conference *Forming Material Egypt*, held in London in 2013. We are happy and honored to publish them in EDAL, a journal that aims to become a meeting point for making the archives known, for encouraging scholars to investigate and publish the data often "hidden" in them, and to develop further constructive discussions.

Before closing this editorial, I have to deeply thank Pontremoli Editore, and in particular, Lucia Di Maio and Giovanni Milani, who continue to believe in our journal and generously publish it, as well as Giacomo Coronelli for his untiring work of editing. My warm thanks are also due to Christian Orsenigo and Stephen Quirke for having accepted of co-editing the present issue with me, to the Institutions who have financially contributed to the publication, and to the authors who continue to enrich EDAL with their original and intensive work.

Forming Material Egypt:
from conference to publication in changing times

Stephen Quirke

UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The Conference Award and Call for Papers

In 2012, on behalf of the UCL Institute of Archaeology (IoA) Research Group Material *Culture of Predynastic and Early Egypt*, and after discussion with Paolo Del Vesco, postdoctoral Marie Curie Fellow at UCL, Stephen Quirke applied with the help of postdoctoral Marie Curie Fellow Gianluca Miniaci for the IoA conference award, offered each year in competition to staff in support of an international conference to be held the following year. The postdoctoral research project of Del Vesco is *MAKAN - Moving Archaeological Knowledge Away from Neo-colonialism*, and the project outline included the proposal for a major conference to address past-present-future issues that seem ever more acute as the decade progresses, though the problems have been alive from well before the January 2011 revolution. From the outset, the aim behind *Forming Material Egypt* was for a conference to unite Egyptian academics with their foreign colleagues in a direct assessment of the future for Egyptian archaeology, in a forum that would produce useful discussions for those in Egypt and abroad directly on the ground and at policy-making level. The application was successful, and supporting participants were found in the Friends of the Petrie Museum, the Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies (CCLPS) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). An organising committee was set up, comprising representatives of these participants, and including, at a distance, colleagues in Fayoum and Cairo Universities. The key figure in preparation and delivery was Del Vesco, as principal co-organiser in the formation of the conference, in the organising committee, in online publication of, first the abstracts, then the papers, and finally, and crucially, in ensuring the successful running of the conference in May

2013. At the Institute, above all Jo Dullaghan provided the essential support for web publication of the call for papers, abstracts and schedule on the IOA website.

The call for papers was worded as openly as possible within the ethos of the application (cf. version slightly emended for web delivery and published 18 January at the Institute of Archaeology UCL website <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/calendar/articles/20130118>). The call was issued in January 2013 by Paolo Del Vesco, Richard Bussmann and Stephen Quirke of the Institute of Archaeology UCL, and Chris Naunton, Director of the Egypt Exploration Society:

Forming Material Egypt - Institute of Archaeology Annual Conference 20-21 May 2013

Archaeological finds from Egypt have been dispersed worldwide on a massive scale both through documented excavation and through gifts and purchases, by museums, archaeologists and others. From 1882, London-based excavations alone were sponsored from 100 museums across England and another 100 worldwide, as documented in UCL and EES archives. In the current global dispersal, connections between these finds are easily lost, though, on the positive side, the distribution of finds may multiply opportunities for new research in different local conditions. Positive or negative, this material distribution has played a major role in forming contemporary attitudes to the Egyptian past. A range of possibilities for the future can be explored from specific examples of dispersal, and from broader analyses of patterns of historical practice.

In this conference we seek to change the terms of debate, already transformed following the January 25th 2011 revolution, by inviting Egyptian colleagues to open and steer the discussions, by aiming for practical policy outcomes, and by prioritising the use and survival of material.

To allow full time for discussion, conference speakers are to summarise their pre-circulated papers, rather than deliver them in full.

Day 1 of the conference addresses the history of archaeology and collecting, in both the negative and positive consequences for current research practice. Researchers themselves may be divided by their chosen focus — technology, typology, social history, or a particular site. We are particularly interested in papers which consider the impact of options such as the following on all, rather than just one, of these different research agendas:

· objects of one material in one place (technological approach)
· objects of one type in one place (typological approach)

- objects of one type in one place (historical approach)
- objects from one place to be in (that) one place (site-based/geographical approach)

We also welcome papers that address the tension between central and local capacities for maintaining collections in the public sphere, taking the following contrast as an example:

- centralising to avoid losing collections: the most negative consequence of dispersal occurs when an object or collection falls out of public view and research view, and is destroyed by neglect or active disposal
- dispersing in order to diversify access: a "United Nations" network of museums, with its hub in Egypt, could provide new access to, and so new light on Egyptian antiquities from people of all backgrounds around the world - if the present global distribution could be revised towards a more ethical base

On Day 2 the conference will then turn to the practical consequences of those decisions on where to locate objects physically, and how to connect them, in particular in these areas:

- cross-collection approaches and solutions to urgent conservation needs
- new and sustainable approaches to the material that has been categorised as "heritage" or "cultural property" in conservation practice and museology
- questions of social relevance of this material at local, regional and global levels

The conference will end with a panel discussion of forward action including the potential for a Committee for global assessment of distribution.

Abderrazek Elnaggar of Fayoum University and Tarek Tawfik of Cairo University joined the organising committee, and the final conference schedule was devised, again largely by Del Vesco, as five panel sessions, followed by a concluding discussion with Okasha El Daly as chair. The format of discussion panels was a conscious act of homage to the late Peter Ucko, Director of the Institute of Archaeology 1996-2005. He had steered on a far larger scale the millennium conference of the Institute on the related topic, *Encounters with Ancient Egypt*, and then, with his partner Jane Hubert, saw the papers through to publication as an astonishing series of eight volumes published simultaneously by UCL in 2003. Rather than providing a minimum discussion time after a full paper, the contributions were to be pre-circulated and the speakers were assigned to panels, with time for a summary of their paper, as introduction to an open discussion involving the audience in full. In this way, the discussions

could be ensured longer time than the presentations, in the interest of extended debate. The concluding discussion only is summarised at the end of this volume, from notes taken by participants: the ideal option of video recording, or transcript from audio recording, was not possible for this publication, but would be recommended for publication of future debates in this format.

The conference schedule

From the papers received, twenty-three speakers were grouped into five panels, with broad topic moving from the sites of discovery (Panel 1), to the distribution of finds (Panel 2), to the problems of conserving sites and material (Panel 3), and then out to theory and history (Panel 4), before reconnecting the threads of site, thought and matter in digital futures (Panel 5). Before the fifth panel and closing discussion, the organisers agreed it was essential to reconnect with the material itself, through case-studies of archaeological archive and collection at the Petrie Museum, and through the potential in conservation laboratory facilities at the Institute of Archaeology. The conference moved physically from the Institute of Archaeology on day 1, to the Petrie Museum on the morning of day 2, to the School of Oriental and African Studies that afternoon for Panel 5 and the concluding session.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Day 1: 20 May 2013

Panel Session 1. Re-connecting with archaeological context: sites and databases
Chairs: Tarek Tawfik, Stephen Quirke
Richard Bussmann: *Re-materialising state formation: Hierakonpolis 2.0*
Alexandra Villing: *Naukratis — ancient and modern networks: a case study*
Gianluca Miniaci: *Collecting groups: dispersion of finds from Harageh cemetery across museums*
Geoffrey Tassie, Joris van Wetering: *History and research of the Naqada Settlements Collection*
Chris Naunton: *The financial imperative and the EES excavations at Amarna in the 1920s and 30s*

Panel Session 2. Finds Distribution and Public Archaeology

Chairs: Maher Eissa, Chris Naunton
Alice Stevenson: *Between the field and the museum: the idea of archaeological context and the distribution of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund 1883-1915*
Patrizia Piacentini: *The antiquities path: from the Sale Room of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, through dealers, to private and public collections*
Amara Thornton: *Public Egypt: London Society, exhibitions and lectures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries*
Anna Garnett: *John Rankin and John Garstang: funding Egyptology in a pioneering age*
Campbell Price: *Max Robinow and the Manchester Museum*

Panel Session 3. Archaeological Site Management and Conservation
Chair: Abdelrazek Elnaggar
Lilli Zabrana: *Abandoned Nubian Villages in Upper Egypt: material culture in social anthropological field studies*
David Jeffreys, Ana Tavares: *Memphis as a case for material culture study*
Tine Bagh: *A tomb chapel out of context — a case study*
Daniela Picchi: *The project* Horemheb & Saqqara
Francis Lankester: *Egyptian rock-art*

Panel Session 4. Theory and history
Chairs: Ayman El-Desouky, Richard Bussmann
William Carruthers: *The planned past: policy and (ancient) Egypt*
Gabriel Moshenska: *Mummy wheat: toward a history of the myth*
Stephen Quirke: *Find as theme: re-uniting "expert" and "public" agendas in Egyptian collections*
Wendy Doyon: *Egyptology in the shadow of class, legacies and lessons of museum-sponsored collecting and scientific expansionism in pre-war Egypt for a post-Revolution museology*
Heba Abd el-Gawad: *Dividing what was once inseparable: multi-cultural Egypt between disciplinary boundaries and western typologies*
Paolo Del Vesco: *Forming and performing material Egypt: archaeological knowledge production and presentation*

Day 2: 21 May 2013

Morning: 10-11 and 11.30-12.30 visits to the Petrie Museum, Object and Archive case-studies alternating with visit to the Institute of Archaeology conservation laboratories, with John Merkel

Panel Session 5. Accessibility: databases, archiving and digital future
Chair: Stephen Quirke
Tarek Tawfik: *Challenges and dangers of networking museums databases*
Vincent Razanajao: *The new developments of the* Topographical Bibliography*: digital humanities to serve Forming Material Egypt*

Abdelrazek Elnaggar: *Storage of Egyptian heritage: risk assessment, conservation needs and policy planning*
Maher Eissa and Louay Mahmoud: *Museum collecting and moving objects: concept and approach*
Ibrahim Ibrahim: *Fayum distribution quest*

Final discussion
Back to the future: policy and practice
Chair: Okasha El Daly

From lecture theatre to book in the year of change

The general consensus at the end of the conference was for speedy publication, to capture the stimulus of the discussions. Patrizia Piacentini was able to offer the journal « EDAL » as host, and publication subventions were secured from the University of Milan, the Friends of the Petrie Museum and the Institute of Archaeology UCL. To all I express here again my particular thanks. In the event, all but six of the papers could be submitted for the autumn publishing deadline. In addition, Margaret Serpico, participant in the discussions, was able to offer a contribution to join the debate on the second panel. The discussions in May 2013 continually and inevitably raised questions that cut across our panel divisions, and, to reflect this, the conference structure has been modified for this print version, from five to four sections, and introductions from Piacentini as journal editor, myself, and for the participating supporters Chris Naunton (EES), and Lucia Gahlin and Jan Picton (PMF).

The afterwords from Egyptian colleagues in Cairo and London are essential additions. Too much has happened since May: as in January 2011, again a thousand Egyptians are feared dead. Care about any past must pale into irrelevance beside any loss of life. Yet the dominant foreign Egyptological response to the January revolution seemed to be the concern that sites and museums might be destroyed, even as television channel and news websites were delivering direct images of people being shot as they marched on the bridge towards Tahrir. Of course, those on foreign missions did also ask, where is N the inspector, N the guard, N the foreman I know from the excavation. Yet we in the global media

public never seemed to hear or know of those questions: instead, we fed on other stories — what happened to "my" / "our" site and its stores, what happened to the museum, the antiquities, the records. An illegitimate sense of ownership over things and knowledge seemed to destroy our ability to function minimally as human beings in those days.[1]   Today in November 2013, the same global media have variably described the replacement of the Mohamed Morsi government by another: as popular uprising, as military coup, as a combination of the two. Meanwhile, the past continues to seem a priority in global news coverage, which inflames in turn the hostility of those defeated in this present.[2]   Yet precisely at the front-line of iconoclasm, what we consider past and present elide into an open-ended "imperfective" continuum, as mutual source for all passions for or against a "future for the past".[3]   For the dominant global networks, the clash of archaeology and presentism has been racialised: the *senso commune* asserts that European tradition preserves a past, and implicitly that the non-European either fails to preserve what is past, or actively destroys it.[4]   In practice, the same crises affect every locality, with the same local questioning over how much any past is worth paying for and whether it is relevant.[5]   In this volume, both Elnaggar in Egypt and Serpico in England lament the erosion of information, and lack of attention to documentation: no public funding in any country flows to research without economic and political relevance. As Stevenson argues from the position in London, the key word in a global political environment of lobbying is advocacy; El Daly reiterated this universal modern truth in his

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1. This aspect of the response to the revolution is analysed in historical context by C. Riggs, *Colonial Visions. Egyptian antiquities and contested histories in the Cairo Museum*, in « Museum Worlds. Advances in Research » 1 (2013), pp. 65-84.

2. For an antecedent in the 1990s, cf. F. Hassan, *Memorabilia: Archaeological Materiality and National Identity in Egypt*, in L. Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology under fire: Nationalism, politics and heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, London 1998, pp. 200-16.

3. This was the title of an exhibition organised by Rachael Sparks, Ian Carroll and Peter Ucko on the Petrie Palestinian Collection, the founding collection of the UCL Institute of Archaeology, comprising finds from 1920s-1930s excavations at Wadi Gaza sites: R. Sparks, *A future for the past: Petrie's Palestinian collection*, London 2007.

4. Riggs, *Colonial Visions*; F. Thomasson, *Justifying and Criticizing the Removals of Antiquities in Ottoman Lands: Tracking the Sigeion Inscription*, in « International Journal of Cultural Property » 17 (2010), pp. 493-517.

5.   C. Scarre - G. Scarre (eds), *The Ethics of Archaeology*, Cambridge 2006.

introduction to the concluding session, that archaeology must learn the foreign disciplines of marketing and media relations. Archaeology, museums and site management worldwide bear witness that the survival of the past is a universal problem, where even First World resources regularly fail to meet even the minimum requirements set by international guidelines. Garnett demonstrates how that enormous potential in the archaeological archive can only be lifted out of its dormant state by specific local knowledge, north or south, and yet archival skills have yet to reach the forefront of educational agendas of archaeology in England, as Stevenson observes. Although Egypt suffers from particular decisions in the period of British military occupation, a point emphasised by Abd el-Gawad, no country holds a monopoly on the problems of find divisions and inaccessibility, raised by Miniaci, Tassie and van Wetering, or the vulnerability of unvisitable sites in economic zones, as described by Lankester. Above all, every country in the world would have to confess to the complete failure of archaeology locally to convey to a wider public the truth that the Object is no longer its goal: the message from Jeffreys that landscape replaces thing is a message of redemption because landscapes unite people and are about people. Here archaeology might reconnect with a critical anthropology, or accept to dissolve into wider society, not its practices and gains, but its own history of social exclusion of all but the professional.

In sum, as can be read throughout sections 1, 2 and 3, the struggle in one country most often seems transferable to any other. Shared problems should be good news, at least insofar as they multiply the possibilities for identifying pragmatic models of good practice, including learning from experience. Awareness of sharing problems may encourage a new acceptance that the best practice easiest to follow may be, but does not need to be, in a richer country. Picchi records how replicas made for site display did not survive two decades of sand erosion, and how this stimulated new solutions for the same site, all within a field of multilateral relations involving different scales of funding. Nor are the examples of bad practice hard to find in the heartlands of the global media: distressing examples in Egypt, as related by Eissa and Mahmoud, will be familiar to anyone working in museums in Europe or North America, where a

blockbuster exhibition may more readily start from directorial, managerial and marketing strategy, i.e. from money, rather than from engagement with either visitors or collections. In seeking best practice, Carruthers warns against our own quest becoming too mechanistic, in ways that would perpetuate structural failings in the history of government not only in Egypt.

One problem that Egypt does not share with all European countries is the language of archaeology. Here oral history (Zabrana), image history (Del Vesco), and social history (Doyon) point to ways out of the Northern stranglehold on disciplinary knowledge-production. Language relates here to script. The Arabisation of archaeological writing throughout the Arab World is an urgent precondition for any future of a past, requiring all the resources that once a Caliphate deployed for another epochal act of translation in Baghdad, as centre of the world. Inside and outside Egypt, Ottoman Period Egyptology excluded Arabic from the print publication that remains the dominant mode of communication in this sub-discipline between philology and archaeology.[6]   Twenty-first century modes of communication may be undermining this exclusion, and finally reversing the historical accidents of printing-press domination. During the period of transition, it remains an urgent task to start again, to select key works and ensure that they are accessible to Egyptian students, who may decide whether they can build on those published writings, or can leave them to the side as they construct a local future of archaeology. Here the present conference belongs to the past, not to the future, simply because it is presented in English. Presenting past Egypt in Arabic is for other places than London.

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6. Reasons for rejecting print are explored in T. MITCHELL, *Colonising Egypt*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 128-60; the long history of foreign exclusion of Egyptians endeavouring to move into late nineteenth print Egyptology is presented by D. REID, *Indigenous egyptology: the decolonization of a profession*, in « JAOS » 105 (1985), pp. 233-46. The repercussions require further archival historical research in Egypt.

The Egypt Exploration Society and Forming Material Egypt: notes for the future

Chris Naunton

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

The discussions at the *Forming Material Egypt* conference, of which The Egypt Exploration Society was a co-sponsor, brought together archaeologists, historians, conservators, teachers and many others whose work, broadly speaking, could be said to have the aim of helping to ensure the survival in the long-term of the material legacy of Egypt's past.

This aim is central to the Society and its work. The EES was founded in 1882 by Amelia Edwards, a writer and traveller, as a response to the rapid destruction of Egypt's ancient sites and monuments which she had witnessed during a visit to the country in 1873. She established the Egypt Exploration Fund to excavate and record these sites with the cooperation of the Antiquities Service to the highest scientific standards of the day. The results were published and circulated to subscribers and the wider public, raising awareness of what stood to be lost, generating support for the cause and creating a record of the physical remains that would endure. The Society's mission remains almost unchanged to this day.

The intention of the organisers was to continue and extend dialogue between the various individuals and organisations working to preserve Egypt's heritage, and particularly with those based in Egypt; to identify the most important issues and biggest challenges, and to discuss practical and realistic approaches to tackling them.

The revolution of January 2011 has brought Egypt to the attention of the world but for once the usual stereotypes — Tutankhamun, camels and pyramids — have had little to do with it. Rather, the world has come to see a more modern Egypt and its vibrant, youthful people, determined in their desire for change and to have a say in their country's future. The issues that led to the revolution and the difficulties that have followed it are the context in which

archaeologists, conservators, historians and so on operate. History and heritage are but one concern for Egypt and must be balanced against the everyday needs of the people.

The conference opened with a message from the Minister of State for Antiquities (MSA) of the time, Dr Ahmed Eissa, but it was unfortunate that no representatives of the Ministry could be present in person. Supporting the Ministry in any way possible must be a top priority for any of us working in the field. Organisations such as the EES maintain excellent relations with the Ministry, but the situation might be further improved by the creation of a mechanism for coordinating the view of Egyptologists and other specialists throughout the world, a unified voice with which the Ministry might communicate. There is presently no single body able to achieve this effectively. Collectively these individuals and organisations have much to offer in terms not only of skills and expertise but also access to funding and enthusiastic public audiences who might also be mobilised to provide financial support. The EES perhaps provides a model, relying, as it now does, almost entirely on the support of private individuals, through subscriptions and donations, to fund its work. In other words the Society is only able to carry out its work thanks to public enthusiasm for what it does in gathering and sharing information about Egypt's history. There is great potential for further support to be generated.

The Society's status as a registered charity in the UK is based on its mission to "educate" the public. This has mainly been achieved through publication in print (but increasingly online as well), and through a programme of lectures and other educational events mainly in London and Cairo. Recently the Society has given much time and energy to considering how to reach a wider, more diverse audience and one aspect of that has been to consider how best to reach a variety of audiences in Egypt, specifically at the sites at which our research teams have been working. The joint EES-University of Durham mission to Sais/Sa El-Hagar has installed information panels explaining its work in English and Arabic with a view to improving engagement with the local community. At Quesna, the Society's Minufiyeh Archaeological Survey team has partnered with the local university to train students in field techniques. Such

community engagement work is still too rare but it is becoming more common and it must be hoped that the momentum will be maintained; international archaeological projects are scattered throughout the country offering an excellent opportunity for specialists to help leverage the enthusiasm and support for heritage that exists among the general population.

It was suggested that the MSA could encourage archaeological teams to engage with the local community as part of the conditions of receiving permission to work in the field, and in general that improved dialogue might lead to agreement on a new set of terms and conditions for international teams working in Egypt based on the priorities of the Ministry and the most effective coordination of resources.

Information management and accessibility beyond the current requirement that archaeological projects "publish" their work in traditional form must form a part of this. The position of traditional publication as the definitive way to set down and distribute information has been brought into question as technological advances, digital media, and the internet have made it possible to gather more information than ever before and to share it more quickly and widely. This has driven a dramatic change in the way information is consumed and Egyptology must respond to this. Related issues including the evolution of bibliographic tools and their relation to information frameworks used for more practical purposes by the MSA such as its definitive list of registered archaeological sites, the importance of archives, preserving original documentation and allowing access to it, were raised throughout the conference.

One final theme of note was the need to avoid privileging any particularly period of history over any other. The monuments that survive today, although created at a certain time and intended for use in a particular way at the outset, also have a history which extends beyond that point and continues to this day. They should not be seen only as ruined or spoiled fragments of the past, but for what they are now; many sites have been successfully adapted and reused over the centuries continuously in some cases, temples becoming, churches, mosques or dwelling places for example. The intervention of explorers, travelers, archaeologists and others over the course of the last few centuries can also

now be seen as a part of their story, rather than simply as the impartial unveiling of things that had been hidden. The story of those later times should not be ignored or, worse, erased in the attempt to return things to the way they were at some period that is perceived to be somehow better. An understanding of this will help to set the country's physical heritage into the context of the modern environment, and to reconnect modern Egypt with its ancient past. That there is a much greater appreciation of this now than has been the case in the past is a very positive sign.

It is hoped that the some of the initiatives proposed during the conference will be taken forward and also that discussions will continue with a second event to take place in Egypt. The EES would strongly support such a move and we look forward to further dialogue and cooperation.

Forming Material Egypt:
the support of the Friends of the Petrie Museum

Lucia Gahlin · Jan Picton
FRIENDS OF THE PETRIE MUSEUM

The Friends of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology were delighted and honoured to be invited to participate in the *Forming Material Egypt* Conference in May 2013.

The purpose of the Friends is to support the archaeological heritage of Flinders Petrie through conservation, publication and display of the collection. We seek to enhance public awareness of the Petrie Museum and to promote discussion of current issues relating to archaeology, the importance of archives, and the vulnerability of both object and memory.

The results of *Forming Material Egypt* were outstanding. The Conference stimulated wide international debate between colleagues from Egypt, Europe and North America; combined incisive examination of past and present archaeology and scholarship; and formulated new agendas for future co-operation between scholars and between countries.

We are delighted to support the publication of this volume which will bring the proceedings of the Conference to a wider audience.

RE-CONNECTING WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT:
SITES AND DATABASES

Re-materialising "state formation": Hierakonpolis 2.0

Richard Bussmann

(PLATE I)

The paper discusses the potential of a cross-institutional online database centred on objects from Hierakonpolis. The site is pivotal for understanding the emergence of Pharaonic kingship and archaic states in North Eastern Africa and the Middle East during the late 4th and early 3rd millennium BCE. While objects such as the Narmer palette and the ivory figurines from the temple area of Hierakonpolis are crucial in the debate, the brief excavation reports produced by J. Quibell and F. Green obscure their archaeological context. This has prevented a "thick" understanding of the evidence necessary to substantiate swift theoretical assumptions. It is argued that the database will help define a local perspective on large-scale social transformation and contextualise modern abstract notions such as "state formation" in the material environment of the people living in the ancient settlement. This underexplored perspective shows that the database would combine a clear research aim with the collection of data and objects. The database may stimulate fresh fieldwork and conservation at the site, which is suffering badly from natural and human destruction. The appeal of the exceptionally well preserved objects from Hierakonpolis to museum visitors offers an opportunity to channel public interest in archival research and increase awareness of the need for site and object conservation.

Local horizons of "state formation" in the material world

Hierakonpolis, ancient Nekhen, is one of the central places of Pharaonic "state formation" and a key site for exploring the emergence of early complex societies in cross-cultural research.[1]   The Predynastic and a few later remains are located on the modern flat desert strip and along the wadis leading up to the high plateau of the desert (pl. I, 1). The Early Dynastic temple and town area lies in the modern cultivation opposite Nekheb / Elkab, the ancient twin city of Hierakonpolis. Today, the village Kom el-Ahmar occupies part of the site.

The temple and town area was first excavated by the British J. Quibell and F. Green in 1897-99, revisited by J. Garstang and H. Jones in 1905 and by Lansing

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1.   Cf. e.g., N. YOFFEE, *Myths of the Archaic State. Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*, Cambridge 2005; E.C. KÖHLER, *Theories of State Formation*, in W. WENDRICH (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, Oxford - Malden - Chichester 2010, pp. 36-54.

in 1932, surveyed by K. Butzer and W. Kaiser in 1957, and partly re-excavated by W. Fairservis and M. Hoffman in the 1970s-90s.[2]   The standard of excavation and publication has been low throughout although individual members of the teams, such as Green and Hoffman, had a better sense of the difficulties the archaeology of the settlement offered. Two archaeological fieldwork missions are currently working at Hierakonpolis. One is headed by R. Friedman and concentrates on the desert areas;[3]   the other is led by E. Walters, former member of the Fairservis team, and re-investigates the temple and town area.[4]

The Quibell and Green excavation has raised the greatest excitement for Hierakonpolis due to the discovery of iconic pieces such as the Narmer palette with the first monumental representation of Pharaonic kingship, other monumental palettes, mace heads, and stone vessels, and a set of fine pieces of ivory artwork.[5]   Parallel to the on-going fieldwork in the 1970s, Barbara Adams published a synthesised version of Green's manuscripts in transcription indicating of find context and the present location of objects distributed across the UK, Europe, and the US.[6]   The following graph shows the distribution of 2,346 objects mentioned in Adams' publications, *i.e.* from Quibell's, Green's and Garstang's excavations. The collections with the largest numbers of objects are the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge (29%) — this includes objects originally given to the former Faculty of Oriental Studies in Cambridge and transferred to the MAA in the 1990s — the Petrie Museum in London (24%) and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford which received the majority of ivory objects (17%). The British Museum has not received objects from these excavations. The types of objects distributed to individual museums

2. The history of excavations in this part of Hierakonpolis is conveniently summarised by B. ADAMS, *Ancient Nekhen. Garstang in the City of Hierakonpolis*, New Malden 1995, pp. 3-20.

3. Cf. <www.hierakonpolis-online.org> for latest results and further reading.

4. E. WALTERS, *Women in the Cult of Isis at Hierakonpolis*, in Z. HAWASS - L. PINCH BROCK (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cairo 2000, II, Cairo 2003, pp. 558-65; D.P. GOLD - R. PARIZEK - S.S. ALEXANDER - E.J. WALTERS, *Development of a Strategy for Groundwater Control to Preserve the Temple-town of Hierakonpolis*, in HAWASS - PINCH BROCK (eds), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, III, pp. 196-203.

5. J.E. QUIBELL - F.W. GREEN, *Hierakonpolis I*, London 1900; IID., *Hierakonpolis II*, London 1902.

6. B. ADAMS, *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, London 1974; EAD., *Ancient Hierakonpolis. Supplement*, London 1974; EAD., *Ancient Nekhen*.

vary although the standard share for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and major UK and US museums usually included a few fine ivory objects, some stone vessels, and a series of mace heads. In contrast, the MAA in Cambridge received flint implements, pottery, and many fragmented stone vessels, *i.e.* objects of lesser aesthetic appeal. The numbers of objects is likely to rise with future research but the graph does give a first impression of the miniscule amount of objects that have remained in Egypt. These include, however, the Narmer palette which some may argue is the most important object recovered from the site.
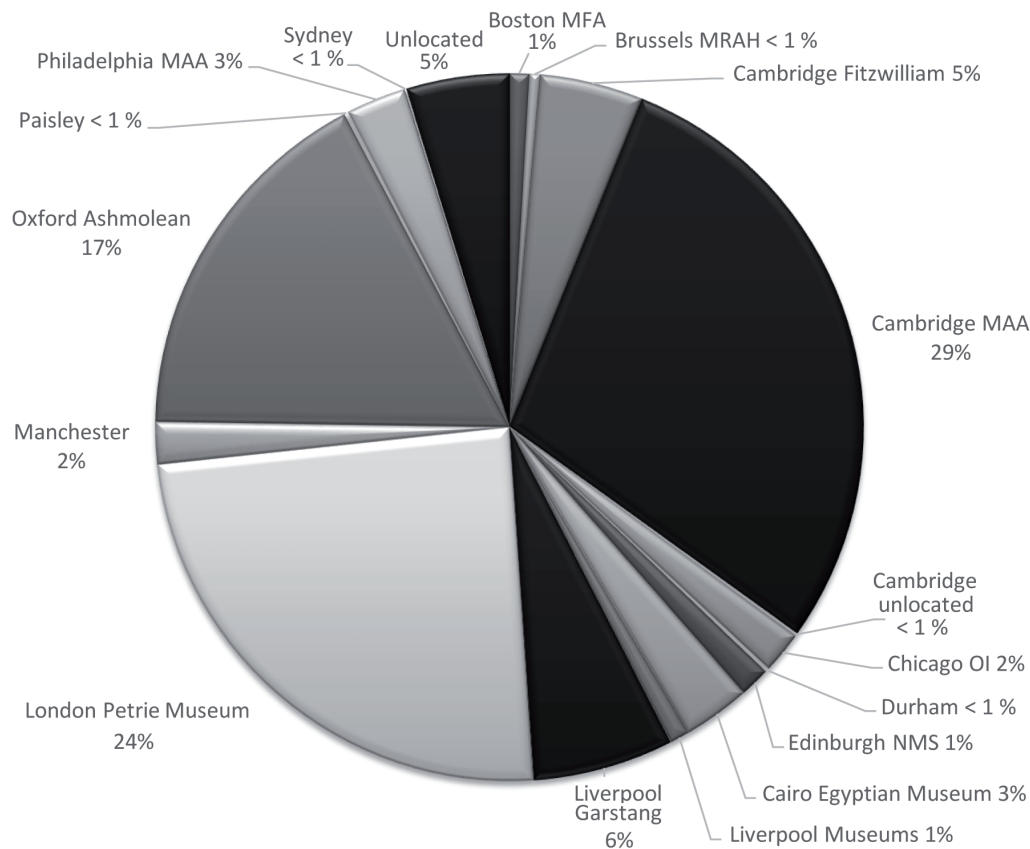
Graph showing the distribution of 2,346 objects excavated by Quibell, Green and Garstang at Hierakonpolis. Numbers after ADAMS, *Hierakonpolis*; EAD., *Hierakonpolis. Supplement*; EAD., *Ancient Nekhen*.

Adams' work demonstrates the overwhelming wealth of material excluded from Quibell's and Green's brief and often contradictory excavation reports and will remain foundational for future research on objects and archival material. However, her publications are in parts difficult to use and incomplete. Adams compiled the data in columns correlating the location and description of a find spot with the location and description of objects found at this find spot, the current location and accession numbers of objects, and relevant manuscripts. Her tabulated presentaton obscures the however limited coherence of the manuscripts. The chronological arrangement of pages in Green's pocket diary, for example, can help understand better the work flow during excavations and the nature of find contexts.

Researchers interested in the archaeological context of objects are confronted with a promising but confusing set of information. As a result, only individual objects are picked for discussion in the research literature, preferably those of aesthetic appeal that seem to provide dense enough "cultural" information to exclude their archaeological context. This is not surprising, as the current state of knowledge hampers research on association of objects and architecture, quantitative analysis, find distribution patterns, and analysis of practice contexts in which objects were embedded. A corollary of the deficient publication record is an almost exclusive focus on the most prestigious objects distorting the actual material and social profile of the site.

Recent research demonstrates the potential of a database reuniting archival material and objects from Hierakonpolis. The stone vessels of the temple area, for example, when viewed in their entirety, can be dated to the rather short period of the Late Predynastic period and the the First Dynasty.[7] They are highly prestigious objects and were offered in the temple by kings and courtiers of this period, *i.e.* by those individuals represented on the Narmer palette. This lends something like a material "reality" to the representation on the palette previously not recognized. The quantitative comparison of the entire votive

7.   R. BUSSMANN, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0.–11. Dynastie. Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz*, Boston - Leiden 2010, pp. 396-401.

assemblage from Hierakonpolis with material from other temples of the third millenium demonstrates that the massive presence of royal and elite objects in the temple of Hierakonpolis was exceptional and restricted to this temple, rather than reflecting ubiquitous royal patronage of Egyptian temples across Egypt.[8]   Thus, while Egyptian "state formation" affected the entire region of North Eastern Africa, royal agency is limited in scope. Adams' object lists have also encouraged work on individual objects, including their conservation, and stimulated new interpretative models for the Early Dynastic temple.[9]

It is somewhat frightening how little is visible in the field today of what must have been there when Quibell and Green arrived (pl. 1, 2). The decline of the archaeological record started already in the 19th century. Old farmers reported to Quibell and Green that the stones of the site had been taken away to build a factory in nearby Esna and that, thirty years earlier, the shallow settlement mound had walls standing six meters high.[10]   The building of a factory in Esna and the quarrying of bud bricks on industrial scale can probably be interpreted as the impact of 19th century Egyptian industrialism and intensified agriculture on archaeological sites.[11]   Quibell and Green worried about the site slipping soon under cultivation, partially because local peasants had laid out water channels across it. The 1897-99 excavations (something between digging and looting) have further destructed the site and Fairservis' amateurish excavations added to the confusion. Apart from man-made destruction, the site suffers from rising ground water table and salinization from below and from wind erosion, sediments washed down from the Wadi Abu el-Suffian, and halfa grass spreading over the fertile mud bricks underneath the surface.

8.   R. Bussmann, *The Social Setting of the Temple of Satet in the Third Millenium*, in D. Raue - S. Seidlmayer - P. Speiser (eds), *The First Cataract of hte Nile. One Region – Diverse Perspectives*, Mainz 2013, pp. 21-34.

9.   K.N. Sowada, *Black-topped Ware in Early Dynastic Contexts*, in « jea » 85 (1999), pp. 85-102; H. Whitehouse, *A Decorated Knife Handle from the 'Main Deposit' at Hierakonpolis*, in « mdaik » 58 (2002), pp. 425-46; L. McNamara, *The Revetted Mound at Hierakonpolis and Early Kingship. A Re-Interpretation*, in B. Midant-Reynes - Y. Tristant - J. Rowland - S. Hendrickx (eds), *Egypt at Its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th–8th September 2005*, Leuven - Paris - Dudley 2008, pp. 901-36; R. Bussmann, *The Seals and Seal Impressions from Hierakonpolis*, in « Egyptian Archaeology » 38 (Spring 2011), pp. 17-19.

10.   Quibell - Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, p. 26.

11.   D.M. Bailey, *Sebakh, Sherds and Survey*, in « jea » 85 (1999), pp. 211-18.

The first more detailed modern description of Hierakonpolis is offered by V. Denon. He visited the site in 1799 as a member of Napoleon's mission to Egypt and made a pencil drawing which depicts him as a painter in a landscape with a ruined gate in the front and another structure at the far horizon.[12]   Despite its fictional nature, the drawing can be interpreted in conjunction with Denon's description in the text as representing a Late Period temple (or city?) wall, vanished today, and the fort of Khasekhemwy.[13]   The history of the site between the Ptolemies and the early 19th century has not yet been explored.

Similar to other monumental temples, the walls and foundations of the later temple of Hierakonpolis were probably built of re-used stone blocks. Among them might have been the Middle Kingdom Royal kings and private statues kept today in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 422, 423, 425). They were registered in the *Journal d'Entrée* in 1889 and 1892, *i.e.* prior to Quibell's and Green's work at the site, and probably came to light during the destruction of the site in the 19th century. These comments demonstrate that an object database needs to be set against the local site formation process, including its political underpinnings, in order to understand how the objects sit in the wider context of the site and its history.

These considerations draw attention to the local dimension of "state formation" and raise questions of how it materialises at Hierakonpolis. The relevance of a local perspective lies in the fact that it challenges swift theoretical assumptions and brings people and their physical world back on the agenda. In conjunction with current excavations the database will facilitate answers to question such as: How does the material record from Hierakonpolis reflect environmental, historical, and political developments from prehistory to the modern day? How has "state formation" transformed local worlds of material consumption, or, to frame it more broadly, how has "state formation" changed human experience of the material world at Hierakonpolis? Does re-material-

12. V. DENON, *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte, pendant les compagnes de Bonaparte, en 1798 et 1799*, Londres 1817, pp. 195-96.

13. For a discussion cf. R. FRIEDMAN, *The Fort Forgotten*, in « Nekhen News » 23 (2011), p. 25; R. BUSSMANN, *Urbanism and Temple Religion in Egypt. A comment on Hierakonpolis*, in « JEA », forthcoming.

ising "state formation" cross-culturally help achieve a deeper understanding of the transformation of minds masked by the theoretical discourse?

Creation and dissemination of knowledge

The idea of the database arises primarily out of a frustration with the disparate fragmentation of knowledge. Different from databases of institutions with a given data set, the Hierakonpolis database would establish a site-specific body of knowledge across institutions. This impacts on the structure of the database and the way it will be presented to funding institutions to whose tune it will dance. The discussion above shows how the database can be embedded in a research agenda. The following paragraphs put up for discussion some open questions of a pragmatic and ethical nature.

Outline of the database

The database is an academic research tool in the first place and includes information on individual objects, find context, archival material and publications. The focus is currently placed on an estimated number of 2,500 objects excavated by Quibell and Green in 1897-1899 and by Garstang and Jones in 1905. The archival material includes information written on objects (*e.g.* find context number), register cards and additional material in museums and Green's digging diaries kept at Cambridge University and the British Museum. Illustrations of objects and archival material should be provided where possible (*e.g.* link to photos in existing online databases).

Accessibility and quality

The open access format is essentially seen as a progress over previous individuated publications. The multi-dimensional searching options will increase the potential for higher level research, such as quantitative analysis, spatial distribution of objects at the site and assessment of materials used. The resolution of information is aimed to be high, quality to be prioritised over quantity. The

quality of illustrations and photos depends on availability. Ideally, a click on a low resolution image should open a window with a high resolution photo.

Inclusion and exclusion

The database cuts out a rather arbitrary chunk of data which affords explanation on an introductory website. Parts of the material excavated in the 1970s-90s are currently being re-studied.[14]   On-going excavations are primarily based outside the temple and town area. This makes it difficult to establish the border of the database and a definite decision on the matter is not yet taken.

Classification

The entries in the database, *e.g.* materials, object type, or find context, afford classification in the English language. Scroll-down menus will help channel the search. Other than that, one will have to get away with the often imperfect, misleading, ambiguous, and disciplinarily entangled system of classification.

Hierarchy of objects

Information on context will vary from object to object. As a general rule, more details are available for prestigious objects whereas pottery and flint implements, for example, are less consistently mentioned in the reports and digging diaries, were left at the site, or are difficult to identify in the museum because no find context number or site provenance is written on them. A full picture of the material culture discovered during excavation is therefore beyond the reach of the database but should be aimed for in order to prevent a purely elitist reading of the site.

Find context

Find context is a difficult entity in the case of Hierakonpolis because it needs discussion of whether it is a sealed context, how an object came into its final position in which it has been found, and how find assemblages relate to standing

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14.   G. Di Pietro, *Nekhen 10N5W Revisited: Charting Ceramic Changes*, in « Nekhen News » 24 (2012), pp. 13-14;
      K. Nagaya, *Square 10N5W: Innovations in Lithic Production*, in « Nekhen News » 24 (2012), pp. 14-15.

architecture. The stratigraphic analysis of the site, as far as one can tell from the reports, points to intensive ransacking through later buildings. Careless digging complicates the situation. Green often fails to consider these questions in his notebooks; Quibell does not seem to have even been interested in them. In contrast to funerary archaeology, where burials can more easily (but often also do not) provide a meaningful reference point for interpretation and comparison, *i.e.* the deceased individuals, the resolution of find context for Hierakonpolis is lower and will in many cases be restricted to a two-dimensional definition of broader areas at the site. Distribution patterns will only emerge from larger amounts of objects with known find context. This is where the database plays a pivotal role.

Re-excavation

The database artificially re-contextualises objects whose association, distribution and location in the landscape are more evident when excavating them in the field. Given the salinization of the site due to raising ground water table and the erosion of (the few) above-ground structures, re-excavation of the temple and town area would contribute to the aims of the database and would be desirable. Hierakonpolis is also one of the few early Pharaonic towns preserved to a reasonable degree. Surface survey, sieving of excavation dumps, and remote sensing techniques applied to adjacent areas of the site could be viable and promising steps forward. Urgent and desirable as it is, excavation does not, however, remove the need for archival and object research. Structures documented by Quibell and Green in 1897-99 were already gone when Fairservis re-excavated parts of the temple area in the 1970s, and it is unlikely that fieldwork would be able to re-identify structures and archaeological contexts of previous excavations. Moreover, the objects of the old excavations form an important existing body of knowledge and should not be relinquished due to fragile context information. A site-museum with objects from old or fresh excavations such as in the archaeological park on Elephantine island is an unlikely

option for Hierakonpolis because the temple and town area is difficult to access, and probably little appealing to, the touristic mainstream.[15]

Cross-institutional cooperation

As the database is site specific it faces the problems of cross-institutional distribution of objects, knowledge, and publication rights. Collaboration and the use of existing online resources will be instrumental to diminish these obstacles. Research Space, in particular, developed by the British Museum in cooperation with the Andrew Mellon Foundation may provide a useful collaborative, digital umbrella for the Hierakonpolis database.

Public engagement

Beyond the academic questions, the database could be developed into a tool to engage with a wider public. Many objects from Hierakonpolis are prominently displayed in museum galleries, such as in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Ashmolean Museum, or the Fitzwilliam Museum. Embedded in an accessible explanatory framework, the database could serve to give visitors an insight into research on objects. An outwardly oriented user surface of the database could raise public excitement for research and an awareness of problematic issues of re-contextualisation, conservation, and the ethics of archaeological practice. Interactive computer panels may distort the visitor flow through galleries while additional text panels might be tiring and little engaging. They may contain questions the answer to which affords a closer look at the object on display or lead to related objects in a thematic tour. A translation of apps into Arabic would help outweigh the Anglocentric background of the database. On the negative side, apps may direct visitor attention to the digital world rather than real objects and are geared towards an audience accostumed to this technology. A less problematic engagement with a wider audience than in museum galleries

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15. For Elephantine, cf. [W. KAISER], *Elephantine. Die antike Stadt. Offizielles Führungsheft des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, Kairo 1998.

would be an extended website presenting Hierakonpolis in a broader narrative of why early civilizations might matter to the modern world.

Summary

Many of the thoughts discussed above will sound familiar to those conducting database based research. They are put forward in writing here in the spirit of the conference which was intended as a forum for discussion of Egypt's material heritage, rather than as a review of results from completed research projects. In this sense, an online database of objects from Hierakonpolis would hopefully be a tool for fresh research on Pharaonic "state formation". It can stimulate new research of unpublished excavated material as much as of the site itself, be it fresh fieldwork, conservation, or analysis of the wider site formation process. This complex bundle of issues should offer an opportunity to present to museum visitors and online readers individual objects on display as an exciting, engaging and basically open invitation to explore more, rather than as a repository of academic knowledge. Open questions concern the integration of the database with existing digital resources, its viability and sustainability. There is no definite answer to these questions. However, keeping research on Hierakonpolis alive and embedding the database in a network of scholars, institutions, and the public, both in Egypt and across the globe, might be a successful way forward.

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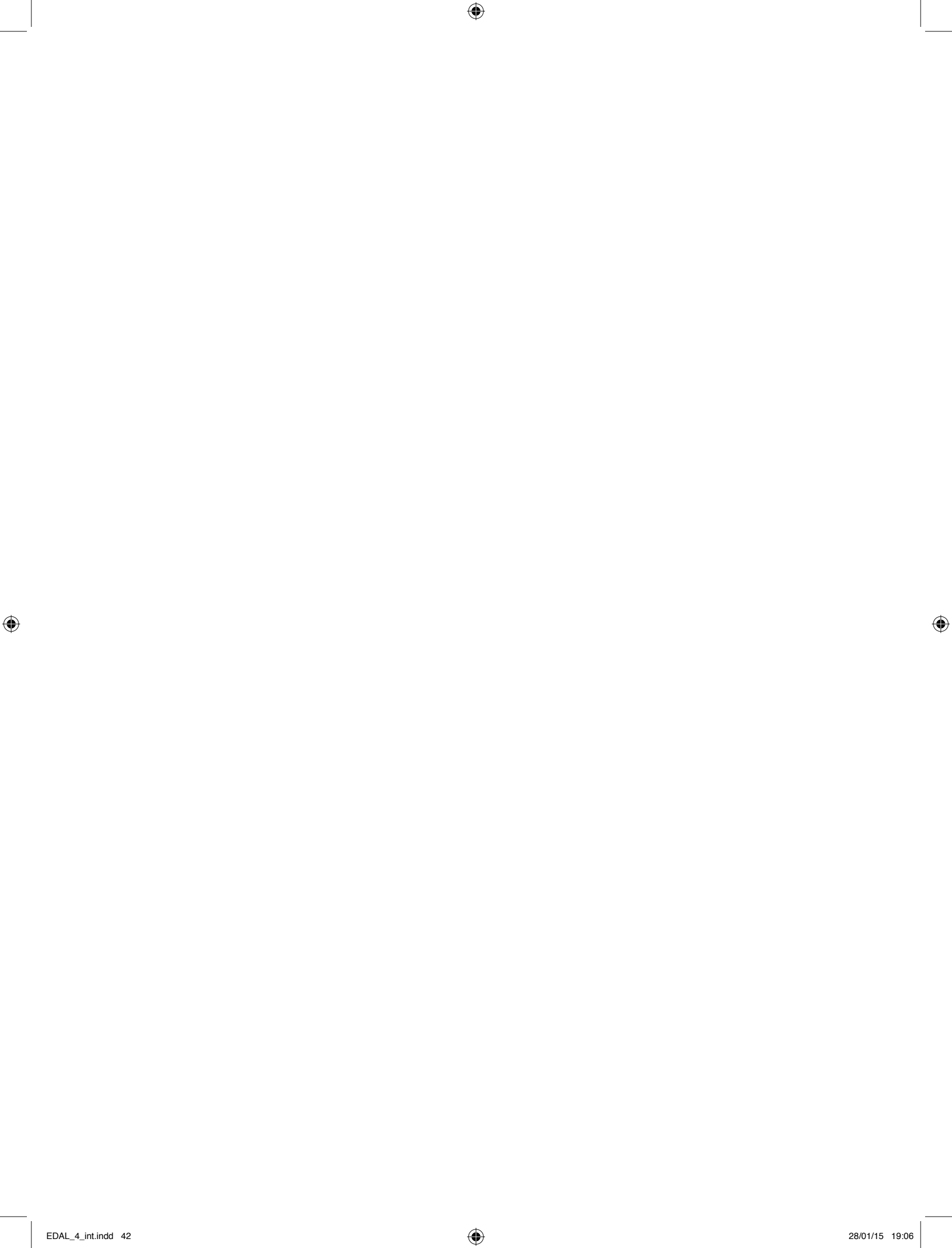
Collecting groups: the archaeological context of the late Middle Kingdom Cemetery A at Harageh *

Gianluca Miniaci

The importance to individuate block categories of objects to define separate chronological periods within the history of Ancient Egypt has often clashed against the necessity to keep find-context at the centre of study as the only possible way to encounter and explore past societies and cultures. Collecting types and arranging objects in categories could have been one of the easiest way to explore unknown cultures as Egypt was at the beginning of nineteenth century, while accurate records of find-groups would have generated slow process of data acquisition and would have moved the discipline towards fragmentation. The resolution of difficulties in constructing visual diachronic typologies and in reassembling find-groups as a source of knowledge is still today one of the tasks to be accomplished. The aim of this paper is that to show new possible directions for the future of the research, receding its focus from types to groups. The late Middle Kingdom Cemetery A in the necropolis of Harageh has been selected as case study, in order to show the potentiality to reassemble the original find-groups.

Theoretical model: types vs groups

Types in archaeology involve a particular atomization of groups of objects as found together, separating each single item from its original context.[1]   However, classification in types has long represented an irresistible process, because it offers one of the most efficient and swift ways to index the ancient material culture and produce discourses on it. Types have the effect of creating big pictures, chronological sequences, evolutionary lines, easy reading and interpretation of

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1.   S. QUIRKE, *Collecting Types: Rosellini, Petrie, Montelius. The before and the after*, in M. BETRÒ - G. MINIACI (eds), T*alking along the Nile. Ippolito Rosellini, travellers and scholars of the 19th century in Egypt. Proceedings of the International Conference held on the occasion of the presentation of Progetto Rosellini. Pisa, June 14-16, 2012*, Pisa 2013, pp. 197-210.

the material. Collecting types and arranging material in categories provide a ready way to explore and describe new and unknown worlds.

Recently, the attention of scholars slowly moved away from the evolutionary line of types over time, towards a desire for single, independent stories.[2] In archaeology, research focused on the original deposit as found, documenting groups of items in the ground, rather than separating them according to material, shape, types. The groups of objects as found in their original context provide the opportunity to encounter past civilizations in their material diversity, and from there to write their social history.[3]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Egyptology became an European university discipline, scholars faced an unknown civilisation that needed to be rapidly deciphered, described, and indexed; the main aim was to understand and epitomise Egyptian culture, separating its identity from the other most prominent ancient civilisations, Greek, Roman, Near Eastern.[4] Any accurate records of find-groups, at that time, would have generated a slower process of data acquisition, and it would have moved the discipline towards a fragmentation, which was not required since ancient Egypt was still an unexplored narrative. At the dawn of Egyptology, classification by types was the principal means available to scan an entire civilization and to understand its history in larger picture,[5] as explicitly reported by Rosellini in his introduction to the *Monumenti*:

> For the exposition of the monuments, I will follow a particular method rather than a precise sequence: that is to say. I will not locate them by the place where they have been found, but instead I will arrange them according to their subjects: fowling, hunting, fishing, agriculture, arts and crafts.[6]

2.   T. BARRINGER - T. FLYNN (eds), *Colonialism and the object: empire, colonialism and the museum*, Lonon - New York 1998; S. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands. Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives, 1880-1924*, London 2010.

3.   A. SCHNAPP, *The Discovery of the Past*, London 1994.

4.   G. MINIACI, T*racing a line to modern Egyptology: Ippolito Rosellini, Vladimir Propp, and the criptohistory of the Dizionario Geroglifico*, in BETRÒ - MINIACI (eds), *Talking along the Nile*, pp. 151-61.

5.   M. BETRÒ (a cura di), *Ippolito Rosellini e gli inizi dell'Egittologia. Disegni e manoscritti inediti della Spedizione Franco-Toscana (1828-29) dalla Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa / Ippolito Rosellini and the Dawn of Egyptology. Original Drawings and Manuscripts of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt (1828-29) from the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa*, Cairo 2010.

6.   I. ROSELLINI, *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia: disegnati dalla spedizione scientifico-letteraria toscana in*

The knowledge of history of ancient Egypt in the nineteenth century can be imagined as an enormous jigsaw puzzle with millions of scattered pieces to be placed in an order, as consistent as possible. When we are in front of a jigsaw puzzle, the first task is to start separate pieces of the same colours; in archaeology, the "colours" are the separate types of objects or, in visual arts, types of scenes. It would have been hard to work out the whole picture, if we tried to work on each single scene, each small history, each context or structure. Until late in the nineteenth century, the discovery of single histories, intact groups, did not find a great echo, because a solid narrative was still absent; stories floating in a black canvas did not add much more to our knowledge.

The first documented groups in Egyptology

Nevertheless, scholars did not completely neglect the practice of documenting intact find-groups, even if this is attested only to a limited degree and in some instances without further development into the research.

In 1828-29, Champollion and Rosellini, during the Franco-Tuscan expedition to Egypt, recorded in person some intact tombs, describing the moment of discovery and writing down the position of objects as found. The case of the nurse of the king Taharqa of the 25th dynasty, Tjesraperet,[7] provides a clear example of an effort to record groups by Champollion and Rosellini (pl. II, 1). Beside a long description of the discovery, Rosellini, in his diary, gives a sketch of the objects as found:

> Dopo pranzo Abu-Sakkarah venne ad avvertirci che gli scavatori avevano trovato una tomba intatta […]. La bocca dello scavo era ancora chiusa; scesi nel pozzo mentre l'aprivano […]. Questo pozzo era profondo almeno 25 braccia e a metà, dopo una specie di pianerottolo, prendeva un'altra direzione […]. Non poteva dunque scendersi che in comodissimamente puntando cioè spalle e braccia alle

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Egitto; distribuiti in ordine di materie/interpretati ed illustrati dal dottore Ippolito Rosellini, Monumenti Civili, III, Pisa 1836.

7. M.C. GUIDOTTI - F. TIRADRITTI, *Rinascimento Faraonico. La XXV dinastia nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, Montepulciano 2009, p. 15-20. Cf. also M. BETRÒ (a cura di), *Lungo il Nilo. Ippolito Rosellini e la Spedizione Franco-Toscana in Egitto (1828-1829)*, Firenze 2010, pp. 114-23 (not all the objects belong to Tjesraperet's group).

pareti, mentre, secondo il solito, cadevano sempre giù sassi e terra […]. La polvere, il caldo, e l'orrore del luogo, toglievano il respiro. A destra del pozzo era il foro che introduceva nella cameretta, o grotta rozzamente scavata, ov'erano due casse di mummie col capo rivolto verso l'apertura […] posavano su un coperchio uno sparviere di legno dipinto e sulle ginocchia uno sciakal […] al capo stava appoggiata una bella stele di legno con figure dorate […]. Dinanzi la stele era posta una specie di urna di legno che conteneva i quattro vasi di alabastro, che si chiamano canopi […] al lato destro della cassa era posto sul suolo un canestrello che conteneva uno specchio di metallo chiuso in una custodia di legno, ed un astuccio per il collirio […].[8]

The importance of the discovery had a great impact on their imagination, and its scientific value was immediately fully appreciated, as demonstrated by the fact that some of the objects were represented by Giuseppe Angelelli on a memorial painting of the members of the Franco-Tuscan expedition at Luxor. The objects found together, were unfortunately separated during the packing and the shipping to Livorno, as documented by the list of antiquities drawn up by Rosellini himself in Livorno.[9]   Packing and shipping and then unpacking, in other words "logistical reasons", created an atomic separation of the components of a single group. Probably behind the division of finds between Champollion and Rosellini there was in mind the idea to keep some of the selected groups together, as happened in great measure for Tjesraperet. However, lapses in memory and difficulties in tracing the original provenance of objects probably altered the original *ratio* of the *partage*. Most of the objects belonging to Tjesraperet are still in Florence Museum, although here again, museological reasons caused a new atomization of the group, each object being on display in separate showcases, or stored in the basement (pl. II, 2).

Similarly Giuseppe Passalacqua,[10]   some years earlier, in 1822-25, collecting antiquities in Egypt, discovered, cleared and documented the intact

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8.   G. GABRIELI, *Ippolito Rosellini e il suo Giornale della spedizione letteraria toscana in Egitto negli anni 1828-1829: ora per la prima volta pubblicato in occasione del Congresso internazionale di geografia tenutosi al Cairo nell'aprile del 1925*, Pisa 1925, pp. 106-07.

9.   M. BETRÒ, T*he Lorena Archive in Prague and the collection from the Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in the Florence Museum*, in EAD. - MINIACI (eds), *Talking along the Nile*, pp. 43-58.

10.   P. TEDESCO, *Giuseppe Passalacqua (Trieste 1797-Berlino 1865). Una nota biografica*, in « Analecta Papyrologica » 21-22 (2009-2010), pp. 237-67.

late Middle Kingdom tomb of the "estate overseer" Mentuhotep on the north-eastern slopes of Deir el-Bahri valley.[11] Passalaqua recorded in detail the discovery in his notes and produced some drawings showing the objects as found (pl. III, 1). Nevertheless, Passalacqua, in his *Catalogue raisonné*,[12] did not consider it necessary to keep the find-group together and, as in the example of Tjesraperet, he dismembered it, placing each item under a separate object category. Again the logic of types prevailed over the option of narrating a single story. The whole group entered the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of Berlin with the collection of Passalaqua, but here the loss of the Second World War affected also some items of Mentuhotep group, which is now on display reassembled together in the Egyptian gallery of the Neues Museum (pl. III, 2).

    Not only scholars, but also dealers and collectors had understood the importance of documenting objects *in situ*, though for different reasons: the knowledge of the find place and the objects found within a group gave the items higher value. In a report published in 1836, Giovanni d'Athanasi, who assembled most of the collection for Henry Salt, posthumously auctioned in summer 1835, refers to the discovery of the burial of king Nubkheperre Intef (17th dynasty) at Dra Abu el-Naga, in the northernmost part of the Theban necropolis:

> During the researches made by the Arabs in the year 1827, at Gourna, they discovered in the mountain, now called by the Arabs, Il-Drah-Abool-Naggia, a small and separate tomb, containing only one chamber, in the centre of which was placed a sarcophagus […]. In this sarcophagus was found the above-mentioned case, with the body as originally deposited […]. The Arabs on discovering their rich prize, immediately proceed to break up the mummy, as was their usual custom, for the treasures it might contain, but all the information I was able to obtain as the various objects they found, is that the Scarabaeus, which was purchased by the British Museum, from Mr. Salt's collection, (see catalogue no. 209), was placed on the breast, without having, as is usual, any ornament attached to it.[13]

11. G. Miniaci, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga*, in M. Betrò - P. Del Vesco - G. Miniaci (eds), *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga. The tomb of Huy (TT 14): preliminary results*, « Progetti » 3, Pisa 2009, p. 38.

12. G. Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, Paris 1826.

13. G. d'Athanasi, *A brief account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt made under the direction of Henry Salt: To which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr Salt's collection of Egyptian antiquities*, London 1836, p. 167. Cf. also recent discussion in G. Miniaci - M.F. Guerra - S. La Niece - M. Hacke, *Analytical*

The opportunity to create a narrative of a find-group, even only on its discovery, increased the price of the objects, and so attracted the attention also of the dealers in antiquities.

New directions at the beginning of the twentieth century?

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there is the impression that the logic of find-groups started to be considered as an essential part of exploring the past and encountering the ancient society. In Egyptian archaeology, the acclaimed *Sequence Dating* method employed by Flinders Petrie to date Predynastic cemeteries is usually considered a kind of watershed between the before and the after. Indeed, the *Sequence Dating* system did demonstrate the potential for relating objects in space and time. On the basis of find-groups, *Sequence Dating* could place types in an accurate chronological sequence, without losing the record of the histories of single people.[14]   However, the *Sequence Dating* of Petrie does not consider the importance of the group in itself, but again is a mathematical superimposition onto the group, privileging the logic of the type. In *Sequence Dating*, single objects become numbers and abstract entities; their purpose is not to encounter past people, but to connect types between them in a chain of chronological and evolutionary steps. Again the rhetoric of the type is dominant. Shedding new light on the history of Egyptology, Stephen Quirke has revealed an unknown side of the celebrated archaeologist Flinders Petrie, who was not merely a brilliant archaeologist as acclaimed for his *Sequence Dating*, but also a « collector purchasing small, at best loosely provenance, objects on massive scale, and even in his excavation reports the object-place is not always recorded to any degree of precision ».[15]   Petrie in his life produced 13 typological publications from his excavating and purchasing activities. The distance between Petrie and the first scholars of Egyptology is not that great; however,

      study of the first royal Egyptian heart-scarab, attributed to a Seventeenth Dynasty king, Sobekemsaf, in « British Museum Technical Research Bulletin » 7 (2013), pp. 53-60.

14.   W.M.F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva. The cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898-9*, London 1901.

15.   QUIRKE, *Collecting Types*, p. 204.

with his *Sequence Dating*, he started to show how types could be re-analysed in a more precise chronological way, if they have been recorded in their own context.

Converting types into groups:
the case-study of late Middle Kingdom Cemetery A of Harageh

Harageh is the modern name of a village situated on the Gebel Abusir, at the entrance to the Fayyum, on the west side of the Nile, few miles distant from the archaeological site of el-Lahun.[16]   The cemeteries found in the south-western part of the Gebel Abusir have been divided into 13 groups by Reginald Engelbach, who worked on the site in 1913, with the help of Battiscombe Gunn and Duncan Willey, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and under the formal supervision of Flinders Petrie. According to the published information, graves of the late Middle Kingdom were found in Cemetery A (103 graves — shaft-tombs — from Senusret II to Amenemhat III) and Cemetery S (from Senusret III to Amenemhat III, and later). Cemeteries E, F, and part of NZ date from the early Middle Kingdom to the 12th dynasty. Second Intermediate Period graves were recorded in Cemetery B (shaft-tombs). In *wadi* I and *wadi* II, undisturbed graves dating from the time of Senusret II to the Second Intermediate Period and belonging to poorer classes were not carefully recorded by the excavators, due to the difficulty in separating the burials, closely packed together.[17]

The case study selected here, the late Middle Kingdom Cemetery A of Harageh, aims to test to what extent it is possible to rearrange the archaeological records originally found together and later arranged in types, if properly documented. The archaeological excavations on the site of Harageh produced significant results in recording find-groups together, as evident in the grids appended at the end of the volume of Engelbach, *Harageh*, where the finds in relations to their provenance are recorded. However, notwithstanding the grid, in the publication, again, the logic of types is predominant, since the space reserved for the

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16.   R. ENGELBACH, *Harageh,* London 1923, p. 1; cf. also *ibidem*, pl. II.
17.   Cf. *ibidem*, p. 2, pls II-V.

description of finds is very limited and the objects (pottery, beads and stone vases, above all) are all grouped according to their types and not their context. Such a system, inevitably, produced a clear atomization of the group, because it creates an obstacle in viewing and perceiving groups together. However, it allows a re-assemblage of the material as originally found.

In the following list have been selected only those tombs of Cemetery A where more than one category of object was present, in order to reassemble a group and not only provide a description of finds. In some parts of the above-mentioned publication, I identified questions of inconsistency and imprecision, mainly due to the amount of the material presented; however, in the list below, when there is no further exhaustive description, I have had to assume that the tomb register is recording what they actually found. The record of the quantity of finds was not a priority of the excavators, and therefore the list produced does not show the exact number of objects, but simply the recurrence of types in each archaeological context. All the numbers of objects, etc. refer directly to the above-mentioned publication of Engelbach (pls IV-V).

Cemetery A[18]

Tomb 3
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (name on the object: Bastet Hetep). Finds: pottery 67s; bead 63p; beads 64j (name on the object Bastet Hetep); beads 68q.

Tomb 7
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (M/M-F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2s; pottery 38tt2r; pottery 48q; stone vase 56; beads 79jkm; glaze pot; blue paste hippopotamus; limestone bowl (fr); sandstone.

Tomb 8
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side/canopic CH on E side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5d; pottery 58c; pottery 67l.

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18. Abbreviation used in the following list: C = Child individual; CH = Chamber; CHs = Chambers; D = Disturbed context; F = Female individual; fr = Fragments; I = Intact context; M = Male individual; pt = Part of; tr = Traces; X = object recorded by excavators; + = Very disturbed context; − = feature not recorded by excavators. Cardinal points are indicated by N, S, E, W.

Tomb 16
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 38o; pottery 58h; pottery 67s; beads 68q.

Tomb 17
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 41f; pottery 67s; beads 63n; beads 65h; beads 68j; beads 73o.

Tomb 19
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 46m; pottery 56b; pottery 58chj; wooden wand (fr); stela (name on the object: Horemhab); bricks.

Tomb 23
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2d; pottery 67rs; beads 73p4; beads 79jkm.

Tomb 30
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 41j; pottery 90r; beads 68o; wooden canopic jar head; stela (pt; name on the object: Renefseneb).

Tomb 33
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2f3; pottery 3v; pottery 5hh3lm; pottery 54v; pottery 56bh2; pottery 58jm; pottery 67z; flint flake.

Tomb 35
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 3w; pottery 5d; pottery 6bb2b3c; pottery 56h2; pottery 57j; pottery 58h4rr2; pottery 67y; beads 68o; 2 cartonnage/limestone eyes; 2 pieces of hornstone; goldfoil.

Tomb 36
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 10g; pottery 37l; pottery 41m; pottery 67rs; pottery 90r; marble knob (?); bricks.

Tomb 37
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: scarab (name on the object: Nymh); ivory dancing wand.

Tomb 38
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on N side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 37x; pottery 49d; beads 73l; beads 79jk; beads 80ef; beads 85t.

Tomb 40
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (F F M). Coffin: −. Finds: beads 42c; beads 68z; beads 70h; beads 79jkm; beads 92e; cylinder (name on the object: Senusret II); 3 scarabs.

Tomb 41
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: −. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: X. Finds: stela (name on the object: Nebpu); stela (pt — see tomb no. 133; name on the object: Renef-Seneb).

Tomb 43
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5f; pottery 41j; flint flake; wooden box; wooden canopic jars (human headed stoppers).

Tomb 47
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 5h2lw2; pottery 3802; pottery 48f; pottery 59q; pottery 58h3; pottery 59u3; unworked scarab; fingers of ivory dancing wand (fr).

Tomb 48
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on N side and two CHs on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2knn2; pottery 67s; pottery 90lr; stone vase 16; stone vase 68; stone vase cover 73; limestone hippopotamus.

Tomb 49
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 2f3; pottery 54t; beads 60a; beads 61hk; gold foil.

Tomb 55
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5dxy; pottery 41f; pottery 49dlv; pottery 50v; pottery 57j; pottery 90l; dwarf faience figurine; ivory hands.

Tomb 56
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 10 (6 F and 4 M). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 2f3j2; pottery 5dh2; pottery 7n; pottery 10m; pottery 49p; pottery 90l; beads 70kno; beads 73l2m; beads 74p; beads 92d; beads 79jkm; glazed dog figurine; hippopotamus; wooden headrest (fr).

Tomb 58
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (M F F). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 67s; beads 63o; beads 68q; flint flake.

Tomb 59
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 4 (2 F and 2 M). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 38o3; pottery 67s; beads 63o; beads 68r.

Tomb 64
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides/loculis at E of the shaft (with C). Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (C). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 36l2; pottery 41jm; pottery 53r; pottery 67ozy; pottery 48t; pottery 56h2; pottery 58rt; pottery 93n; beads 63o; beads 68q; quartzite dish (pt); fluted limestone pillar (fr).

Tomb 66
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 2l4; pottery 37l; pottery 41f; pottery 67sy; beads 63t; beads 68q.

Tomb 69
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 5w2; pottery 7j2k; pottery 58h; pottery 67s; pottery 90s; beads 68q.

Tomb 70
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 2f2; pottery 3mq; pottery 37h; pottery 50r; pottery 56d; pottery 67s; beads 63o; beads 64g; beads 68t; eyes from a cartonnage; pieces of bitumen.

Tomb 72
Type of disturbance: N and S CHs = D; inner S CH = I. Architecture: shaft with one CH on N side and one CH on S side/in S CH shaft with a CH on S side (inner S CH). Number/gender of the deceased: N and S CHs: –; inner S CH: 1 (C). Coffin: X (in all the CHs). Finds of N and S CHs: pottery 2e2e4f; pottery 5xw2; pottery 7j2; pottery 10mw; pottery 38r; pottery 41j; pottery 56h2; pottery 67s; great quantity of gold leaf. Finds inner S CH: pottery 5w2; stone

vase 35; stone vase 53; stone vase 54; stone vase 72; stone vase 73; beads 47r; beads 70hi; beads 73ir; beads 75f; beads 79jkm; beads 85q; beads 92np; 3 gold fishes; silver/shell/gold cowries and shells; one steatite plain scarab; one steatite scarab mounted with gold.

Tomb 73
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2a3; pottery 5dxy; pottery 7n2; pottery 10m; pottery 58h3t2; pottery 67s; small glazed statuette.

Tomb 80
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (F M M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 42c; pottery 67s; beads 68uv; beads 92gh; flint flake.

Tomb 81
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (M M F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 58h4m; beads 63p; beads 68q; beads 79g.

Tomb 82
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 5 (2 M and 3 F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5w2; pottery 7j2; pottery 67s; pottery 90l; beads 68o; stone breaker.

Tomb 90
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 67s; beads 32v; marble kohl pot lid.

Tomb 91
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M and C). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5w2; pottery 57j; pottery 58t; beads 5y; beads 7g; beads 44v; beads 68n; beads 70t; beads 73m; beads 79jkm; beads 80f; beads 92c; scarab; 2 cylinders (name on the object: Senusret III); bone pins; stone vase 38.

Tomb 92
Type of disturbance: D+. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides/N CH accurately cut/S CH roughly cut/in S unfinished recess for canopic jars and pit on the floor. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 5h2l2m2y; pottery 41fj; pottery 56bd; pottery 67s; stone vase 20; 4 limestone canopic jars (name on the object: Senebtisi); gold leaf; 1 flint flake; ivory pin; 31 clay balls.

Tomb 93
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 5w2d; pottery 8m; pottery 56d2; pottery 67s; canopic jars; beads 68p; palette; pebble.

Tomb 96
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: –. Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 2n; pottery 36m2; pottery 41f; pottery 46m; pottery 67es; beads 52g; beads 73e; gold leaf; bead collar ends shaped like hawk (pt); 9 mud caps.

Tomb 104
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides/mud false door on E of the S CH. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 8m; pottery 58t; pottery 59y3; pottery 67s; beads 64l; beads 68o; gold leaf.

Tomb 105
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: –. Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 40a; beads 60a; beads 61e; beads 68q; stela (name on the object: Kenemsu); bricks.

Tomb 106
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: –. Finds: beads 68q; beads 79jkm; gold foil.

Tomb 107
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 7n2; pottery 49u; pottery 67s; glazed pot; gold/feldspar scarab.

Tomb 108
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 5dw2; pottery 6b; pottery 7j2; pottery 41k; pottery 49j; pottery 56s; pottery 58h3; pottery 67s; beads 61e; bricks.

Tomb 109
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 67es; pottery 90s; beads 52g; beads 64g; beads 68q; copper (tr); gold foil (tr).

Tomb 110
Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the

deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 41j; pottery 67s; beads 32y; beads 58d; beads 60a; beads 61e; beads 63v; beads 68hjqu; beads 70a; plaits of hair on the skull.

Tomb 111
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 7j2; pottery 10p; pottery 67s; pottery 90s; stone vase 22; mud doll.

Tomb 112
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 41m; pottery 67s; stone vase 26; stone vase 76; fish hook; 2 flints; ivory pin; glazed figures; double scarab.

Tomb 114
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 7j2; pottery 41j; pottery 49u; pottery 58r2; pottery 67s; oyster shell.

Tomb 116
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 6 (2 M and 4 F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 7j2n2; pottery 8m; pottery 41mk; pottery 67s; beads 68ou; 3 scarabs; copper (fr); clay seals; flint.

Tomb 117
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 67s; beads 65d; beads 68l; 4 wooden shabtis; limestone base for statue.

Tomb 118
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2k; pottery 41k; beads 63o; beads 64jl; beads 68oq; copper on wood (tr).

Tomb 119
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 3p; pottery 5w2; pottery 7j2; pottery 67ey; gold foil.

Tomb 120
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2a2; pottery 7j2; pottery 10m; pottery 41k; pottery 67es; beads 68p.

Tomb 122
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides/trench in N CH. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 67es; pottery 70u4; beads 68p; 1 limestone eye from a cartonnage.

Tomb 124
Type of disturbance: D. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S Side/canopic recess in E side of S CH. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5w2y; pottery 7j2; pottery 41m; pottery 56ah3; pottery 58jt4; stone vase 19; stone vase 24; stone vase 36; stone vase 52; stone vase 58; stone vase 59; stone vase 60; stone vase 61; stone vase 62; stone vase 63; stone vase 68; stone vase 69; stone vase 70; stone vase 71; stone vase 72; stone vase 73; stone vase 74; stone vase 75; beads 5u; beads 36h; beads 38r; beads 44bdt; beads 50c; beads 65d; beads 73acm3nn2ry; beads79jkm; stela (name on object: Itenhab); silver pectoral (name on the object: Senusret II); inlaid Horus amulet; 5 scarabs (one mounted in silver); gold and carnelian beads; shells mounted in silver; silver cowries; 3 mirrors; copper razor; copper knife; slate and alabaster toilet spoons; small grinding stone.

Tomb 128
Type of disturbance: upper S CH = I; lower S CH and N CH = D. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S side (upper and lower) and one on N side. Number/gender of the deceased: upper S CH = 1 (F); lower S CH and N CH = 3 (F, only skulls but no bones found). Coffin: X (inscribed in bands). Finds: pottery 2f2f3; pottery 5w2y; pottery 7j2nn2; pottery 58rh; pottery 67s; pottery 68f; pottery 90x; beads 68p.

Tomb 131
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 4 (3 M and 1 F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 7n2; pottery 41m; pottery 49l; pottery 90svz; beads 68i.

Tomb 132
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 5 (2 M and 3 F). Coffin: −. Finds: beads 52g; beads 68p; gold leaf.

Tomb 133
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 2f3; pottery 5dw2xy; pottery 33l; pottery 41k; pottery 67s; pottery 90g; beads 63t; beads 68o; beads 85x; 2 shabtis; clay balls; stela (pt — see tomb no. 41; name on the object: Renef-seneb); inscribed sherd.

Tomb 134
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the

deceased: 2 (F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 56d; pottery 67s; wooden canopic stoppers.

Tomb 135
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: −. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 12q; pottery 67s; beads 58x; beads 68k; flint knife.

Tomb 136
Type of disturbance: D+. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 2 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 10m; pottery 67s; stela (found in filling).

Tomb 138
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 33m; pottery 56f; pottery 67eps; beads 68j; beads 70k; beads 79d; gold leaf.

Tomb 139
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 3 (1 M and 2 F). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7klu; pottery 10g; pottery 67s; pottery 90r; stone vase 17; stone vase 65; beads 65d; beads 68l; beads 74g; charcoal; mud caps.

Tomb 140
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: −. Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 5y; pottery 20f; pottery 67es; beads 80e; stela (name on the object: Kenemsu and Seruket); stela (name on the object: Nebpu).

Tomb 141
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side and one CH on SE side. Number/gender of the deceased: 5 (3 F and 2 M). Coffin: −. Finds: stone vase 78; stone vase 80; beads 79fg; black granite statuette.

Tomb 142
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 7n2; pottery 67b3; beads 70v; beads 79jkm.

Tomb 143
Type of disturbance: −. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on S and N sides. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: −. Finds: pottery 41m; pottery 62s; pottery 67s; beads 63t; beads 64l; beads 68o.

Tomb 154

Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with two CHs on N and S sides. Number/gender of the deceased: –. Coffin: –. Finds: beads 32nt; beads 47r; beads 79jkm; gold shells and amulets.

Tomb 159

Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 2f2; pottery 41m; pottery 67s; beads 64g; beads 68o.

Tomb 161

Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (M). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 41k; pottery 67y; beads 63o; gold leaf; flint flake.

Tomb 162

Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F). Coffin: X (fr). Finds: pottery 36f; pottery 67s; pottery 90s; beads 60a; beads 66h (?); limestone statuette with a bowl; mother and child black granite statuette.

Tomb 171

Type of disturbance: –. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: –. Coffin: –. Finds: pottery 7j2; pottery 44j; pottery 59bz; pottery 62h; pottery 90s; beads 60a; beads 61hk; beads 68o; unfinished statuettes; trunk of limestone.

Tomb 211

Type of disturbance: partly D. Architecture: shaft with one CH on S side. Number/gender of the deceased: 1 (F, only skull found). Coffin: X (tr). Finds: pottery 2m; beads 73j; beads 79jkm; jewellery (in the corner of the CH).

Towards a different future?

Collecting groups may be considered the direct way to encounter and explore past societies and cultures. However, even after the initial phases of Egyptology, the need to identify block-categories of objects to describe a civilization, separating chronological periods within an evolutionary perspective, creating types which follow one another, has often clashed against the complexities of keeping find-context at the centre of study. The aim of this paper is to show new possible direction for the future of the research, with a slowly receding focus of our researches from types to groups. In a world that has already shed great light over

the history of ancient Egypt, is there any reason for continuing keeping types together? Should we now abandon types definitively in favour of groups? What would be the downside of such a conversion? Museum display and high education teaching still greatly benefit from the preservation of typological arrangement for dissemination and learning, as an easy and immediate way to communicate a world unknown for the vast majority of people.[19]   Moreover, dismembering type-sequences and reuniting objects in the original unity of their find-groups is a slow process which would consume time, energy, and resources, which probably are not available.

The resolution of difficulties in constructing visual diachronic typologies and in presenting at the same the find-group as a source of knowledge is still today one of the vital tasks for museums and researchers to accomplish. The physical impossibility to reassemble find-groups and at the same time to preserve a typological sequence is the main pragmatic obstacle in museum display.

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19.   T. BENNETT, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics*, London - New York 1995.

The history and research of the
Naqada Region Collection

Geoffrey J. Tassie · Joris van Wetering

(PLATES VI–IX)

Between 1978 and 1981 Professor Fekri A. Hassan led a survey of the west bank in the Naqada region between modern Ballas and Danfiq, an area of about 15 km (Predynastic of Naqada *project*). *These sites cover the Predynastic to Early Dynastic Period (ca. 3,900-2,900 BC). The material collected in this survey was exported under licence to Washington State University, USA (1981-2). While in the USA, it formed the focus of study for such scholars as Diane Holmes and Renée Friedman as part of their respective doctoral theses. In 1994, when Hassan was appointed Petrie Professor of Egyptian Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, UCL, he brought with him the Naqada study collection. When he retired in 2008, the future of the collection needed to be secured and, after consultation with UCL, Hassan donated his study collection to the Egyptian State. Now housed in the Dakhla Oasis Magazine, theoretically this collection is open for research and some objects may eventually be put on display. Although already the subject of many scientific investigations (radiocarbon dating, archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological analysis), during inventorying of the collection it was felt necessary to record all artefacts not previously recorded: thousands were drawn and photographed, and new analyses instigated, including thin section analysis for pottery, phytolith analysis of dung and lead isotope analysis of selected copper objects. This decision was taken because all the artefacts from the survey were in one location, and future access not guaranteed. Results will augment the on-going project for final publication of the original project.*

Introduction to Research at Naqada Region

The Naqada region is located to the north of Luxor in Upper Egypt. The settlement of Nubt-South Town is located on the west bank of the Nile halfway between the modern towns of Kom Billal and el-Zawayda and is the most famous and largest settlement in the Naqada region, which consists of a cluster of sites of differing sizes and types (pl. VI). Together with Hierakonpolis and Abydos, Nubt-South Town is one of the most important sites for understanding the socio-economic developments that occurred during the Predynastic (Naqada I–II, 3,900-3,300 BC) to Protodynastic (Naqada III A–B, 3,300-3,060 BC) periods, and represents one of the primary political centres of early Egypt. As such, it was a major player in the process of state formation.[1]   As the funerary remains

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1.   T.A.H. WILKINSON, *Political unification: Towards a reconstruction*, in « MDAIK » 56 (2000), pp. 377-95.

cover the entire Predynastic and Protodynastic periods, it is enormously important for both chronological and bioarchaeological studies.[2]

W.M.F. Petrie uncovered a huge cemetery (N or the Great New Race
Cemetery), along with other smaller cemeteries (B and T) and several structures (South Town area). Subsequent investigations by W. Kaiser have identified
Predynastic settlement remains along the floodplain edge north of the South
Town spur as well as finding indications of Predynastic occupation around the
temple area (Nubt area) and in front of the Temple spur.[3]   He also identified a
Predynastic cemetery located just to the north of the temple spur. Re-analysis
of Cemetery N, primarily by K. Bard has allowed for a better understanding of
the distribution of early remains at Nubt-South Town.[4]

Other work in the Naqada region has provided tantalising insights into
the importance of this area of Egypt. De Morgan surveyed the low Desert region
in 1895, where he identified numerous large *koms* in the floodplain and several
early sites along the low desert edge, including a cemetery site with a large
mastaba tomb.[5]   In 1884 Maspero undertook excavations of a First Dynasty
mastaba (which needs to be relocated using modern GPS technology).[6]   In
1894 at Koptos, opposite Nubt-South Town in the floodplain, Petrie uncovered

2.   M.K. BARTELL, *Palaeopathology of cranial remains from Predynastic Naqada, Egypt*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis
     University of Alberta 1994; E. FINKENSTAEDT, *The locations of styles in painting White Cross-Lined Ware at
     Naqada*, in «JARCE» 18 (1981), pp. 7-10; T. GREENE, *Diet and Dental Health in Predynastic Egypt. A comparison
     of Hierakonpolis and Naqada*, Saarbrucken 2007; S. HENDRICKX, *Predynastiche objecten uit Naqada en
     Diospolis Parva (boven Egypt)*, in « Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis » 57/2
     (1986), pp. 31-44; J.C. PAYNE, *The Predynastic chronology at Naqada*, in R. FRIEDMAN - B. ADAMS (eds),
     The Followers of Horus: Studies in Honour of Michael Allen Hoffman, Oxford 1992, pp. 185-92.
3.   W. KAISER, *Bericht über eine archäologische-geologische felduntersuchung in Ober- und Mittel-ägypten*, in
     « MDAIK » 17 (1961), pp. 1-53.
4.   K.A. BARD, *An analysis of the Predynastic cemeteries of Naqada and Armant in terms of social differentiation,
     the origin of State in Predynastic Egypt*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation University of Toronto 1987; EAD.,
     The evolution of social complexity in Predynastic Egypt: an analysis of the Naqada cemeteries, in « JMA » 2/2
     (1989), pp. 223-48; EAD., *From Farmers to Pharaohs: Mortuary Evidence for the Rise of Complex Society in Egypt*,
     Sheffield 1994; F.A. HASSAN - J. VAN WETERING - G.J. TASSIE, *The Urban Development at Nubt, Naqada
     region during the Predynastic Period* (paper presented at the *Fifth International Conference of Predynastic and
     Early Dynastic Studies, Origins 5*, Cairo, April 2014); IID., *The Prehistory and Early History of the Naqada
     Region, West Bank between Modern Ballas and Danfiq*, in preparation.
5.   J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, I. *L'âge de la pierre et les métaux*, Paris 1896; ID.,
     Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte, II. *Ethnographie préhistoríque et tombeau royal de Négadah*, Paris 1897;
     ID., *La préhistoire orientale*, I. *L'Égypte et l'Afrique du nord*, Paris 1925.
6.   G. MASPERO, *L'Égypte archaïque*, in « Journal des Débats » 361 (29 décembre 1897), p. 1.

remains associated with an early temple, including Protodynastic monumental statues of the god Min.[7]   Associated with the work by Petrie at Nubt-South Town, J. Quibell investigated a settlement site (North Town) and two cemetery sites (B and S) north of Petrie's excavations, and due west of modern el-Zawayda.[8]   In 1900-1901, G. Reisner and A. Lythgoe investigated a large cemetery north of Quibell's North Town, in the vicinity of modern Ballas (cemetery Lythgoe / northern Ballas). Unfortunately this work has been inadequately published with only references to it in other publications by these excavators, although the unpublished doctoral thesis by Podzorski on this cemetery based on the field documentation has somewhat alleviated this issue.[9]   This large cemetery provides valuable information on funerary development, allowing for a framework to better compare and analyse the large cemeteries at Nubt-South Town and Zawayda North Town. Cemetery sites of the Naqada region were investigated by L. Lortet and C. Gaillard in 1907 where they examined the skeletal remains.[10]

Despite this initial interest the region lay virtually ignored by archaeologists, being briefly visited by the aforementioned German mission in the 1950s.[11]

The region's potential was rediscovered by members of the *Combined Prehistoric Expedition* (*CPE*) in 1968 as part of the rescue work related to the construction of the Aswan Dam (surveying the routes of the electricity conduits before the construction of large pylons) when they discovered an early settlement (E-71C1) near modern el-Khattara.[12]   When T. Hays visited this site in

7.   W.M.F. PETRIE, *Koptos,* London 1896.

8.   W.M.F. PETRIE - J.E. QUIBELL, *Naqada and Ballas,* London 1896.

9.   G. REISNER, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge 1936; A. LYTHGOE, *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000, Naga-ed-Der, Part IV*, Berkley 1965; P.V. PODZORSKI, *The Northern Cemetery at Ballas in Upper Egypt: A Study of Middle and Late Predynastic Remains*, Unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 1994; EAD., *Evidence for the Impact of State Formation in the Late Predynastic from the Northern Cemetery of Ballas* (Paper presented at the *58th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Toledo, Ohio 2007: < http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p181894_index.html >).

10.   L.C. LORTET - C. GAILLARD, *Instruments en pierre taillée ou polie*, in IID., *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte et recherches anthropologiques*, II, Lyon 1909, pp. 11-54.

11.   KAISER, *Bericht*, pp. 1-53.

12.   F. WENDORF - R. SCHILD, *Survey of the West Bank from the Valley of the Kings to Gebel el-Duqur*, in IID. (eds), *Prehistory of the Nile Valley*, New York 1976, pp. 95-107.

1975 for further study, it was found to be almost completely destroyed by digging for fertilizer and the construction of an electricity pylon. To locate sites in better condition for his study, Hays undertook a survey confined to the desert margin near the edge of cultivation between the towns of Danfiq and el-Ballas, a length of about 15 km, which resulted in the relocation of Nubt-South Town (pl. VII, 1) and Zawayda-North Town as well as the discovery of several settlement sites dating to the Naqada I — early II period (from south to north): 75/7, 75/2, 75/3, 75/1, 75/4, and 75/5.[13]   F. Hassan who had been the geoarchaeologist on Hays' team re-surveyed the same area between 1978 and 1981 as part of his Washington State University *Predynastic of Naqada* project. This survey, which was specifically designed to find cemetery sites by surveying further into the low desert, led to the discovery of several cemeteries, some of them seemingly associated with early settlement sites found in 1975.[14]

From 1977 to 1986 the Naples Oriental Institute led by C. Barocas conducted archaeological investigations at Nubt-South Town. The project followed a similar methodology to that of *Predynastic of Naqada* project, the site was gridded and systematic surface collection combined with test-pitting was undertaken. Although it is rare for two non-associated missions to work contemporaneously at the same site in Egypt, Hassan's work which included several test-pits (up to 5.0 x 5.0 m) and trenches (25.0 x 1.0 m) scattered around the entire site and the work of the Italian mission, which consisted of a large

13.   T.R. HAYS, *Predynastic Egypt: recent field research*, in «Current Anthropology» 17 (1976), pp. 552-54; ID., *A reappraisal of the Egyptian Predynastic*, in J.D. CLARK - S.A. BRANDT (eds), *Hunters to Farmers: The Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa*, Berkeley 1984, pp. 65-73; T.R. HAYS, *Predynastic developments in Upper Egypt*, in L. KRZYŻANIAK - M. KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Origin and Early Development of Food-Producing Cultures in Northeastern Africa*, Poznań 1984, pp. 211-19; T.R. HAYS - F.A. HASSAN, *Neolithic Economy at el-Khattara*, Unpublished report, Washington 1976.

14.   F.A. HASSAN, *Prehistoric settlement along the main Nile*, in M.A.J. WILLIAMS - H. FAURE (eds), *The Sahara and the Nile: Quaternary Environments and Prehistoric Occupation in Northern Africa*, Rotterdam 1980, pp. 421-50; F.A. HASSAN, *Towards a model of agricultural developments in Predynastic Egypt*, in KRZYŻANIAK - KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Origin and Early Development of Food-Producing Cultures*, pp. 221-24; F.A. HASSAN, *The Predynastic of Egypt*, in «Journal of World Prehistory» 2/2 (1988), pp. 135-85; ID., *Nagada (Naqada),* in K.A. BARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, pp. 555-57; F.A. HASSAN - T.R. HAYS - A. HASSAN - J. GALLAGHER - A. GAUTIER - W. WETTERSTROM, *Agricultural developments in the Naqada region during the Predynastic period*, in «Nyame Akuma» 17 (1980), pp. 28-33; F.A. HASSAN - R.G. MATSON, *Seriation of Predynastic potsherds from the Naqada region*, in L. KRZYŻANIAK - M. KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin and Sahara*, Poznań 1989, pp. 303-16; HASSAN - VAN WETERING - TASSIE, *Naqada Region*, in preparation.

excavation area (32 x 26 m) in the central-western area of the site / spur, provide a complementary perspective of the site. Due to the untimely death of Barocas and the reassignment of most of the other team members to other projects, only a few preliminary reports were published.[15]   An on-going re-analyse has resulted in a number of research articles as well as a doctoral thesis.[16]   The authors are currently analysing the Italian data to correlate it with that of Hassan and Petrie to reach a better understanding of the urban development of Nubt-South Town settlement.[17]

In 2001, the Belgian *Middle Egypt Prehistoric Project* of Leuven University ldiscovered an early settlement in the Abadiya area (site 2), a site that resembles closely the settlement sites found in 1975 and during Hassan's survey.[18]

15.   C. Barocas, *Les raisons d'une fouille et d'un survey: le site de Naqadah*, in « CRIPEL » 8 (1986), pp. 17-28; Id., *Fouilles de l'Istituto Universitario Orientale (Naples) à Zawaydah (Naqadah, 'South Town' de Petrie): campagne 1984*, in E. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, II, Hamburg 1989, pp. 299-303; C. Barocas - R. Fattovich - M. Tosi, *The Oriental Institute of Naples Expedition to Petrie's South Town (Upper Egypt), 1977-1983: an interim report*, in Krzyzaniak - Kobusiewicz (eds), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin*, pp. 295-301; R. Fattovich, *Explorations at South Town by the Naples Oriental Institute (1977-1986)*, in H. Hanna (ed.), *The International Conference on Heritage of Naqada and Qus Region, Monastery of the Archangel Michael, Naqada, Egypt*, Naqada, Cairo 2007, pp. 46-56.

16.   R. Di Maria, *Naqada (Petrie's South Town): The sealing evidence*, in Hanna (ed.), *The International Conference on Heritage of Naqada and Qus Region*, pp. 65-78; G.A. Di Pietro, *"Kleinfunde" from the Italian excavations at Zawaydah (Petrie's "South Town")*, in Hanna (ed.), *The International Conference on Heritage of Naqada and Qus Region*, pp. 79-87; G.A. Di Pietro, *Miscellaneous artefacts from Zawaydah (Petrie's South Town, Naqada)*, in R.F. Friedman - P.N. Fiske (eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008*, Leuven 2011, pp. 59-79; G.A. Di Pietro, *Models from Predynastic daily life. A view from Naqada*, in M. Horn - C. van den Hoven - J. Kramer - D. Soliman - N. Staring - L. Weiss (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010. Proceedings of the eleventh annual symposium which took place at Leiden University, The Netherlands, 5-8 January 2010*, Oxford 201, pp. 42-52; G.A. Di Pietro, *Upper Egyptian Pre- / Proto-dynastic settlement ceramics. The assemblage from Petrie's "South Town" at Naqada* (Paper presented at *Vienna II: Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century, May 2012*, in press); EaD., *Il ruolo di Naqada nella tarda preistoria egiziana e nei processo di formazione della stato nell'antico Egitto*, Ph.D. dissertation, L'Orientale University of Naples, in preparation.

17.   Hassan - van Wetering - Tassie, *Naqada Region*, in preparation.

18.   P.M. Vermeersch - W. van Neer - S. Hendrickx, *El-Abadiya, a Naqada I site near Danfiq, Upper Egypt*, in S. Hendrickx - R.F. Friedman - K.M. Ciałowicz - M. Chłodnicki (eds), *Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Krakow 2002*, Leuven 2004, pp. 213-76; R.T.J. Cappers - T. van Thuyne - L. Sikking, *Plant remains from Predynastic el-Abadiya 2 (Naqada area, Upper Egypt)*, in Hendrickx - Friedman - Ciałowicz - Chłodnicki (eds), *Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*, pp. 277-93.

Survey and Excavations of the Predynastic of Naqada project

During the *Predynastic of Naqada* project survey of the Naqada region the site of de Morgan's Royal Tomb cemetery was relocated (Cemetery PWT.112) and re-evaluated.[19]   As the finds from this important site had recently undergone re-analysis, the architectural analysis provided additional evidence to shed light on the context of the royal tomb at Naqada.[20]   Besides the survey that resulted in the (re-)discovery of numerous sites (including Quibell's North Town), extensive excavations were undertaken at site 75/3 – Menchia (Kh.3), due west of modern Naqada.

Nubt-South Town was unfortunately found to have been systematically looted and used by local farmers for *sebakh*, leaving the desert edge site looking like a ploughed field and moving the remaining objects from their original context. Undoubtedly many of the objects from this site were sold on the black market. An attempt was made to re-construct the stratigraphy of Nubt-South Town through a large number of test-pits and trenches covering different parts of the site and recording finds per trench. Although generally not in their original context, the objects from this site along with the stratified material from the extensive excavations carried out at the settlement and cemetery site of Menchia (Kh.3) allowed for both lithic and pottery typologies to be compiled.[21]   At Menchia (Kh.3), the team collected both artefactual and environmental remains, such as sediment samples, sheep dung and

19. J. VAN WETERING, *Relocating De Morgan's Royal Tomb at Naqada and identifying its occupant*, in J. KABA-
     CIŃSKI - M. CHŁODNICKI - M. KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Prehistory of Northeastern Africa. New Ideas and
     Discoveries*, Poznań 2012, pp. 91-124.
20. J. KAHL - T. BAGH - E.-M. ENGEL - S. PETSCHEL, *Die funde aus dem 'Menesgrab' in Naqada: ein zwischenbericht*,
     in « MDAIK » 57 (2001), pp. 171-86, Taf. 27-8; J. KAHL - E.-M. ENGEL, V*ergraben, verbrannt, verkannt und
     vergessen. Die funde aus dem 'Menesgrab' in Naqada*, Munster 2001; VAN WETERING, *De Morgan's Royal Tomb*,
     pp. 91-124.
21. R.F. FRIEDMAN, *Predynastic Settlement Ceramics of Upper Egypt: A Comparative Study of Ceramics of
     Hemamieh, Naqada and Hierakonpolis,* Unpublished PH.D. dissertation University of California, Berkeley
     1994; EAD., *Regional diversity in the Predynastic pottery of Upper Egyptian settlements*, in L. KRZYZANIAK
     - K. KROEPER - M. KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Recent Research into the Stone Age of Northeastern Africa*, Poznań
     2000, pp. 171-86; F.A. HASSAN - R.G. MATSON, *Seriation of Predynastic potsherds from the Naqada region*,
     in KRZYŻANIAK - KOBUSIEWICZ (eds), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin*, pp. 303-16; D.L. HOLMES, *The
     Predynastic Lithic Industries of Upper Egypt: A Comparative Study of the Lithic Traditions of Badari, Nagada and
     Hierakonpolis*, Oxford 1989.

charcoal from hearths. The full publication of this excavation will provide better insight into the regional settlement pattern and site development, not just for the Naqada region but for Upper Egypt in general.[22]   It will also provide the tools to comprehensively compare this settlement with the nearby settlement of Abadiya 2 and the surveyed settlement sites of the region (including Nubt-South Town) in order to better understand the urbanisation processes during the Predynastic-Protodynastic periods.

The History of the Collection

Although there were specialist ceramicists, lithicists, archaeobotanists and zooarchaeologists on the team, the sheer amount of material discovered meant that it was not feasible with the resources available to record and analyse all the material. The planned study and survey season of 1982 failed to attract funding from the NSF, and this combined with time constraints and a lack of research facilities in Egypt led to the shipping of the material to the USA where it could continue to be studied. Therefore, in 1982 the majority of the material collected was exported under licence to Washington State University, USA where Hassan taught geoarchaeology.[23]   In 1994 Hassan was appointed to the chair of Petrie Professor of Egyptian Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London (UCL). The Naqada study collection was transferred from the USA to London. Initially most of these objects were kept in an annex to the office of Hassan, available for handling or research by students. With the move of UCL's Egyptology Department to the Institute of Archaeology, and a new

22.   HASSAN - VAN WETERING - TASSIE, *Naqada Region*, in preparation.
23.   The Naqada study collection is not the complete assemblage from the project, instead it represents most of the non-complete objects and samples from the 1980 and 1981 seasons and selective pieces from previous seasons making up a representative artefactual and environmental collection. The artefact collection consisting of the fragmented / non-complete objects, lithics (including selected debitage) and ceramics (diagnostic sherds and non-diagnostic sherds with decoration and/or potmarks) were shipped to the usa with Hassan, whereas the bone collection went to Dr. A. Gauthier in Belgium. As such, the collection is representative of the discoveries of the project but does not constitute a complete artefactual and environmental assemblage. The complete objects (including ceramic and stone vessels), with a few exceptions (such as the mud palette) remained in Egypt, probably stored in the Qena Magazine.

office for Hassan, the collection was moved to the off-site storage facilities of UCL.

When Hassan retired from his post as Petrie Professor of Egyptian Archaeology in 2008, the future of the collection needed to be secured and a new permanent location found. The study collection was originally offered to the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL. Sally MacDonald, the collections manager, declined the offer due to a lack of storage space within the museum. UCL were also not willing to pay for the collection to be fully curated, placed in modern storage materials and moved to their new off-site storage in Essex. If the Naqada collection had been housed at the Petrie Museum it would have substantially complemented the museum's collection. Rare objects, such as the mud palette and the almost complete assemblage from a flint knapping site would have allowed the museum to enhance its educational potential. Also, the diagnostic ceramic sherds that formed the basis for the settlement chronological framework of Friedman would have allowed scholars to re-analyse and assess the actual material.[24]   The Naqada region is one of the most important areas of Egypt to study state formation. If the collection had been housed at the Petrie Museum, it would have enormously benefited future research into the Naqada region, and made the collection more accessible for both Egyptian and non-Egyptian scholars to study.

After further consultation with UCL, and in line with UCL's collections policy, Hassan decided to donate his study collection to the Egyptian State via the agency of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) so that it could continue to be researched and displayed to the public. After contacting the SCA, negotiations for the transfer of the material were started. Before the collection could be moved it was agreed between UCL and the SCA that, in keeping with international regulations, a detailed inventory of the entire collection was to be made. In anticipation of this type of situation the authors had since 2007 been cataloguing and copying all the original plans, sections, written descriptions, reports and photographs that were kept in Hassan's office, turning

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24. FRIEDMAN, *Settlement Ceramics*; EAD., *Regional diversity*, pp. 171-86.

them into a digital record of the site. Once the agreement had been struck with the SCA the authors spent about six months conserving, recording, photographing, and re-packing, not only the collection of Naqada material, but also objects collected from Siwa and other sites in the Western Desert during the 1970s.[25] This material constitutes one of the most important data sets systematically collected relating to the Predynastic to Early Dynastic. In particular, the settlement ceramics from this collection together with the settlement ceramics from Hierakonpolis and the Badari region formed the basis for the current chronological and typological framework of early settlements.[26]

The Cataloguing of the Collection

The studying and inventorying of this large collection took six months and involved various procedures. All the material was stored in cardboard boxes, and before any of the material could be inventoried it was essential that it was sorted by site and broad material type. This entailed emptying the boxes, which often contained not only material from various sites, but also personal objects, such as laboratory glass beakers or paperwork. Once the objects had been sorted by site and material the process of analysing, recording, inventorying and repacking could begin. However, due to the age (30+ years) of much of the original packing matter this had to be exchanged for modern material: zip-seal bags and acid free tissue. The most valuable and/or fragile items were removed from the stores and placed in the Institute of Archaeology safe to keep them from any damage that may have accidentally occurred during the repacking.[27]

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25. G.J. TASSIE - J. VAN WETERING, *'Re-excavating' Predynastic sites in London*, in « Ancient Egypt Magazine » vol. 11, nr. 4, issue 64 (2011), pp. 24-8; G.J. TASSIE - J. VAN WETERING - I. CARROLL, *Repatriating prehistoric artefacts to Egypt: Prof. Hassan's Naqada and Siwa study collections*, in « Archaeology International » 12 (2010), pp. 52-7; G.J. TASSIE - J. VAN WETERING - J. JOHNSTONE - M. PINARELLO - S. SHENNAN - I. CARROLL - K. TRIFILIO, *Report and Inventory of Professor Fekri A. Hassan's Collection Held by UCL, Institute of Archaeology*, Unpublished report submitted to UCL, Institute of Archaeology and the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo 2010.
26. FRIEDMAN, *Settlement Ceramics*; EAD., *Regional diversity*, pp. 171-86.
27. TASSIE - VAN WETERING, *Predynastic sites*, pp. 24-28; TASSIE - VAN WETERING - CARROLL, *Repatriating prehistoric artefacts*, pp. 52-57; TASSIE - VAN WETERING - JOHNSTONE - PINARELLO - SHENNAN - CARROLL - TRIFILIO, *Report*, 2010.

The majority of the material from the *Predynastic of Naqada* project comprised of 1000s of potsherds and lithic artefacts and debitage, with a few boxes of environmental remains and a much lesser amount of whole pottery vessels, bone artefacts, stone vessels, and wooden artefacts. The whole ceramic vessels presented their own problems, and needed to be conserved before being carefully wrapped in acid-free tissue and placed within padded material so that they were not damaged in storage or transition. Several other items, such as bone awls, mud sealings, mud-palettes, siltstone palettes, and bullae were also treated in the same manner, being wrapped in acid-free tissue and placed in their own small containers within the larger boxes. The artefactual material was weighed, rather than counting each individual potsherd or lithic to speed the process of inventorying. The collection totalled 85 boxes, of which 42 contained material from the *Predynastic of Naqada* project, the rest containing material from the *Siwa and Western Desert Survey* conducted between 1975 and 1977.[28]

After the inventory and report were finalised, Dr Hawass sent Khaled Saad, director of the Prehistory section of the SCA and Mustafa Rezk Ibrahim to inspect the collection and accompany it back to Egypt. The boxes were then packed into six specially made transportation crates by Momart for the flight back to Egypt, where they will be stored at the Dakhla Oasis Magazine and some of the complete object will be temporarily displayed in the Ahmed Fakhry Museum, currently under construction in Dakhla Oasis before permanent display in a museum dedicated to the prehistory of the Nile Valley, seemingly to be situated in the Naqada region.[29]

The repatriation of this material resulted in a great amount of media interest and speculation. It should be emphasised that this study and reference collection was legally exported before the 1983 Egyptian Law 117 in compliance with UNESCO regulations, and with the full knowledge of the Egyptian Government for the advancement of science and humanity.[30]   It is hoped that this significant collection of material will now allow visitors to Egypt an insight into

28. *Ibidem.*
29. *Ibidem.*
30. *Ibidem.*

the daily life of the Egyptians who were instrumental in the emergence of the first nation state, many centuries before the age of the pyramids.

Value of the Collection

The site of Nubt-South Town with its extensive funerary remains, at more than 3,000 graves investigated, and its urban structures, probably including an administrative compound in the South Town area, make this one of the most important excavations relating to early Egypt. Unfortunately the publication by Petrie of the remains is incomplete at best, as already stated in 1955: it gives « hardly more than an inkling of the real importance » of the site.[31]   The finds from Nubt-South Town, primarily the pottery but also a range of other items were divided amongst several museums, although the largest collections ended up in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and University Museum in Philadelphia, with lesser amounts of objects going to other museums. This has meant that researchers have had to first track down the artefact they are interested in, and then often travel long distances to go and examine the material.[32]   It is not possible to view the whole assemblage of any one type of material in any single museum, and in most cases the material from individual graves has been split between various museums.

Having access to a study collection from such an important regional survey in one location was a great advantage to the various researchers studying the material. Museums (and magazines) are often reluctant for destructive scientific tests — thin section analysis of potsherds, lead isotope analysis of metals or radiocarbon dating of environmental samples — to be done on the objects in their care. Many crucial scientific tests at present cannot be undertaken in Egypt and need to be done by specialist laboratories outside. Although Egyptian Law 117 / 1983 allows for samples to be taken out the country for scientific

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31. E.J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, I, London 1955. Cf. also: Ead., *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: A Supplement*, London 1970; Hendrickx, *Predynastiche objecten*, pp. 31-44; J.C. Payne, *Appendix to Naqada excavations supplement*, in «jea» 73 (1987), pp. 181-89.
32. Baumgartel, *Supplement*; Bard, *Evolution of social complexity*, pp. 223-48.

analysis if the tests cannot be done within Egypt, the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA) rarely gives permission for such tests. Hopefully, this will change as younger more modern, forward thinking people (who have been through the various fieldschools, such as the one on the Giza Plateau run by AREA) take their place on the Committee.

While the research collection was in the USA it was studied by such scholars as Diane Holmes and Renée Friedman as part of their respective doctoral theses. Holmes studied not only the material from sites in the Naqada region, but also the Badari and Hierakonpolis regions. Although she examined newly excavated material from the *Predynastic of Naqada* project and Hierakonpolis, she supplemented this by investigating material held in museum collections. As Holmes points out, using old museum collections means that the biases of the original collectors have to be accounted for.[33]   In Caton-Thompson's collection of tools from Neolithic sites in the Faiyum she collected what she considered diagnostic tools, ignoring the debitage (waste flakes) and the less diagnostic tools.[34]   However, although the old collections are often biased and inadequate by modern standards of archaeological sampling, Holmes demonstrated that valuable information could be gathered from these collections. Friedman mainly studied newly excavated pottery from the Naqada region, Hemamieh, and Hierakonpolis.[35]   However, it appears from the cataloguing of the boxes and bags of ceramic sherds that she did not study the entire ceramic assemblage from the sites of the Naqada region but only a complete collection of diagnostic material from a single season, 1980.

Various studies were undertaken of the material collected by the *Predynastic of Naqada* project team, such as an examination of the agricultural subsistence, the floral remains, the faunal remains, geology, and the geomorphology to understand the subsistence economy of these Predynastic sites as well as natural environment.[36]   As the sites from the Naqada region cover Naqada I through

33.   HOLMES, *Lithic Industries*, pp. 36-38.
34.   *Ibidem*, p. 23.
35.   FRIEDMAN, *Settlement Ceramics*.
36.   Agriculture: HASSAN, *Model of agricultural developments*, pp. 221-24; HASSAN - HAYS - HASSAN - GALLAGHER - GAUTIER - WETTERSTROM, *Agricultural developments*, pp. 28-33. Floral remains: W.

III (ca. 3,900-2,900 BC), Hassan was able to use the charcoal and other datable material to form the core of a new radiocarbon chronology of the Predynastic Period.[37]   Various other studies were undertaken and these along with the new studies will form the basis of the forthcoming final report.[38]

Although several studies were made of the material during the 1970s and 1980s, including those of Holmes and Friedman, when this study collection was re-assessed before it was returned to Egypt, it soon became apparent that not all the material had been studied and that the original photographs were insufficient. It was therefore decided to make a complete study of the collection. This involved assessing what scientific tests to conduct and undertaking them while there was a small window of opportunity, drawing all the objects, taking modern photographs of the artefacts (pls VII, 2– VIII), and entering the various data sets into a relational database. Having the opportunity to physically re-analyse an assemblage from an old project, particularly material from such a crucial region in the development of early Egypt, has provided invaluable help in assessing how one of the world's pristine states evolved. This task has been helped due to new insights gained from sites such as Abydos and Hierakonpolis and modern archaeological techniques.

The value of having a collection of material from these series of connected sites to study in one place was immense. It allowed for a better understanding of the whole artefactual assemblages from the various sites. It has also allowed for a better understanding of the original written record and other documentation of the project. Moreover, it allowed for standardised recording of all the material in all the various media, and will allow full publication of the site, rather than

WETTERSTROM, *Foraging and farming in Egypt: The transition from hunting and gathering to horticulture in the Nile Valley*, in T. SHAW - B. ANDAH - P. SINCLAIR - A. OKPOKO (eds), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals, and Towns,* London 1993, pp. 165-226. Faunal remains: A. GAUTIER - W. VAN NEER, *Animal remains from Predynastic sites in the Nagada region, Middle Egypt*, in « Archaeofauna » 18 (2009), pp. 27-50. Geology: A.A. HASSAN - F.A. HASSAN, *Source of galena in Predynastic Egypt at Naqada*, in « Archaeometry » 23 (1981), pp. 77-82. Geomorphology: M.A. YEHIA - A.M. ABDALLAH - H. HAMROUSH, *Geomorphology of the Naqada region, Upper Egypt*, in « Qatar University Science Bulletin » 2 (1982), p. 1.

37.   F.A. HASSAN, *Radiocarbon chronology of Predynastic Naqada settlements, Upper Egypt*, in « Current Anthropology » 25 (1984), pp. 681-83; ID., *Radiocarbon chronology of Neolithic and Predynastic sites in Upper Egypt and the Delta*, in « African Archaeological Review » 3 (1985), pp. 95-115.

38.   HASSAN - VAN WETERING - TASSIE, *Naqada Region*, in preparation.

a series of specialist reports that only give partial assessment of the cultures. Cataloguing and re-analysing the collection was only a part of the work, as the authors along with Hassan are analysing and reinterpreting the original documentation of the *Predynastic of Naqada* project (1978-1981) and preparing it for final publication along with the new drawings and photographs. This will also include the results of older excavations in the Naqada region (primarily the work of de Morgan, Petrie, and Reisner) to provide a comprehensive overview of cultural development and changing settlement patterns in the Naqada region from the Predynastic Period to the early Old Kingdom.[39]

It is anticipated that in the future a database will be built to record all the material excavated in the Naqada Region — especially Nubt-South Town — that is held in museums and magazines inside and outside Egypt. This database should be along similar lines to that of proposed for Hierakonpolis by Bussmann to facilitate comparison between these significant power centres of Upper Egypt.[40]   These databases will be very useful tools to analyse the processes of state formation in Upper Egypt.

Increases in population size and the need for ever more agricultural land means that the Hassan study collection and museum collections containing Naqada regional material are becoming increasingly important as a source of information on the early history of the region. Due to land reclamation projects modern agricultural development is growing rapidly in the low desert along the border of the floodplain. The intersection of the low desert and floodplain is the location of most Predynastic-Protodynastic-Early Dynastic settlements and cemeteries. With few exceptions, most of the sites are under severe threat, if they have not already been destroyed (pl. IX).

39. *Ibidem*.
40. BUSSMANN, this volume.

Conclusions

The publication of a site or project is the means to preserve as well as disseminate information. Due to the *Predynastic of Naqada* project being funded on an annual basis, rather than by one large grant for the whole project, the analysis and publication were under funded. This has resulted in the project only being partially published in a series of articles. Although excavation and survey projects should be required to include a publication budget as part of their fundraising, the funding bodies should make more funds available specifically for publication of projects. The regulations of the MSA state that any fieldwork project should be published within five years of its completion. It is no good just producing grey literature (unpublished interim reports) that will only be handed in to the MSA and thus inaccessible to most researchers. It is also the moral obligation of any principal investigator to publish their research in a timely manner.

Due to the population increase resulting in urban sprawl and the spread of agricultural land, it is unrealistic to have a moratorium on excavation in Egypt as has been sometimes mooted.[41]   What is needed are more international fieldschools where Egyptian students can learn modern archaeological method, theory and practice so that they can continue to contribute researching the Egyptian past. Rescue archaeology is urgently needed throughout Egypt (not only in the Nile Delta), and these Egyptian students are urgently required to take part in surveys and excavation projects.[42]   Developer-led archaeology (where the developers pay for the archaeological work undertaken) must start to be practiced in Egypt. The international legislation is already in place (the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*); what is needed is a change in local legislation to make multi-

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41. G.J. TASSIE, *Egyptian cultural heritage: let's work together*, in N. FINNERAN (ed.), *Safeguarding Africa's Archaeological Past: Selected Papers from a Workshop Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2001*, Oxford 2005, pp. 47-54.
42. G.J. TASSIE - L.S. OWENS, *Standards of Archaeological Excavation; A Fieldguide to the Methodology, Recording Techniques, and Conventions*, London 2010.

national companies pay for the damage they do to Egypt's cultural heritage and environment.[43]

The Naqada study collection has shown that old collections combined with their original paperwork or the complete archival material have great research potential and can lead to the publication of a site or project.[44]   Therefore, if the person that directed the project cannot publish the material — for whatever reasons — it is important that it is stored in a magazine that has research facilities. It is essential that this material is properly archived, preferably in a database that is freely available to scholars to search. The registering of all the artefacts stored in any given magazine also allows for better protection of the artefacts for a detailed description can be given to the authorities if they get stolen. It is also important to keep a central archaeological archive (recording forms, notebooks, plans, photographs, reports) in Egypt, so that both the artefactual material and the recording of the excavations can be consulted.[45]   Therefore, it is better to excavate and produce well organised records so publication / re-analyse can be undertaken at a later date, than not to excavate and lose the information completely. If rescue archaeology is undertaken and no more than grey literature can be produced, then centralised archives with an efficient digitised registration system will enable archaeologist to fully publish the result in future.

At present only whole artefacts are registered by the MSA. This practice ignores the importance of potsherds and other partial objects as a vital part of the archaeological record. On settlement sites whole objects are extremely rare, this results in very few to no objects being registered from these sites, and as such leaves a huge gap in the site archive. Human skeletal remains and other environmental samples are also usually not registered. Lithic tools — again

43. G.J. TASSIE - F.A. HASSAN, *Sites and monuments records (SMRs) and cultural heritage management (CHM)*, in F.A. HASSAN - G.J. TASSIE - A. DE TRAFFORD - L.S. OWENS - J. VAN WETERING (eds.), *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, vol. I: *Proceedings of the First Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organisation Conference on: Egyptian Cultural Heritage Management*, London 2009, pp. 191-205.

44. TASSIE - OWENS, *Standards*, pp. 489-95.

45. N. COHEN, *Creating Egyptian Archives and the Production of Perfect Paperwork?*, in F.A. HASSAN - G.J. TASSIE - A. DE TRAFFORD - L.S. OWENS - J. VAN WETERING (eds.), *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, vol. II, London, in press.

— are also generally not registered, which results in a bias towards later periods of Egyptian history, rather than prehistory. The Naqada study collection primarily consisted of lithics, potsherds and environmental samples, in a unique way augments the field notes and allows for a more complete final report.

It would be preferable if all diagnostic artefacts were registered and kept in magazines. However, if artefacts are not going to be registered what are the options for their disposal after they have been "fully" recorded and analysed? Unless the human skeletal remains are properly curated as a study collection, they should be reburied and afforded due respect. They should have their burial spot recorded so that future investigations at the site can avoid or find them. Indestructible labels should be placed with them in case of re-analysis. The burying of unwanted artefacts (*i.e.* potsherds, debitage) causes its own problems for they may be dug-up by looters and then scattered all over the site when these criminals find they are of no use to them. Secure on-site storage may be the best option, but may prove too expensive for a lot of missions.

FINDS DISTRIBUTION AND PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Museum collections and moving objects in Egypt: an approach to amend the current situation

Maher A. Eissa · Louay M. Saied

Defining museum, collection, institution or "heritage" are key questions in museum studies and practice: even the term "museum object" hides the idea that the museum is the place not only to shelter objects, but principally to transform things into objects. Such fundamental questions are still not adequately considered by the authorities for antiquities and museums in Egypt. One example to be highlighted here concerns the practice and procedures of moving objects. In Egypt as elsewhere, museums lack shared guidelines for moving objects. Examples are given here of the physical damage and loss of information that resulted from repeated moves, often in the context of founding new museums without clear rationale. These risks highlight the need for national authorities in Egypt, and elsewhere, to reconsider a common collection policy, both for moving museum objects and for establishing new museums.

Introduction

What is a museum? And what are its tasks, duties and responsibilities? How do we define a collection? What is an institution? What does the term "heritage" encompass? Museum experts have inevitably developed answers to such questions, which are fundamental to their work. The expression "museum object" could almost be a pleonasm, as the museum is not only the place which shelters objects, but also a place with the principal mission of transforming things into objects.[1]

Yet it seems that the answers to these questions are still not considered clearly by the authorities of the antiquities and museums in Egypt (Supreme Council of Antiquities / SCA or lately the Ministry of State for Antiquities affairs). One example to be highlighted here is "moving objects". In Egyptian museums, there are no common rules and regulations for moving objects. To take one example, in the 1980s, a group of Coptic papyri were moved from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo to the Coptic Museum in Cairo. This movement itself could be considered as a logical decision. However, without any clear reason

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1. A. DESVALLÉES - F. MAIRESSE (eds), *Key concepts of Museology*, Paris 2010, p. 15.

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one object from this group was transferred again from the Coptic Museum in Cairo (*P. Coptic* 4063) to the Port Saïd Museum (*P. Port Saïd* 3955). Again, without any evident need, the same piece was transferred to a third place, the Ismailia Museum, where it received a new register number (*P. Ismailia* 2241).[2] The only explanation given for these papyrus transfers was the establishment of these new museums. Any object move carries risks, even within one building; in this case, the repeated relocation from one museum to another may have caused severe damage to a large part of the papyrus. This single example emphasizes the need to reconsider common regulations or a "collection policy" of both the moving of museum objects and the establishing new museums in Egypt.

During the past few decades, the Antiquities authorities have established several museums, without a clear and precise philosophy or policy on the role and aim of these museums. As a result, conflicts of interest have arisen between new museums, simply because there is no common "collection policy" to be followed. Fundamentally, there was no vision of the real requirements of building new museums, specifically the regional ones

The main museum functions, such as collecting, preservation and social communication, can be considered as tools to enlighten and educate the people living in or visiting the country.[3] Moving objects or establishing a new museum without thinking through all these aspects, will minimize the effect of the museum.

Before dealing with the problem of collecting and moving objects, it should be necessary to mention briefly, the history of the first Egyptian Museum which was built in Boulaq (Cairo). In 1858,[4] it was moved to Giza Palace of Ismail Pasha which housed the antiquities that were later moved to the present

2.   M.A. Eissa, *The Coptic Archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, Ph.D. thesis, Cairo 2008, p. 45.

3.   C. Waltl, *Museums for visitors: Audience development - A crucial role for successful museum management strategies*, in « INTERCOM CONFERENCE PAPER - Study Series » 12 (2006), p. 2. (<http://www.intercom. museum/documents/1-4Waltl.pdf>).

4.   Mohamed Ali established in 1835 the *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, mainly to stop the plunder of archaeological sites and to arrange the exhibition of the collected artifacts owned by the government. The Azbakiah garden in Cairo was first site used as a storage place for these artifacts. The collection was later transferred to another building, located in the citadel. Cf., *e.g.*, P. Piacentini, *The Preservation of Antiquities. Creation of Museums in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century*, in Ead. (ed.), *Egypt and the Pharaohs: From the Sand to the Library. Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 2010, pp. 5-6.

building in Tahrir square. It was built during the reign of Khedive Abbass Helmi II starting from 1897, and opened on November 15, 1902.[5] The fundamental concepts of building museums or moving objects were quite clear. The first generation of Egyptian archaeologists led by Ahmed Pasha Kamal was aiming mainly to protect monuments from international and local theft or looting, and from flood or fire danger.[6] Afterwards, the Egyptian government started to build other and different specialized museums. Egypt now has more than 200 museums, of which about fifty are archaeological museums placed under the Antiquities authorities. The total may be divided into six types of museums:

- The main museums: such as the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the Coptic Museum and the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo.
- Regional Museums: Port Said Museum, Ismailia Museum, Luxor Museum, etc.
- Location Museums: museums of the properties of the Mohamed Ali Family, usually located in the historical palaces.
- Archaeological Site Museums: such as Tell Basta or San El-Hagar museums, located within archaeological sites, and designed to house monuments which have been discovered there *in situ*.
- Specialized or single topic Museums: such as the Nubia Museum at Aswan, the Military Museum in Cairo, and the Maritime Museum in Alexandria.
- Educational Museums: these exist at universities and educational institutes, and include the Cairo University museums.[7]

The reasons for establishing the main Egyptian museums seem explicit, and this explains also how the objects of these older institutions were collected. Directors

5. Z. Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum: One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition*, Cairo - New York 2002, pp. xxviii-xxix.
6. L.M. Saied, *Atharyan men El-Zaman El-Gameel* [= *Two Archaeologists: From the Beautiful Time*], Cairo 2002, pp. 8 ff.
7. M.A. Nur el-Din, *Mawaqa El_Thar wa El-Matahef El-Masryia* [= *The Egyptian Archaeological Sites and Museums*], Cairo 2005, pp. 264 ff.

or committees selected objects from prehistory to the end of Ancient Egypt for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. They also collected the objects relating to the Graeco-Roman period for the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. They collected the objects relating to Arabic and Islamic periods for the Museum of Islamic Art. By contrast, other museums old and new seem to lack any clear or common policy and regulations for collecting objects. Generally, objects to the other museums were transferred from either store-rooms or the main museums (especially the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, from which most of the transferred objects were taken), without considering the needs of both the old and the new: the loss of the context of the source museum or the real added value for the end museum scenario as well.

Yet Egyptian Museums are supposed to be established as the most important scientific and educational centres of the Egyptian civilization from the historical, archaeological and ethnological point of view. They exist to collect, record, conserve, and exhibit and interpret for the purpose of study, education and enjoyment of the material evidence of people and their environment.[8]

The problem

In the past few decades, then, Antiquities authorities have established several museums, without a defined policy with clear roles and aims. How has this affected the sources of the objects selected for exhibition?

For example, at the end of the 1990s, the Antiquities and Museums authorities decided to establish a new museum "National Museum of Alexandria" in that city. It is logical to expect that they would collect objects relating to the history and the heritage of the city of Alexandria and its region, and that, mostly, they would choose these objects from magazines, stores or archaeological sites located in or related to Alexandria.[9]   In practice, nothing of the kind happened. Surprisingly, most of the objects were selected from the Egyptian

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8.   P.K. SINGH, *Museum and Education*, in « CHRJ » vol. 47, no. 1 (1997), p. 70 (<http://orissa.gov.in/e-magazine/Journal/jounalvol1/pdf/orhj-10.pdf>).
9.   Z. HAWASS, *Alexandria National Museum*, Cairo 2010.

Museum in Cairo with no relation to Alexandria. The principal criterion for choosing exhibits was that "they look nice", as some members of the committee are said to have stated? Such a random attitude surely amounts to a "non-policy".

An initial look at the first catalogue of the National Museum in Alexandria [10] may be disappointing, as it gives the impression that the Egyptian Museum in Cairo had been deprived of its most famous master pieces, transferred to Alexandria.[11] However, a full two-thirds of the objects pictured in that catalogue do not belong to it. They remained in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and have never been transferred to any other place. The only reason for including these photographs seems to be to surprise the reader of that catalogue and give a brief history of the Egyptian art.

The second example concerns the two scientific committees responsible for object selection, one of the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC)[12] and the other of the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM).[13] Although theoretically NMEC is the first museum to cover all Egyptian history, whereas GEM is trying to create a new version of the (Pharaonic) Egyptian Museum, surprisingly, both have chosen almost the same exhibits for their museums from the old main museums (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Greco-Roman Museum and the Coptic Museum). It seems that the two committees were not following the supposed vision of collection policy of the two new museums.

Museum objects can be defined as any kind of reality in general; it could be also a pleonasm in so far as the museum is not only the place which shelters objects, but also a place with the principal mission of transforming things into objects.[14] Egyptian Antiquities authorities are dealing with a museum collection or a museum object as a "thing": they can move it from one place to another without any regulating principles. They do not think that the museum object is

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10. This museum was inaugurated in 2002.
11. M. SALEH - H. SOUROUZIAN, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo: official catalogue*, Mainz 1987.
12. Cf. <http://www.nmec.gov.eg/English/index.htm>.
13. Cf. <http://www.gem.gov.eg/>.
14. DESVALLÉES - MAIRESSE (eds), *Key concepts*, p. 61.

also an abstract category, something closed on itself, as evidenced by that series of objects which is a collection.[15]

Among the many instances of object moves among the Egyptian museums, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo has been the centre point. If someone wants to find out a reason for moving objects from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo to other museums, he will figure out that the only policy which could be found is "a random policy". The exceptions are the minority of accurately targeted and successful transfers of objects to the Luxor and Nubia Museums. Good examples are rare: most of the objects in new museum collections of Egyptian antiquities have been and are being collected without any scientific purpose.[16]

One of the most astonishing and disappointing cases occurred in the store room basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This basement used to house the finds from the great number of archaeological expeditions working in Egypt over the last century and more, along with confiscated or requisitioned antiquities. It was supposed to house tens of thousands of pieces,[17] although unfortunately no accurate statistics can be provided, because not all of them had been registered in the Egyptian museum archives or registers. With no announced archaeological requirements, the authorities of the time decided to move away most of the basement content (perhaps some 60 to 80 thousand pieces) to Dahshur site magazines, in which they are still there now. Although, cleaning and renewal of the basement have completely finished a long time ago, the moved objects did not return back to the basement which is used currently for cultural purposes.

During the renewal[18] of the Islamic Art Museum,[19] which started around the year 2000, all the contents were transferred, either to the basement of the same building, or away to other magazines.[20] During reconstruction,

15. *Ibidem*.
16. H.D. Schneider, *Museum and Fieldwork: retrieving the past*, in «Museum International» 186, vol. 47, no. 2 (1995), p. 12.
17. Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum*, pp. ix-xii.
18. Cf. <http://www.france24.com/en/20100814-world-largest-museum-islamic-artifacts-reopens-cairo-islamic-art-mubarak-egypt>.
19. B. O'Kane (ed.), *The Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*, Cairo - New York 2006.
20. Cf.<http://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat%20INT/1998%20to%202002/Alhayat_1999/General/155/15598.xml.html>.

the unsuitable storage conditions and threats which resulted in severe damage and deterioration of some items caused that some curators refused to participate in that transfer. In addition to that, the authorities of the Egyptian Antiquities had to face a parliamentary questioning by 50 members of the Egyptian parliament.[21]

The Graeco-roman Museum building in Alexandria suffered in recent years from some severe construction problems. Therefore, the authorities decided to evacuate all its contents, exhibited or stored; objects were removed to different magazines in Alexandria. They had even to dismantle the small Fayoum temple which used to be in the museum garden for a hundred years.[22]   The plan was to keep them stored only about two years, until the end of construction works, but the period has been extended up to five years, and still counting.

Theoretically, the scientific background of the Egyptian curators or restorers concerning the concept and restrictions of moving objects is very poor. This is mainly due to the lack of the interest in teaching Museology topics at the Egyptian archaeological institutions. For example, Faculties and Departments of Archaeology which teach only one brief topic called "Museology and Excavations".[23]   This makes it difficult for museum staff to cope with transfers *e.g.* "On the ground, museum staff may be excellent in the logistics and physical care of objects, but they cannot protect the objects in practice, if museum executives lack knowledge of museum theory and principles.

Collection Policy (The Approach)

In January 2011, amid the chaos resulting from the Egyptian revolution, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo was broken into, perhaps for the first time in its history. Many showcases were broken and objects were scattered throughout

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21.   Cf. <http://www.albayan.ae/last-page/50-2000-12-15-1.1072036>.
22.   J.-Y. EMPEREUR, *A Short Guide to the Graeco-Roman Museum Alexandria*, Alexandria 2000, p. 25.
23.   *Catalogue of Faculty of Archaeology*, Cairo 2012, p. 140.

the museum and others were stolen.[24]   This case highlighted the importance of establishing a collection policy [25]   including a disaster plan.

Museums have played a fundamental role in making Egyptian antiquities accessible to the largest possible public,[26]   even though there is no collection management in Egyptian museums. Museum administrations should examine current strengths and weaknesses of the collections, and set out priorities for both active and passive collecting.[27]

Each Egyptian museum should categorize its contents into three main types upon which it can build its collection policy:

·   Pieces which are essential to the main scenario of the museum and are prohibited to be moved away under any circumstances.
·   Objects with lesser importance to the scenario and can be loaned temporarily (either to external or internal exhibitions).
·   Objects with low importance to the scenario (similar objects, or object not directly connected to it), which can be loaned or even moved away to another museum.

The Egyptian antiquities authorities need to establish a general "collection policy" for the Egyptian museums. Each museum has to follow this general policy within which it can establish a special "collection policy" for its own objects. It means that environmental and local requirements of the surrounding society should be taken into consideration. This could also be achieved by involving the local society, including local NGOs, in forming this policy. More open policy-making will help maintain, develop, research and conserve the museum collections held in trust for future generations. The museum sector or authorities should develop policies consistent with academic standards, applicable national

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24. Cf. <http://www.arce.org/main/revolution-egyptian-museum>.
25. *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*, 2013, p. 3.
26. G. LEWIS, *The Role of Museums and the Professional Code of Ethics*, in P.J. BOYLAN (ed.), *Running a Museum: A Practical Handbook*, Paris 2004, p. 1.
27. N. LADKIN, *Collections Management*, in BOYLAN (ed.), *Running a Museum*, p. 17.

and international laws and treaty obligations and the local requirements of the regional museums and society.[28]

The "collection policy" of the museum should only be undertaken with respect and consideration for the views of local communities, their environmental resources and cultural practices as well as efforts to enhance the cultural heritage. The governing body for each museum should adopt and publish a written "collection policy" that addresses the acquisition, care and use of collections. The policy should clarify the position of any of its collections.[29]

The Egyptian museums have to accept and take into consideration when establishing a national "collection policy" that the international conventions prohibit the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of culture property.[30]   This policy should also consider that lending or moving any objects or work of art is not accepted unless it is done under a valid legal process.[31]

The Egyptian museum collection policy needs to cover explicitly at least the following considerations:

· Acquisition conditions (accepting objects into collections).
· Circumstances of Disposal (removing objects from collections).
· Care of Collections (loans and conservation).
· Registration and Documentation.
· Archive records and library.

Collecting Objects

In developing the collections, there is a common emphasis on the importance of recording provenance, to place objects in the context of their unique or distinctive histories of production, ownership and usage.[32]   To collect objects, each museum should think of presenting a complete display according to the main

28. ICOM *Code of Ethics for Museums*, 2013.

29. *Ibidem*.

30. Cf. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/movable-heritage-and-museums/illicit-traffic-of-cultural-property/1970-convention/>.

31. O. MEGUID, *The Nubia Museum Collection and Exhibition Policy*, in ICOM-ICTOP *Training of Personnel*, Aswan 1996, p. 2.

32. *Bradford Museums, Galleries & Heritage: Acquisition Disposal Policy 2005-2010*.

purpose and type of the museum. In Regional Museums, the museum collection should be based upon the objects which were discovered in the surrounding area, from places rich in both archaeology and ethnography materials, or at least objects from other institutions or museums which have a historical connection with any proposed new museum. To achieve an appropriate national "collection policy" in Egypt, two main procedures should be started with:

· The importance of establishing a national database and record of all objects housed in all museums, magazines and stores. This will greatly facilitate the selection process "national register".

· The "collection policy" of collecting objects (acquiring collections) for museums must involve some central co-ordination, in order to avoid the negative effects from overlapping interests of individual museums (see above).

Circumstances of Disposal Objects

Each museum has to figure out the conditions of a "disposal policy" which should be followed against disposal of any of its objects, and it must recognize that only under very specific conditions may such disposal occur. So, disposal from a museum collection might only take place in the rare cases when an object is so badly damaged or deteriorated that it cannot be exhibited or even safely stored.[33]

In the case of establishing a new museum, the objects should be selected from the source museums, magazines and archaeological sites, only if they have a great value in serving the scenario, are in a good condition, and fit with the nature and the aims of the new museum. Otherwise, there will be no reason to move or remove those objects.

Care Objects

Loan care of Objects

Inter-museum loans are another widespread practice particularly at the moment

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33.   MEGUID, *Nubia Museum Collection*, p. 3.

of establishing new museums. Any loans from any collection have to be carried out according to the national collection policy and considering the following points:

- According to Egyptian Antiquities law: « It is allowed to exchange some of the movable objects of similar characteristic or design, only by presidential decision according to suggestion made by the Minister of Culture… ».[34]
- Any loaned object must be insured, packed and transported according to the standards of the international museums loan conditions (based upon Governmental Indemnity standards).
- Loans should not occur if they do not have valid educational, scientific or academic requirements.
- Security measures of the object transfer should be satisfactory.[35]

Handling and Transport

All object moves require some basic conservation principles, where museum staff from all levels, executive as well as manual, must work together to achieve good conditions. Objects should be handled as little as possible, very carefully, and should be lifted and moved in padded containers (trays, baskets, trolleys, etc.) by means of specialized professional experts. In some cases, curators have carried and transferred objects from museum to another with no proper and secure means of transport. Ideally, packing and object transportation should be supervised by professional conservators, and carried out by trained staff with experience in object handling and packing.

Documentation

Documentation and registration are essential processes to run museum collections. They are important to establish the identity of objects in the collection; record essential information relating to them; to allow rapid search and retrieval

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34. *Antiquities law 117-2010*: Article 10.
35. *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*, 2013.

without physical handling; and as essential aspects of security and audit.[36]   The Egyptian museums should follow one numbering system "Code" to facilitate the recognition of museum objects when moved from one museum to another.[37]

Library and Archive

The Library / Archives provides interlibrary loan access to its collections through cooperating libraries and institutions to researchers who cannot obtain the material or information elsewhere. Libraries and Archives aim to acquire and preserve publications and documentation concerning the museum collections and to make the material available to researchers and interested public. The museum should only collect archive material if it is directly related to collections.

Each museum has to keep rules and regulations on requests for loan of Library / Archives materials, which are placed using the Interlibrary Loan Form and in accord with the international Loan Code except for legal or curatorial considerations. The Original manuscripts, maps, state archives records and rare books should not be loaned for research purposes.

Conclusion

After the Egyptian Revolution of 25th January 2011 and the deep political and social changes that occurred after replacing the ruling regime, the authority of the Egyptian Antiquities was supposed to change as well. The old traditional system of operating and managing the Egyptian antiquities had to change. They had, at least, to start developing new concepts which could follow the international rules and regulations concerning the Egyptian museums. They were supposed to start establishing a new "Egyptian Collection policy", to meet international standards, and rejecting the old random policy. It seems that the time has come for the young Egyptian researchers, Egyptologists and archaeologists to take a step forward and develop the work of the Egyptian Antiquities.

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36. *Bradford Museums, Galleries & Heritage: Acquisition Disposal Policy 2005-2010.*

37. A. ROBERTS, *Inventories and Documentation*, in BOYLAN (ed.), *Running a Museum*, p. 31.

They have to establish a sustainable new policy consistent with the international standards meshing and arranging with the experienced institutions and organizations for planning a better future for the Egyptian Antiquities.

The authority of Egyptian Museums, *i.e.* Museums Sector, should examine current strengths and weaknesses of museum policies, and especially the planning of new museums and the related "collection policy". So, they have to establish a general standard "collection policy" for the Egyptian museums taking in account the local community requirements. This will help minimizing random decisions concerning object transfers from one museum or magazine to another. This will allow the decision maker also to have a clear idea about the current situation of the "object stock", and the actual need for building new museums, and the priority of such museums to be built.

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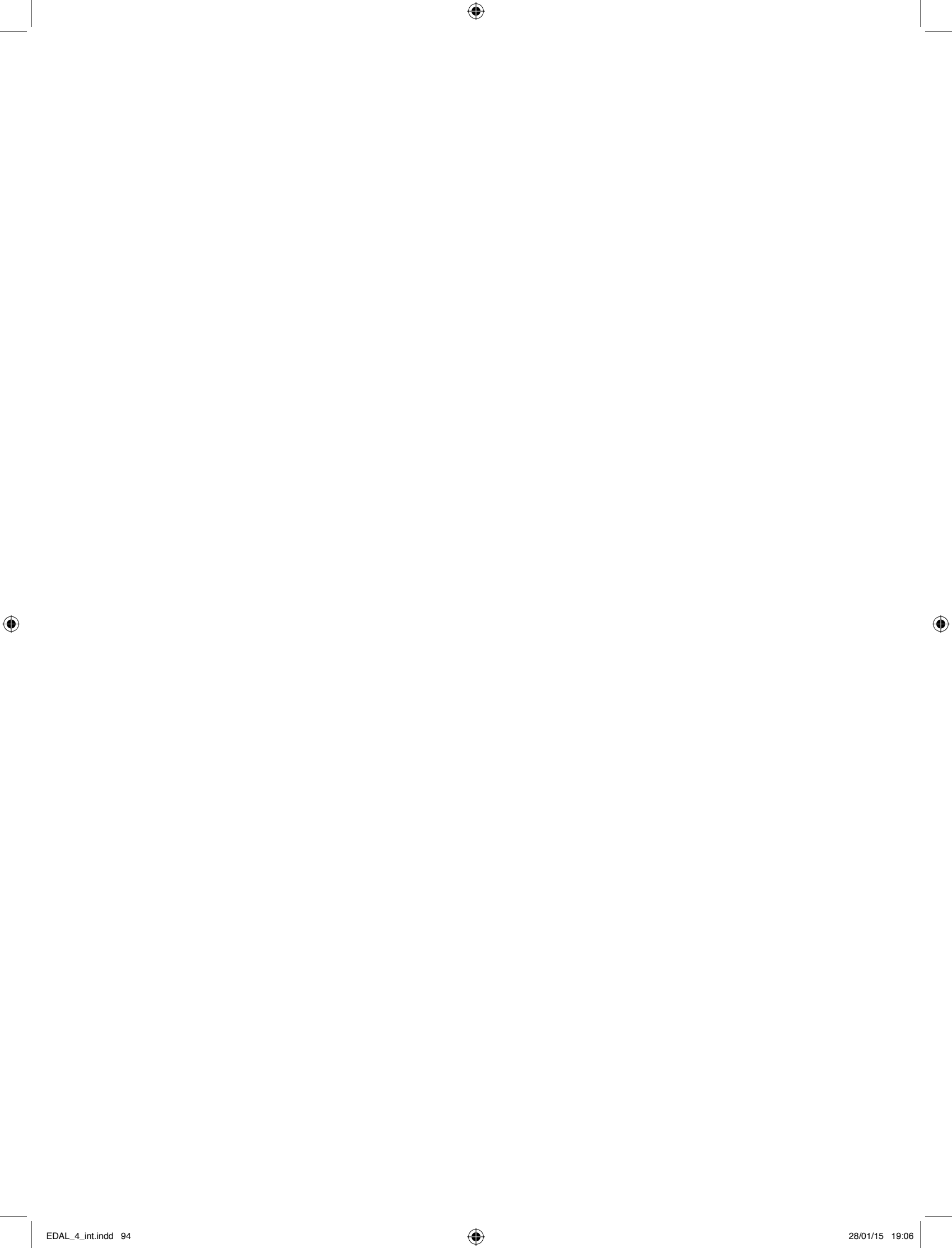
John Rankin and John Garstang:
funding Egyptology in a pioneering age

Anna Garnett

(PLATES X–XI)

John Rankin (1845-1928) was a Liverpool-based ship merchant who made his fortune working for his family company, Rankin, Gilmour & Co. *He is also known to have been a prolific philanthropist who donated vast sums of money to a range of worthy causes, including the excavations of John Garstang in Egypt on behalf of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology. As a result of his membership of Garstang's excavation committee, Rankin received a notable collection of objects from Garstang's Egyptian excavations as repayment for his donations. Rankin donated his collection of Egyptian objects, including those from Garstang's excavations, to several institutions including the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology (now the Garstang Museum of Archaeology) and World Museum Liverpool. Rankin and his family are known to have moved to the Lake District in 1903 where they became enthusiastically involved in many aspects of local life. This link is perhaps illustrated most clearly by the donation of at least 40 Egyptian objects to Kendal Museum in 1923, and of several Egyptian objects for the study collection of Sedbergh School, where Rankin was a governor. The background to Rankin's life will be presented in the context of a pioneering age of archaeology in the early 20th century, in particular his association with John Garstang, emphasising Rankin's legacy to the field of Egyptology.*

Introduction

Several high-profile 19th and 20th century donors and supporters of Egyptian excavations have had their lives relatively well-documented, for instance, the notable example of Miss Amelia Edwards' relationship with the Egypt Exploration Fund.[1]   This is not always the case, however, and the story of one philanthropic individual associated with the excavations of John Garstang in Egypt, Mr. John Rankin, is only now being gradually revealed as one result of an MLA-funded *Effective Collections* project which investigated collections known to contain Garstang objects in North West museums, one of which was Kendal Museum (pl. X, 1).[2]   Rankin donated at least 40 Egyptian objects to Kendal

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1.   A. MOON, *More Usefully Employed: Amelia B. Edwards, Writer, Traveller and Campaigner for Ancient Egypt*, London 2006.

2.   Cf. A. GARNETT - C. OLLETT - G. LAYCOCK, *From Egypt's Sands to Northern Hills: John Garstang's Excavations in Egypt*, in « AE » 12/2 (2011), pp. 34-37; cf. also <http://www.kendalmuseum.org.uk/news-11-03-08_garstang_project.php> (accessed 26.08.13).

Museum in 1923, a number of which are of significant historical importance and can be traced back to Garstang's Egyptian excavations, whilst donating part of his Egyptian collection to several other North West institutions. This paper will serve to provide a sketch of both men, as well as outlining the importance of their relationship for Egyptology at this crucial stage in its history, and the impact of this relationship on museums in the North West and beyond.

John Garstang

Born in Blackburn, Lancashire, on 5th May 1876; John Garstang was the youngest son of Dr. Walter Garstang and Matilda Mary Wardley (pl. X, 2). He was educated at Blackburn Grammar School and at Jesus College, Oxford, where he read mathematics.[3]   Before graduating in 1899 he became interested in archaeology, at which point he began to excavate Roman sites in Britain, including Ribchester in Lancashire.[4]   In the winter of 1899 Garstang joined Sir Flinders Petrie at Abydos in Egypt, and from 1901 to 1914 Garstang excavated every year in Egypt or Sudan at sites including Abydos,[5]   Beni Hassan,[6]   Esna[7]   and Hierakonpolis.[8]   He was a pioneer of scientific archaeology and kept meticulous records of his excavations in the form of detailed site notebooks, together with an extensive collection of photographs as a visual record of his excavations; a groundbreaking practice in early 20th century archaeology.[9]

Like Petrie, Garstang assembled excavation committees of wealthy donors who provided funds for his fieldwork in Egypt and Sudan — Rankin was the treasurer of Garstang's excavation committee for several years — and in

3.   W.F. ALBRIGHT, *John Garstang in Memoriam*, in « BASOR » 144 (1956), pp. 7-8.

4.   J. GARSTANG, *Roman Ribchester: Excavations 1899*, in « Antiquary » 35 (1899), pp. 80-84.

5.   S. SNAPE, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Liverpool 1985.

6.   J. GARSTANG, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as illustrated by the Tombs of the Middle Kingdom: being a report of excavations made in the necropolis of Beni Hassan during 1902-3-4*, London 1907; S.E. OREL, *John Garstang at Beni Hasan*, in « KMT » 8/1 (1997), pp. 54-61.

7.   D. DOWNES, *Excavations at Esna 1905-1906*, Warminster 1974.

8.   B. ADAMS, *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis*, London 1987; EAD., *Ancient Nekhen: Garstang in the City of Hierakonpolis*, New Malden, Surrey 1995.

9.   The majority of Garstang's extant field records are kept in the archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, The University of Liverpool.

return for their donations those individuals would receive a selection of Egyptian objects from the excavations. Several names appear more than once in lists of Garstang's excavation committees including John Rankin, Lady O'Hagan — who subsequently donated her Egyptian collection to Towneley Hall Museum in Burnley, F.G. Hilton Price — one-time President of the Egypt Exploration Society, and H. Martyn Kennard — a major sponsor of Flinders Petrie's excavations in Egypt (pl. X, 3).

At the age of 26, Garstang was appointed Honorary Reader in Egyptian Archaeology at the University of Liverpool and five years later in 1907 he became Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology, a post he held until his retirement in 1941.[10] Precise details of Garstang's relationship with John Rankin, one of his most prolific and loyal financial supporters, remains unclear due to the dearth of surviving documentation; however it has been possible to ascertain details of Rankin's life and background which begin to reveal more about the man behind the money.

John Rankin

The Rankin family lived for generations in the parish of Mearns in Renfrewshire, eight miles from Glasgow. The family shared the ownership of a successful worldwide merchant navy company based in Liverpool and in Miramichi in New Brunswick, Canada, named *Pollock, Gilmour & Co.*, later to be named *Rankin, Gilmour & Co.*[11] John Rankin was born in 1845 in Miramichi to James Rankin and Marion Ferguson and in 1854, at the age of nine, was sent from Miramichi with his uncle, Robert Rankin Snr, to be educated in Liverpool. The party sailed to Scotland on the timber ship *Actaeon*, which belonged to the family fleet and despite a serious collision *en route* the vessel managed to stay afloat.[12] From

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10. M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 4th rev. ed., London 2012.

11. Cf. C. MILLS, *Rankin, Gilmour & Co.: Shipowners of Liverpool, The Story of a Tramp Fleet*, Tasmania 2007; J. RANKIN, *A History of Our Firm: Some Account of Pollok, Gilmour & Co. and its Connections*, Liverpool 1908.

12. *Death of Mr. John Rankin: A Fine Example of Citizenship*, in « Post and Mercury » (24th December 1928).

Scotland Rankin travelled on to Liverpool, where he began his education at the prestigious Dr. Ihnes School, now the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts.[13]

Rankin subsequently enrolled at Madras College, a preparatory school for St. Andrew's University; however he joined his family shipping business at the age of 16 on September 1st, 1861, beginning his time with the company as a clerk in the Accounts Department. During the mid-19th century, the Rankin family owned the largest merchant fleet in the UK, and it was at this exciting time on 1st January 1861, at the age of 26, when Rankin became a partner in the family business. He later became chairman of *Rankin, Gilmour & Co.* on 1st January 1906.[14]

Rankin was a prominent figure in Liverpool society during the early 20th century and was involved in insurance and finance in addition to his shipping enterprises; in 1900 he was appointed a director of the Bank of Liverpool, and from 1906 to 1909 he was the chairman of the board.[15]   For twenty years he was also a director, and later chairman, of the Royal Insurance Company. Rankin was also a director of the British and Foreign Marine Insurance Company and the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, a member of the committee of the Liverpool and London Steamship Owners' Protection Association, a member and chairman of the Liverpool Committee of Lloyd's Register of Shipping, and of the Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society.[16]   He published a history of his family business in 1908.[17]

Rankin married Helen Margaret Jack (1849-1937) on September 1st, 1875. Helen took an interest in nursing and became the first president of the Nursing Association. The couple had two sons: Robert and James, and a daughter, Agnes, who later married Mr. William Rathbone of Liverpool.[18]   Rankin was also a member of the Conservative party, and his son, James, represented the

13. BIERBRIER, *Who was Who*, p. 456; *Death of Mr. John Rankin*.
14. BIERBRIER, *Who was Who*, p. 456; RANKIN, *A History of Our Firm*.
15. BIERBRIER, *Who was Who*, p. 456.
16. Cf. *ibidem,* p. 456; [AUTHOR ?], *Death of Mr. John Rankin*.
17. RANKIN, *A History of Our Firm*.
18. *Death of Mr. John Rankin*. Rankin's extant family papers remain part of the Rathbone Archive at Special Collections and Archives, The University of Liverpool.

East Toxteth Division of Liverpool in Parliament. The family spent their time between residences at St. Michael's Mount, St. Michael's Hamlet, Liverpool, (now a nursing home) and Hill Top, New Hutton (previously Holme Park Preparatory School near Kendal, now private flats). The Rankins spent much of their time at Hill Top and involved themselves in all aspects of local life: for example Rankin successfully held the position of High Sheriff of Westmorland from 1910 until 1920. The guest book from Hill Top contains the signatures of several Egyptological visitors including Percy and Essie Newberry, and Francis and Nora Llewellyn Griffith.[19]

Rankin's obituary in Liverpool's « Post and Mercury » newspaper described him as « the most successful beggar the University [of Liverpool] has ever had ». He is known to have donated over £1 million to charitable causes over his lifetime as well as many other private benefactions of which the total is unknown. Rankin was constantly looking for a worthy cause to which he could donate; he was a major supporter of the University of Liverpool and personally raised over £150,000 which contributed to the then-College's transformation into a University. He also funded the construction of undergraduate accommodation (The University's Rankin Hall, located in Mossley Hill) and established chairs at the University of Liverpool in Russian, Modern History, Geography, Modern English Literature, Electronic Engineering and the Methods and Practice of Archaeology; the latter, as noted above, occupied by John Garstang.[20] Rankin also donated £20,000 to the construction of Liverpool's Anglican Cathedral, and the "Rankin Porch" was built at the southern entrance to the Cathedral in honour of the family, including the Rankin coat of arms and thirteen statues including King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.[21]   Beyond the Merseyside region, Rankin was a governor and financial supporter of Sedbergh School, a prestigious public school in the Yorkshire Dales also attended by Francis Llewellyn Griffith from 1875-1878; perhaps a relationship encouraged by

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19. The Hill Top guest book is kept in the Archives of the County Hall in Kendal.
20.   For a complete list of the University of Liverpool's Chairs and their Holders cf. <http://www.liv.ac.uk/commsec/calendar/University%20Chairs%20and%20their%20Holders%20Past%20and%20Present.pdf> (accessed 26.08.13).
21. *Mr John Rankin, Honorary Freeman of Liverpool,* in « Liverpool Courier » (5th December 1921).

Griffith's personal relationship with Rankin. Rankin is known to have donated part of his Egyptian collection to Sedbergh School during the 1920s though unfortunately details are scant as the collection is thought to have been broken up and divided between other, as yet unknown, institutions during the 1950s, which will be clarified during future research.

The Freedom of the City of Liverpool was conferred upon Rankin in January 1922 when he was described by Sir Max Muspratt, Liverpool politician and chemist, as « one of the greatest citizens Liverpool ever had ... the city does itself honour by conferring the distinction on him ».[22]   Rankin died aged 83 on 24th December 1928 following several years of ill health. He was buried at Toxteth Park cemetery in Liverpool and the funeral took place at Sefton Park Presbyterian Church in Liverpool with which the Rankin family had been associated with for many years. His funeral was attended by many important members of Liverpool society, including the Lord Mayor and the University's Vice-Chancellor.

Rankin and Egyptology

Whilst a notable businessman and philanthropist, our fundamental concern with John Rankin is to ascertain the details of his relationship with Garstang, whilst also making an attempt to understand his interest in Egyptian archaeology: was his financial support purely for material gain or indeed was Rankin genuinely interested in Egypt? According to Rankin's obituary in the « Post and Mercury » he took a group of « University [of Liverpool] enthusiasts on a trip up the Nile » including the Chair of History Prof. Mackay, though regretfully no further insight, nor date, is offered; however it could reasonably be assumed that this was a trip made partially for pleasure, but also perhaps to allow Rankin to introduce his peers (potential future donors?) to Egypt and to Garstang's excavations, although we have no evidence that they visited Garstang at all on this trip. Garstang's extant Beni Hassan Visitor Book, now in the archives of the

22. *Ibidem.*

Garstang Museum, unfortunately omits any visit Rankin and his colleagues may have made to that site though they may well have signed now-lost visitor books from Garstang's other Egyptian excavations.

As a result of his donations to Garstang's excavations Rankin amassed an important collection of choice Egyptian antiquities, part of which he donated to his local museum in 1923, Kendal Museum (For part of the object list cf. pl. X, 4), perhaps his largest single donation of Egyptian objects. Kendal's Egyptian collection consists of 147 objects and at least 40 of those objects, excavated by Garstang, were donated by Rankin. Two of Rankin's most notable donations are as follows:

KM 1993.249 (pl. XI, 1):[23]
Painted wooden Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure excavated by Garstang from a Third Intermediate Period rock-cut tomb at Speos Artemidos, near Beni Hassan. The form and arrangement of the two tapered "poles" and the lotus element is apparently unique.[24]

KM 1993.235 (pl. XI, 2):[25]
Inscribed figurine excavated by Garstang from Tomb 537 at Abydos which represents Sobekhotep, son of Nehesy, an official who lived at Abydos during the Second Intermediate Period. The inscription on the back pillar reads:

> An offering which the king gives (on behalf of) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, that he may give offerings to the *ka* of … Sobekhotep the justified, begotten of Nehesy, by his sister who causes his name to live, Kemet.

Sobekhotep may have been a soldier, and we might speculate that his sister (or, indeed, his wife) Kemet may have dedicated the statue after he died in service and was buried at Abydos.

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23. GARSTANG, *Burial Customs*, pp. 202-04.
24. Personal communication by Dr. D. Aston.
25. S. SNAPE, *Statues and Soldiers at Abydos in the Second Intermediate Period*, in C.J. EYRE - A. LEAHY - L. MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in honour of A.F. Shore*, London 1994, pp. 303-14; M. MARÉE, *A sculpture workshop at Abydos from the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty*, in ID. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, « OLA » 192, Leuven 2010, pp. 241-81.

Rankin also donated his copies of Garstang's excavation reports *El Arabah* and *Reqaqnah and Bet Khallaf* to Kendal Museum, both of which contain personal dedications from Garstang himself and are currently on permanent display. In addition to the aforementioned donation of objects to Sedbergh School, Rankin also donated Egyptian objects to what is now World Museum, Liverpool including a wooden model boat.[26]   A letter from John Garstang addressed to Principal (later Vice-Chancellor) Sir Alfred Dale of the University of Liverpool confirms a donation of several objects to what is now the Garstang Museum at the University of Liverpool from Rankin's own collection:

> [. . .] I wish to express to you in writing my proposal to place at the disposal of the students my [Garstang's] library and type-collection of antiquities. // Then [?] Mr. John Rankin's authority to state that he is prepared to offer for this same purpose a valuable series of Egyptian antiquities collected for him by myself.[27]

It would be interesting to investigate this further in order to establish for example whether Rankin himself also actively acquired part of his Egyptian collection during his trip(s) to Egypt, or whether Garstang was his sole beneficiary; this is likely to become more apparent in the future should more of Rankin's collection can be identified in other institutions.

Concluding Thoughts

Although the details of Rankin's relationship with Garstang are still to be fully established, Rankin's financial, and personal, involvement in Garstang's excavations evidently led him to acquire an important collection of Egyptian objects which has subsequently become a considerable asset to several institutions in the North West. Whether parts of Rankin's Egyptian collection were donated further afield remains to be ascertained with future research, or indeed whether other, as yet unknown, North West institutions hold Rankin objects or archival material. Nonetheless, it is far from hyperbolic to claim that John Rankin's

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26. Personal communication by Dr. A. Cooke.
27. Nr. P5B/3/4 (Special Collections and Archives, The University of Liverpool).

legacy, through his relationship with John Garstang, left an indelible impression on the history of Egyptology in the North West, the significance of which is only now being made apparent.

Acknowledgements

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The antiquities path: from the Sale Room of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, through dealers, to private and public collections. A work in progress

Patrizia Piacentini

Notes, letters and photographs related to Egyptian antiquities that found their way into public or private collections, or whose location is unknown at present, are housed in the Loret, Quibell, Varille and Bothmer archives preserved in the Università degli Studi di Milano. A research project on these objects, now scattered around the world, started with the examination of the copy of some pages of the register of the Cairo Museum Sale Room. Most likely opened at the end of 1892 (even if official sales of objects took place since around 1883), it was active until 1979. This register provides the photographs, a short description, and the names of the buyers of items that were judged saleable, as "duplicates" of objects already present in the Collection. Combining information from archives and museums it is now possible to follow the path of numerous objects: of some of them, we can identify the owner(s), and eventually find out where they are kept at present; of others, sold to public museums, it is possible to establish the original provenance and trace their way from the ancient sites to the Cairo Museum Sale Room, and then to antiquities dealers, auctions, different owners, up to their final location.

1.   *Starting points and objectives*

In the Loret, Quibell, Varille and Bothmer archives preserved at the Università degli Studi di Milano, we found many notes, letters, and photographs related to Egyptian antiquities that found their way into public or private collections, or whose location is unknown at present.[1]   A research project on these items now scattered around the world has been initiated by the Chair of Egyptology of the Università degli Studi di Milano, with multiple objectives:

·   to better understand what kind of objects were chosen by the Egyptian Antiquities Service to be donated, sold, or included in the "partage" over more than one century (mid 19th-mid 20th centuries). On the other side, to better understand what kind of items/monuments were directly

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1.   On the Egyptological archives of the University of Milan, cf. P. PIACENTINI (ed.), *Egypt and the Pharaohs: From the Sand to the Library. Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, « Le vetrine del sapere » 9, Milano 2010, in particular the chapter *The Egyptological Archives of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, pp. 61-114.

requested from the Egyptian Antiquities Service by museums to increase their collections;[2]

· to rediscover objects that are not present in bibliography, and remained unknown until now since mentioned in unpublished archival documentation only;

· to integrate data on objects known, for example kept in museums, but for which provenance, discoverer, or even their find spot in a tomb, temple, or other site were unknown;

· to integrate or make known to museum curators and scholars the identity of collectors who could have owned a specific object, including antiquities dealers and auction houses;

· as a consequence, to examine the types and the price of the objects sold at the Sale Room of the Cairo Museum, and at the auction houses, as often indicated in Bothmer's notes;

· to create an open database of collectors and private collections of Egyptian antiquities, itemised through archival documents, auction catalogues, and previously compiled lists.[3]

The first example of document used for this research is the copy of part of the Register of the Cairo Museum Sale Room, kept in the Bernard V. Bothmer archives in Milan. The pages he photographed concern the sales of the year 1962 (pl. XII, 1). This Register contains the photographs, a short description, and the names of the buyers of items that were judged saleable, as "duplicates" of objects already present in the Collection, or considered "useless", as stated by Egyptologists working for the Antiquities Service from the end of the 19th until the mid-20th centuries, and even in the program for the construction of the new Museum in Cairo published in 1894.[4]

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2.   On some specific points of the present contribution, see A. MAGET, *Collectionisme public et conscience patrimoniale. Les collections d'antiquités égyptiennes en Europe*, Paris 2009.

3.   See *e. g.*, <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/list_of_collections.pdf>; <http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/sales_catalogs_files.html>; <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr>; <http://www.artic.edu/databases>.

4.   GOUVERNEMENT ÉGYPTIEN, *Programme du concours pour l'érection d'un Musée des antiquités égytiennes au Caire*, Le Caire 1894, p. 7; cf. also F.LL. GRIFFITH, *Progress of Egyptology*, in ID. (ed.), *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1896-1897*, London [1897], p. 24.

2.   *The history of the Sale Room*

The history of the Sale Room can be written with the help of many sources, such as Museum guides and references in publications, private documents, correspondence of scholars working in those years or excavation journals, like those of James E. Quibell today in Milan (pl. XII, 2). In these notebooks, the Archaeologist specified the objects chosen for the Sale Room, as we will see later. Other information can be gleaned from the registers of acquisition of Egyptian museums all over the world, as well as from interviews with persons who visited the Sale Room, bought objects there, or had direct contacts with the buyers.

In January 1881, Gaston Maspero succeeded Mariette as Director of the Antiquities Service and of the Boulaq Museum. In August of the same year, Amelia Edwards wrote to Maspero suggesting him that thefts and robberies would probably be reduced if the Museum put on sale certified objects, and that the travelers would prefer to buy their "souvenirs" at regulated prices at Boulaq rather than from locals.[5]   The decree of the 16th of May, 1883, stated that the antiquities of the Boulaq Museum, or that could be kept there or in other Museums created in the future were property of the Egyptian State and for this reason "inaliénables, insaisissables et imperscriptibles".[6]   Nevertheless, Maspero, assisted by Émile Brugsch, started probably that same year to make a selection of the less significant pieces to sell, before entering them in the Boulaq collection, as different sources attest. Slowly, the Director put into practice the official sale of antiquities, with the purpose of increasing the finances of the Antiquities Service and of the excavations in particular. From June 1884, the sale of various objects and mummies is duly registered in the books of accounts kept

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5.   Letter dated August 11, 1881, now kept in the archives of the Institut de France, ms 4006, folios 453-458. Cf. also É. DAVID, *Gaston Maspero 1846-1916: Le gentleman égyptologue*, Paris 1999, pp. 134-135.
6.   A. KHATER, *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte*, « RAPH » XII, Le Caire 1960, p. 281.

by Brugsch.[7]   Flinders Petrie relates in his autobiography that the same month, arrived in Cairo at the end of his excavations at Tanis:[8]

> Maspero was agreeable about the larger things that I produced, but he and Brugsch were greedy for small valuables; two good figures of apes, in sets of figures, were both taken, though I counted eighteen already in the Museum. A silver chain and various other nice things were also kept.

Furthermore, Petrie writes:[9]

> I was told that the things had been sold at the Museum, though only one was actually bought, it is probable that he [Brugsch] had bought the objects himself.

Nevertheless, at Boulaq there was not yet a true "sale room" or, as somebody has written, a "Museum shop".[10]   Instead, most of the objects not "necessary" for the collection or not yet registered were deposited near the entrance gate of the Museum and the "Cabinet du nazir" (marked K on the plan given by Maspero).[11]   This was probably the place where people interested in buying antiquities would go to choose them (pls XIII–XIV). In the *Guide* of the Museum, Maspero writes in 1883:[12]

> La partie de la cour dans laquelle on pénètre, après avoir passé la grande porte d'entrée, sert de magasin provisoire à certaines pièces incomplètes ou nouvellement achetées, qui n'ont pas encore leur place marquée dans les galeries.

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7.   The books of accounts of the Antiquities Service, from June 1884 until January 1888, are now preserved in the archives of the Institut de France, ms 4052, folios 355-366.
8.   W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London [1931], p. 51. For the "partage", cf. also *Ibidem*, p. 72.
9.   *Ibidem*, p. 59.
10. M.S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology*, London 1985, p. 84, giving a personal interpretation of what Petrie exactly wrote, states that « Maspero and Brugsch looked over his finds and allowed him to take the large pieces, but he was disappointed that they took so many small objects for the Museum, ruefully imagining that Brugsch would add them to stock of the *Museum shop* for sale to tourists » (italic ours).
11. G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, Boulaq [Le Caire] 1883, plan s.n.
12. *Ibidem*, p. 7.

2.1. Sennedjem, the mummies, and other antiquities for sale

Some years later, on February 3, 1886, the day after the opening of the tomb of Sennedjem in Deir el-Medina (TT 1), Maspero sent a letter to his wife Louise, describing the incredible richness of the funerary equipment found, and adding at the end:[13]

> Une fois que nous aurons choisi tout ce qui est bon pour le musée, la vente des momies et des objets superflus nous rapportera au moins soixante guinées, peut-être quatre-vingts qui passeront aux fouilles de Louxor et du Sphinx. Ç'aura donc été une bonne affaire de toutes les manières, bonne au point de vue scientifique, puisqu'elle nous a donné des monuments dont nous n'avions aucun spécimen, bonne au point de vue financier, puisque non seulement les objets finiront par rien nous coûter, mais que nous aurons gagné assez d'argent pour pratiquer des fouilles nouvelles. *Décidément, mon système est le bon, et j'ai bien fait de rompre avec la routine de Mariette, pour l'adopter.*

In an article devoted to the objects discovered in the tomb, Daressy described their first location at the Museum, where Maspero and the officials of the Service chose the objects to be kept and those that could be sold, and where people could probably see and select antiquities to buy:[14]

> Tout ce que contenait la sépulture de Sen-nezem avait été transporté au Musée de Boulaq, qui malheureusement était trop petit pour lui donner place. Les objets les plus intéressants une fois exposés tant bien que mal dans les salles destinées au public, le surplus dut être déposé dans les magasins fort humides attenants aux bureaux des conservateurs, ou dans des *chounehs* poussiéreuses, ouvertes à tous les vents, seules resserres que possédât alors le Musée. En présence de ce fait, M. Maspero préféra se défaire d'une partie du trésor que de le laisser se détruire et, ayant reçu des offres du Metropolitan Museum of Art de New-York pour l'achat d'un lot pris dans ce qu'il ne pouvait exposer, il accepta les propositions qui lui étaient faites.

As a consequence, twenty-nine items from the tomb, including shabtis, shabti

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13. For the text, see É. DAVID (éd.), *Gaston Maspero. Lettres d'Égypte. Correspondance avec Louise Maspero [1883-1914]*, Paris 2003, p. 144-145. In the transcription, the italic is ours.
14. M.G. DARESSY, *La trouvaille de Sen-nezem. Objets séparés de l'ensemble*, in « ASAE » 28 (1928), pp. 7-11, in particular pp. 7-9.

and cosmetic boxes, jars, coffins, mummy masks and board, a canopic chest, string of beads, and rings, were sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, together with other objects from different sites,[15] as documented in the notes on provenance in the Museum files too: « Sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Egyptian government in 1886 ».[16] The coffins of Tamaket,[17] one shabti of Sennedjem and one of Khonsu, and a box of Ramose were sold to the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, and many other items ended in numerous public and private collections.[18] Maspero himself bought for his wife two shabtis and a shabti box — today at the Louvre — as well as another shabti nowadays at the Musée des beaux-arts in Lyon.[19]

Information on the sales can further be inferred by a passage of another letter by Maspero to his wife, dated May 21, 1886, that add details on the interest of selling the antiquities to finance the excavations:[20]

> [. . .] je pense qu'il y a encore pour six mois de fouilles [au Sphinx] avant qu'on ait terminé. Le tout aura coûté entre quinze et vingt mille francs, dont environ quinze mille de la souscription spéciale, trois mille sur la souscription de Louxor, deux mille sur les fonds de vente des momies à Cesnola. Par parenthèse, *je fais un nouvel envoi d'environ 4000 francs au Musée de New York*; ce sera autant dans notre caisse, car l'année a été lourde, et *je ne sais comment je me serais tiré d'affaire sans les ventes d'objets et de momies*.

The mummies mentioned here by Maspero are probably those sold to Luigi Palma di Cesnola during the same year 1886, to which the French archaeologist

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15. ID., *La trouvaille de Sen-nezem*, pp. 10-11; cf. also W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II, New York 1959, pp. 395-431.

16. See the objects from < http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/544700?rpp=20&pg=1&ao=on&ft=Sennedjem&pos=2> to <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/561775?pos=34&rpp=20&pg=2&ao=on&ft=Sennedjem >.

17. DARESSY, *La trouvaille de Sen-nezem*, p. 8 note 1; M.G. DARESSY, *La découverte et l'inventaire du tombeau de Sen-nezem*, in « ASAE » 20 (1920), p. 160.

18. J.-L. PODVIN, *Le mobilier funéraire de la tombe de Sennedjem*, in « GM » 191 (2002), pp. 77-83; cf. also A. MAHMOUD [S. DONNAT (ed.)], *Catalogue of Funerary Objects from the Tomb of the Servant in the Place of Truth Sennedjem (TT 1). Ushabtis, Ushabtis in Coffins, Ushabti Boxes, Canopic Coffins, Canopic Chests, Cosmetic Chests, Furniture, Dummy Vases, Pottery Jars, and Walking Sticks, Mainly from Egyptian Museum in Cairo and Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York*, « Bibliothèque Générale » 37, Le Caire 2011.

19. *Ibidem*, p. 79 and notes 10-11.

20. The italics are ours. For the text, see DAVID (éd.), *Gaston Maspero. Lettres d'Égypte*, p. 234.

alludes in two letters to his wife,[21]   as a major source of income for the Service together with other antiquities acquired by Cesnola on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[22]

Maspero himself bought small objects from the Antiquities Service for his personal collection, as he writes regularly to his wife Louise between 1885 and 1886. Many of them are now housed in the Egyptian collection of the "Institut d'Égyptologie Victor Loret" in Lyons.[23]

2.2.   Jacques de Morgan and the Sale Room at the Giza Palace

The official sale of antiquities initiated by Maspero proved to be very interesting for the *Service*. For this reason, a Sale Room was opened in 1892 at the Giza Palace of Ismail Pasha, that became the location of the Egyptian Museum in the last decade of the 19th century (pl. XV). It occupied room 91 of the ground floor, accessible directly from outside, as can be seen in a beautiful photograph preserved in the Lacau collection in Milan, as well as in the plan of the Museum (pl. XVI, 1). Since the rooms 46-91 of the Giza Palace were inaugurated in autumn 1892,[24]   the official activity of the Sale Room almost certainly started in the same period. Wallis Budge, in his autobiography, relates of the intentions of de Morgan, in those years Director of the Antiquities Service, to open a Sale Room in the Museum. The English egyptologist writes:[25]

> I had an interview with de Morgan, and I found him courteous, sympathetic and broadminded. *He told me that he had not the least objection to the exportation of certain classes of antiquities (e.g., Greek papyri and inscriptions, Coptic papyri and vellum manuscripts and*

21.   *Ibidem*, pp. 177 and 216.

22.   J.A. WILSON, *Signs & Wonders upon Pharaoh. A History of American Egyptology*, Chicago - London 1964, p. 80; on Palma di Cesnola and the MMA see S. WAXMAN, *Loot. The Battle over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World*, New York 2008, pp. 183-186. Cf. also the contribution by P. Del Vesco in the present volume.

23.   J.-C. GOYON, *L'Égypte antique à travers la collection d'Égyptologie Victor-Loret de Lyon*, Paris 2007, pp. 14-17. Goyon writes that Maspero "organisa des *ventes publiques aux enchères* à l'intention des musées étrangers et des particuliers" (italic ours) but this is just a misunderstanding of the operation of the Sale Room.

24.   J. DE MORGAN, *Avant-propos*, in [E. VIREY], *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh*, Le Caire 1892, p. XVIII.

25.   E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris. A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between the Years 1886 and 1913*, London 1920, II, pp. 330-331 (italics ours).

funerary inscriptions), always provided that they immediately found safe and secure deposit in the great national museums like the Louvre and the British Museum. [...] He told me that he though it impossible to prevent clandestine digging for antiquities by the natives, and the smuggling of antiquities out of Egypt, for it was rumored that the representatives in Egypt of certain Powers sent antiquities home in their Foreign Office bags. But he believed that it was possible to control the digging and to make the smuggling of antiquities unprofitable […]: He proposed to employ the staff of the Service of Antiquities in making excavations on a large scale on all the promising sites throughout the country, one after the other, and to transport all the objects found, both big and little, to the Museum in Cairo. *Every unique object, of every kind, was to be reserved for the Museum in Cairo, and kept in the country, and these were to be registered and numbered and exhibited to the public as soon as possible. The remaining objects were to be carefully catalogued and priced, and the catalogue was to be printed and copies of it were to be sent to the Directors of National Museums and Libraries in Europe and America.* He thought it probable that the directors of all museums maintained by grants of public money would prefer to spend their money in purchasing antiquities from the Museum in Cairo, especially as all difficulty about the exportation of their purchases would cease to exist. *In this way museums would be able to obtain a regular supply of Egyptian antiquities at reasonable prices, and the Service of Antiquities could use the moneys received from their sales of antiquities in carrying on further excavations.* […] But […] soon after the attempt was made to obtain the authority necessary to give it effect, […] it met with invincible opposition on all sides, and […] every dealer, both European and native, denounced it. It was regarded as a specious attempt on the part of the Government to monopolize the trade in "anticas," and to kill all private dealing in them, and the Egyptians were furious.

Despite these controversies, nourished by commercial and speculative reasons, and not by ethical ones, de Morgan officially opens the Sale Room. In his memories, he mentions some turning points in the running of the sale of antiquities:[26]

> *Nous avions à Ghizeh une institution fort avantageuse, et très utile pour les musées et les collectionneurs étrangers, c'était la « salle des ventes ». Là, nous offrions au public, à des prix très raisonnables, tous les doubles inutiles pour nos galeries, et les acheteurs étaient certians de ne point être trompés. Le classement des antiquités en magasin venait de produire un stock énorme pour la salle des ventes et il y avait, ma foi, de fort belles choses en très grand nombre.*
> *Je fis alors faire trois collections et j'écrivis à Paris, à Londres, à Berlin, offrant ces séries à des conditions très avantageuses.*

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26. A. Jaunay (éd.), *Mémoires de Jacques de Morgan 1857-1924 Directeur Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes Délégué général de la Délégation Scientifique en Perse. Souvenirs d'un archéologue*, Paris 1997, pp. 380-381 (italics ours).

De Londres, le conservateur du Musée britannique me répondit en envoyant un chèque et en me priant de faire expédier la collection. Il lui eut été facile de faire examiner les antiquités, par un savant anglais alors en Égypte, il ne le fit pas et s'en rapporta à ma loyauté.

De Berlin, on me pria de faire l'envoi et peu après nous recevions le prix de la collection.

De Paris, ce fut tout autre chose. On m'écrivit officiellement des Beaux Arts, que les objets devaient être soumis à la Commission des Musées nationaux, que j'avais à les envoyer pour cet examen, et que ceux qui ne seraient pas acceptés me seraient retournés à mes frais.

Bref, ces Messieurs de la rue de Valois, traitant le Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, comme s'il eut été un vulgaire mercanti. Je n'ai ni envoyé les antiquités, ni répondu à cette lettre, dont le ton n'était pas convenable. Si ces gens avaient eu tant soit peu de tact, ils auraient chargé le directeur de l'École française d'archéologie du Caire, d'examiner la série. D'ailleurs, c'est avec M. Bouriant que j'avais composé cette collection, en y mettant, comme bien on pense, des objets fort intéressants. Cette façon d'envisager les choses ne datait pas de ce jour. Quelques années auparavant, M. Bouriant avait eu l'heureuse chance d'acquérir, pour une somme fort modeste, une série très importante de tablettes cunéiformes, dévouvertes à Tell el Amarna par des fouilleurs illicites, et il envoya ce lot au Louvre, réclamant seulement le remboursement de ses frais. Rue de Valois, on pensa tout de suite que le directeur de notre École du Caire voulait faire une affaire. L'on remit cependant ces tablettes à M. J. Oppert, qui ne pouvant les déchiffrer, les déclara fausses, c'était plus simple. M. Bouriant qui les savait authentiques dut les céder au musée de Berlin. […]

Les fonds provenant de la salle des ventes s'ajoutaient au crédit de mon Service pour les fouilles et déblaiements. C'est là que j'allais moi-même chercher, en les payant, les objets dont j'avais besoin pour faire de petits cadeaux.

The numerous foreigners visiting Egypt in the first decades of the twentieth century were aware of the existence of the Sale Room and tried to keep in touch with de Morgan to buy some good antiquities (pl. XVI, 2). It is the case, for instance, of the traveler Joseph Déchelette. In a letter to Vincent Durand, written from Port Said on March 11, 1893, one can read:[27]

J'ai eu la chance de rencontrer dans la Haute Égypte Monsieur de Morgan, Directeur actuel du Service des Antiquités, 3ème successeur de Mariette-Bey. Je l'ai trouvé occupé à fouiller le temple de Kom-Ombo: c'est un homme fort aimable

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27. M. GABOLDE, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette*, Roanne 1990, p. 31.

et dont la recommandation m'a servi très utilement pour la réalisation d'un désir; j'avais en effet formé le projet de réunir quelques antiquités égyptiennes pour les offrir au Musée de Roanne en souvenir de ce voyage. Mais, depuis que les Anglais passent par ici, les marchands ne vendent que des pièces fausses ou des pièces d'un prix très élevé.

Je savais que par contre, le Musée de Gizeh avait une salle de vente qui offre les plus complètes garanties, puisque on y trouve que des objets provenant de fouilles faites par l'administration. J'ai obtenu de Monsieur de Morgan une réduction de 50% sur les chiffres marquées, ce qui me permet de rapporter une fort belle momie, dans son cercueil en bois peint et une assez grande quantité de petits objets, bronzes, amulettes, poteries, etc . . .

In a very interesting letter dated February 8, 1894, de Morgan explains to Victor Loret, in Lyons at that time, that to get antiquities for the local museum he has either buy them, or to send books to increase the library of the Cairo Museum, or to carry on excavations:[28]

> Pour obtenir des objets pour le Musée de Lyon le seul moyen est de les acheter car si je vous en donnais, tout le monde m'adresserait des demandes. Quant au droit de vous offrir spontanément quoi que ce soit je ne l'ai pas et l'aurais-je que je n'en userais pas pour la raison que je viens de vous dire.
>
> Nous constituons en ce moment à Gizeh une Bibliothèque égyptologique, et si vous le désirez, nous pouvons faire un échange contre des antiquités. Mais il me faudrait savoir ce que vous désirez avoir. Momies d'hommes et d'animaux, statuettes funéraires, canopes vases etc... Nous ferons en sorte de vous traiter très largement mais nous serons tenus de vous faire payer l'emballage et l'expédition mon budget ne prévoyant pas ces sortes de dépenses.
>
> Envoyez moi donc je vous prie la liste de vos desiderata et je ferai en sorte de vous satisfaire.
>
> J'ai inauguré un système de fouilles qui nous rend de grands services. J'autorise les amateurs à fouiller eux-mêmes sous la surveillance d'un de mes employés payé aux frais du fouilleur à raison de 5£ par jour. Tous les objets sont apportés à Gizeh aux frais du fouilleur et partagés. Je ne me montre pas très difficile dans le partage et avec les amateurs je le suis bien moins qu'avec les marchands, bien entendu.
>
> Si donc vous connaissez quelqu'un qui puisse se livrer à une fouille pour vous ce sera encore un moyen de vous procurer pour vôtre musée bon nombre d'objets. Si même vous le désirez la fouille peut être faite par un de mes employés à vos frais les conditions resteront les mêmes et il ne sera pas besoin d'envoyer spécialement à

28. Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, fondo Loret, corrispondenza de Morgan.

grands frais quelqu'un de vôtre part. Voilà une combinaison qui jointe à des échanges de livres peut vous permettre d'acquérir à peu de frais une intéressante collection pour vôtre musée.

The role of de Morgan in the sale of antiquities is mentioned also in the memories of Albert Nicole, who traveled in Egypt in 1896-1897, together with his father, the papyrologist Jules Nicole. Describing their arrival at the top of the Khufu pyramid, Albert writes:[29]

> Arrivés en haut on nous offrit le café traditionnel et des marchands de toutes sortes se joignirent aux guides pour vendre des antiquités. On m'avait prévenu et donné le mot de passe qui devait nous libérer comme par enchantement de tous ces importuns: « Je connais M. de Morgan, c'est à lui que j'adresse mes commandes ».

2.3.   The supervisors of the Sale Room

Alessandro Barsanti, very active employee and archaeologist of the Antiquities Service,[30]   was the first to be appointed "salesman" of the Museum, as Flinders Petrie writes in his memories in 1892.[31]   Barsanti died in 1917, and we still don't know who was his immediate successor as supervisor of the Sale Room.

Émile Brugsch too, as keeper of the antiquities in the Boulaq, Giza, and Cairo Museum, was very active in the sale of antiquities until his retirement in 1914, and had the authority to decide what objects could be legally exported to other countries. At some point, Maspero named him supervisor of the Sale Room. Apparently, he had a "bad role" in the falsification of antiquities: some of them were sold with the official seal of the Museum.[32]   An interesting case is the work he carried on for Col. Anthony J. Drexel in 1895.[33]   The latter payed him

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29. B. Roth-Lochner, *Un voyage en Égypte (1896-1897). Extrait des souvenirs d'Albert Nicole*, in *Voyages en Égypte de l'Antiquité au début du XXe siècle* (cat. of the exhib.), Genève 2003, p. 252.
30. On Barsanti, see M. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London 2012, p. 42-43; P. Piacentini, *Vassalli, Lodi, Barsanti, Botti: gli Italiani e i musei in Egitto nell'Ottocento*, in S. Einaudi, *Viaggio in Egitto: l'Ottocento riscopre la terra dei faraoni* (cat. of the exhib.), Torino 2011, pp. 61-67.
31. Petrie, *Seventy Years*, p. 140.
32. J.J. Fiechter, *Faussaires d'Egypte*, Paris 2009, pp. 85-90.
33. W.B. Harer Jr., *The Drexel Collection: From Egypt to the Diaspora*, in S.H. D'Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, « PdÄ » 28, Leiden - Boston 2008, pp. 111-119, in particular pp. 111-113.

3000 $ for assembling a collection, which is probably the only one personally formed by Brugsch, that accordingly reflects his own connoisseurship.

We still don't know who was the successor of Brugsch after 1914, but we are sure that in 1936 the function of "Responsable de la Salle de Vente" was held by Mohamed Hassanein, as attested by a photograph kept in the Lacau archives today in Milan, showing the personnel of the Service in that year, accompanied by their names and roles.

2.4.   The Sale Room at the new Cairo Museum

When the Museum moved to Midan Ismailya — now Tahrir, in the first years of the Twentieth century, the Sale Room was located in room 56 of the ground floor, accessible from the western entrance, which leads today to the offices of the Direction (pls XVII-XVIII).[34]   Many objects now kept in private collections or in public museums come from here. It is the case for three crates of Egyptian antiquities bought by Bonaventura Ubach in 1922 for the *Museum Biblicum* of the Montserrat Abbey, near Barcelona, including a XII dynasty coffin and another dating back to the XXVI dynasty, complete with its mummy. They were accompanied by the authorization of the Antiquities Service for exportation, still kept in the Ubach archives. In addition, in the *Catalog dels objectes exposats en el "Museum biblicum" del Monestir de Montserrat* is clearly specified that these objects were "Comprat al Museu del Caire l'any 1923". In 1928, Ubach went to Egypt again. With the authorization of Lacau, Director of the Service, he visited the deposits of antiquities with Engelbach to choose some additional objects to buy.[35]

After long debates over the years on the strategy to be followed for the selling of the antiquities, the Sale Room was definitely closed in November 1979, as stated by Bothmer and recently confirmed to me by Judge Achraf

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34. P. PIACENTINI, *The Preservation of Antiquities. Creation of Museums in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century*, in EAD. (ed.), *Egypt and the Pharaohs: From Conservation to Enjoyment. Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 2011, pp. 3-42.

35. D. ROURE (ed.), *Dietari d'un viatge per le regions de l'Iraq (1922-1923). P. Bonaventura Ubach*, Montserrat 2010, p. 182; P. RAMON TRAGAN, *Il* Museum Biblicum *di Padre Bonaventura Ubach e le piante dell'habitat delle Sacre Scritture*, in A. ACTIS CAPORALE - E. D'AMICONE - E. GIACOBINO - M. SPINI, *Nei giardini del faraone*, Torino 2013, pp. 80-91.

Al-Achmawi.[36] Furthermore, until the Seventies, at the Cairo Museum dealers or collectors could bring antiquities for inspection on Thursday, and if the Museum officials did not object, they could have them sealed and cleared for export.[37]

3. *Antiquities legally sold and exported*

The creation of a Museum totally devoted to Egyptian antiquities and the regulation of exports, followed by a law proposal written by Gaston Maspero in 1902 and issued in 1912, did not prevent a great number of antiquities from being taken out of the country legally or illegally. Bernard V. Bothmer, in very interesting notes for a lecture on the art market wrote: « The moral aspects of such purchases have caused all of us a great deal of anxiety. Yet, we in museums preserve such treasures whereas in private collections they often disappear within a generation or two… ».[38] Bothmer was very interested in the legal aspects of international trade of art and on illicit traffic of cultural property, and his papers on the subject, preserved in Milan, deserve to be studied and published in the near future.

I will not resume here all the different decrees or laws issued in Egypt from the time of Muhammad 'Ali up to now, a subject on which good studies are available elsewhere,[39] but I will touch only on some select points related to the Sale Room.

At the dawn of the Twentieth century, the Sale Room was very active, and the « duplicates » found during the excavations were regularly sold to finance the activities of the Antiquities Service. On Mai 8, 1900, Maspero wrote to his wife:[40]

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36. Personal comunication (April 30, 2013).
37. B.V. BOTHMER, *A Letter from the Egyptian Organisation of Antiquities, and a Response*, in « JFA » 10 (1983), pp. 104-105.
38. Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, fondo Bothmer.
39. KHATER, *Le régime juridique des fouilles*; A. AL-ACHMAWI, *Sarikat Mashroua*, Cairo 2012.
40. DAVID (éd.), *Gaston Maspero. Lettres d'Égypte*, p. 249.

> […] la campagne de Sakkarah aura été heureuse, et elle nous aura fourni tant d'objets doubles à vendre qu'elle aura fini par ne coûter presque rien.

To increase its income and try to reduce robberies and unfettered trade, the Antiquities Service decided to sell complete funerary chapels discovered in Saqqarah to foreign museums, as those in New York, Chicago, London, Berlin, Paris, Bruxelles. In the *Archaeological Report* of the EEF for 1902-1903, one can read the motivations of such a decision:[41]

> It is hoped that when such can be obtained at a moderate figure the directors of museums will be less eager to buy odd blocks and fragments broken out by robbers, and that so the robbers will give up their detestable trade.

On the subject, Budge wrote in his memories:[42]

> I had a long and very friendly interview with him [Maspero] in 1900, and discussed with him the possibility of acquiring several large objects which we needed in the British Museum to fill up gaps in the Collection. He said that it was quite impossible for him to bring to Cairo, still less to exhibit in the Egyptian Museum there, all the large objects which were at that moment lying in tombs, and which ought to be taken to some large Museum where they would be properly housed and preserved. He confessed that with his comparatively small budget and staff it was wholly impossible for him to protect all the tombs in the country. And he suggested that it would be far better for the antiquities, and certainly much more economical for the Trustees of the British Museum, if they were to buy direct from him, as Director of the Service of Antiquities, the large sarcophagi and mastabah doors which they required to complete their Collection. He was very anxious to make some arrangement of this kind with me, for, apart from his desire to see valuable antiquities safely housed in Europe and cared for, he needed all the money he could get to supplement his meagre grant for excavations. It was therefore not difficult to come to an understanding with him. And as a result of his liberal policy, I acquired the complete mastabah tomb of Ur-ari-en-Ptah [. . .]; the fine mastabah door of Asa-ankh [. . .]; one of the four granite pillars of the portico of the pyramid of King Unas [. . .]; the basalt coffin of Uahabra from "Campbell's Tomb" at Giza [. . .]; and the fine stone sarcophagus of Qem-Ptah [. . .].

41. F.LL. GRIFFITH, *Progress of Egyptology*, in ID. (ed.), *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1902-1903*, London [1903], p. 12.
42. BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris*, II, pp. 361-363. On the non-canonical way in which Budge acquired antiquities for the British Museum, see B. FAGAN, *The Rape of the Nile*, Cambridge (MA) 2004 (revised ed.), pp. 198-203.

Furthermore, in 1908, Quibell carefully annotated, in his journal intitled *1907-1910 (Nov.): Sent to Museum: Packing book* (now in Milan), the boxes containing the blocks of the mastabas of Unisankh and Netjeruser acquired by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Detailed information can now be added to the documents kept in Chicago,[43] to illustrate better when and how the blocks were sent to the Museum, and what was left behind.[44]

From Quibell's *Packing book*, as well as from other sources, such as the pages of the Register of the Sale Room that we could see, or the inventories and archives of the Museums already checked, we can deduce that the objects sold could be of different kinds, like reliefs, architectural elements, offering tables, coffins, complete or fragmentary statues, statue heads or torsos, head-rests, capitals (mostly Coptic), canopic vases, as well as stone or glass vessels, shabtis, weights, amulets and scarabs. Despite the opinion that the objects sold to public institutions were more important than those sold to private collectors or dealers, we can see in the Register of the Sale Room that the latter could buy very significant items too.

3.1.   The Universal Exposition of Saint Louis, Missouri

In 1904, Egypt took part in the Universal Exposition of Saint Louis.[45] James Quibell was charged with the practical organization and installation of the exhibition, with the help of his wife and of a certain Miss Cox. Two large halls were devoted to the country in the Anthropology Building (pl. XIX); Room 100 of the main floor, in particular, exhibited full size dioramas of daily life in ancient Egypt, that we can admire today in a series of photos kept in the Quibell archives in Milan.[46] The figures were in plaster, but modeled on ancient statues, while their wigs and the furniture in the scenes were modern, but inspired by ancient

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43. P. ONDERKA, *The Tomb of Unisankh in Saqqara and Chicago*, Prague 2009.

44. On the mastaba chapels that the Antiquities Service sold to foreign museums, cf. E. BROVARSKI, *Epigraphic and Archaeological Documentation of Old Kingdom Tombs and Monuments at Giza and Saqqara*, in N. THOMAS (ed.), *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt. Essays*, Los Angeles 1996, pp. 34-36, 42.

45. On the significance and role of international exhibitions, see MAGET, *Collectionnisme public et conscience patrimoniale*, pp. 205-212.

46. The classification and inventory of the Quibell collection of the Egyptological Archives of the Milan University is carried out at present by C. Orsenigo, thanks to a grant of the Schiff Giorgini Foundation.

objects; on the contrary, the beads of the jewels as well as implements in the hands of the figures or in the decoration of the scenes were ancient. In Room 101, many antiquities were shown. They are listed in the Official Catalogue of Exhibitors: among them, there are glass, faience and bronze vessels, pottery from Predynastic to Roman times, shabtis, a collection of beads, a New Kingdom coffin and a Ptolemaic mummy, the chapel and the false-door of the mastaba of Kaipura (discovered by Mariette, then excavated by Quibell at Saqqara in 1903), the lid of a stone anthropoid coffin, an Old Kingdom sarcophagus from Giza, and a series of casts of reliefs from the Cairo Museum.[47]   The cultural purpose became commercial at the end of the exhibition, with the sale of the antiquities. The most important monument, the mastaba, was acquired by John Wanamaker who donated it to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the end of 1904.[48]

A rumour spread ten years before, that even the temple of Philae could be sold to the United States, shows how much people were interested in receiving Egyptian Antiquities in their country.[49]

4.   *Notes on the history of the "partage" of the objects discovered during excavations*

All types of objects on sale at the Cairo Museum were included also in the "partages," but their importance often depended on chance, or on personal or political relationships between the excavators and the Director of the Antiquities Service.[50]   Nevertheless, it happened that foreign archaeologists exported objects even against a precise decision taken by the Egyptian authorities. It is the case for the "Chambre des ancêtres" or "Karnak King List" that Émile Prisse d'Avennes torn down from Karnak temple, despite ban by Egyptian authorities,

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47. F.J.V. Skiff, *Official Catalogue of exhibitors. Universal Exposition St. Louis, U.S.A.*, St. Louis 1904, pp. 1389-1390.
48. D.P. Silverman (ed.), *Searching for Ancient Egypt. Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Dallas 1997, pp. 170-175.
49. O.E., *The Ghizeh Museum*, in « The Times », March 27, 1894, p. 7.
50. See, *e.g.*, M.L. Bierbrier, *The growth of museum collections*, in « Museum International » 186, XLVII / 2 (1995), pp. 10-11.

in May 1843.[51] In Prisse's opinion, he acted in this way to "save" the monument from destruction. The blocks were sawn and crated in twenty-seven boxes. But, they could be shipped to France only in spring 1844, when after long debates Prisse obtained the permission from the Khedive for exporting "Objets d'histoire naturelle destinés au musée de Paris".[52]

It was also illegal to export antiquities not previously checked by the Inspectors of the Service. In the years 1912-13, this matter became the subject of a controversy between Arthur Weigall, who was Inspector in Upper Egypt,[53] and Gaston Maspero, since the latter usually allowed the Missions to take much more than half of the objects they found. In November 1912, Maspero illustrated the situation in a letter to his wife Louise:[54]

> Il y avait deux affaires un peu délicates, dont l'une avait été soulevée par ce maladroit de Weigall. Celui-ci avait proposé de vendre les doubles du Musée, croyant qu'étaient doubles toutes les statues de Karnak, par exemple, qui représentent un homme accroupi: comme il y en a plus de deux cents, cela aurait rapporté une somme assez forte, et lui, Weigall, aurait été chargé de les aller vendre en Europe comme une sorte de commis voyageur scientifique. Lord Edouard Cecil et lord Kitchener avaient accueilli l'idée avec un certain enthousiasme. Je n'ai pas eu de peine à leur démontrer qu'elle était insoutenable: la loi du 16 Mai 1883 déclare que toutes les Musées de l'Egypte et tous les objets qu'ils contiennent font partie du domaine public de l'Etat, et que par conséquent ils sont inaliénables. Ils ont immédiatement cessé d'insister, mais ils se sont rabattus sur les doubles provenant des fouilles opéréses par des savants étrangers, et ils m'ont demandé pourquoi, ayant droit à la moitié exactement des objets trouvés, nous ne la prenions pas. Je leur ai répondu qu'en ce qui me concerne je ne demandais pas mieux que d'être moins généreux, mais qu'en revenant ici en 1899 l'usage était établi et que je l'avais respecté pour éviter au Gouvernement Egyptien des difficultés avec les Consuls Généraux: à plusieurs reprises, j'en avais conféré avec lord Cromer et Sir Eldon Gorst, qui m'avaient conseillé de ne pas insister. Kitchener m'a déclaré que, pour

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51. The exportation ban issued by the "moudir" d'Esneh, dated 1843, is still preserved in the archives of the Société archéologique et historique de l'arrondissement d'Avesnes, Musée Villien, Miscellanées-Prisse d'Avennes n° 3; cf. G. ANDREU (éd.), *Egyptologie le rêve et la science* (cat. of the exhib.), Paris 1998, p. 28. Cf. also WAXMAN, *Loot,* pp. 71-74.
52. É. DELANGE, *La Chambre des Ancêtres de Thoutmosis III (1479-1425 av. J.-C.). De la Bibliothèque nationale au Musée du Louvre*, in *Visions d'Égypte. Émile Prisse d'Avennes (1807-1879)* (cat. of the exhib.), Paris 2011, pp. 53-66, in particular p. 55.
53. J. HANKEY, *A Passion for Egypt: A Biography of Arthur Weigall*, London - New York 2001, p. 183.
54. DAVID (éd.), *Gaston Maspero. Lettres d'Égypte*, pp. 531-532.

lui, il pensait que les moment de ces concessions était passé, et que si ses collègues du Corps diplomatique lui transmettaient à ce sujet des réclamations de leur nationaux, il leur répondrait que la loi est la loi, et qu'il ne pouvait pas la changer. Je lui ai dit alors que, dans ces conditions, je n'avais plus rien à objecter, mais que je considérais qu'il serait peu loyal de laisser les fouilleurs commencer leurs travaux dans la croyance que le partage se ferait cette année de la même manière qu'il s'était fait au cours des années précédentes, et que je me considérais comme obligé de les prévenir du régime nouveau à mesure qu'ils se présenteraient. Il en est convenu: je les préviendrai donc, et je leur montrerai à l'appui une note de lord Edouard Cecil. Cela ne m'évitera pas de récriminations, bien entendu; mais les gros ennuis seront pour eux.

Some months later, in 1913, Weigall wrote to Gardiner on the subject:[55]

[In Upper Egypt] I generally made the selection of what the Museum wanted, visiting the excavations for this purpose and going through the finds in the rough before they were cleaned or shown to advantage. I had no idea what the Cairo Museum required [...] in any one class of objects, for my work gave me very little opportunities for visiting the Museum; and I therefore made a quite casual selection [...] of what happened to strike me as being needed by us. Other excavators, considering that I was severe in my selection, preferred to take their finds to Cairo, where often only a few boxes where unpacked for inspection. Other excavators did not show their finds at all, but the selection was made at Cairo by means of photographs.

The same year, Weigall wrote again to Gardiner about the objects kept by the Antiquities Service during the "partage," that the excavator could eventually buy later from the Service:[56]

I quite agree that the excavator from whom we have taken our full half shall have the first right to buy any object which we have taken from him but which we do not intend to exhibit. I had not put that clause in, simply because I imagined that the thing would happen naturally; for the excavator would naturally say during the division, « I say, let me have first chance of buying that thing, » and we should naturally say, « Certainly. » However, I *will* put it in.

In the "partage" even very small objects or fragments could be added. An example are the items coming from the tomb of Meketra (TT 280), excavated by

55. HANKEY, *A Passion for Egypt*, p. 183.
56. *Ibidem*, p. 185.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1920. In addition to the famous models and papyri, sealings, ostraka, instruments, parts of coffin, numerous small or very small relief fragments arrived at the MMA.[57]

Starting from 1919, Egypt was trying to become completely independent from England, and in 1923 the British permitted the drafting of an Egyptian constitution and allowed future parliamentary elections. The rules of the "partage" of antiquities changed too, and serious disputes arose between Pierre Lacau, Director of the Antiquities Service in those years, and Howard Carter when he finally made his great discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb. The reasons of the crisis were not only the destination of the incredibly rich materials found, but also the general political situation. At the end, as it is well known, the complete treasure of Tutankhamun stayed in Egypt, and Carter and Carnarvon got 34,971 Egyptian pounds in compensation of their excavation.[58] In the popular Egyptian press, these issues were felt as a victory of the Egyptian people, and commonly linked to state sovereignty.[59]

In the following years, foreign archaeologists continued to apply to legally obtain part of the objects they discovered. In the Lacau collection of the Archives of the University of Milan, for example, we found some documents related to the excavations of George Reisner at Giza and his request for some objects for the Boston collection. On January 20, 1930, he sent to Engelbach from the Harvard Camp at Giza a list of his findings, as well as photographs and notes requested by Lacau. He closed the accompanying letter claiming that « Lacau has promised to push the division to a decision ».[60]

As a matter of fact, the latter decided to give Reisner some of the objects of the list, that are now legally part of the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts,

57. Cf. <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections?ft=meketre&rpp=20&pg=1>.
58. E. GADY, *Égyptologues français et britanniques en Égypte dans la première moitié du XXᵉ siècle: une « Entente cordiale » ?*, in D. COOPER-RICHET - M. RAPOPORT, *L'Entente cordiale. Cent ans de relations culturelles franco-britanniques (1904-2004)*, Paris 2006, pp. 51-65, in particular p. 60 and note 53.
59. E. COLLA, *Conflicted antiquities. Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*, Durham - London 2007, pp. 199-210.
60. Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, fondo Lacau, corrispondenza Reisner.

Boston. It is the case of the numerous fragments of the offering table of Ankhaf (25-2-382.1-42, etc.), or the fragments of reliefs of the tomb G 7752 Z (29-12-141).[61]

Although the Law 14/1912 allowed the division of finds between the Egyptian Government and the foreign archaeological missions, Pierre Lacau — Director of the Antiquities Service from 1914 to 1936 — was the first to be very strict in applying it, giving the authorization to export only a very small number of items. This situation went on until the new Law 117/1983 was promulgated. This one prohibited the antiquities trade, while allowing the division of only 10 per cent of the newly discovered objects, exclusively for the purpose of scientific research or museum display. In addition, the Egyptian Antiquities Authority had the right to make the first selection from any discoveries. Finally, in 1988, a ministerial decree prohibited any division. The new modified antiquities Law 3/2010 prohibited again the division and imposed stiffer penalties on illicit traffic.[62]

For the history of the discoveries and of the collections, the specific content of the lists of "partage" now preserved in public Museum should be evaluated, keeping in mind that objects coming from a specific excavation could have been bought after the "partage," by the same Museum or foreign mission, at the Cairo Museum Sale Room.

5.   *The Sale Room, the antiquity market, the thefts*

After long debates on the objectives and organization of the Sale Room, one of the purposes of the law issued in 1951 for the protection of the Egyptian antiquities was to accomplish the will already expressed during the *Conférence Internationale des Fouilles du Caire*, in 1937, stating that:[63]

afin de contribuer à prévenir les fouilles clandestines, et pour permettre aux

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61. In the entries of the catalogue of the MFA, under these numbers, one can read: « From Giza. Excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt », or « Assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Egypt ».

62. AL-ACHMAWI, *Sarikat Mashroua*, pp. 34-57.

63. KHATER, *Le régime juridique des fouilles*, p. 231.

collections publiques de remplir leur mission scientifiques et éducatives, il est nécessaire que les Etats fournissent aux musées étrangers les possibilités légales d'acquisition des antiquités se trouvant en double dans leurs musées nationaux.

The law encouraged the sale of antiquities to public institutions, and strict custom controls, to avoid the danger that antiquities leave the country illegally. In addition, it stated that: « Le Service des Antiquités ne garantit l'authenticité que des pièces vendues par ses musées ».[64] As a matter of fact, antiquities could be bought from the many antiquities dealers, official or improvised (pl. XX), working mostly in Cairo, Alexandria and Luxor.[65] These merchants acquired the objects through the Sale Room, as we gather from its Register, but could easily find antiquities illegally unearthed or stolen from excavations. An interesting report on items stolen in Egypt and exported abroad, addressed to the Committee of the Antiquities Service established to stop robberies of antiquities was written probably by Alexandre Varille in autumn 1937, and is now kept in his archives in Milan. After enumerating famous stolen papyri and ostraca, as well as a stela from Amarna that ended up in the Brooklyn Museum, he concludes:[66]

Nous ne formulons pas le moindre soupçon à l'égard des fonctionnaires du Service des Antiquités ni à l'égard du personnel de différents Instituts chargés des fouilles. Toutefois, des vols viennent d'être commis: sans doute l'ont-ils été par des petits ouvriers. Quoiqu'il en soit ces vols sont connus depuis plusieurs années, sans que personne ne s'inquiétât ou ne cherchât à les divulguer. Il y a là une négligence grave que le Comité doit examiner, à laquelle il doit mettre fin et infliger aux coupables la peine qu'ils méritent.

In 1976, at the first International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo, Labib Habachi presented a courageous paper on the robberies of Egyptian monuments in the first half of the 20th century, that opened the way for enforcing

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64. *Ibidem*, p. 254.
65. On some well-known antiquities dealers, cf. A.C. GUNTER, *A Collector's Journey. Charles Lang Freer and Egypt*, Washington DC 2002, pp. 89-119.
66. Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, fondo Varille, vecchio inv. dossier 112.

the laws on the protection of cultural heritage.[67]   It was becoming evident that any piece of antiquity could not leave the country anymore.

6.   *Some case studies*

In some cases, nevertheless, the merchants "saved" the antiquities, before selling them. An amazing example is that of the Papyrus Liepsner. In the early 1960s, Sayed Molattam, an official dealer by permission from the Egyptian Museum (Licence No. 58, Luxor), rescued the roll from workers who had found a hoard of papyri and had been burning them for three days, to warm themselves and make tea. In November 1968, it was purchased by Thomas Liepsner, and soon become known to scholars as *pAmenemhet*.[68]

To illustrate the rediscovery of objects that are not present in bibliography, and remained unknown until now since mentioned in unpublished archival documentation only, we can mention a relief from the tomb of Mose at Saqqara, unhearthed by Loret in 1898. A photograph of this block, decorated with an offering scene showing a man censing and libating before the Apis-bull, was found some years ago in the archives of the Archaeologist now in Milan.[69]   Its left part has since been discovered, as we will see below, while the right one has not yet been found. It probably ended up in a private collection, or in a Museum that we have not able to identify, or was lost.

Researches in the archives, review of auction catalogues, and oral memories of archaeologists and dealers, could integrate data on objects known, for example kept in Museums, but for which provenance, discoverer, or even exact location in a tomb, temple, or other site remained unknown. To illustrate this

67. L. HABACHI, *Damages and Robberies of Egyptian Monuments in the Last Half Century*, in W.F. REINEKE (ed.), *First ICE, Acts, Cairo 1976*, « Schriften zür Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients » 14, Berlin 1979, pp. 271-275; J. KAMIL, *Labib Habachi. The Life and Legacy of an Egyptologist*, Cairo - New York 2007, pp. 250-254. Cf. also WAXMAN, *Loot*, pp. 23-24, 373-375.
68. T. LIEPSNER, *The Papyrus Liepsner (pAmenemhet). A Truly Extraordinary 3,500-year-old Book of the Dead*, in « KMT » 25 / 4 (2014-15), pp. 27-37.
69. P. PIACENTINI - C. ORSENIGO, *The discovery of the tomb of Mose and its "juridical inscription"*, in IID. (eds), *Egyptian Archives. Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives*, Milano 2009, pp. 83-102.

point, we can use the just mentioned relief from the tomb of Mose at Saqqara. In-depth research has made it possible to retrace the passage of the left hand portion of the object from different dealers — Maurice Nahman in Cairo first,[70] Lucien Viola in New York then[71] — to the sale at Sotheby's in 1980, until its final location at the Rosicrucian Museum in San José.[72]

The last case that we would like to mention is the easiest one: when the information present in the Register of the Sale Room is already known to the Museum that purchased the object. An example is the well-known statue of an official with pleated costume dating back to the Roman Period, currently on display in Gallery 131 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (65.119). On the database of the Museum,[73] one can read that the statue was

> Sold from the Salle de Vente, Egyptian Museum, Cairo; noted in the register for 1962, page 6, entry 52. Purchased by Heinz Herzer, Munich. Acquired by Spink and Sons, London. Purchased by the museum from Spink and Sons, 1965.

We cannot exclude the possibility that Bernard Bothmer himself, who annotated in his copy of the page of the Sale Register the final location of the statue, had informed the MMA of the original provenance of the object.

Slowly, information on antiquities bought by Collectors or Museums at the Sale Room, directly or through dealers, are published. It is the case, for example, of some objects of the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, partly purchased by the City of Hannover in the first half of the Nineteenth century and housed in the Museum August Kestner,[74] or of some objects transferred to the collection of the Hermitage in 1931 from the regional museum of

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70. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who,* p. 397. Nahman started his activity in 1890, in the same years of the opening of the Sale Room, where he surely bought objects for the Museums and collectors that were his clients. For additional information and some amazing photographs of Nahman's antiquities shop in Cairo see R. PINTAUDI, *Documenti per una storia della papirologia in Italia*, in « AnPap » 5 (1993), 156-170.

71. Lucien Viola, grandson of Maurice Nahman, owned and directed L'Ibis Gallery Ltd. in New York until 1991. He worked closely with Ernst Kofler of Luzern, who was a major collector of Egyptian antiquities, and is often mentioned in the Register of the Cairo Museum Sale Room.

72. C. ORSENIGO, *A newly identified relief from the tomb-chapel of Mose at Saqqara*, in « ZÄS » 140 (2013), pp. 167-171, pls 25-26.

73. < http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100002406?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=65.119 &pos=1 >.

74. C.E. LOEBEN, *Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing*, in W. SCHEPERS, *Bürgerschätze: Sammeln für Hannover: 125 Jahre Museum August Kestner*, « Museum Kestnerianum » 19, Hannover 2013, pp. 88- 92.

Samara, that were bought at the Sale Room in July 1911 and in May 1913.[75]   A
group of stone vessels, excavated by Quibell at Saqqara in 1910-11, was purchased
at the Sale Room by A.M. Lythgoe and H.W. Kent for the Cleveland Museum
of Art in 1916, on advice of Quibell himself.[76]   In a letter to Lythgoe, Quibell
writes that the vessels will be sold at the Sale Room separately, but he would
prefer to sell them as a group to a museum.[77]   Information on the exact prov-
enance of most of them, in some cases already ascertained through letters and
documents kept in the archives of the Cleveland Museum, can now be precised
and increased thanks to the Quibell's notebooks kept in the Egyptological
Archives of the Milan University (pl. XXI).

7.   *Gifts of State*

Another aspect that deserves to be studied is related to the official gifts of
antiquities made by the Egyptian governors during a span of more that one and
a half centuries, starting from Muhammad 'Ali and continuing at least to Anwar
Al-Sadat.[78]   It is well known that many monuments left Egypt at the end of the
1960s as a gift of President Nasser to the nations that contributed to the salvage
operation of the Nubian temples.[79]   A new path of research is the identification
of the objects offered during official visits of the Egyptian governors to foreign
countries, or donated to visiting chiefs of state. This practice of offering native
arts or antiques-prized pieces of a country's culture and heritage is well attested
all over the world. The Italian President Giovanni Leone, for example, offered an
Etruscan "Bucchero" vase to the President of the United States Gerald R. Ford
in September 1974;[80]   in December 1975, the Israeli Defense Minister Shimon

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75. A. KAKOVKIN, *Eine Tonlampe des 4.-5. Jh. aus Ägypten in der Sammlung der Ermitage*, in « GM » 143 (1994), p.
     85 and note 1.
76. L.M. BERMAN *et al*., *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland 1999, pp. 7, 81-102.
77. *Ibidem*, p. 82 note 9 (Quibell to Lythgoe, 4 January 1915, CMA Archives).
78. Cf. *e.g.* L.B. AUEL, *Tokens and Treasures: Gifts to Twelve Presidents* (Cat. of the exhib.), Washington DC,
     1996.
79. Cf. *e.g.* S. OKASHA, *Ramses Recrowned: The International Campaign to preserve the Monuments of Nubia*, in S.
     D'AURIA, *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, « CHANE »
     38, Leiden 2010, pp. 223-243, in particular p. 241.
80. < http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/museum/ArtifactCollectionSamples/Catagories/StateGifts/

Peres donated to the same American President a Roman glass vessel dating back to the 1st–2nd centuries A.D.;[81]   and the cases could be multiplied.

Concerning the Egyptian antiquities, an interesting research has started, and the first results were presented by Al-Achmawi in 2012.[82]   The objects chosen as gifts of state were generally statuettes of divinities, alabaster vessels, amulets, or small items of this kind. There are no proofs that antiquities have been given away as state gifts after the presidency of Al-Sadat (1970-1981). By the way, it seems that around the beginnings of the 1980s the practice of offering antiquities as state gifts almost ceased all over the world.

8.   *Conclusions*

As we have seen, by combining information from archives and museums or private collections we can follow the path of numerous ancient objects. Of some of them, it is possible to know the previous owner(s), and eventually find out where they are kept at present. Of others, sold to public museums, we can establish the original provenance and trace their way from the ancient sites to the Cairo Museum Sale Room, and then to antiquities dealers, auctions, different owners, up to their final location. We are interested in understanding what kind of objects were sold and dispersed, from what sites, through what dealers, etc., and we plan to insert all the collected information and in a database that could be open to scholars and Museums in the future.

Too many ancient objects have left Egypt over the centuries. If a great number of them have been really stolen, other, that some perceive nowadays as stolen, were in fact legally exported or donated, even if that can ethically disturb us.

ClayPot.html >. This vase, found in Vulci (Italy) on February 19, 1962, is now kept at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum at Ann Arbor, MI.

81. < http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/staff_favorites/romanVessel%20.asp >. This vase is one of many state gifts exchanged during the time of peace negotiations between the United States, Israel and Egypt. It is now kept at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum at Ann Arbor, MI.

82. AL-ACHMAWI, *Sarikat Mashroua*, pp. 122-130.

Acknowledgments

Re-excavating Egypt: unlocking the potential in ancient Egyptian collections in the UK

Margaret Serpico

This paper offers a summary and critical assessment of several different projects carried out in regional museums with ancient Egyptian collections. The projects involved cataloguing and reactivating collections, creating and merging databases, collating archives, development of web resources, preparation of collection reviews, and forma- tion of the subject specialist network, The Association for Curators of Collections from Egypt and Sudan *(ACCES).*

While the largest ancient Egyptian collections in the UK are of course well known, nearly 200 smaller museums and institutions within that geograph- ical remit also hold ancient Egyptian objects. Many of these are familiar to researchers through the distribution lists included in site publications, because they hold rare or unusual objects, or because their donors were famous individ- uals. Some smaller museums have displays of their objects, raising public aware- ness, but many are "orphaned" collections, formed through the motivation of a few individuals but left largely untouched subsequently. Importantly, a signifi- cant percentage of these collections contain excavated material and therefore as a group they can also be considered part of a distributed national and, in fact, international collection. The *Forming Material Egypt* conference has amply illus- trated the growing interest in these smaller collections, particularly because of their archaeological contexts. As more projects to investigate these collections are developed, it is perhaps useful to look back and critically assess a selection of projects that related to these UK Egyptian collections.

Petrie Museum distribution and reactivation project (2002-2004)

The aim of this project, funded by the Designation Challenge Fund and Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA), was to begin to reunite "virtually" the dispersed objects from the excavations by William Matthew Flinders Petrie

(1853-1942) or by the organization he initiated in 1905, the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE). Four museums in the southeast of England (Bexhill Museum, Buckinghamshire County Museum, Brighton Museum and Ipswich Museum), known to have objects excavated by Petrie or by the BSAE, collaborated in the project which included cataloguing and reactivating their ancient Egyptian collections. Although the focus was on Petrie's objects, clearly in the course of cataloguing the collections other excavated objects would be found and they were also incorporated. The project involved merging databases from the four collections with that of the Petrie Museum in order to enable cross-searching. The project resulted in the creation of the *Accessing Virtual Egypt* (AVE) website.[1]   As part of this, a number of resources were developed for the website including a section called "Site Inventories" which, taking just seven cemetery sites, collated across the four collections the objects found in the burials. Where objects from those burials were also in the Petrie Museum, these were noted. If a tomb card existed for the burial, this was included. This demonstrated not only the amounts of precisely provenanced material in these collections but also the potential for reuniting objects from the same burial now distributed to different museums.

Creation of a national database of collections and formation of a subject specialist network (2005-2006)

As part of the MLA initiative to establish subject specialist networks, a joint project between the Petrie Museum and the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum (in collaboration with Assistant Keeper, Dr Marcel Marée) was undertaken which included the addition to the MLA *Cornucopia* website of collection level information about all currently known ancient Egyptian and Sudanese collections in the UK.[2]   The information added to *Cornucopia* was based on a questionnaire drafted originally in 1987 and circulated to museums across the UK.[3]   Since the inception of the questionnaire, the British

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1.   Cf. < http://www.accessingvirtualegypt.ucl.ac.uk/>.
2.   Cf. <http://www.cornucopia.org.uk/>.
3.   The original version of the questionnaire was developed by then British Museum curator, Dr. Nicholas Reeves.

Museum had continued to gather and collate information on the collections, but this existed only as a *Word* document. As the records spanned a number of years, considerable updating and editing was necessary. Based on this, the number of such collections stands now at just over 200 but new collections could still need to be added, particularly from sources such as stately homes, schools and universities. The project also resulted in the creation of a subject specialist network, *The Association for Curators of Collections from Egypt and Sudan* (*ACCES*).[4] To better understand the current state of ancient Egyptian collections in the UK, another questionnaire was developed and circulated to all curators, providing a statistical overview summarized in the report *Past, Present and Future* on the *ACCES* website.[5]

Collection Reviews (2008 - 2013)

The concept of a collection review was developed by the Museums Association as part of their *Effective Collections* programme. This would bring together a subject specialist curator, the museum's curator (if not the subject specialist), a conservator and an education specialist to assess the collection. The purpose of these reviews is to help the museum understand what is in their collection, its relatedness and relevance to the other collections in the museum, its ability to meet the museum's overarching objectives, the importance of the collection nationally and internationally, its current and potential use (including for public, education and research purposes), any conservation needs, and whether any of the collection would be suitable for transfer, loan or disposal. It is deliberately not intended as a cataloguing exercise, although where the collection is sufficiently small, it was recognized that this might be possible. As a result of three reviews of ancient Egyptian collections funded by MLA's Renaissance scheme,[6] it can be said that the advantage of a collection review is not only in

4. M. SERPICO, *The future of ancient Egyptian and Sudanese archaeological collections in the UK: Forming Plans for the Association for Curators of Collections from Egypt and Sudan (ACCES)*, in « The Museum Archaeologist » 31 (2008), pp. 67-74.

5. Cf. < http://ssndevelopment.org/acces_ssndevelopment/home/acces/public_html/>.

6. M. SERPICO, *Review of the Egyptology Collection at Salford Museum and Art Gallery*, in *What's in Store: Collections Review in the North West*, Manchester 2008, pp. 13-15 (online: <http://www.nwfed.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/270_collections-review-in-the-north-west1.pdf>).

the remarkable discoveries of objects in orphaned collections but in the ability to view the collection holistically, to consider the future of the collection more actively and to capture important information on its history and archive.

These projects have provided useful insight into the incredible potential of, and practical issues of, working in small orphaned collections; of identifying excavated material and understanding collection histories; as well as the challenges of combining databases and reactivating collections. Above all, however, it has been a privilege to work closely with wonderful curators and museum staff who care so much about their collections and have been so keen to share in the journeys of these projects. Today in particular, with the museum sector facing financial difficulties and worrying cutbacks, having such curators looking after collections has perhaps never been more important.

Working with the collections

Throughout these projects, the public delivery and research potential of the ancient Egyptian collections in the UK has been consistently reaffirmed. Not only have outstanding and historically important objects been discovered, but equally valuable were the remarkable collection histories that have come to light. Particularly notable was the discovery that a significant proportion of the collection at Brighton Museum came there because Petrie's first protégé, Francis Llewellyn Griffith, had been born in Brighton and family had remained there.[7]

Lessons were learned, too, about the difficulties of tracing and identifying excavated objects in the collections. Traditionally, distribution lists found in the published excavation reports have been the starting point of any research into the dispersal of the excavated material. However, work in the smaller collections has proved time and time again that these tell only part of the story.

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7. M. SERPICO, *The Griffith family and the formation of the ancient Egyptian collection at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery,* in D. MAGEE - J. BOURRIAU - S. QUIRKE (eds), *Sitting beside Lepsius: studies in honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, « OLA » 185, Leuven 2009, pp. 491-513.

Of equal if not greater importance than the published lists is the unpublished object archive, the diverse cluster of information that directly or indirectly pertains to the object's life cycle, its excavation (and / or donor) history, and contextualizes it: the handwritten or more rarely typed distribution lists and tables compiled by the excavator and those distributed to the museum, the labels, the correspondence between organizations and museums, and annotated copies of the annual exhibition catalogues. Often most crucial is the detection of excavation marks on the actual objects which might offer the only means of tracing the provenance of finds. This network of object information leads back to the wider excavation archive of notebooks, diaries, photographs, correspondence, published site reports, etc. The benefits of delving into the archive and understanding excavation marks are clear. In the distribution / reactivation project, taking just seven excavations with objects in the four collections, it was possible to identify objects from over 120 different burials. Thirty-six of these had objects in more than one of the four museums and / or in the Petrie Museum opening exciting possibilities for virtually reuniting tomb groups.

Archive correspondence is also vital to understanding the history of the collection, the social circumstances surrounding the distribution process and any wider museum objectives and strategies in obtaining objects. One case in point was the correspondence in Ipswich Museum regarding their subscription for objects from the Sedment excavations in 1921, which shed light on how objects were selected and delivered to museums, and revealed the role Petrie's awareness of market prices for objects played a part in decisions of distribution.[8]

What has become clear from the work in the smaller museums is the surprising quantity of excavated material in these collections that is not linked to published distribution lists. Crucially, it is evident that these lists must be viewed as 1) one form of documentation for object distribution and also 2) that they record one means by which excavated objects were distributed.

One remarkable discovery, for example, was that of over two hundred objects from Garstang's excavations at el-Arabeh in Salford Museum which had

8.   M. SERPICO, *Sedment,* in J. PICTON - I. PRIDDEN (eds), *Unseen Images: archive photographs in the Petrie Museum. Volume I: Gurob, Sedment and Tarkhan*, London 2008, pp. 109-10.

never been detailed in any known published or unpublished distribution lists. Archive information suggested that the museum had subscribed to the excavations but for reasons that are not evident, they were not specified in any of the distribution lists. What is also evident is that, at least occasionally, museums received "bonus" objects which were not in published distribution lists and may or may not have been included on the handwritten lists. For the provenances that could be established in these instances, it seems that there was sometimes a clear-out of objects from an earlier year that had not been distributed. Because the site publications would already have gone to press, this information is often not recorded. Conversely, changes to the distribution lists are evident in the emendations recorded on some documents.

Also surprising was the extent of excavated material coming from private donors. That private donors to excavations received objects in return is well known: the most widely recognized examples being Petrie's support from Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard. But it seems that there were many instances where friends and potential financial backers were informally given objects. Sometimes in the museum records, unfortunately, the site location is unclear or the only information provided is « Given to me by Mr Petrie and said to have come from his excavations ». In the Buckinghamshire Museum collection was a formal BSAE printed card donated to the museum from a known Petrie family friend with examples of the scale armour found in Memphis in 1909 stuck on. In this case, particularly interesting is the inscription on the back of the card saying it had been given to the donor at Petrie's July exhibition. Although such cards were also part of the official distribution lists, this one example raises interesting questions of how often small objects and also such events were used to confirm and build friendships, to show gratitude for support, or to encourage new or continuing support in the future. As another example, Brighton Museum received 12 pottery vessels from Naqada through local notable Henry Willett, most likely because he had been financially backing Petrie's colleague, Francis Llewelyn Griffith. A significant amount of excavated material came into the collection by links to A.F. Griffith, Francis Llewelyn Griffith's brother who was a local Alderman. A.F. Griffith clearly acted as a conduit between the museum

and the BSAE and EES for official distributions but also seems to have organized some private transfer of excavated objects.

Also revealed by the smaller collections is the extent to which team members on excavations received excavated material. This, too, is a known occurrence: for example, objects belonging to J. Garrow Duncan are now in the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow. But the potential scale of this becomes quite remarkable if one thinks of the any number of lesser-known people who also worked on excavations. At Bexhill Museum, a substantial part of their collection came from Dr Walter Amsden, a medical doctor in the circle of both the founder and curator of Bexhill Museum who joined Petrie's excavations in 1914, charged with the task of studying the human remains. The objects were described originally and entered on the museum database as from Lahun in 1914, but study of the object markings revealed that nearly all in fact came from Harageh which was also excavated that season. Amsden, who seems to have acted like Griffith as a broker to the transfer, remains a somewhat unknown figure, although completely serendipitously, a private individual subsequently approached the Petrie Museum with a photo album he had purchased at a book sale and which was, in fact, a photo album belonging to Amsden. This included photographs from that season in Egypt, an extremely rare record not only of an excavation but, even rarer, from a largely private perspective, although the album did include some "official" images.

These examples illustrate how misleading it is to focus on distribution lists as the main source for tracing the distribution of excavated finds. This is clearly an issue when considering the *Cornucopia* database which consists of data supplied by often non-specialist curators based on what happens to exist in their accession records and databases. In addition, the museum's unpublished lists for a certain year may include objects from a range of sites excavated that year and it may not be easy to understand which sites are actually represented. This has sometimes led to incorrect provenance information in a museum database because curators were unclear in how to interpret the information provided. This is not a criticism of the museums or curators but a reflection of the now more widely understood circumstance of "orphaned" collections. Of

the 200 Egyptian collections in the UK, the vast majority must be orphaned collections in need of specialist review to uncover these valuable provenanced objects.

It is undoubtedly true that any project which seeks to collate objects from a single site risks missing objects because they simply have yet to be identified in museum collections. This begs the question of whether it is better to advocate specialist review and cataloguing of orphaned museum collections or rely on projects to cherry-pick objects from collections for specific objectives. There are pro's and con's to either approach, not least of which is their appeal for funding the work.

Merging databases to reunite objects

A survey of some 75 museums with ancient Egyptian collections responding to a questionnaire as part of the *Cornucopia / ACCES* project revealed that over a dozen different database systems are in use in museums with ancient Egyptian artefacts. For the Petrie distribution / reactivation project, three different database systems from five different museums were collated in an effort to reunite virtually objects from the same site and context. Valuable lessons were learned through this. In particular, difficulties arose because fields had been highly customized or were not always defined in a consistent manner. For example, donor information was especially difficult as sometimes a donor field included the excavator or institution, while in other databases, this information was entered in a different field, such as field collector. Place names were another challenge due in part to the usual variations in spelling of site names, but also to inconsistent use of names within a database which needed to be agreed. There were also variations in terminology and in the thesauri for material and object types that had to be resolved. There were issues around copyright, hosting of the database and organizing long term storage space on servers.

For both the Petrie distribution / reactivation and the *Cornucopia* projects, there were serious concerns about the sustainability of the databases. The unsurprising reality is that, once a project is over, museums have to move

on and priorities can change. In very small museums, IT support might be down to the curator which can be good in that he / she might be able to make decisions quickly but conversely that person might struggle with complicated data transfers. Larger museums will have dedicated IT staff, but will be juggling many demands and in-house protocols that can require much discussion to resolve. Issues were raised when the project to develop new permanent galleries at one museum generated new information about the objects, and when new objects were discovered after the completion of the reactivation project, but there was no funding to transfer this information back into the *AVE* website and database. This could also occur in reverse, where a specific project based at a large institution generates data that should transfer back to a smaller museum. There have been further challenges with *AVE* in that the project was completed just at the point when UCL decided that any websites would be required to follow specific guidelines for branding, but there was no money to redesign the website. As a result, *AVE* has sat on the periphery of the Petrie Museum and UCL. In addition, as part of the *Cornucopia / ACCES* project, a separate database collating all excavations represented in UK collections along with the names of all excavators and primary publications was created although shortages in time and money meant that this was not completed and integrated into Cornucopia. Recent funding for *ACCES* has meant that completion is underway and hopefully this information should be available via the *ACCES* website in the future.

The benefit of the *Cornucopia* collection level descriptions is that they were specifically created to be searchable on fields including object types, excavator, site, excavation year, archaeological institution and donor. For example, it is possible to locate any museums in the UK with material from Petrie's excavations at Tarkhan, or museums with papyri, or excavations more generally by the BSAE. However, understandably, museums have the right to edit their own *Cornucopia* entries and it was feared that they might change the entry and vital searchable information would be lost. For this reason, every entry made for the project began with a set formula: « The museum holds XXX ancient Egyptian objects . . . ». Changes to that structure act as a flag, albeit not comprehensively, that the entry has been altered. Periodic review of the entries has shown that

indeed some entries have been changed and unfortunately the searchable fields have been removed. The greatest risks to this would be if the museum decided to standardize their collection level descriptions in a different way, or if a new curator came in and was unaware of the history of the project and the benefits of the existing entry. In an effort to update the contact list of museums for *ACCES* one year later, it became clear that curator turnover was about 7%, which clearly creates long-term concerns that this will continue to happen. Foreseeing such a scenario at the start, one possibility that was considered would be to "moth ball" the specialist entries and use that version of the database for searching on the *AVE* website. However, experience also taught that institutional information did also need regular updating with regard not only to phone and fax numbers but also with regard to the most fundamental information for users: new museum names and locations. A "moth-balled" database could just as quickly become outdated in its institutional information as in its specialist entries.

More recently, it was decided that *Cornucopia* would be removed from the web and the collection level descriptions transferred to the *Collections Trust's Culture Grid* website, which in turn would link with the *Europeana* database. As more collections put object level descriptions into *Culture Grid* and *Europeana*, there will be exciting opportunities for bringing together distributed objects, and in fact, all of the UCL object level databases including that of the Petrie Museum are now available in *Culture Grid*. However, the concern once again is that the searchable fields for the collection level descriptions in *Cornucopia* will be altered or dropped during that process.

What these examples illustrate is that there is a need to consider sustainability both vertically and horizontally. It is important for these resources, which rely so heavily on often temporal partnerships, to maintain a high profile to facilitate this. Awareness and value must be tangibly supported by the users of the database, including across subject specialist bodies, as well as throughout the hierarchy of the museum and indeed through the funding bodies.

The difficulty of achieving such sustainability is evident in the way that the appetite for funding the digitization of collections is waning. Such work is resource heavy and there is a feeling that it is less actively engaging for the

public. This is discouraging since the lack of collection and object level information limits access to the collections and the best way for museums to reactivate a collection is to know what is in it. *Collection Reviews* may shortcut the need for a full database to some extent, but as experience has shown, these collections afford many new ways to increase our knowledge and excite, and they deserve wider recognition.

Exchanging knowledge and activating collections

While the database issues may make collaboration between museums seem daunting, there is great potential in smaller collections. In working to reactivate collections, effort was made to give curators at least three ways of creating displays. One exhibition could be most or all of the collection; at least one would focus on a particular strong point of the collection and one would focus on the history of the collection. There will always be at least one local notable figure linked to a collection. Telling the story of the history of the collection not only helps visitors understand how collections were formed but also, since museums have proactively been encouraged to focus exclusively or nearly so on local history, these stories are increasingly important to fit the remit of the museum and justify display of the Egyptian objects.

In general, non-specialist curators tend to underestimate their knowledge of ancient Egypt. As the statistical survey of 75 Egyptian collections demonstrated, most Egyptian collections are looked after by non-specialists, although about half of those surveyed classed themselves as specialists in some type of (non-Egyptian) archaeology or ancient history. Most likely because they do appreciate subject specialism, many curators are wary of treading into another field. Curators often have good knowledge of Egyptian history, probably because there are any number of publications available. Where confidence is weakest is in understanding material culture. This is why having a specialist catalogue the collection is so valuable. Once they have that object-level information, it is easier to think about how to use objects in exhibitions. Although collection reviews may not allow recording down to object level due to time

and financial constraints, they nonetheless can help curators understand the strengths of the collection which is certainly useful for future planning.

Collection reviews are an extremely important form of knowledge transfer. While it might seem that parachuting in a subject specialist solves a problem, museum curators are extremely knowledgeable and interested in the history of their museum and the interrelatedness of the Egyptian collections to others in their care through shared donors. Their knowledge is not only very valuable to Egyptologists but it is also very vulnerable. Curators generally do not have the time or receive the encouragement to collate information on the history of such things as numbering of objects (instances were discovered where an object had been marked with four different accession numbers as part of new registration practices within a single museum), current location of all documentation and archives, and the history of related collections. *Collection reviews* provide an opportunity to work together and capture this information. The fact that there seems to be a turn-over of 5-7% of curators per year emphasizes how important it is to preserve this information. Even if information changes, there is then a dated point of reference.

As the *Forming Material Egypt* conference demonstrated, there is considerable interest in unlocking the potential of smaller collections, particularly with regard to excavated objects. However, this comes at a time when UK museums are facing financial constraints, when external funding has become not only more difficult, but priorities for funding have shifted, when there have been changes to the national curriculum that may impact on museum displays in the future and when there are worrying trends in the ability of museums to sell objects. This is to say nothing of the current situation in Egypt and the challenges resulting from it. For all of these concerns, we would do well to remember the value of the collective voice in raising awareness, advocating for collections and adopting strategies for preserving this incredibly precious cultural heritage.

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Between the field and the museum:
the ongoing project of archaeological context

Alice Stevenson

(PLATE XXII)

Taking the distribution of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund as a departure point, this article examines the potential for a more holistic approach to museum collections and archives that extends the project of archaeological context from place to process. The importance of advocating archives in museum practice and in higher education is also emphasised.

In summer 2012 I undertook a scoping exercise to ascertain the scale and complexity of the Egypt Exploration Fund's (EEF) finds distributions from all of its excavations between 1882 and 1915. The results of this work underscored the complexity of this activity, which drew together a wide network of people and institutions. I have argued more extensively elsewhere [1] that while it is tempting to envisage such dispersals as a linear transmission of objects from the field to the museum, in fact both excavation and curatorial practice were informed by the same artefact-based approach to the construction of the past [2] and that both arenas impinged upon each other in highly complex ways. This conclusion challenges the common misconception (for Egyptian archaeology especially) that « museums have always been, and continue to be, a relatively peripheral player in archaeological motivation ».[3]

What I wish to consider a little further in this paper is how the idea of archaeological context actually emerged through this intersection of excavation and museum practice via the process of finds distribution. Key to this argument is the recognition that museums are not simply the sum of what is displayed in their galleries. They are also repositories for stored collections of

1. A. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of excavation: the British collection and distribution of Egyptian finds to museums, 1880-1915*, in « Journal of the History of Collections » 26/1 (2014), pp. 89-102.
2. A. HENARE, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*, Cambridge 2005; C. EVANS *Delineating objects: nineteenth-century antiquarian culture and the project of archaeology*, in S. PEARCE (ed.), *Visions of Antiquity. The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707–2007*, London 2007.
3. H. SWAIN, *An Introduction to Museum Archaeology*, Cambridge 2007, p. 12.

objects and associated documentation (labels, correspondence and photographs etc.) that accumulate around objects, entangling them within particular histories of acquisition and curation. Consequently, I advocate here a more holistic approach to the management of archaeological collections that seeks to capture within documentation systems, and make more widely visible, the multitude of possible linkages that can be made between an object and related documentation. In so doing the process of ascertaining context can be extended beyond simply establishing a physical find-spot in Egypt. Furthermore, I argue that such a holistic approach to collections management is important not only from an intellectual point of view, but also from the perspective of encouraging inclusive and collaborative museum practice. Finally, I would suggest that the complexities of finds distribution demand that archival research activities be more centrally situated within not just museum training, but also within undergraduate / postgraduate education.

EEF *Finds Distribution*

When the EEF's establishment was announced in « The Times » on 1 April 1882 it bore the alluring headline *Egyptian antiquities*. Yet the final sentence of the article admitted that it « must be distinctly understood that by the law of Egypt no antiquities can be removed from the country ». Nevertheless, two years later the EEF was able to devote a section of its *Annual Report* to the account of "votes of antiquities" to various museums outside of Egypt. Thus began the often symbiotic relationship between excavators' priorities and curatorial desires, with the latter often directly influencing the choice of site and manner of exploration, including the positioning of museum agents in fieldwork. This was made possible not only by shifts in the types of objects that began to be recognised as worthy of museum display in the late nineteenth century, but additionally by developments in the topography of museums across the UK and elsewhere at this time.

The Fund's initial approach to excavation in the early 1880s was embedded within wider trends in mid-nineteenth century colonial cultural practice,

including its appeal to biblical and classical narratives, and in garnering support from individuals whose explorations had caught the public imagination.[4] The spoils of their adventures were not only widely publicised, but were also publically visible through the acquisition of visually striking sculptures, *objets d'art* and artefacts bearing texts for the burgeoning national museums of Europe. These were objects that were considered to be able to speak for themselves as either the material facts of history or else as "wondrous curiosities".[5] The EEF's first season of work under Naville departed little from these previous practices and resulted in two monumental gifts being presented to the British Museum — a granite falcon and a kneeling figure of a scribe.[6] With Petrie's appointment into the Fund's service, however, the nature of the returns was somewhat different with many small objects boxed up and shipped from Alexandria's port to Liverpool's docks. This shift from Naville's unwieldy, monumental finds to Petrie's more humble, yet manageable offerings, was a crucial part of instituting a new type of museum object.[7]

This influx of Egyptian material was also coincident with the steady growth in the numbers of local museums in Britain,[8] particularly in response to municipal reforms that permitted local councils to establish institutions for the public's social benefit. By the end of the nineteenth century the EEF were regularly receiving subscriptions directly from museums keen to expand their collections. In total, between 1883 and 1915, the EEF dispatched objects to some 73 UK institutions, from large national museums like the British Museum, to provincial organisations such as Truro Museum in Cornwall. Public libraries and private schools were also beneficiaries. More than 35 institutions in the US accepted distributions of objects, principally museums in the northeastern states. Globally, at least a further 30 museums in 13 countries received antiquities.

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4. D. CHALLIS, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of the Ephesus. British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840–1880,* London 2008.
5. S. MOSER, *Wondrous Curiosities. Ancient Egypt at the British Museum*, London 2006.
6. Accession numbers 1883,1107.2 and 1883,1107.1.
7. A. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of excavation*.
8. D.K VAN KEUREN, *Museums and ideology: Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Anthropology and social change in later Victorian Britain*, in « Victorian Studies » 28/1 (1984), pp. 171-72.

Creating Context

On 5 January 1900 Francis Llewellyn Griffith wrote to the EEF committee about « a very serious matter », concerning the distribution of objects.[9]   He noted that although « Petrie spent a fortnight writing labels and wrapping up the objects with them » there had been « several dreadful instances of his labels having been neglected ». As a result Petrie drafted a circular addressed « to curators of museums » (pl. XXII, 1), outlining the importance of his tags (pl. XXII, 2). A few years later Petrie produced a more in-depth guide to archaeology in which he insisted that it was

> imperative not only to record, but also to publish, the facts observed; when in future the elements of scientific management may come to be understood, a fit curator may succeed in reuniting the long-severed information.[10]

Both these snippets of instruction serve to underscore the manner in which the emergent idea of archaeological context was to be performed by tacking between the excavated object and documentation. They also draw attention to Petrie's concern that archaeology as a discipline should be critically aware of museum procedures, as well as fieldwork. Arguably, it was actually the former that was more important in informing Petrie's development of a more systematic archaeology. Collecting the past had been his earliest passion [11]   and objects were a central rationale for his first excavations for the EEF:

> Here lies, then, the great value of systematic and strict excavation, in the obtaining of a scale of comparison by which to arrange and date the various objects we already possess. A specimen may be inferior to others already in a museum, and yet it will be worth more than all of them if it has its history.[12]

It was therefore museum collections that were in Petrie's mind's eye when he

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9.   I am grateful to Alice Williams for drawing my attention to these letters, which are currently held in the EES Lucy Gura Archive.
10.   W.M.F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, London 1904, p. 49.
11.   M. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology*, London 1985; W.M.F. PETRIE, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London 1931.
12.   W.M.F. PETRIE, *Tanis II*, « EEF » 4, London 1888, p. vii.

embarked upon fieldwork, not the archaeological landscape that might be revealed. The site was a merely a point of reference: a context.

Context in archaeology can be defined in a number of ways. Darvill offers three:[13]

1. A generic term for the smallest identifiable stratigraphic unit recognized in an excavation.
2. The position of an archaeological find in time and space established by measuring and assessing its associations, matrix and provenance.
3. The physical and cultural circumstances surrounding the deposition of archaeological material and the formation of archaeological deposits.

The second definition is the closest to Petrie's conception, although he himself did not actually use the word in his 1904 textbook, referring rather to an object's « source ». The recording of this source via object marking was considered by Petrie to be « a very needful part of the record ».[14] These object markings played an important role in the extension of artefacts into the wider terrain of emerging archaeological methodology through links to related products of excavation, including memoirs, lists and correspondence. Whereas antiquities could be "wondrous curiosities", the excavated artefact (often unassuming small finds) required the support of this documentation to be made meaningful. Context was thus created not just in the archaeological site within Egypt, but further performed in the exhibitions of finds in London, the newspaper reports, EEF Committee meetings and in the hands of curators — all of which coalesced within an artefact's biography. Moreover, in distributing these marked objects, together with circulars drawing attention to their entourage of documentation, the notion of archaeological 'context' itself was disseminated and enacted across the world.

Today, the concept of archaeological "context" tends to be most readily associated with specific "provenance" or "find spot" (in large measure a result of its formulation within contract archaeology in the 1970s in the US and UK). However, given the diaspora of excavated objects the term's original Latin

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13. T. DARVILL, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, Oxford 2008.
14. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*, p. 51.

meaning (*contexere*) seems more apropos, as it means to connect or weave together.[15]   Finds distribution, which created a web of documentation for authentication and drew together networks of people, effectively knitted together new forms of museum object. Such artefacts, as Gosden and Knowles have observed, are

> best viewed as indicative of process, rather than static relations, and this process is ongoing in museums as elsewhere, so that there is a series of continuous social relations surrounding the object connecting 'field' and 'museums'.[16]

Searching for Petrie's labels or squinting at an ancient vessel trying to ascertain the faded digits on the base is a crucial task in reconnecting a museum piece to its find-spot and tracking down assemblages fragmented across the globe. However, a holistic approach to collections management — by which I mean the integration of archival, photographic and other relevant information within object records — is important not only to (re)constructions of the ancient past. It is also significant for establishing other facets of an object's biography and for permitting the telling of additional narratives of archaeological practice. Stephen Quirke's work [17]   is an example of this, demonstrating the potential for shifting our disciplinary emphasis from founding fathers to hidden hands.

Take, for instance, the cipher scrawled on the base of Predynastic pottery vessel UC5699 now in the Petrie Museum: 1817, a reference to a grave at Naqada.[18]   The same number is noted on a sequence dating slip also now held by the Petrie Museum, which Petrie used to create his famous seriation of prehistoric graves,[19]   thereby linking this object to western histories of archaeology and Victorian scientific endeavour. This set of digits, however, also allows this vessel to act as a key to other discourses, because amongst Petrie's notebooks is #138 belonging not to Petrie, but to Hugh Price. Inside the number

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15.   I. HODDER, *Reading the Past*, Cambridge 1986, p. 122.
16.   C. GOSDEN - C. KNOWLES, *Collecting Colonialism. Material culture and colonial change*, Oxford 2001, pp. 4-5.
17.   S. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands,* London 2010.
18.   W.M.F. PETRIE - J. QUIBELL, *Naqada and Ballas*, « ERA » 1, London 1896.
19.   W.M.F. PETRIE, *Sequences in prehistoric remains*, in « Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland » 3/4 (1899), pp. 295-301.

1817 is pencilled beside the sketch of the tomb in which UC5699 was found. It is not Petrie's name that is next to this, nor Price's, but rather the Egyptian excavator: Ali Redwan. A single museum database field entry recording "collector" is therefore insufficient. The tomb number also holds together the group of objects Redwan revealed, artefacts that further documentation shows were sent to Chicago, Munich, Manchester and Oxford.[20]

Notably, such distributions brought additional individuals into the escalating documentation surrounding distributed objects.[21] Thus although in many cases it may be difficult to trace connections between object and site, the biography of an object is not necessarily curtailed, as local stories can be accommodated within global narratives. Disparate collections invite disparate responses that can be revealing about the reception and construction of material Egypt. Indeed, the stories that I have encountered in my pilot project provoke intriguing questions about how material Egypt was formed in contrasting settings around the world. For instance, how EEF finds from Abydos ended up and were displayed in Cedar Rapids' (Iowa) Masonic Lodge in 1912 or in Kyoto, Japan at around the same time. The possibilities, therefore, for weaving together new accounts are multifarious and certainly not exhausted by these brief suggestions.

Given that labels, letters and lists are integral to the continuing project of establishing archaeological context, references to their existence should (ideally) be as visible in museum databases, paper records and online resources as the antiquities themselves. However, in a climate in which museum funding and staffing — particularly for collections management projects — is limited, such aspirations for detailed documentation work may seem overly ambitious. Yet it is also a question of advocacy. It is too easy for such endeavors to be considered (especially from the outside) as behind-the-scenes or (worse) peripheral activities of management and spreadsheet accountability that serve only the narrow interest of scholars. I think, however, that there is a much stronger case to be

20. E. BAUMGARTEL, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: a supplement*, London 1970.
21. In a process that has been referred to as the « relational museum », cf. C. GOSDEN - F. LARSON, *Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884-1945*, Oxford 2007.

made for promoting documentation and archival work more positively as valu-
able community and educational activities and resources.

Advocating Archives

The recognition of hidden narratives within the histories of Egyptian assem-
blages resonates with the post-colonial/post-modernist turn in museology
more generally. To date, most of this literature has concerned ethnographic
collections,[22]   but the principles it promotes have considerable relevance for
Egyptology. Given the limits of space here, I will comment only briefly on one
aspect: community museology. As intellectually defined, this area often focuses
upon the processes of consultation for exhibitions[23]   or collaborative display.[24]
In practice, however, community museology can be more than this. In its fullest
sense it involves shared curatorship and collections access, including to mate-
rial (objects and documentation) held in storage.[25]   This can allow not only
the process of how curators make sense of collections to be made more trans-
parent, but can also invite alternative intersections, be they from local histo-
rians interested in the individuals involved in finds distribution or journalists
seeking grand narratives.

And it is here that archaeological context as process continues, for such
interventions continually alter the biographies of objects. This is especially
the case if those interactions can themselves be captured within documenta-
tion systems in dedicated database fields or paper files.[26]   With the increasing
presence of online collections, alongside wider trends in participatory digital
culture, such catalogue enhancements are more likely to become visible beyond
the museum and the back-room database, contributing to new perceptions of

22. L. PEERS - A. BROWN (eds), *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, London 2003.

23. K. EXELL, *Engaging with Egypt. Community consultation and the redevelopment of the ancient Egyptian galleries
     at the Manchester Museum*, in V. GOLDING - W. MORRIS (eds), *Museums and Communities*, Oxford 2013.

24. *E.g.*, G. TULLY, *Community archaeology: general methods and standards of practice*, in « Public Archaeology »
     6/3 (2007), pp. 155-87.

25. R. BOAST, *Neo-colonial collaboration: Museum as contact zone revisited*, in « Museum Anthropology » 34/1
     (2011), pp. 56-70.

26. C. REED, *Revisiting Collections*, London 2013.

the « relational museum ».[27] It is also a form of prospective collecting, for our own archival research generates new material that might be informative for future generations seeking to understand the questions that drove us to undertake our research. In the same way that we are attempting to understand how archaeological knowledge was previously encountered and constructed through archival and museum research, so too might future scholars look back upon our work with new questions of their own.

Despite these developments as museums enter the "second age",[28] and notwithstanding the frequency of research enquiries concerning objects and archives from specific excavations, the value of archival research to archaeological enquiry remains notably absent from the majority of degree programmes. This was drawn into relief by a survey conducted by the Higher Education Funding Council for England.[29] The results demonstrated that although an emphasis was placed upon excavation as an essential archaeological tool in university courses, there was a widespread failure to recognize related archives, collections, and records as equally important and linked resources. No such survey exists for Egyptology and while I know that there exists an appreciation of the pedagogical value of archives and moves to incorporate histories of collections within museum learning,[30] I suspect that these may be exceptions. Yet given the sheer scale of the material legacy of finds distribution and its role in the establishment of systematic archaeological research in Egypt, together with the beginnings of more reflexive disciplinary practice, museums and archives as archaeological field-sites should have more prominent roles in Higher Education. This is important not only for developing deeper learning and an understanding of how archaeological knowledge has been (and can) be formed, but additionally to ensure that future practitioners are informed of the complexities

27. H. Gaismar - W. Mohns, *Social relationships and digital relationships: rethinking the database at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre*, in « Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute » 17/s1 (May 2011), pp. s133-s155, online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2011.01693.x> (DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2011.01693.x).

28. R. Phillips, *Re-placing objects: historical practices for the second museum age*, in « The Canadian Historical Review » 86/1 (2005), pp. 83-110.

29. D. Hicks - G. Milne - J. Shepherd - R. Skeates, *Excavating the Archives. Archive Archaeology and the Higher Education Sector*, London 2009.

30. Liam McNamara, personal communication.

that underlie the formation of material Egypt. I would also suggest that such activities might also make us better field archaeologists because archival work can encourage us to be more conscious and self-reflexive in how we document and visualize practice in ways that might stand up to historical scrutiny.

Conclusion

The rich opportunities afforded by the documentation generated by the distribution of excavated finds from Egypt to museums is exceptionally rare for historic collections. Although the late nineteenth and early twentieth century constituted the "museum era" with museums profiting from colonial enterprises around the world, in reality very few world archaeology collections from that time have the contextual depth Egyptologists have available to them across such a range of sites and periods.[31]   These are not, of course, unproblematic sources and engaging with the ephemera of decades of object interactions spread across so many museums is a hugely complicated task. Nevertheless, with increased research, access and education these resources can offer a wealth of emerging contexts allowing the museum to once again become a place of discovery and exploration, as well as a space for display and representation.

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31.   D. HICKS - A. STEVENSON (eds), *World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization*, Oxford 2013.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MANAGEMENT
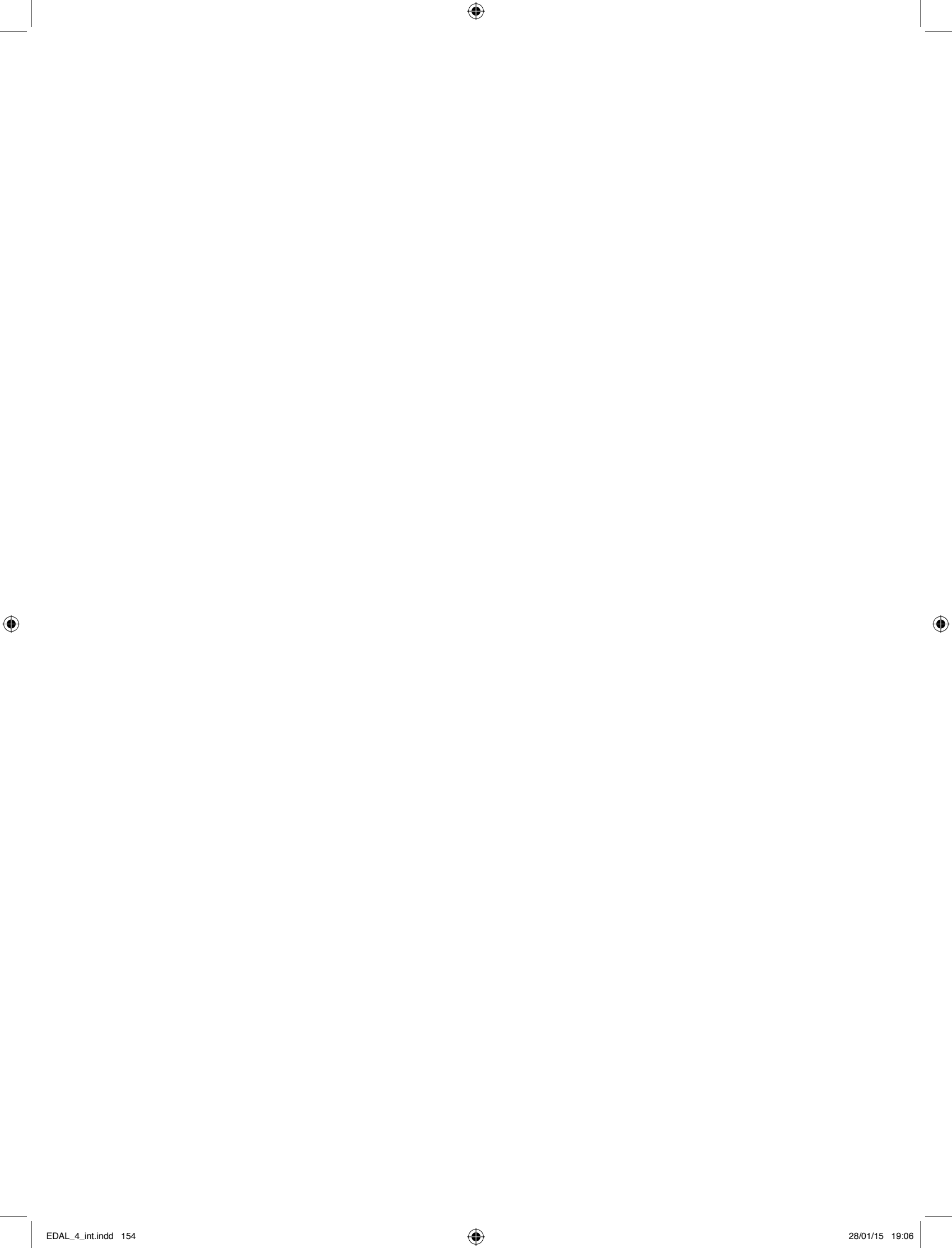
AND CONSERVATION

Storage issues in Egyptian heritage:
risk assessment, conservation needs and policy planning

Abdelrazek Elnaggar

Egypt has an outstanding archaeological heritage, of world-class importance. Yet Egyptian archaeological finds have suffered a long history of neglect and dispersal, and centuries of illicit trafficking. The current storage and global distribution of Egyptian antiquities force us to think seriously about their present varying state of conservation, and to strive for their physical and intellectual accessibility to a wider public. This paper provides a risk assessment of the current storage and conservation conditions of the Egyptian antiquities in museums and archaeological sites, explores the conservation needs for better preservation, and addresses the need for new polices and strategies in conservation and collection management, with increasing research and public engagement.

Introduction

The conference *Forming Material Egypt* could provide the basis for a sustainable forum, among experts, researchers, international organizations, local authorities, heritage lovers and policy makers, for planning better future strategies for the conservation of Egyptian antiquities, and for building effective longer-term partnerships to document and preserve Egyptian artifacts in Egypt and abroad. Egypt has an archaeological heritage second to none, recognized as of world-class importance. Accordingly, there are many past and ongoing international efforts to document and preserve Egyptian archaeological heritage and present it to the public, including in England the project *Accessing Virtual Egypt*,[1] the national database *Cornucopia*,[2] and the activities of subject specialist curators grouped in the network *ACCES*.[3] However, Egyptian archaeological finds have suffered a long history of neglect, dispersal, and centuries of illicit trafficking. Today, the present storage conditions and global distribution of Egyptian antiquities force us to confront realistically their current vulnerable state

1. Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, at <http://www.accessingvirtualegypt.ucl.ac.uk/> (accessed May 2013). Cf. further M. Serpico, this volume.
2. At <http://www.cornucopia.org.uk> (accessed May 2013).
3. Website: <http://www.ssndevelopment.org/?page_id=2> (accessed May 2013).

of conservation, at the same time as we redouble our efforts to guarantee their physical and intellectual accessibility to a wider public. In Egypt, museums and storage rooms of archaeological sites are filled with a range of valuable but undocumented collections. If these were displayed, they could show many and varied aspects of national identities, attract different sorts of researchers and build new personal connections with local and foreign audiences. Stored collections are defined here as those objects that are not on display, not on loan, and not in a teaching or handling collection, including those that are in open stores normally accessible to the public.[4]   Across the globe, and including in Egypt, most collections in storage (museum basements or site store) have minimal standards of environmental control and few measures for preventive conservation, with high risk of damage and theft of the minimally documented objects, located in insecure buildings.[5]   Therefore, the authorities in Egypt need to overcome fears and risks, and recognize the importance of increasing the public demand for physical and intellectual access to these hidden treasures, through sharing information using online cataloguing and data bases.[6]

Increasing public interest in new sorts of stored collections will raise the pressure to improve their conservation conditions. Improving the accessibility for the stored, displayed and buried Egyptian material would promote a better understanding of collections, and would initiate a sense of true ownership and responsibility. In turn, these results of access would foster a fundamental knowledge of conservation, and would in themselves necessitate new programmes of documentation. At the same time, an informed public could appreciate that any access that may harm an object or show lack of respect to the cultural origin of the object must be refused.

4.   S. Keene, *Collections for people: museums stored collections as a public resource*, London 2008, p. 12.
5.   On crucial requirements for preventative conservation, cf., *e.g.*, the UNESCO paper by N. Stolow, *Procedures and conservation standards for museum collections in transit and on exhibition*, Paris 1981, pp. 17-18.
6.   An accessible guide is available in H. Ericksen - I. Unger, *The small museum cataloguing manual: a guide for cataloguing object and image collection*, Victoria 2009[4].

Risk assessment

In the past 30 years in Egypt, there has been a huge increasing in the number of museums (to the order of 115) and expeditions to archaeological sites. However, this increase has taken place with the widespread and worrying absence of quality security, documentation, storage and conservation for the objects. The antiquities authorities and academic institutions have critical tasks in Egypt for assessing their current performance and approaches towards the Egyptian antiquities, and their role in education, outreach, engaging public and social enjoyment. Expeditions need to develop protocols that determine approaches to conservation and preservation work. This will help in creating better clear strategies and policies for Egyptian heritage using the minimal available resources.[7] Assessment of priorities, based on knowledge of the history, context and significance of collections is a key issue in good conservation and preservation assessment plans of Egyptian stored heritage.

The recent damage to Egyptian finds may be attributed to absence of risk analysis, documentation, and security instability, as well as to poor storage, untrained personnel, unsuitable conservation treatments and shortage of academic advice, consultation and agreed standards for effective methods for conservation and collection management. Also, the field of conservation has a limited number of institutions currently offering suitable professional training and education programs for the implementation of international standards for improving the documentation, and preventive conservation. Currently, Egypt suffers from poor management of people, and a shortage of trained and skilled researchers and experts, policy makers, and strategy implementers in the field of antiquities, in comparison with the wide spread of heritage and archaeological remains. Many of the staff working directly with heritage are unskilled and have not had access to education. Lack of continued training of staff, irresponsible development of resources, and low status of management have led to losing

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7.   Cf. the guidelines in ARTLAB AUSTRALIA, *Heritage Collections Council Project: Development of a best practice model for conservation and preservation assessment plans for cultural collections. Final Project Report: Methodology and Analysis. Volume 2*, Adelaide 1999, for which a summary is available online at <http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/sector_info_item/66>.

the required skills to be well trained, professionally organized, and confident, with the minimum historical and scientific knowledge.[8]   Conservation practices in Egypt need to overcome obstacles such as absence of basic scientific analysis and examination instrumentation, technical support and large backlog of objects to be accessioned in storage rooms which cause lack of regular well-documented examination and routine cleaning and preservation which could lead to complete loss of objects. Contrary to the expectation of museum visitors worldwide, most archaeological objects can deteriorate more rapidly once they have been stored in a museum than when they were buried in the ground. There is no way to retrieve the lost information of damaged objects which have no documentation or which lack any history of conservation treatments or object movements. These problems are not unique to Egypt: an international survey conducted in 2011 by ICCROM and UNESCO included 1,490 museums worldwide in 136 countries, and addressed many of these problems for the safe storage of antiquities.[9]   Most Egyptian archaeological sites and museums have poorly secured spaces for storage of high-value antiquities. Storage spaces in Egypt suffer from the lack of storage units and space where the antiquities, in some areas, are mounted on the floor and directly in contact with dirt, pests and uncontrolled surrounded environment. I have witnessed the decomposition of two undocumented mummies, mounted on the floor, in museum storage rooms where the mummies lost the top half due to active biological infection. Even the storage units at new facilities currently under construction, are not adapted to specific sizes of different types of object, but are instead standardised hangers, more similar to industrial warehouse practice than the museum storage that has been achieved elsewhere in the world.

Conservation practice in Egypt suffers from a shortage of sustained teamwork which depends on shared understanding for implementing integrated plans of damage assessment and monitoring including the control and choice

8.   S. KEENE, *Managing conservation in museums*, Oxford 2002², p. 25; K. HOLMES - A. HATTON, *The low status of management within the UK museums sector*, in « Museum Management and Curatorship » 23 / 2 (2008), pp. 111-17.

9.   Cf. <http://www.iccrom.org/eng/prog_en/01coll_en/archive-re-org/2011StorageSurveyResults_en.pdf> (accessed May 2013).

of lighting, filtering and monitoring of pollutants, adjustment of temperature and humidity and exclusion of pests which all depend on the cooperation of many museum staff and their departments. Therefore, the Egyptian antiquities are continually subject to decontextualizing due to the irregular conservation procedures where some objects of stored collection may be damaged or have deteriorated beyond the conservator ability to treat them.

Conservation needs

Conservation enriches the experience of cultural materials, preserves its significance, cultural context and technical art history. These goals of conservation require the transfer of existing stored and displayed collections and the associated information to online compatible formats using affordable technologies.[10] New technologies also enable us to share knowledge more readily, working cooperatively within the conservation profession; they bring new opportunities for establishing virtual museums, which could assist in reuniting de-contextualised collections and objects.[11]   Conservation is an important aspect of documentation and digitization, as material often requires some level of conservation to stabilize objects for handling. The hardest challenge in Egypt for the antiquities sector is the implementation of conservation assessment plans, as a first step in the process of conserving objects, alongside collections management strategy, using the large number of conservators, curators and other heritage workers. Antiquities authorities and non-governmental organizations in Egypt need to work more effectively with international organizations to deliver training programs on collection and sites management including documentation, databases, proper storage and raising standards of collection care. Conservators and curators need to understand their role and duties in documentation, conservation, storage, exhibition and publication of the antiquities. These duties start

10. A. DAWSON, *Collections access and the use of technology in museums. A report by Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service*, Norwich 2012.
11. G. LEWIS, *The Role of Museums and the Professional Code of Ethics*, in P. BOYLAN (ed.), *Running a Museum: A Practical Handbook*, Paris 2004, p. 5.

with developing greater knowledge of collections, terminology, ethics, history of conservation, cultural context, history of technology, preventive conservation, material science, health and safety, analytical technologies, treatment materials and methods and information technology.[12]

Furthermore, all staff — from conservators, curators, scientists, guards to managers — need to improve their ability to work systemically and collaboratively with an understanding of conservation priorities, with a sense of professionalism. For effective impact, they have to understand better the objectives and reasons of conservation of collections. They need to keep updated with rapid changes in technologies and methodologies to inform effective preservation strategies and to be engaged with local and international organizations, working in the field, to develop their profile and build networks. Antiquities staff need to be motivated through the encouragement of research, publication and annual recognition of excellence in documentation, display, storage and conservation efforts. An ultimate goal in requalifying professionals is to create networks between other Egyptian conservators and links between Egyptian cultural heritage centres in Egypt and abroad. For my own country and other countries with minimal budgets, keeping the number of museums and archaeological excavations to a minimum will allow conservation of the objects already excavated and assure their proper maintenance and storage. In Egypt, many new museum projects have been suspended due to the shortage of funds. Such delays create great risks for collections, which deteriorate before receiving basic conservation and stabilization treatments, or could be dispersed due to the random collecting polices (see Eissa and Sayed, this volume). The widespread distribution of material in Egypt requires the authorities to provide appropriate security to protect the collections against theft or damage in storage areas or in displays. For the survival of antiquities, collections storage areas should be located in secured and well maintained areas to minimize risks of damage,

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12. Cf. the report published for the Getty Conservation Institute and the American Institute for Conservation, *Professional Development for Conservators in the United States. Report of the Directors' Retreat for the Advancement of Conservation Education*, Warrenton 2002, available online at <http://www.conservation-us.org/docs/default-source/education/professional-development-for-conservators-in-the-united-states.pdf?sfvrsn=2> (accessed November 2013).

environmental fluctuations and looting. Selection of objects and collection for display in new national and site museums and displayed stores needs to be based on research and historical and educational criteria, not just random gathering with no prospect of new knowledge or entertainment.

Egypt does offer examples of good practice, which have met with positive reception from visitors. In particular, the Imhotep site museum at Saqqara is a model of practical solutions and strategic site management; it is dedicated exclusively to the attractive display of discoveries and stored collections from the site. The Amarna site museum, planned to combine artifacts from the recent excavations at Amarna with models, photograph and information panels, is hoped to provide another example of sustainable strategies for the survival of newly excavated objects.[13]   Uniting objects and collections within or close to their original context gives greater appreciation of unique value. However, visible display of storage units, timed tours for storage areas and temporary/new exhibits also need to be adopted and accommodated for displaying stored objects securely in storage / display facilities.[14]   This will assist in better inspection and damage assessment of stored antiquities and implementation of basic and remedial conservation procedures. The basic requirements are those facing all museums and sites in all countries. Thus, furniture used for stored collections, such as cabinets, boxes, shelves and packaging materials should be stable and non-reactive, with adequate space between objects for safe handling and retrieving processes.[15]   Stores need to be equipped with sufficient space and state-of-the-art tools for better documentation, conservation and displaying of archaeological finds. Documentation records, ideally digital, of excavated, stored and displayed antiquities, should include as full identification and description of each object as possible, with provenance, conditions, tracking of treatments and object movements, publications and any analytical data. The

13. Cf. the year 2000 web-page of the project : <http://www.amarnaproject.com/museum.shtml>, updated 2010 (accessed November 2013).

14. A useful, critical assessment of site tours is L. CAESAR, *Store Tours: Accessing Museums' Stored Collections*, in « Papers from the Institute of Archaeology » 18 (2009), pp. 3-19, online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/pia.286>. For the broader questions of collections use, cf. S. KEENE, *Fragments of the World: Uses of Museum Collections*, Oxford 2005.

15. N. LADKIN, *Collections Management*, in: BOYLAN (ed.), *Running a Museum*, p. 24.

documentation should be kept in a secure environment and be supported with retrieval systems providing access to the information by all responsible staff.[16] Documentation will also facilitate physical and intellectual access for stored antiquities by scholars and students.

Policy planning

The recent security situation of antiquities during the Arab Spring in Egypt and our neighbors has emphasized the need to implement risk analysis and develop polices for conservation and collection management and increase research and public engagement, prioritize conservation practical needs, display and online access to objects databases. The situation in Egypt confirms the need for urgent national and international gatherings and forums among staff, experts, organizations, policy makers, stakeholders and governing authorities about the current performance and the future policy for survival of Egyptian antiquities. Therefore, short and long term integrated strategic plans must be established to dedicate the very modest budget required for controlled and parallel excavations and enough, well maintained, secured storage and display spaces. However, first we need to develop criteria for determining significance and identifying the many items and dispersed collections of unique significance, and to strengthen the infrastructure for their conservation and preservation. Implementation of conservation management and performance measurement in museums and archaeological sites is necessary where full documentation and sharing of information should be a main strategy.[17]

Documentation plays an essential role in future conservation processes, and helps in retrieval of information from archaeological finds which can otherwise too easily be lost, neglected or badly restored. Egypt needs better, affordable documentation systems and databases of our material. The necessity for

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16. *ICOM Code of Ethics for museums*, Paris 2004, p. 5; the code is available at the International Council of Museums website <http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Codes/code_ethics2013_eng.pdf> (accessed November 2013).
17. KEENE, *Collections for people*.

the documentation of non-displayed antiquities is not budgeted for, nor are there conservation plans systematically in place. Conservation and collection management in museums and sites could be used for educating and teaching young generations; at the same time, university / school museums could be a major source for research and education.[18]   Museum / site traineeships and university / school collections would offer practical solutions to improve the training of students, by ensuring at least a minimum connection with the antiquities before they start their career.

Establishing policies of collecting and selecting collections for new museums and temporary exhibitions will assist in sharing different types of stored object and that can overcome risks such as objects might finish in storage, not appreciated, sold, de-contextualised or treated in other adverse ways. In achieving these goals, the grounds for international co-operation need to be re-defined. Clear strategies and instructions for all archaeological excavations in Egypt must be declared. The Egyptian authorities should develop short and long term plans for archaeological missions with collaborative efforts from all foreign missions. All archaeological missions should be co-directed by fully trained Egyptian and fully trained foreign experts. No specific sites should be allocated uniquely to one particular mission.[19]   No country should be allowed to send an archaeological mission to Egypt without agreement to exchange missions and experts and to train students.

Conclusion

Without better access to collections, risk assessment, better training for conservators and professionals and a clear policy for antiquities, we place our cultural heritage at risk. Egypt has a vast number of objects and archaeological sites from antiquity, and other important and unique objects from more recent

18.   KEENE, *Fragments of the World*.

19.   F. HAIKAL *et al.*, *Egyptologists speak out: Don't believe the scare stories: ordinary Egyptians have protected precious antiquities*, in opinion page « New Statesman Cultural Capital » (7 March 2011), online at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/cultural-capital/2011/03/egypt-antiquities-archaeology> (accessed 2013).

civilizations all of which require protection and conservation. With economic growth and increased building and pollution, cultural heritage is at even greater risk. Documentation and the demand for electronic access require a concerted effort in order to allow greater world-wide access to cultural heritage objects in Egypt. Responsible and ongoing collaboration with foreign conservators and missions in Egypt is fundamental, and is preferable to one-off training events for selected professionals or policy makers.

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Materiality and the observer:
active and passive archaeologies

David Jeffreys

(PLATE XXIII)

The paper presents critical reflection on the key topics of context and site management, from over three decades of dedicated archaeological survey and excavation at Memphis. Whereas the monuments on the desert escarpment are among the most famous in the world, the complex and crucial settlement archaeology remains all but invisible on the popular map of Egypt — even though this was the equivalent of capital city for much of ancient Egyptian history. The specific needs of settlement archaeology are foregrounded as a priority for Egypt now and into the future. Equal urgency applies to site management; here the paper emphasizes the extremely negative local impact of enclosing walls at the site, and the lack of real protection it gives the site against thefts and damage by outsiders and insiders.

Our themes for this day of the seminar were: *Context*; and *Site Management*. I was invited to talk for ten minutes about Memphis as a case study, and what follows is a sample of some of the ideas that occurred to me and that we discussed all too briefly in session.[1]

Context

The case of Memphis is an interesting one in several ways. As archaeologists we are confronted here with a settlement site that was the effective capital of Egypt for most of its pharaonic history and indeed probably well beyond (forwards and probably backwards in time), and yet it has been so neglected that few people living in the descendant town of Mit Rahina are more than barely aware of its past importance. The central religious institution, the iconic Ptah temple which gives its name *Hikuptah* (*ḥwt-k3-ptḥ*), through Greek *Aigyptos* and Latin *Aegyptus*, to the current name Egypt, is paradoxically hardly recognised as an

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1. Recent work at Memphis can be found at <http://ees.ac.uk/research/memphis-survey.html>. On the topography of the site and the survey and excavations there by the *Egypt Exploration Society Survey of Memphis*, cf. D. JEFFREYS, *Survey of Memphis I: The archaeological report*, London 1985, ID., *Survey of Memphis V: Kom Rabia: the New Kingdom settlement (Levels II-V)*, London 2006, ID. - D. ASTON, *Survey of Memphis III: The Third Intermediate Period Levels*, London 2007. On earlier work, cf. D. JEFFREYS, *Survey of Memphis VII: The Hekekyan papers and other sources for the survey of Memphis*, London 2010.

archaeological preserve at all, despite intensive (but episodic) investigative work there, and is almost entirely in private ownership and is now extensively built over (especially since the 2011 revolution). Curiously the alternative toponyms in Arabic (*Manf*, from *mn-nfr* presumably, *Masr* from who knows where — Biblical/Quranic influence ?) only complicate the problem of linking present with past.

Archaeologically there is a striking contrast between the Memphite necropolis and the actual settlement: we like to think we know everything there is about the pyramids and the elite tombs at Giza, Abusir, Saqqara and other famous sites, but recent magnetometer survey shows that we certainly do not; and our understanding of the real capital, or town or city (or whatever we wish to call it) is still in its infancy. There is a certain irony in the fact that the best-known cemetery sites (especially of the Old Kingdom) correspond almost exactly to periods when the city is least well known (if at all).

This needs some reflection. If we are going to discuss materiality and context we also need to be clear which questions we expect to have answered. For example: we are used to asking about the difference between material survival and documentary evidence; but perhaps more attention could / should be paid to the material nature of those very documents as archaeological items. Apart from papyrological discussions of the techniques used to produce papyrus, little has been done to examine their archaeological context. Similarly, the practice of epigraphy concentrates almost exclusively on the inscription(s) and in publication almost entirely avoids any discussion of these items as artefacts and their material nature, archaeological context, subsequent history, presentation and display.[2]

The question of display and interpretation leads me to consider how Egyptian archaeological material in museums is presented in the great majority of cases. Personally I find almost all museum collections extremely disappointing, not necessarily because of any defects in their conservation or in practical aspects of casing and mounting, but in the way that the experience becomes a completely passive one. Once you have had the privilege, excitement

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2.   For an all-too-rare example of integration of writing with its material context, cf. J. RICHARDS, *Text and Context in late Old Kingdom Egypt: The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder*, in « JARCE » 39 (2002), pp. 75-102.

and mental stimulation of witnessing and even managing / directing a live exca-
vation, and the responsibility of actively discovering, recording, interpreting and
reporting the material found, nothing can compare, especially not the passive
experience of a visit to museum collections, many of which are unfortunately
poorly documented and unimaginatively displayed.[3]

In Egypt there is clearly the hot issue of different materialities, or
different kinds of materiality, on settlement and cemetery sites respectively.
Funerary objects obviously turn up on cemeteries, but so do objects of daily
use : the case of heirlooms and many other items in the tomb of Tutankhamun
is a good and well-known example. I have suggested elsewhere that these
physical objects were included in part to replace the gaps in the provision of
representational wall reliefs or paintings, possibly due to the opportunistic (and
sudden?) conditions of burial.[4]   It is interesting too in the way that field-active
archaeologists have had varied competencies: our local hero Flinders Petrie is
of course rightly revered for the advances he made in archaeological statistics
and analysis (sequence dating), but this was almost entirely based on funerary
sites, perhaps the least representative sample; it is sometimes overlooked that
he was usually a disaster when let loose on a settlement site (*e.g.* Memphis, Heli-
opolis). Ultimately settlement sites require a completely different response to
that for funerary sites: for example the common perception that preservation
will be better in desert environments is not necessarily true: our experience
is that material survival can be much better, and contains a much richer and
wider range (*e.g.* environmental material, animal bone, and even metals) than
the average tomb even if pristine or at least well preserved (pl. XXIII, 1). The
complexity of settlement stratigraphy is also invariably far greater than that
found in tomb archaeology, which makes it a greater challenge and requires a
special expertise.[5]

3.   Challenges presented by archaeological material to museum designers, and by implication the failures of
     the museum display, are considered with examples from Egyptian archaeology in F. MONTI - S. KEENE,
     Museums and silent objects: designing effective exhibitions, Farnham 2013.
4.   D. JEFFREYS, *All in the family? Heirlooms in Ancient Egypt*, in J. TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like occurred. Egypt's
     view of its past*, London 2003, pp. 197-211.
5.   Some examples of settlement archaeology in Egypt over the last two decades are presented in M. BIETAK
     et al. (eds), *Cities and urbanism in ancient Egypt: papers from a workshop in November 2006 at the Austrian
     Academy of Sciences*, Vienna 2010.

An obvious point is also many archaeologists today are not necessarily so concerned with "things": there are so many other tools in our toolkit for the recovery of information (remote sensing, aerial photography, satellite imagery, sediment coring) that allow us to be much more wide-ranging and are also less intrusive and more cost-effective than formal set-piece excavation.

The deliberate selection of settlement sites (Memphis, Giza) for field school training aimed at young Egyptian student inspectors from the Ministry of State for Antiquities (msa) is a positive and promising step.[6]   Although often difficult, even baffling, for raw recruits it opens their eyes to the possibilities of town sites — which after all many of them will have to deal with in the future (if there is one). For a glimpse of the Mit Rahina field school see: <http://www.aeraweb.org/category/blog/2011-field-season/>.

Site Management

Our second theme was site management, and here Memphis is a sad reflection of the state of things in the Egyptian heritage profession.[7]   Although technically part of a world heritage site (Memphis and the pyramids), the city of Memphis (Mit Rahina) is very much the poor relation: despite the commissioning of a professional (and promising) action plan for the site, no real action has been in evidence, and, in the meantime (especially since the so-called "Arab spring" or Egyptian revolution), there have been extensive looting and destruction and rampant private building all over the main archaeological zone.

At the same time the foot of the escarpment below the Saqqara necropolis has been enclosed by a concrete wall and msa offices and other buildings, allegedly for security reasons, shutting off the local residents not only from the monuments but also from their favoured playground at the desert edge, where

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6.   On the msa field schools, cf. W. Wendrichs, *From practical knowledge to empowered communication: field schools of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt*, in R. Boytner *et al.* (eds), *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future: the political uses of archaeology in the Middle East*, Tucson 2010, pp. 178-95.

7.   On some of these problems, in the context of settlement archaeology and relations with local residents, cf. W. Wendrichs, *Archaeology and sustainable tourism in Egypt: protecting community, antiquities and environment*, in N. Agnew - J. Bridgland (eds), *Of the past, for the future: integrating archaeology and conservation: proceedings of the conservation theme at the 5th World Archaeological Congress*, Los Angeles 2006, pp. 184-90.

people would gather on warm nights to watch television, celebrate weddings, and conduct other ceremonies; I particularly recall the greeting of the lunar eclipse (pl. XXIII, 2). Not surprisingly the recent actions of the MSA are deeply resented. There is in any case a huge fallacy in this approach: firstly that local residents are somehow a security threat, when all successful prosecutions for antiquities thefts in recent years have indicated inside jobs; and the fact that the "iron curtain" comes to an end well short of Abusir town, which means that anyone can still climb up the escarpment and gain access to the monuments on the plateau anyway. In the absence of any joined-up thinking about these recent policies one has to wonder about the motives for them.

But in human terms what does this tell us about official attitudes towards material culture, social history and heritage in Egypt? The effect seems to be to send the message that the real inhabitants of the landscape is that they are of little or no interest to the authorities (if that is still the word) while the impressive monuments on the Saqqara plateau (pyramids, mastabas, tombs, monasteries) are the preserve of archaeological professionals and (usually non-Egyptian) tourists. This issue also arose in the EES seminar in London, on 7th September 2013, *Looting Egypt: Analysis and Prospects*, led by Monica Hanna, where we discussed honestly, even bluntly, the issues involved (not only looting but also community archaeology, public engagement and outreach, and the foreign monopoly on archaeological sites and objects, including publication).[8]

What has certainly emerged is that the material world is a complicated one: as archaeologists we are used to dealing with the broad spectrum of past (and present) human behaviour — hard science and conservation, environmental issues, ethical decisions (not least the correct stance of foreigners working in the country including negotiation with official authorities); other approaches apart from formal (and informal) excavation such as non-intrusive observation and interpretation, such as landscape archaeology; the reconciliation between written and physical evidence; and perhaps most importantly of all, an appreciation of what is no longer left to us, and the imagination to allow for this.

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8. It is hoped that the EES seminar papers and discussions may appear in a separate volume.

Threats to Egyptian rock-art

Francis Lankester

Egyptian rock-art recording has been accomplished by both "amateurs" and "professionals", from the early twentieth century to the present. Publication has often been partial, and varying in standard, with no set format for site designation or recording; important areas, such as that south of Wadi Baramiya, remain unrecorded beyond reconnoitring expeditions. Despite the location of much rock-art in areas perceived as remote, petroglyph sites are still often vulnerable. Sites along the major Nile-Red Sea routes are especially open to graffiti, quarrying and vandalism. Not only mining operations endanger off-road rock-art sites; treasure hunters may use sophisticated equipment, and this had become an increasing problem even before the January 2011 revolution. In recent years, different expeditions have demonstrated the potential of desert rock-art sites to contribute new evidence on key questions in Egyptian archaeology. However, threats to preservation and the lack of comprehensive archival resources present acute and increasing challenges.

Introduction

The rock-art of Egypt has hitherto not been as well known as that in wider Saharan North Africa. However, the territory of the country is home to a great number of significant images which date from the Palaeolithic through the Predynastic and Pharaonic periods into the Middle Ages and beyond. They occur both in the Nile Valley in the vicinity of settlements; and also deep in what are now the Eastern and Western deserts and at the Kharga, Dakhla and Farafra oases. The images constitute evidence for the activities of ancient Egyptians not only in proximity to the river, but point to hunting, mining, quarrying and also ritual activity far away from the comfort and safety of the valley. Due to expanding settlement and economic activity, especially mining and quarrying, and tourism the rock-art sites are increasingly under threat and a number have already been destroyed. Indeed, destruction of rock-art in Egypt has been going on for a long time. Quarrying around Wadi Abu Agag in the vicinity of Aswan destroyed images in 1912, with further damage in the same area occurring thirty

years later.[1]   The disappearance of rock-art sites due to quarrying is a sadly recurring theme in the history of Egyptian rock-art research.

The Rock-Art Sites

Desert Sites

A considerable proportion of the rock-art in Egypt, comprising over 300 sites [2] is located in the Eastern Desert within an arc encompassing the wadis of the Central Eastern Desert and the Kom Ombo Drainage Basin. Much of this work, after the *Robert Mond Expedition* in the 1930s [3]   was accomplished by the privately funded *Eastern Desert Survey* [4]   and the *Rock Art Topographical Survey*.[5] These expeditions displayed all the strengths of private initiatives: enthusiasm, funding commitment and initially quick publication, combined with weak-nesses: an uneven recording standard, no co-ordination with academic institu-tions and the inability to sustain the project over the long term. For example, although sites south of Wadi Baramiya have been located under the formal and professional auspices of the University of Minnesota, not all have been recorded, and, of those which were noted by this mission, publication has been partial. The reopening of gold mining in the area of Wadi Baramiya coupled with the dispersal of the EDS and RATS teams has brought recording in most of the Eastern Desert to a halt. At the moment there are no archaeological mission undertaking this work. A multi-disciplinary Hungarian expedition investi-gated the area around Bir Mineh near the well and some remains of dry stone

1.   D. HUYGE, *Battered Bulls Again: Destruction and First Attempts at Conservation of Rock Art in Egypt*, in F.A. HASSAN - G.J. TASSIE - A. DE TRAFFORD - J. VAN WETERING - L.S. OWENS (eds), *The Management of Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, in press.
2.   T. JUDD, *Rock Art of the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Content, Comparisons, Dating & Significance*, « BAR-IS » 2008, Oxford 2009; F. Lankester, *Desert Boats-Rock-Art in Egypt's Central Eastern Desert: Distribution, Dating & Interpretation*, « BAR-IS » 2544, Oxford 2013.
3.   H.A. WINKLER, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Egypt. 1, Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition: Season 1936-1937, Preliminary Report*, London 1938.
4.   D. ROHL (ed.), *The Followers of Horus: Eastern Desert Survey, volume 1*, Basingstoke 2000.
5.   M. & M. MORROW (eds.), *Desert RATS: Rock Art Topographical Survey in Egypt's Eastern Desert*, London 2002.

walls and buildings from 1998 to 2004, and their work needs to be included in a synthesis of the Central Eastern Desert sites.[6]   An important contribution to Egyptian rock-art research was also made by John Darnell as part of nine seasons' work of the *Theban Desert Road Survey* in the 1990's.[7]   The recording of pharaonic inscriptions at Djebel Tjauti and "Dominion Behind Thebes" was extended to recording rock art. Darnell recorded several of Winkler's west bank sites, in addition to new ones which included the so-called "Scorpion Tableau" at Gebel Tjauti. However, after a comprehensive initial volume, further publication has been patchy to date. In addition, in the far west in the region of the Gilf Kebir and Gebel Uweinat, painted rock-art at the well-known "Cave of the Swimmers" made famous by Count Laslo Almasy, and also the nearby "Cave of the Beasts," have been systematically recorded and the latter published recently after a series of expeditions which has resulted in a comprehensive study of this Saharan rock-art. [8]

Valley and near-valley sites

Since 2005 the *Aswan-Kom Ombo Archaeological Project* has been investigating areas between these two towns, particularly the West Bank from Qubbet al Hawa north to Kubbaniya north, Wadi Kubbaniya, Wadi Abu Subeira and a section of desert south-east of Kom Ombo.[9]   The team, led by Maria Gatto and Stan Hendrickx, has recorded boats, bovids and hunting scenes, most dated to the Predynastic at Gebel Qurna and Khor Abu Subeira South. They have also re-located a late predynastic or early dynastic scene at Gharb Aswan showing a figure wearing a "white crown" accompanied by standard bearers.[10]   Additionally, Per Storemyr is surveying the hinterland of Gharb Aswan by the first cataract opposite modern Aswan. Storemyr has found images dating from

6.   U. Luft (ed.), *Bi'r Minayh : Report on the Survey 1998-2004*, Budapest 2010.

7.   J. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, volume 1*, « OIP » 119, Chicago 2002.

8.   R. Kuper (ed.), *Wadi Sura - The Cave of the Beasts: a rock art site in the Gilf Kebir (SW-Egypt)*, « Africa Praehistorica » 26, Köln 2013.

9.   M.C. Gatto, *The Aswan Area at the Dawn of Egyptian History*, in « EA » 35 (2009), pp. 12-15.

10.   M.C. Gatto - S. Hendrickx - S. Roma - D. Zampetti, *Rock Art from West Bank Aswan and Wadi Abu Subeira*, in « Archéo-Nil » 19 (2009), pp. 151-68.

the Epipalaeolithic to the New Kingdom, including predynastic boats.[11]   In addition, a Belgian team recorded very early "fish trap" designs at el Hosh and more Epipalaeolithic material recently at Qurta.[12]   The American team at Hierakonpolis has located predynastic petroglyphs of boats with "fronds" akin to those in the Eastern Desert at HK 61 in Wadi Abu Sufian in the desert west of the town.[13]   Fred Hardtke from Macquarie University, Australia, is currently engaged in a systematic survey of these petroglyphs, but current events in Egypt have proved an obstacle to continuation of this work.

Current threats to the rock-art

The increase in the amount of recording activity in the last decade has come at an opportune time as Egypt's overwhelming need to develop its economy means that pressure on rock-art sites in the Nile Valley is often intense. Adel Kelany and his archaeological team in Wadi Abu Subeira are attempting to both survey and protect the archaeology of the Palaeolithic sites with images akin to those at Qurta, 50 kilometres to the north.[14]   They face a serious challenge from hematite and ochre being mined in the area to be made into steel. The historic clay mining has not hitherto caused large-scale damage to the archaeology. However, iron mining in this wadi has greatly intensified, after new concessions were recently given to various companies by the Egyptian mining authorities. The new concessions are very extensive and there is the distinct possibility that they will cause serious damage to archaeology in the wadi. Up to now the recording team have been able to deal with the clay mining companies, working together with them to ensure as little destruction of archaeology as possible. A number of the archaeological sites are also guarded by SCA personnel, and some

11.   P. STOREMYR, *A Prehistoric Geometric Rock Art Landscape by the First Nile Cataract*, in « Archéo-Nil » 19 (2009), pp. 121-50.

12.   D. HUYGE, *Late Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic Rock Art in Egypt: Qurta and El-Hosh*, in « Archéo-Nil » 19 (2009), pp. 108-120.

13.   F. HARDTKE, *Rock Art around Settlements: The Boats & Fauna at Hierakonpolis, Egypt*, in D. HUYGE - H. VAN NOTEN - D. SWINNE (eds), *The Signs of Which Times? Chronological and Palaeo-environmental Issues in the Rock Art of Northern Africa*, Brussels 2012, pp. 327-48.

14.   HUYGE, *Battered Bulls Again*.

are fenced off. Dialogue and negotiations between the team and the mining companies, backed up by the SCA, are ongoing and constant vigilance is necessary. Near Aswan the recently re-discovered important scene of a ruler with the "white crown" at Nag el Hamdulab has been vandalised by chiselling. This damage was made before the site could be recorded, although fortunately black and white photographs are available in the Habachi archive at the Oriental Institute, Luxor. Two other sites have been completely destroyed and a large pit dug in front of the images of boats shown in pl. XXIV, 1*a*.[15]

The rock art sites in Wadi Hilal at El Kab, contain images from a wide period of Egyptian history, some of which on the "Rock of the Vultures" and the "Rock of the Pigeons" appear to be related to the content of desert petroglyph scenes. Once isolated in the desert, the "Rock of the Pigeons" is now accessible by road and is open to damage and graffiti. The expanding activities of a phosphate mining plant constitute an increasing threat and a number of the sites have been damaged by quarrying or lost entirely. In addition, at least one of the rocks with Epipalaeolithic geometric designs at El Hosh has been broken up.[16] The situation at Hierakonpolis is similar, in that the rock-art sites' proximity to the expanding cultivation and the attraction of sandstone, phosphate and gravel to mining operations threaten the work of surveying here too.

Despite much of the rock-art being located in areas perceived to be remote, the desert petroglyph sites are in reality still often as vulnerable as the valley locations are. Sites along the major Quft-Quseir and Edfu-Mersa Alam routes from the Nile to the Red Sea are especially open to graffiti, quarrying or deliberate vandalism. Off-road rock-art sites in the heart of the Central Eastern Desert are endangered by mining operations and treasure hunters, the latter (including the use of specialist equipment) having been an increasing problem from even before the revolution. Indeed, it must be stressed that the petroglyphs have been endangered and damaged almost entirely before recent events in Egypt. Much rock-art is situated in shaded sites along the wadis Baramiya and Hammamat, both modern routes to the coast. Attractive as rest and

15. Gatto - Hendrickx - Roma - Zampetti, *Rock Art*.
16. Huyge, *Battered Bulls Again*.

refreshment stops from ancient times petroglyph panels have attracted modern graffiti (pl. XXIV, 1 *a-b*). This is particularly the case in the Wadi Baramiya where many sites are particularly close to the road, but has also occurred in Wadi Hammamat. The pharaonic inscriptions in the latter wadi have also suffered from the attention of attempts to copy some of them with the taking of impressions adversely affecting the patina of the rock, in addition to the removal of features which may have offended social and religious sensibilities (pl. XXIV, 2 *a*). Although these actions have a long pedigree, most of them have occurred in the last decade. The re-opening of gold mining operations in the Baramiya area can only increase the risk of damage to sites in this area. Moreover, the reclamation of Eastern Desert land by irrigation has transformed the situation from that previously where the desert began relatively close to the Nile. This means that human activity is now much nearer to the rock-art sites around the temple of Seti I at Kanais along the same route.

Petroglyph sites in the heart of the Eastern Desert are also under threat from quarrying and the efforts of treasure seekers. Often, the result of these activities is the digging of pits, as in the Nile Valley, especially in front of an inscription which is presumably believed to indicate the presence of something valuable buried nearby (pl. XXIV, 2 *b*). The availability of modern equipment constitutes a greater threat than the "amateur" efforts by hand. Illustrative of this is the development at site MIN-14, RME-24b, in the Wadi Mineh. This site consists of a number of boulders forming a cave (a rare feature in the Eastern Desert) and is home to a considerable number of rock-art images ranging from predynastic petroglyphs through to Roman era inscriptions. As well as images within the cave, a number are located on a ledge to the front and right of the entrance. These include two large images: a New Kingdom or later vessel with sail and a Naqada III boat with a unique falcon on the prow. Previously necessitating a climb on to the ledge there is now a levelling ramp of chippings dumped from nearby excavation (pl. XXIV, 3). In the cliff face to the right an underground "room" of considerable size with a set of steps leading down to it has been carved into the rock. The purpose of this activity is a mystery, but clearly the task involved considerable application of time, effort and the use of modern

mining machinery. Although the boulder structure of the site has not been affected, the Naqada III boat image now has a crack running down it (pl. XXV, 1). Thus, a petroglyph which has survived intact for five and a half thousand years is now rendered even more vulnerable to the effects of weathering.

The rock-art of the Eastern Desert is not particularly well known and moreover is situated in a military area where permits are required to undertake visits. But it is still vulnerable to the aforementioned threats. Due to the fame of the film *The English Patient* and easy access to four-wheel-drive vehicles, the sites in the Western Desert are probably more open to abuse, even though a considerable distance must be negotiated to reach them. The scene in the "Cave of the Swimmers" is fading and parts of it are flaking away (pl. XXV, 2). It is also clear that vehicles have been driven right up to the "cave" mouth (actually more akin to an overhang) damaging the approach and the surrounding archaeological site (pl. XXV, 3). Therefore, the prognosis for the survival of this site and its iconic images is not good. A considerable amount of additional painted rock-art is likely to be negatively affected by increased tourism.

The future-preservation and publication

It is not feasible for the authorities to protect more than a small proportion of Egyptian rock-art sites. There are far too many and a large number are desert sites. Those which are currently fenced and guarded are the high-profile Palaeolithic sites which are located in the Nile Valley and amenable to being under close watch by the SCA. The extension of protection could be funded by a suitable visitor charging policy concerning these sites. The construction of facsimiles of some sites would then act as an educator and raise awareness and interest in the protected ones. One solution could be to remove some panels particularly under threat, as has been done in the case of examples from sites now under Lake Nasser and currently displayed in the Nubian Museum at Aswan. However, this destroys the context and should only take place where destruction is otherwise inevitable. All archaeological missions in Egypt should be encouraged to reconnoitre and record rock-art sites in the vicinity of their concession. Above all,

there is a need to establish a mission to complete the recording of the Eastern Desert petroglyphs, particularly in the Wadi Midriq area of the Kom Ombo Drainage Basin. Some other sites, such as those at Kanais around the temple of Seti I, need to be re-recorded due to unevenness of publication before they may be damaged. A digital database comprising all the rock-art recorded within Egypt would be an extremely valuable resource, but this requires funding and overall supervision by the national authorities to bring all the disparate past publications and future recording efforts together. Destruction of the rock-art of Egypt has been taking place for a considerable period. However, the acceleration in the threat from quarrying, mining, treasure-hunting, vandalism and the graffiti vandals means that the need for action is urgent.

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The *Horemheb & Saqqara Project*
of the Archaeological Museum of Bologna

Daniela Picchi

(PLATES XXVI–XXVII)

How can the nineteenth-century rediscovery of Egypt and history of collecting be productively linked to museum management and archaeological sites, as well as to conservation issues? The Horemheb & Saqqara Project, *which was the start of a five-year agreement signed between the Archaeological Museum of Bologna and the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden in 2011, can be considered an example of this interdisciplinary approach to Egyptology. The Archaeological Museum and the Laboratory Proto Lab - ENEA of Bologna made the replicas of two reliefs from the Horemheb and Ptahemwia tombs at Saqqara. The replicas of these 18th Dynasty reliefs, which are central to both the Bolognese history of collecting and the archaeological site management of Saqqara, were placed in situ by the Dutch excavation mission in early 2013, carrying out a project launched by G.T. Martin in the Eighties and continued by M. Raven. In addition to this, the replication methods developed by the Laboratory Proto Lab - ENEA can be considered an important test for the application of the most advanced techniques of reverse engineering, 3D CAD modelling, and rapid prototyping, which allow museum and site staff to obtain valuable information on the morphological characteristics of artefacts and, consequently, to perform simulations of and plan restorations, as well as to enhance and protect cultural heritage through the creation of high-quality 3D models and replicas.*

The Egyptian collection of Bologna and Saqqara

The Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum of Bologna is one of the most important in Italy, together with those of Turin and Florence, and it is also notable at European level for the number, historical value and conservation status of its approximately 4,000 objects.[1]   The Egyptian department, like many other sections of the museum, was founded in 1881 by the merging of the

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1.   G. KMINEK-SZEDLO, *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*, Torino 1895; S. PERNIGOTTI, *Una nuova collezione egiziana al Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, «Monografie di SEAP - Series Minor» 6, Pisa 1994; D. PICCHI, *Ancient Egypt in Bologna: Past and Future*, in A.-A. MARAVELIA (ed.), *Europe, Hellas and Egypt Complementary Antipodes during the Late Antiquity*, « BAR International Series » 1218, Oxford 2004, pp. 21-33.

Egyptian antiquities of the University Museum [2]   with the magnificent collection of the Bolognese painter Pelagio Palagi (1775-1860).[3]

After the Napoleonic expedition in Egypt (1798-1799), kings, statesmen and, more seldom, private citizens purchased important collections of antiquities that would form the core of major museums of Europe. Pelagio Palagi was one of these great collectors. Between 1831 and 1832, he bought most of his 3109 Egyptian objects from Giuseppe Nizzoli, chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt from 1818 to 1828.[4]   The antiquities sold to Palagi came from the antiquities market in Cairo or from excavations, including those carried out by Amalia Sola, the nineteen-year old wife of Nizzoli.[5]

Between April and May of 1826, this young woman oversaw some archaeological operations in the Memphite necropolis of Saqqara, living on the fringes of the desert with her little daughter Elisa, a waitress from Livorno, the "Moor" Ristam, a cook, and a footman for the donkey, who led her to the excavations every morning. Amalia talks about this activity in her diary *Memorie sull'Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem, scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819-1828)*, Milano 1841,[6] demonstrating her knowledge of the archaeological landscape of the necropolis, from south to north, and the

2. D. Picchi, *Le antichità egiziane del Museo Cospiano*, in « REAC » 6 (2004), pp. 51-86; Ead., *Sarcofago antropoide di* Mes-Isis *o Figlio di Isis;* Cartonnage *di mummia*, in C. Bertelli - G. Bonsanti (a cura di), *Restituzioni 2013. Tesori d'arte restaurati*, Venezia 2013, pp. 32-41 (on-line: <http://www.restituzioni.com/#/catalogue>); Ead., *Il marchese Ferdinando Marsili e le antichità egiziane dell'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna*, in E. Ciampini - P. Zanovello (a cura di), *Ricerche sull'Egitto Antico in Italia. Atti del convegno, Venezia, 13-14 Settembre 2012*, in press.

3. D. Picchi, *La collezione egizia di Pelagio Palagi e il mercato antiquario veneziano*, in « EDAL » 1 (2009), pp. 35-40, pls XVII-XXI; Ead., *Il pittore Pelagio Palagi e l'Egittologia "in miniatura": amuleti, scarabei e placchette della terza collezione Nizzoli*, in P. Buzi - D. Picchi - M. Zecchi (a cura di), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti*, « BAR International Series » 2264, Oxford 2011, pp. 277-301; Ead., *Dai Nani di San Trovaso a Pelagio Palagi: formazione e diaspora di una collezione al tramonto della Serenissima*, in E. Ciampini - P. Zanovello (a cura di), *Frammenti d'Egitto. Atti del convegno, Padova, 15-16 novembre 2010*, Padova 2012, pp. 89-103.

4. S. Daris, *Giuseppe Nizzoli, un impiegato consolare austriaco nel Levante agli albori dell'Egittologia*, « La Memoria e l'Antico » 2, Napoli 2005.

5. D. Picchi, *Sarah Belzoni, Amalia Nizzoli e la baronessa Von Minutili: la riscoperta dell'Egitto scrive al femminile*, in S. Einaudi (a cura di), *Viaggio in Egitto. L'Ottocento riscopre la terra dei faraoni*, Torino 2011, pp. 43-48; Ead., *Amalia Nizzoli, une pionnière des fouilles en Égypte au début du XIXᵉ siècle*, in « Égypte, Afrique & Orient » 69 (2013), pp. 3-10.

6. S. Pernigotti, *Amalia Nizzoli e le sue* Memorie sull'Egitto, in Id. (a cura di), *Aegyptiaca Bononiensia*, I, « Monografie di SEAP - Series Minor» 2, Pisa 1991, pp. 3-45; Id. (a cura di), *Amalia Nizzoli. Memorie sull'Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819-1828)*, « La Memoria e l'Antico » 1, Napoli 1996.

Europeans interested in it. Her rivals on the field were the agents of Henry Salt, Bernardino Drovetti, and Giovanni D'Anastasi, in constant struggle against each other and against Amalia herself, who, at the time, was a very unusual "Mudira" of about 40 Egyptian workmen.

Even though she calls her Saqqara experience a pastime, she may be considered a pioneer in archaeology, and was very likely responsible for the discovery of some masterpieces offered in 1826 to the chamberlain of Leopold II of Tuscany,[7] immediately after included in the catalogue of the third Nizzoli collection, *Catalogo Dettagliato della Raccolta di Antichità Egizie riunite da G. Nizzoli Cancelliere del Cons. Gen. d'Austria in Egitto dopo quella del 1824*, Alessandria d'Egitto 1827,[8] and eventually sold to Palagi. Checking the objects listed in the Nizzoli catalogue, some of these masterpieces may be probably identified thanks to their certain provenance from Saqqara. The relief with Nubian prisoners from the tomb of the commander-in-chief Horemheb,[9] the stela of Ptahpatener, a priest devoted to his cult,[10] a wall pillar from the tomb of the royal butler Ptahemwia,[11] and three Coptic stelae from the monastery of Apa Jeremiah,[12] for example, indubitably come from the South-East area of this necropolis. At the moment, it is impossible to establish whether these antiquities were found still *in situ* or somewhere in the surrounding area, even though their conservation conditions seem to suggest that they were exposed to weathering for many years or reused, having almost completely lost their original surface polychromy. Many other finds — stelae, stone vases, small sized funerary objects, human and animal mummies, bronzes, which form a large proportion of the more than one thousand objects sold by Nizzoli to Palagi — may be generically attributed to Saqqara.

7. Letter from Giuseppe Nizzoli to Simone Luigi Peruzzi, Cairo, June 19, 1826, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, CV*, 294.171.
8. *Appendice II*, in PERNIGOTTI (a cura di), *Aegyptiaca Bononiensia*, I, pp. 46-79.
9. *Ibidem*, p. 64, n. 4 (MCABo EG 1869 = 1887). Palagi purchased four other reliefs from the Horemheb tomb (MCABo EG 1885-86, 1888-89), not included in the catalogue, but briefly listed in handwritten notes at the bottom of the two copies of the former used by Nizzoli and Palagi as inventories for the sale; both these copies are now preserved at the Archiginnasio Library of Bologna. Cf. also *ibidem*, p. 79.
10. *Ibidem*, p. 66, n. 1 (MCABo EG 1906).
11. *Ibidem*, p. 64, n. 6 (MCABo EG 1891).
12. *Ibidem*, p. 66, n. 16-18 (MCABo EG 3429-31).

Thanks to the bequest of Palagi, these Memphite antiquities now constitute the prestigious core of the Bolognese collection and of a five-year agreement signed by the Archaeological Museum of Bologna and the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden in 2011. The Egyptian collections of these two museums, in fact, which preserve important reliefs, pillars, and statues from the South-East area of the necropolis of Saqqara, as well as many other findings from the surroundings, are considered "twins". The *Horemheb & Saqqara Project* was the beginning of this agreement.

Origins and development of the Horemheb & Saqqara Project

The project stems from a request the Archaeological Museum received, back in the early Eighties, from the Anglo-Dutch excavation mission in Saqqara. The then field director Geoffrey T. Martin asked many European museums to provide copies of the reliefs originally coming from the tomb of the commander-in-chief Horemheb, rediscovered in the South-East area of this necropolis in 1975.[13]   Martin's main purpose was the conservation and, as much as possible, the iconographic integration of the scenes carved on the walls of the inner court-yard of the tomb. In 1985, a considerable number of replicas, taken from the originals preserved in the Louvre, the British Museum, the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, and the museums of Berlin and Vienna,[14]   could be put in their exact places.[15]   At the time, only the Archaeological Museum of Bologna, owner of five Horemheb reliefs belonging to the Palagi collection, although sharing the aims of this advanced project of site archaeological management, did not grant the request for conservation reasons. Both the fragility of the limestone blocks, containing a high percentage of salt easily soluble in the process of duplication, and the polychromy still present on their surface were

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13.   G.T. MARTIN, *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, I, London 1989.

14.   Later, a small cast from a block in Munich was added to these; cf. M.J. RAVEN - V. VERSCHOOR - M. VUGTS - R. VAN WALSEM, *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb*, V, « Palma Egyptology » 6, Turnhout 2011, pp. 56-57, n. 22.

15.   G.T. MARTIN - M.J. RAVEN - D.A. ASTON, *The tomb-chambers of Iurudef, preliminary report on the Saqqâra excavations, 1985,* in « JEA » 72 (1986), pp. 21-22.

considered unsuitable for replication methods involving direct contact with the originals.

In the following years, the museum of Bologna paid increasing attention to those industrial technologies able to offer new opportunities for the study and enhancement of artistic and cultural heritage. In particular, attention was paid to the use of digital acquisition systems and of CAD/CAM (Computer Aided Design/Computer Aided Manufacturing) type, which enable to obtain valuable information on the morphological characteristics of artifacts and, consequently, to perform simulations of and plan restorations, as well as to enhance and protect the cultural heritage through the creation of high-quality 3D models and replicas. The museum tried out these advanced Non-Destructive Technologies in partnership with the Laboratory ProtoLab - ENEA [16] in Bologna, which, under the direction of Eng. Sergio Petronilli,[17] developed innovative processes for the application of digital copying and CAD/CAM techniques for the detection/reproduction/replication of objects in the fields of monumental works and archaeological finds.

Replication methods involving direct contact with the originals were thus surpassed and, consequently, the museum of Bologna made its five reliefs from the Horemheb tomb available for the production of high-quality replicas,[18] granting the request received by G.T. Martin in the Eighties. Maarten J. Raven, the field director of the Dutch excavation mission in Saqqara since 1999, enthusiastically accepted the provision of these replicas, to conclude the iconographic integration of the Horemheb tomb and continue the project of site management that allowed the opening to tourists of this New Kingdom necropolis in 2011.[19] By mutual agreement between the two partners, it was decided to produce the replica of the relief featuring Nubian prisoners, whose original position on the East wall (South side) of the inner courtyard is well

16. *I.e.* Italian National Agency for New Technologies, Energy and Sustainable Economic Development.
17. I am deeply indebted to Eng. Sergio Petronilli and Eng. Alessio Ubertini, my partners in this project, for providing me with the technical data.
18. Cf. *supra* note 9; KMINEK-SZEDLO, *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*, pp. 169-71, n. 1885-89.
19. N. WARNER, *Protecting a Cemetery in Saqqara: Site Works 1975-2009*, in « Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites » 11, No. 2, May (2009), pp. 98-132.

known (pl. XXVI,1),[20]   and not of the other four Bolognese reliefs, one from the central chapel[21]   and three from the second courtyard,[22]   since they are not contiguous to the wall fragments still *in situ* and it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to put them back in place. It seemed, thus, more suitable to produce the replica of a pillar from the North wall of the Ptahemwia tomb,[23]   a burial discovered by M.J. Raven in 2007 and whose architectural conservation work ended in January 2008. This wall pillar, showing the tomb-owner praying to the sun god, was purchased by Palagi in 1831 together with the Horemheb reliefs,[24]   and has been conserved in Bologna since 1861.

The advanced Non-Destructive Technologies developed by the ProtoCenter Laboratory - ENEA

The two replicas have been obtained starting from 3D models performed by the Laboratory Proto Lab - ENEA. These high-resolution models were made by means of a laser scan having an error margin of only 0.02 mm, thus ensuring a very high quality replication without any risk to the originals. The scanning system used, in fact, consists of a scanner in laser triangulation in high-resolution, which does not involve direct contact between the probe of the acquisition — in this case a horizontal laser beam — and the reliefs.

The first phase of the 3D acquisition process affected the choice of optimal resolution — intended as the minimum distance between two points acquired on the surface of the specimen — in order to define the optimal value that would allow a sufficiently faithful description of the scenes carved on the

20. MARTIN, *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb*, pp. 78-84, [69].
21. *Ibidem*, pp. 123-24, [117]; M.J. RAVEN, *Book of the Dead documents from the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara*, in « BMSAE » 15 (2010), pp. 251-53; ID., *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb: the central chapel revisited*, in press.
22. MARTIN, *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb*, pp. 36-40, [17-18], 43-44, [22].
23. M.J. RAVEN - R. VAN WALSEM - B. ASTON - L. HORÁCKOVÁ, *Preliminary report on the Leiden excavation at Saqqara, Season 2007: the tomb of Ptahemwia*, in « JEOL » 40 (2007), pp. 19-39; M.J. RAVEN - H.M. HAROLD - C. LACHER - K. DUISTERMAAT - I. REGULSKI - B. ASTON - L. HORÁCKOVÁ - N. WARNER, *Preliminary report on the Leiden excavation at Saqqara, Season 2008: the tomb of Ptahemwia*, in « JEOL » 41 (2008-1009), pp. 5-30.
24. Cf. *supra* note 11; PM III², 2:751; M.P. CESARETTI, *Pannello a rilievo di Ptahemuia*, in S. CURTO - C. MORIGI GOVI - S. PERNIGOTTI (a cura di), *Il senso dell'arte nell'antico Egitto*, Milano 1990, pp. 112-13, cat. 61.

reliefs' surface. For this purpose, the optimal resolution was defined according to the their level of detail and, according to this, was then defined the portion of the surface to be acquired from the 3D scanner at every single scan. For example, the resolution value chosen for the relief with Nubian prisoners was equal to 0.16 mm in X and Y, and 0.039 mm in Z. Consequently, this value of resolution led to the realization of 100 scans with an overlap between one scan and the other of about 30%, in order to allow a good realignment of the scans.

A low resolution "template" of each relief, to which realign the individual high resolution scans, was created to decrease realignment error between scans. This was necessary to avoid a "drift". Recording a high-resolution scan over the other, in fact, the sum of the errors of registration, although very small (around 0.02 mm), generates in their entirety a "washout" between the first and the last scan.

In addition, each single scan had a proper orientation in space, differing from the contiguous one, the scanner having been moved with respect to the relief so as to be able to detect the entire surface. It was therefore necessary to align all scans over the same spatial reference system, *i.e.* to apply what is called "registration", in this case using the algorithms of "best fit". Finally the scans were merged with each other with the goal of obtaining the complete 3D virtual model of the single relief.

The reliefs taken into consideration have a very extensive surface (MCABo EG 1869 = 1887: 62.5 x 85 cm; MCABo EG 1891: 137 x 43.5 cm) and, at the same time, are full of texts and scenes, that required the use of high resolution for their whole extension. At each scan the spatial coordinates X, Y, Z of 307,000 points were stored and, for this reason, the size reached by the complete 3D file of each relief was more than 3GB. This made their handling somewhat difficult even for higher performance computers. For this reason the 3D virtual models were reduced to 50% with adaptive algorithms in order to reduce the dimensions without affecting the quality of detail. The error committed in this case was calculated to be less than 0.03 mm, and thus did not affect the quality of reproduction (pl. XXVI, 2).

Once the complete 3D virtual models were obtained, it was possible to

work on them with all the proper tools provided by 3D modeling systems; this means, for example, reconstructing the vanished or inaccessible portions of the reliefs, suggesting restorations and measuring the incisions with great precision, in order to also create a 3D database of the iconographic details or hieroglyphs carved on the stone.

For the creation of these two replicas, a leading company in the field was contacted, *i.e.* the Italian UNOCAD, known for its 1:1 copies of famous artworks such as Michelangelo's David in Florence and Piety in Milan, a number of statues by Canova, and many other Italian masterpieces.[25]

Starting from the 3D models obtained by the Laboratory Proto Lab - ENEA and by means of a special 3-axis computer-controlled milling machine, the replicas were carved at 1:1 scale in two blocks of Portuguese marble, whose color is similar to the limestone used for the original reliefs (pl. XXVII, 1). The choice of creating these copies in a material such as marble was due to the difficult environmental conditions in which the Horemheb and Ptahemwia tombs are located. The wide variations between day and night temperature, the erosion from wind-borne sand, and the increasing humidity and pollution in the region did not allow use of "easier" materials. The mixture of resin and plaster used for the casts in the Eighties, in fact, has shown poor resistance to environmental and weather conditions. A local Egyptian stone would have produced replicas unrecognizable from the originals, perhaps too perfect aesthetically, but also predisposed to turn into chalk, as have limestone blocks still *in situ*. Furthermore, the hardness of the marble allowed to test the current limit of the Laboratory Proto Lab - ENEA techniques of advanced reverse engineering, 3D CAD modeling and rapid prototyping, according to the following protocol.

The 3D files of the reliefs were imported to a software called CAM which realized the toolpath, once the cutting parameters — such as the speed of advance of the spindle, the number of revolutions, the depth of cut and so on — were established. The power necessary for the processing of marble slabs of these dimensions implied the use of numerical control machines gantry, that

25.   Cf. <http://www.unocad.com/it/home-page/software-3D-cad-cam-unocad.html>.

have a resolution of 0.2 mm, extremely high in relation to the complexity and the commitment of machining, but still less than those used for the creation of the 3D files. For this reason, several tests of duplication were carried out by means of a 3-axis computer-controlled milling-machine, before obtaining the best quality in milling.

Once the drilling phase was completed, the copies had to undergo a final stage of detail finishing and coating by skilled craftsmen, to obtain a better correspondence with the original reliefs. The quality of Italian workers in the artistic field has thus made a difference in the production of these replicas, enhanced by the value of the marble.

Conclusions

The replicas of the Horemheb relief and Ptahemwia wall pillar were sent by diplomatic courier to Egypt in early January 2013, as a gift to their country of origin, and handed over to M.J. Raven for their "display" at Saqqara during the Dutch excavation season 2013.[26]   Both were successfully installed on the walls of their tombs by the team of contractor Mr Mahmud el-Taiyib (pl. XXVII, 2), under the direction of the expedition's architect Nicholas Warner. To distinguish unequivocally between original reliefs and replicas, the latter were provided with small brass labels identifying their inventory number and present location in museums. They were also mentioned in the panels put up for the benefit of visitors to the site.

The *Horemheb & Saqqara Project*, which was supported financially by CISE (the Italian Centre for Egyptological Studies in Imola), the Rotary Club of Imola and Tarros SPA, concluded its first stage with the positioning of the replicas of the Horemheb relief and Ptahemwia wall pillar, but, at the same time, it opened further perspectives for archaeological site management and a more complete documentation on the field, mainly for conservation purposes. The creation of virtual 3D models would preserve the iconographic program carved on the stone

26. M.J. RAVEN - B. ASTON - L. HORÁCKOVÁ - D. PICCHI, *Preliminary report on the Leiden excavations at Saqqara, Season 2013: the tombs of Sethnakht and an anonymous official*, in « JEOL » 44 (2012-2013), pp. 3-21.

surfaces, enabling their reproduction in case of a complete degradation due to the intrinsic qualities of the stone itself or to damages caused by lootings or other vandalisms. The main goals of this project, in fact, were the production of high quality replicas and the testing of a modern method of documentation, no longer « as accurate as humanly possible » (J.H. Breasted), but as accurate as high-resolution makes possible.

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Challenges and dangers of networking
museums databases

Tarek Sayed Tawfik

Digitisation is a priority for collections, and offers substantial benefits both for museums and for site management in the archaeology of Egypt, as of other countries. Recent losses and damage are reminder of the importance of digital recording. However, a digital future also requires support, including the older technologies of paper and print. In any digitisation project, serious risks and challenges must be faced, in order to secure and sustain best results. This paper presents a review of the particular difficulties and needs in the Egyptian context.

The constantly developing world of computers and the fast expanding means of digitalization have made handling, storing and sharing of data easier than ever before. Despite bearing some challenges and dangers, that are addressed and discussed here, digitization on a grand scale allows something that we were lacking before: a means of easy and fast networking between museums which could facilitate the virtual rejoining of objects, find-groups and collections. The process of digitization has been perceived by libraries, archives and museums world wide as an exciting evolution in curatorial methods, providing digital images of each object of a museum collection, together with the main information about it, in a database offline or even online; the results promise better management, accessibility and preservation.

 Several of the largest Egyptian collections in the world have already made all or part of their material accessible online,[1] or at least have advanced in creating their digital database. Although all providing more or less the main basic information for each artifact, their systems of documentation and presentation of their collections still differ substantially and are not yet directly

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1. Most prominently the British Museum: <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (the complete Ancient Egyptian collection online), the Louvre: <http://www.louvre.fr/en/departments/egyptian-antiquities> (only 207 selected works online), Museum of Fine Arts Boston: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/ancient-world> and The Giza Archives at <http://www.gizapyramids.org>.

compatible, despite over forty years of commitment from the International Committee for Documentation of the International Council of Museums (CIDOC) to the development of museum documentation standards. A statement of principles of museum documentation has now been finalized, and was adopted at the 2012 CIDOC AGM in Helsinki.[2]

However, the task of transforming data into digital format still confronts many museums, especially in Egypt with even more challenges since it is very time consuming (thousands of working hours), requires great effort to train staff and volunteers in how to digitalize the data and to supervise them, and for a non-First World country it remains very costly. Even when needed equipment like modern computers, digital cameras, scanners and printers are acquired through international aid or joint projects and a good base for work is created there is always a lack in founding for maintenance, upgrading and renewing of hardware and software.

Many guidelines[3] and handbooks for digitalization and documentation of museum collections have been written since the 70s of the last century when the potential of digitalization in the field of Museology became clear[4] and there has been always the ply for a general standardization of documentation. Such standardization would be the ideal base for networking museums databases, but till now this has not been the case and every museum creates its own system when starting to digitalize and document their inventories.

In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo several attempts were necessary to establish a sustainable database. It was not until 2007 that the Registration, Collections Management and Documentation Department (RCMDD) of the Egyptian Museum was officially launched.[5]

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2. The document "Statement of principles of museum documentation, 2012" can be downloaded at <http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/cidoc/DocStandards/Statement6v2EN.pdf>.

3. A. GRANT - J. NIEUWENHUIS - T. PETERSEN (eds), *International Guidelines for Museum Object Information: The CIDOC Information Categories*, Paris 1995 (on-line at: <http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Guidelines/CIDOCguidelines1995.pdf >).

4. F.L. RATH, *Documentation of Collections: A Bibliography on Historical Organization Practices*, Nashville (TN) 1979.

5. The RCMDD was established through an American Research Center project to train Egypt's first registrars and create a collections management database for the Egyptian Museum. The registrars faced many challenges when the department was first established. The curators were not accustomed to the

Currently two new huge museum projects are emerging in Egypt: the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC) at Fustat, which is approaching completion and the Grand Museum (GEM) at Giza still being built. Both of these museums are creating their own individual database systems which differ in form and standard from each other and only NMEC is adopting the same database system as in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,[6] making even networking between these modern Egyptian museums difficult and already promising problems in the future concerning objects being moved from one museum to the other or just going there on loan.

Nora Ebeid has pointed out that the Egyptian Museum faces loss of audience when the two new museum projects are opened. She criticized that publishing in the Egyptian Museum is limited to printing, that editing and design are not well-developed, and that significant aspects of publishing such as licensing and sales do not exist.[7] The RCMDD if sufficiently supported could provide what is needed to make the collection of the Egyptian Museum or at least part of it accessible online, which would help attract not only more international visitors but also Egyptians who have become much more interested in the Internet and its social networks since they played a major role in the eruption of the 25th January 2011 revolution in Egypt. Also concerning publication, editing, design, licensing and sales all this can be facilitated with the presence of a good, sustainable and permanently updated database. Surveys have shown that « User-friendly online catalogues are a desirable aspiration for cultural institutions because they promote a flow of ideas that can lead to interesting

presence of the registrars and their involvement in the day-to-day work of the Museum. They were perceived as intruders and some of the curators found it difficult to cooperate with the department, resulting in lack of notification to registrars of object moves or of research visitors, such that external research requests might go unrecorded on the Museum collections management database. Gradually this changed as more curators realized the importance of the department for the Museum, and began to depend on it more and more in their own work. I would like to thank Dr. Yasmin El-Shazly, Head of Documentation, for providing me with this information about the RCMDD and the challenges it faced and is still facing.

6. Despite the fact that the registrars of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, who are now regarded as pioneers in their field in Egypt, have given training to the staff of both these museums and that Dr. Yasmin El-Shazly has taught a graduate-level course on Museum Registration at Cairo University in 2011-2012.

7. N. Ebeid, *Cultural Heritage Management and Development in Egypt*, in F.A. Hassan - G.J. Tassie - A. De Trafford - L. Owens - J. van Wetering (eds), *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, « Discourses on Heritage Management Series » 1, London 2009, p. 102.

discoveries about the collections and contribute to audience satisfaction. From a practical yet not negligible perspective they also constitute a far-reaching advertising tool. »[8]

A plan for a large collaboration program for the "digital preservation" of Egyptian heritage sites and collections (Pharaonic, Islamic and Christian) between the than Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt (SCA now MSA) and Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of California Berkeley, the Centro Archeologico Italiano, Cairo, Egypt, and the American Research Center in Egypt, was supposed to integrate the best technological solutions of digital imaging and 3d rendering and to be built according to international standards for digital documentation. The project was to start 2009 but unfortunately did not continue.

Several unfortunate incidences occurred in the aftermath of the revolution of 25th January 2011, including the theft of a few objects from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo on 28th January 2011, the robbery of over a hundred artifacts from the two archaeological collections (ancient Egyptian and Islamic) of the Faculty of Archaeology Cairo University in the first half of 2011, the ransacking of the Museum of Mallawy on 14th August 2013, and most recently on 14th January 2014 the destruction of some artifacts in the Museum of Islamic Art through a car bomb that targeted Cairo's central police headquarters nearby. All these cases of loss of artifacts have shown how important and helpful the creation of databases with digital images of museum collections of Museums can be to preserve them (at least digitally) against total loss due to theft, deliberate or accidental destruction or any other damages.

The following points need to be considered to form the right international environment to maximize the benefit from the possibilities emerging of the presence of digital databases of ancient Egyptian collections:

·   The lack of communication between the databases of museums all around the world and even those in one and the same country (for ex. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the NMEC and the GEM) has to be overcome by more

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8.   S. KEENE, *Collections for people: museums stored collections as a public resource*, London 2008, p. 57.

commitment to cooperation, standardization of documentation and compatibility of systems.

· Overcoming challenges of how to make data accessible, and whether it should be totally free of charge. Copyright issues have to be discussed and solved. Concerning images of objects, posting low resolution photos seems to be a good solution which is practiced for example by the British Museum.

· International networking between databases of museums must be well planned to determine exactly what the benefits of such a network are, whom it serves and how the accessibility should be organized.

· It must be kept in mind that every museum has its peculiarities which have to be put into consideration when creating a modern database or adopting an already established system.

· The possibility of international cooperation between museums to facilitate for researchers the virtual rejoining of pieces of one and the same object being kept in different museums and the same for find-groups that have been separated for instance due to the division of finds that was practiced until the 70s of the last century and collections that were divided when they were sold.

· The just mentioned virtual rejoining can lead to virtual or actual joint special exhibitions between museums giving the public a chance to see artifacts more complete or in the context that they were found in to make them more comprehensible and interesting, which also could attract more visitors and generate a revenue.

· Funding bodies must be encouraged to finance and support such rejoining projects and their results must be marketed, for instance as suggested by a joint special exhibition or publications.

· Digital publications such as on-line exhibits and CD–ROM based electronic exhibits are a growing part of the educational presentations of many large cultural heritage institutions including the Metropolitan Museum of New York, The Louvre, The Library of Congress, and The British Museum.[9]   International

9. P. KELLY, *Managing Digitization Projects in a Small Museum*, Project presented to the Arts and Administration Program in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Oregon, March 2005, URI <http://hdl.handle.net/1794/937>, p. 23.

collaboration on this sector through a well functioning network of databases may enrich the offered educational material and give the user a chance to explore collections and their connections beyond the restrictive walls of museums and borders between countries.

·   Networking museum databases can allow multi-media computerized access to all or part of the collection of one museum and to collections of other museums world-wide.

The possibilities offered by digitalization of data should not make us forget that there are some dangers and problems to be considered:

·   The danger of having all databases only computerized without any printed versions may cause loss of data. Outside richer First World institutions, this danger is even higher due to recurrent power cuts. Paper printed as well as digital backups must be always kept up-to-date.

·   The risk of overloading the databases with too much information and making the access complicated so that normal users refrain from using them and specialized academic users waste a lot of time to reach what they are looking for or to compare certain types, groups or patterns.

·   The problem of continually and quickly changing formats of digital storage devices and the development of new software that make maintenance of databases rather expensive, and create a need for continuous training of staff. This raises the issue of sustainability which is a big challenge for Egyptian museums who have to deal with bureaucracy and the lack of funds and technical support.

In conclusion, the digital era has equipped us with unprecedented means of documenting, digitally preserving and managing museum collections with the help of databases which can include high resolution digital photos of all objects. This provides great opportunities for easy and fast networking between museums which could facilitate the virtual rejoining of objects, find-groups and collections giving opportunities for joint exhibitions and publications. Especially for institutions with fewer resources, like the majority in Egypt, this

digital modernization still bears some challenges and dangers like loss of data due to the absence of paper printout backups or the constant struggle to ensure sustainability for museum databases.

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Abandoned Nubian villages in Upper Egypt: material culture in social anthropological field studies

Lilli Zabrana

(PLATE XXVIII)

The following paper focuses on Material Culture of abandoned Nubian Villages in Upper Egypt dated to the turn of the last century, emphasizing their significance as unique witnesses and ephemeral memorials to the first historical Nubian exodus caused by the construction of the early British Dam. The special nature of this project resides in the close cooperation with the descendants of the village inhabitants and other Nubians still living in the surroundings of the affected area; this is an essential point for the overall success of the project. This case study aims to provide not only contributions to the scientific community in a variety of fields, but encourages also the Nubian community itself by strengthening the perspective on their unique heritage in combination with the scientific interest of outsiders.

Introduction

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first efforts were made to control the irregular river stream of the Nile to improve and modernize agriculture in Egypt. One of these projects was the establishment of a dam at the first cataract near Aswan. The so-called British or Low Dam was begun in 1898 and was finished in 1902, creating a lake which flooded the Nile Valley for 225 kilometres and raised the water level 20 metres.[1]   The first dam was intended to retain and regulate the flood waters of the Nile which would be released slowly to ensure the availability of irrigation water downstream.[2]   The dam submerged the fertile river valley upstream and created a seasonal lake. The Nubians (Kenuzi group) living in the affected territories were forced to move further up the valley slopes or to migrate to new locations south or north of Aswan. As a result of two heightenings of the British Dam in the years 1907-1912 [3]   and 1929-1934 [4]   the

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1.   J. BALL, *A Description of the First or Aswan Cataract of the Nile*, Cairo 1907, p. 46.
2.   W. WILLCOCKS, *The Nile Reservoir Dam at Assuan and after*, London 1901, pp. 1-4.
3.   Official Report of Archaeological Salvage Campaigns in the Kenuz Area: G.A. REISNER, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908*, Cairo 1910; C.M. FIRTH, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1908-1909*, Cairo 1912.
4.   Official Report of Salvage Campaigns further to the South: W.B. EMERY - L. KIRWAN, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan*, Cairo 1935; W.B. EMERY, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, Cairo 1938.

water table elevation was raised overall by an additional 15 m, forming a 320 km long seasonal flood lake extension.[5]   Frequently settlements were submerged and rebuilt on higher levels as often as three times before the water stopped rising and reached its highest peak around 1934. Despite the major population shifts which were made necessary by the early inundations, there was no organized programme of emigration and resettlement at that time.[6]   Besides their villages, the Kenuzi Nubians lost the most fertile lands for agriculture, as a result of which a change to other sources of income made accessible through migration of the male villagers to cities increased dramatically, and can be revealed in the census figures of the 1920s.[7]   The proposal for a much larger dam with a permanent lake was first published in 1948 with the commencement of construction in January 1960, seven kilometres upstream from the British Dam. The lake began to fill in 1964 and in the following years flooded the entire Nile valley south of the new dam for a total distance of 500 kilometres with a raised water level of at least 50 metres. Due to the construction of an electric power station at the west end of the old British Dam in 1964, the water level between the High Dam and the old British Dam was lowered again with daily fluctuations of a few metres depending on the needs of the turbines.[8]   The 7 km long region between the British Dam and the High Dam was therefore the only area of the northern Nubian Kenuzi Group which was drastically changed by the floods, but still not as deeply submerged as the regions south of the High Dam, where the Nile valley was wholly filled with water (pl. XXVIII, 1).

       In the course of the High Dam Project, the Egyptian government forced the Nubians to evacuate the entire area and planned their relocation as early as 1956. In 1960 a social survey of Nubia was carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs, which had largely a statistical character and was focused on the preparations for the resettlement. In Egypt and Sudan 100,000 Nubians were

5.   O. EL-HAKIM, *Nubian Architecture, The Egyptian Vernacular Experience*, Cairo 1993, p. 9.

6.   W.Y. ADAMS, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, London 1977, p. 653.

7.   R. FERNEA (ed.), *Nubians in Egypt*, Austin - London 1973, p. 36; C. CALLENDER, *The Kenuz*, in N.S. HOPKINS - S.R. MEHANNA (eds), *Nubian Encounters, The Story of the Nubian Ethnological Survey 1961-1964*, Cairo 2010, p. 112.

8.   E. WINTER, *Die Tempel von Philae und das Problem ihrer Rettung*, in « Ant Welt » 3 (1976), p. 10.

affected by the relocation and were moved between October 18, 1963 and June 27, 1964.[9]   Another problem the Egyptian government was much aware of, was the obvious threat to valuable cultural heritage sites from the rising water level. Therefore UNESCO was approached on April 6, 1959 to ask for support in saving the monuments of Nubia. The International Campaign to save the monuments of Nubia (1960-1980) was created which resulted in excavations, recording of sites, recovery of objects and relocation of selected monuments to higher ground.[10]   Since 1979 the relocated monuments of the International UNESCO Rescue Campaign have been inscribed on the World Heritage List under the title *The Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae*.[11]   In the course of the international rescue campaign joined by various international institutions[12]   and ambitious independent researchers,[13]   the focus was laid on Pharaonic and Greco-roman antiquities, while the cultural heritage of the relocated resident population attracted relatively little attention. Conscious of this situation, the Social Research Center of the American University in Cairo initiated a survey to record Nubian culture before the relocation, during the transfer process and after resettlement. The Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES) was financed by the Ford Foundation and was carried out in two phases. In the first phase 1961-1963 the research focused on livelihood, customs and other aspects of Nubian culture before the relocation. The second phase 1963-1970 dealt with the process of resettlement in Kom Ombo near Aswan and the adjustments required by the Nubian population. The strategies used in the course of the surveys corresponded with the principles of social anthropology of the late 1950s and 1960s concentrating on ethnographic observed descriptions of social organisation within the villages without a pursued synthesis in

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9.   HOPKINS - MEHENNA (eds), *Nubian Encounters*, p. 8.

10. UNESCO (ed.), *Nubia, A triumph of international solidarity*, Paris 1982; F.W. HINKEL, *Auszug aus Nubien*, Berlin 1978, p. 18.

11. UNESCO, Committee Decisions 03 COM XII.46: *Consideration of Nominations to the World Heritage List* (online: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/2203>, and <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf 003-13e.pdf>).

12. Listed in ADAMS, *Nubia, Corridor*, pp. 81-88, pl. 5.

13. Cf. A. GRAUER, *Die Architektur und Wandmalerei der Nubier behandelt nach dem ethnographischen Befund vor der Aussiedlung 1963/64*, Freiburg - Breisgau 1968; A. HOHENWART-GERLACHSTEIN, *Nubienforschungen*, in « Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica » 45 (1979); M. WENZEL, *House decoration in Nubia*, London 1972.

mind.[14]   The documentation of the Nubian Ethnological Survey had to be very selective considering the large size of the affected area and the restricted time and money which was available. Aware of the lack of appreciation of the almost lost Nubian culture, another international campaign led to the establishment of the Nubian Museum in Aswan, which was finally opened in the year 1997 mostly to accommodate the material uncovered in the course of the rescue campaign. As a result of the resettlement in new areas and persistent emigration in the search for work, as well as general tendencies of modernization, the traditional Nubian culture is today more and more irretrievably lost. Addressing the issues of Nubian culture must therefore be named a desideratum of research, which demonstrates the significance of the project introduced below.[15]

Geographical Research Focus of the Project — Significance of the Sample Settlements

A current project under the direction of Pamela Rose of the Austrian Archaeological Institute Cairo Branch examines the structure and organisation of the frontier between Egypt and Nubia in the late antique and early medieval period, through the investigation and documentation of the fortresses of Hisn el-Bab situated on a high plateau at the east bank of the Nile in the area between the High Dam and the old British Dam.[16]   In the course of the examination of the close surroundings, attention was drawn to two abandoned Nubian villages in the immediate vicinity of the fortress. The traditional adobe structures are still in suprisingly good condition mostly preserved up to the roof contruction. A sounding investigation of early photographic and cartographic material provided evidence that these houses were not built before 1909 and must have been abandoned in the 1930s prior to the flooding caused by the second heightening of the British Dam.[17]   As soon as the original roads along the Nile river bank were

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14. HOPKINS - MEHENNA (eds), *Nubian Encounters*, pp. 12-16.

15. The project is institutionally hosted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and supported by funds of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank (Anniversary Fund, project number: 15559).

16. Cf. <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/hisn-el-bab.html>.

17. RESNER, *Report for 1907-1908*, pl. IX; H.G. LYONS, *A report on the island and temples of Philae*, London 1896;

flooded, the remaining villages were cut off from the path network and were accessible only over the high plateau of the nearby desert or by boat. Due to the difficult access, no large-scale scavenging or displacement of deposits for reuse or the like occurred after the last inhabitants left the settlements in fear of the rising water. A few carvings in the mudplastered walls, stating name and date, provide evidence for occasional visits, but otherwise no industrial waste deposits were observed in these villages. These settlements therefore present the rare case of a very short span of use (20-25 years, less than one generation) in combination with a planned systematic abandonment without later interferences or adaptations by various reclamation or disturbance processes.

Research Strategy and Analytical Methods

The project aims to carry out a cultural-anthropological case study focusing on these two villages using an interdisciplinary research strategy with a combination of a variety of methods and techniques of different fields of study. The following section presents the three different parts of the project, noting their close interconnection.

Settlement analysis / Building Research

The initial focus concerning the architectural documentation is the creation of a base of material for further investigation. In a first test campaign in November 2012 the residential units in the villages were architecturally determined and documented by GPS (pl. XXVIII, 2). This structural survey and the resulting plan of the villages form the basis for subsequent spatial and functional analysis of any kind. One example of the significant ideas deduced, gained or even just questioned, is the visualization of covered and uncovered areas within the residential units, where the covered ones are subdivided into flat roofed and vaulted rooms. The mapping made the ratio of 2:1 clear, displaying twice as much flat roofed spaces than vaulted ones. The interpretation of this data needs to be

Historical photograph by D.S. George captioned *Philae from East, 24.5.1900*, Frank H. McClung Museum, University of Tennessee, Inv. Nr. 09/09/96.

intensified, considering the function of the covered rooms as well as the questions that would lead a builder to decide which rooms would have to be vaulted and which not. Matters of tradition, know-how, money, time and the like might differ from case to case, but could be elucidated by interviews planned in the connected social anthropological field study within the local surroundings.

Besides a structural analysis of the settlement a basic building documentation of selected representative housing units is planned. To apply non-destructive methods and to minimize the field stay on-site, 3D-Data will be produced with a FARO Laser Scan. The 3D-Data will be processed after the fieldwork to 2D floor plans and sections. The Laser Scan Data will be combined with photogrammetric documentation to ensure a detailed reproduction of reality in the plans. In the second year of fieldwork the produced plans will be corrected and completed in detail on-site in view of the objects. Furthermore, similar abandoned and modern inhabited Nubian villages will be surveyed in neighbourhood areas to identify specifics or similarities concerning the settlement in general, functional or spatial use of certain structures and building techniques in detail. An architectural evaluation of the resulting data will conclude the research. The architectural core issue is the question as to what exactly defines the architecture of Nubian houses and settlements at the beginning of the last century. Furthermore the development of the particular combination of unique architectural design and sophisticated mudbrick building technique is planned to be examined in detail as well (pl. XXVIII, 3).

Besides this architectural focus the archaeological context also has to be considered. Mudbrick architecture is transferred into archaeological contexts as soon as regular use ceases and no further repair is carried out. Simple weathering combined with aerodynamic processes produce visible archaeological layers in specific areas of the structure. Once it is abandoned, a mudbrick structure slowly declines and finally collapses. The abandoned Nubian villages near Hisn el-Bab offer the rare opportunity to study different decay stages and their transformation into archaeological context by longterm monitoring of the site.

Archaeology / Find Material

The archaeological research focuses on the find material visible on the surface. Within the residential units selected for detailed building documentation, the visible find material will be mapped with GIS-based data entries in the existing GPS plan of the village (pl. XXVIII, 2). A rough statistical recording will also cover public spaces in and around the villages, with the aim of visualizing, for example, areas used to deposit waste. The controlled surface recording and mapping of find material considering distribution, diversity and density in specified areas will form the data base for further hypotheses. The data gathering will be analysed with regard to the questions as to what was left in a settlement which was systematically abandoned, and why. A central issue is the extent to which the material assemblages of the abandoned site reflect the occupation conditions. Furthermore it is to be questioned if the location of surface material allows any deduction regarding a functional analysis of the area in which it is found in. Since it is doubtful if the find location can be certainly distinguished as a primary or secondary deposit in any case, the possible conclusions have to be accurately evaluated.

Selected find material will be studied in greater depth, leading to important issues of local or imported productions, trade relationships and cultural influences. Frequently trade- and corporate brandmarks state the origin of the product, which can be often dated precisely. A large number of porcelain factory stamps prove high quality imports from Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany dating to the period of 1870-1900. Further questions arise as to where and why the high quality porcelain was purchased, and to what extent it would represent an object for decorative purposes, a status symbol or an everyday object. After drawing conclusions through archaeological interpretation, these questions will be cross-checked in the frame of the cultural- and social anthropological part of the project through interviews with the local inhabitants in the immediate vicinity.

Cultural- and Social Anthropology / Personal Interviews

Cultural- and social anthropological field studies in the few remaining Nubian

settlements in nearby surroundings will complete and cross-check the study, covering questions of traditional oral knowledge. The focus will be firstly on the inhabitants of the investigated villages regarding details related to the abandonment process and their resettlement. A sounding investigation carried out by the experienced researcher Nadja El-Shohoumi provided information about the whereabouts of the resettled inhabitants. Some of the inhabitants moved into the villages nearby which were not threatened by flooding. The aim of the cultural- and anthropological field studies is to trace some of these inhabitants still living or their descendants, and to consult them with focussed questions about the resettlement process, as well as to inquire the meaning of the abandoned villages as present memorials of their traumatic past. Secondly, information about daily routine organisation will be gathered through personal interviews with local inhabitants. Besides these primary questions, a main issue of the project is the discussion of questions arising in the course of the architectural examination of the buildings, their inventories and the find material throughout the settlement. The observation of patterns, form, meaning and use of structures and artifacts as well as their institutional setting will be implemented in this study.

The overall focus of the cultural- and social anthropological research in this project is therefore to answer a compilation of focussed questions, and to contrast the given replies with the results of the architectural and archaeological research carried out in the abandoned villages. The further goal is the consideration of oral traditional knowledge in the inference process of the study emphasising on cultural formation processes and their transformation to archaeological records.

Summary of Aims and Research Objectives

The presented project aims to carry out a cultural-anthropological case study focusing on two abandoned Nubian villages. A functional and structural analysis of the villages will provide a knowledge base for Nubian settlement architecture which reflects the social framework and interaction of the community

within. Besides a general settlement analysis the architectural study will focus on a detailed building documentation of selected residential units emphasising building technique and decoration systems which are both considered as unique in particular for Nubian house architecture.[18]   The archaeological documentation of immovable and related movable cultural remains and deposits will be analysed with regard to the questions as to what was left in a settlement which was systematically abandoned and why. A core issue is the crucial question of whether the material assemblages of the abandoned site accurately reflect the occupation conditions. Furthermore cultural- and social anthropological field studies in the few still inhabited Nubian settlements in the immediate vicinity will complete and cross-check the study covering questions of traditional oral knowledge.

Through the interdisciplinary research strategy and the combination of a variety of methods, standard interpretations may be reflected upon and questioned. By the mutual correction of recorded interpretations, the evaluation of the diverse data will produce an outstanding documentation, but above all will be a very important contribution to the discussion of cultural formation processes and their transformation into the archaeological record as well as bringing insights into the debate on context interpretation of material culture.[19]   Abandonment and post-abandonment behaviour and its effect on the formation of archaeological records has rarely been studied and has not yet received enough acknowledgment in archaeological fieldwork.[20]   In the proposed case study formation processes and the archaeological inferences can be evaluated through research strategies of Archaeology, Building Research and Cultural- and Social

18. EL-HAKIM, *Nubian Architecture*. Notable comparative studies covering rural architecture in combination with ethnological issues in Egypt: Nile Delta and around Luxor cf. D. EIGNER, *Ländliche Architektur und Siedlungsformen im Ägypten der Gegenwart*, Wien 1984. Balat in the Dakhla Oasis: J. HIVERNEL, *Balat, étude ethnologique d'une communauté rurale*, « BdE » 113, Le Caire 1996; W. SCHIJNS, *Vernacular Mud Brick Architecture in the Dakleh Oasis, Egypt*, « Dakleh Oasis Project Monograph » 10, Oxford 2008. Village near Sohag: N.H. HENEIN, *Mari Girgis, Village de Haute-Égypte*, « BdE » 94, Le Caire 1988.

19. M.B. SCHIFFER, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, Salt Lake City 1996, pp. 25-46.

20. C.M. CAMERON, *Abandonment and archaeological interpretation*, in EAD. - S.A. TOMKA (eds), *Abandonment of settlements and regions: Ethnoarchaeological & archaeological approaches*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 3-7; N. DAVID - C. KRAMER, *Ethnoarchaeology in Action*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 110-15, fig. 4.4.

Anthropology covering the wide range of movable, immovable and intangible cultural heritage.

Moreover the documentation of the abandoned Nubian villages in the immediate vicinity of the fortress of Hisn el-Bab represents a significant addition to the ongoing Project of the Austrian Archaeological Institute considering the investigation of a cultural landscape which includes cultural remains from different periods of history without neglecting historically sensitive periods of contemporary history.[21] The two preserved abandoned villages near the fortress represent unique witnesses to the first historical Nubian exodus caused by the construction of the early British Dam and are therefore valuable ephemeral memorials. Without constant care the durability of the mudbrick architecture is limited, and therefore a detailed documentation as soon as possible is required. The project aims not to make any modifications within the site, either in terms of excavation or cleaning of certain areas, or in form of collecting find material or the like. Instead of conservation procedures, for this site it is proposed to pursue a long-term monitoring and observation project, focusing on the different decay stages and their transformation into archaeological context.

It must be emphasised that the close cooperation with the descendents of the village inhabitants and other Nubians still living in the surroundings of the affected area contributes to the special nature of this project, and will be essential for meaningful results and the overall success of the project. The scientific interest of outsiders in the material culture of Nubian settlements may also strengthen the insiders' view on traditional values and their self-awareness as unique culture. Therefore this project has not only great significance for the scientific community in a variety of fields and method discussions, but last, and perhaps most important for the Nubian community itself, remembering the way of living before the traumatic years of resettlement and loss of their homeland.

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21. In 1992 the World Heritage Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognise and protect cultural landscapes.

THEORY AND HISTORY

Modern "authoritative interpretations" and the (mis)production of the Ptolemaic past

Heba Abd el-Gawad

(PLATES XXIX–XXX)

Using the Ptolemaic period as a case study, this paper throws light on the interrelation between authority and the production of knowledge of the past. It aims to highlight the impact of modern disciplines and institutions, who act as authorities over the past, on the production, presentation, perception and reception of certain time periods by both the public and wider fields of knowledge. "Highly authoritative" interpretations, in the form of academic publications and museum display of royal Ptolemaic objects, are used to assess how the Ptolemaic period is produced and communicated to the lay and expert public. The paper sheds light on the role that modern authoritative interpretations have played in the isolation of the Ptolemaic period from ancient Egyptian history and wider knowledge. It argues the case of the relevance of the Ptolemaic period to modern academic debates, a case that has been long lost in academic courts.

I.   *Authority and the production of the ancient past*

Today, the ancient past is defined, managed and advanced primarily by the academic communities. The entire process of producing knowledge of the past depends mainly on professional practitioners and institutions.[1]   Knowledge is powerful capital, and those who produce it gain authority.[2]   In this sense, modern professionals involved in the production of the past act as authorities, who by virtue of their role, offer interpretations which have fidelity to how ancient societies worked and why they worked the way they did.[3]   These interpretations could be defined as the final "front stage" product of the multi-layered process of excavating, translating, analysing, deconstructing and reconstructing the textual and material culture. Interpretative accounts are final in terms of being stabilised explanations taking a final form and designed for public consumption. The public, in this definition, refers to those who receive

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1.   C.W. HEDRICK, *Ancient History: Monuments and Documents*, Oxford 2008, p.14.
2.   J. GAVENTA, *The Powerful, the Powerless and the Expert: Knowledge struggles in an Information Age*, in P. PARK - B. HALL - T. JACKOSON (eds), *Participatory Research in North America,* South Hadley (MA) 1993, pp. 21-40.
3.   J. THOMAS, *Introduction*: *The Polarities of Post Processual Archaeology*, In ID. (ed.), *Interpretive Archaeology*: *A Reader*, Cornwall 2000, pp. 3-4.

or consume accounts of the past; this includes both the general public as well as academic specialists. These final products are represented either formally, in the form of academic publications, conferences, seminars and museum displays, or informally, through television programmes and electronic media.

Final front stage interpretations of the past rely heavily on the underlying notion of "authoritative accounts". An account can be defined as being "authoritative" when people accept its information and explanation as final or valid.[4]   Although such interpretations are often intended to be contested and changed if appropriate, their authority lies in being presented by "specialists" in a "final format", which is meant to be as representative to original material or conceptual understanding as possible.

However, not all authoritative interpretations are equal. Some accounts are seen as being more authoritative than others. This depends on a variety of factors which could be summarised in the formula of *who* is providing the interpretation, *how* the interpretation is presented, *why* the statement is being put forward, and *which* medium is used to communicate it. For example, if the interpretation is provided by a professional academic at a major conference, it likely carries a higher status and a burden of validity than if it appears as a newsflash headline for a magazine written by a journalist. Similarly, museum displays are regarded as highly valid interpretations of the past as they are presented by highly regarded specialised institutions. When an account is defined as being "highly authoritative", re-actions are taken which can ultimately affect how the past is perceived and used from the actions that people take based on information they perceive as valid.

Through access to knowledge, and participation in its production, use and dissemination, generators, translators and transmitters of "higher status" authoritative interpretations gain their authority over the past as they can affect the boundaries and indeed the conceptualisation of the possible.[5]   As these interpretations are embedded in social institutions, structures and cultures,

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4.   A.W. Kruglanski, *Lay Epistemic and Human Knowledge: Cognitive and Motivational Bases*, New York 1989, p. 202.
5.   A. Raviv - D. Bar-tal - A. Raviv - B. Biran - Z. Sela, *Teachers' Epistemic Authority: Perceptions of Students and Teachers*, in « Social Psychology of Education » 6 (2003), pp. 17-42.

they are subject to perceptions, misperceptions, limitations of understanding, biases and ideologies of a specific society at a specific period of history.[6]   This agency over produced knowledge can, on one hand, limit the possibilities which can be either imagined or acted upon; on the other hand, it can broaden these boundaries enormously.

Thus, authoritative interpretations are the last yet, arguably, the most important phase of the production of knowledge of the past. They summarise, abstract, stabilise the fluid and unstable social process which lie behind their construction. Additionally, they also shape the communication phase in which information is transmitted as an attempt to enter the conceptual world of the audience the practitioners want to engage with. Hence, these accounts produce and move knowledge. Moreover, they affect not only the understanding but also the consciousness of its audience — that is, how they see the past and its relevance to the present. In this respect, authoritative interpretations decide the present fate of historical events and its relevance to wider knowledge for contemporary and future purposes.

Hence, the concept of authority — both in terms of the immediate "front stage" authoritative presence of the account of the past, as well as the attached "back stage" qualities and social negotiations — plays a major role in how the past is perceived, consumed, reacted and regarded by the lay and expert public. It is important to address the concept of authority within the process of production of knowledge of the past both as a side-effect and an interrelation. A contextual analysis of higher status authoritative interpretations, which take the form of academic publications and museum displays, throws open the issue of authority as a side effect and a relational variable which impacts the production and reuse of the past. It highlights how disciplinary authority is produced and consumed by the audience. More importantly, it raises the issue of how modern disciplinary authority affects the relevance of the ancient past to the present's wider fields of knowledge and contemporary debates. Results of such analysis will help us in assessing the internal and external complexities of

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6.   Cf. M. JOHNSON, *Archaeological Theory, an Introduction*, Oxford 1999; I. HODDER, *Archaeological Theory Today*, Cambridge 2001.

the routine of our own practice. This will lead to future considerations of what authority is as a root system of academic practice and how it shapes the production and movement of knowledge.

II.   *Modern authorities and the Ptolemaic period (323-30 BC)*

After his victory at Actium 31 BC, Augustus visited Alexandria, where he placed a golden crown on the embalmed body of Alexander the Great. When asked if he would like to visit the tombs of the Ptolemies, he dismissed the suggestion stating that he « wanted to see a king, not some corpses » as reported by Suetonius in the early second century AD.[7]   Of course Augustus may have never uttered such a comment, yet such dismissive outlook reflects the general and continuing neglect of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the Hellenistic Near East from antiquity till present.

        The period has generally been seen as one of decline both politically and culturally, a transitional phase of little value, between the great eras of Alexander the Great and the Romans. In spite of the work of some great scholars, the Ptolemaic period has never received the same degree of attention as its Pharaonic predecessors or Roman successors. In this sense, Ptolemaic history could be defined as the "period apart". It can only be approached in isolation from "Pharaonic" ancient Egyptian history, so distinctive that its history has followed a different course. It is often reduced to the last chapter of the history of ancient Egypt. The fact that it falls broadly within the Hellenistic period also adds an extra layer of negative connotation to the situation given how the Hellenistic period is perceived by Classicists as the time of decline of classical culture.

        Despite its relevance to various modern social and academic debates — ancient multicultural societies, fiscal sociology, elite culture, and power networks, to name just a few — it has often been isolated from other fields of ancient history and wider fields of knowledge. As for the general public, the

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7.   Suetonius, *Augustus*, 18; A. ERSKINE, *Approaching the Hellenistic world*, in ID. (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2009, p. 1.

Ptolemaic period remains to a great extent obscure except for Cleopatra. For example, hardly any talks on the period are organised by the non-profit public societies promoting ancient Egypt around the UK.[8]

Ironically, the multi-cultural nature of Ptolemaic evidence has been the main reason for its isolation. The diversity of Ptolemaic source material makes it fall at neat disciplinary boundaries between Egyptology, Classics and Ancient History and their sub-disciplines of papyrology, numismatics and epigraphy. Until very recently, these fields have intersected only tangentially on account of the growth of "disciplinary professionalization", an aspect which further complicated the understanding and appreciation of the period.[9]

The following is an overview of the highly authoritative interpretations of the Ptolemaic period, in the form of academic publications and the British museum display of royal Ptolemaic objects, in order to assess the interrelation and impact of authority on the production and movement of Ptolemaic knowledge.

II.1   Disciplinary Approaches: Between two evils

Assessments of the Ptolemaic period tend to paint it in black and white binary categories of Egyptian / Greek, subordinate / dominant, success / failure, acceptance / resistance, exploitation / fairness.[10]   To pick one category is to face the difficult situation of having to choose between two evils. Each category depicts a single side of a long, far more complex story than the binary image draws. The parallel dichotomies used today to interpret the Ptolemaic period could be grouped under the two broad models of separatism and colonialism. Under the separatist model fall the cultural and disciplinary opposites of Egyptian / Greek. The remaining parallel dichotomies of good and bad behaviour — subordinate /

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8.   This is based on the annual programme of each society: a complete listing of all UK based societies with web links to their designated websites could be found at: <http://www.ancientegyptmagazine.co.uk/society_contacts.htm>.

9.   The term disciplinary professionalization has been introduced by J.L. GADDIS, *History, Theory, and Common Ground*, in « International Security » 22/1 (1997), p. 75.

10.   I.S. MOYER, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 27-32; ID., *Finding a Middle Ground: Culture and Politics in the Ptolemaic Thebaid*, in P.F. Dorman - B.M. Bryan, *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Occasional Proceedings of Theban Workshop, Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, « SAOC » 65, Chicago 2011, pp. 115; J.G. MANNING, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies 305-30 BC*, Princeton 2009, pp. 34-35.

dominant, success / failure, acceptance / resistance, exploitation / fairness — can be safely grouped among colonial assumptions.

II.1.1 *Separatist model*

Modern disciplines have kept the ancient world alive, yet they tend to exclude those areas which fall at the cross roads of different cultures as they are difficult to classify according to "traditional" disciplinary boundaries and typologies. According to modern understanding of ancient history, the Ptolemaic period is "untraditional"; it crosses boundaries between ancient Egyptian and Greek cultures, and subsequently related disciplines. This fact spurred a disciplinary separatist approach. Egyptologists tend to study Egyptian evidence in an attempt to defend Egypt's cultural supremacy and emphasise the Egyptian elites' efforts to sustain Egyptian identity which, according to this argument, was under threat. On the other hand, Classicists tend to focus on Greek material to prove Greek dominance and the "Hellenisation" process effected by the Greeks in the ancient Near East. Another vexing reason fuelling separatism is the modern perception of ancient Egypt as the "place apart" which is so distinctive that it can only be studied and understood within its own subject-field. According to this line of argument, Ptolemaic Egypt has produced important textual and material culture which could only be understood in Egypt's terms and are useful only for explaining its history.

This odd division of labour is, to a great extent, reinforced by linguistic disciplinary training.[11]   Greek textual evidence (papyri, reliefs, historical narratives, poetry) is interpreted in isolation from Egyptian textual evidence (temple reliefs, stelae, demotic ostraca and papyri). Similarly, visual material cultural is approached independently and classified according to western art-historical typologies of Egyptian and Classical sculpture. In addition to "traditional" separation between the textual and visual culture — a common practice within all partner disciplines dealing with the Ptolemaic period — the scene is further

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11. Disciplinary separation as relevant to Ptolemaic Egypt is noted also by W. CLARYSSE, *Some Greeks in Egypt*, in J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society*, Chicago 1992, pp. 55-56; R.S. BAGNALL, *Reading Papyri: Writing Ancient History*, London - New York 1995, pp. 49-50; J.G. MANNING, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*, Princeton 2003, pp. 10-12; MOYER, *Limits of Hellenism*, p. 29.

complicated by the supremacy of the text. Textual evidence is favoured over the visual through the creation of new text editions and improving old ones, a mainstay of Egyptological and Classical approaches to Ptolemaic material.

The "disciplinary war" over the Ptolemaic period brings to light the self-imposed isolation of the field of Egyptology. Egyptology has been, to a great extent, detached, and unengaged with, other disciplines, especially historical social sciences despite much work in those disciplines that bears directly on questions concerning the Egyptian state and society.[12]   Correspondingly, Egyptological authoritative interpretations do not make the direct relevance of ancient Egypt to the field of humanities as a whole apparent.[13]   This inward-looking feature of Egyptology is generally damaging, yet it is particularly harmful to the Ptolemaic period. It leads to the production of a narrative which serves the narrow aims of the discipline rather than accounting for the real story.

There have been exceptions to this pattern of scholarship which is championed by scholars working on both Greek and Egyptian evidence taking the two worlds into account.[14]   These studies revealed how the separation between the Greek and Egyptian aspects is not usually clear-cut. Consequently, a Janus-head, double faced image of Ptolemaic ideologies and society emerged which acknowledges the existence and impact of both cultures, albeit unequally.[15] Such approaches have pressed for more subtle explorations of Greek-Egyptian rapprochement and cultural interchange, especially the cultural politics of the Ptolemaic state and royal ideologies. However, despite the recent acknowledgement of the importance of including both the Egyptian and Greek perspectives in the process of producing the interpretation, the underweighting and over-

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12. Cf. MANNING, *Last Pharaohs*, pp. 32-33; D.C. SNELL, *A Historian's Talk*, in ID. (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, Oxford 2008, p. 99; A. BOWMAN, *Recolonising Egypt*, in T.P. WISEMAN (ed.), *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford 2006, p. 212.

13. SNELL, *Historian's Talk*, p. 99.

14. Cf. MANNING, *Land and Power*; W. CLARYSSE - D.J. THOMPSON, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vols I-II, Cambridge 2006; MANNING, *Last Pharaohs*; MOYER, *Limits of Hellenism* among others.

15. The Janus-head model of Ptolemaic ideologies has been put forward by L. KOENEN, *The Ptolemaic king as a religious figure*, in A. BULLOCH - E. GRUEN, A.A. LONG - A. STEWART (eds.), *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenitic World*, Berkley 1993, pp. 25-115; the importance of taking both worlds in consideration was stressed by S. STEPHENS, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Berkley 2003 among others.

weighting of one culture over the other, based on disciplinary biases, remains dominant in most authoritative interpretations of the period.

Interpretations based on the separatist model produces a distorted image of the Ptolemaic past. The Ptolemaic state could not be defined as being Egyptian or Greek. It combined elements of Pharaonic, Persian, Macedonian, and Greek with the new features imposed by the new situation. The state, and consequently the society, was "hybrid". Authoritative interpretations adopting the separatist model produce a biased account which reflects each discipline's "preferred" scenario of how the state and society must have operated. These distorted, narrow, and extremely specialised accounts made the Ptolemaic period less relevant to wider academic and contemporary debates.

The Ptolemaic period is, by far, the most suited among ancient history to contribute to the modern academic debates of multiculturism. It is exceptional, in antiquity, in its massive scale of documentation for "points of concerns" of multiculturalism: subjectivity, perspective and "little narratives".[16]   The sheer amount of textual and visual evidence documents the full range of state activity in addition to detailed accounts of the private lives, which can contribute to the understanding of how an ancient multicultural, multiethnic and multi-lingual society operated from within. Ptolemaic evidence provides a story of interconnectedness and hybridity, rather than isolation and exceptionalism, and so offers intellectual and humanist opportunities for our present. Moreover, a wider contextual approach to the Ptolemaic period which crosses and moves beyond partner disciplinary boundaries can push Egyptology and Classics out of their isolation through finding common intellectual grounds with wider fields of knowledge.

II.1.2   *Colonialism model*

The other model which shapes modern interpretations of the Ptolemaic period is colonialism. The Ptolemaic period and more broadly the Hellenistic Near East have always been viewed through the lens of European nation-state colonial experience. Although this model occasioned discontent, it remained a

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16.   Little narratives J.F. LYOTARD, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report of Knowledge*, Minnesota 1984.

reference point.[17]   The use of colonialism is based on two perspectives. First, the Hellenocentric perspective views the Hellenistic period as a unilateral imposition of Greek culture and language in the Near East; this view has now faded in favour of more complex models of cultural interaction.[18]   Second is the modern Western assumption of triumphant Greek culture, which holds more power than the local elites in the power equation of the Hellenistic Near East.[19] In this respect, the Ptolemaic world has been labelled as racist, exploitative and monopolist. Such labels reflect modern anxieties more than the realities of the Ptolemaic world.

Colonial assumptions are motivated by practitioners' political experiences and assessments of 19th century British and French intervention in Egypt, deeply rooted in western scholarship. State dynamics, based on this model, are condensed into power struggles between Egyptian elites as subordinate group and the dominant Ptolemaic kings and Greek ethnics. Authoritative interpretations tended to keep an anachronistic institutional distinction in examining political collaboration and opposition to the Ptolemaic rule. The use of this concept implies a shared sensibility towards Egyptian ethnic or cultural identity and antagonism toward the Greeks, whose rule over Egypt was considered illegitimate, according to modern scholarship, by virtue of their foreign nationality. Moreover, scholars have concentrated on Greek documents and on the study of Greek settlements in preference to Egyptian documents and this has of course produced an over emphasis on colonial relationships.

We need to keep in mind the role that Ptolemaic evidence plays in shaping modern biases. The documents are mainly written from the settlers' perspective and the state's aims.[20]   The scale of documentation for the Ptolemaic state, compared to earlier periods, leads us to exaggerate the brutality

17. R.K. RITNER, *Implicit Models of Cross-cultural Interaction: A Question of Noses, Soap and Prejudice*, in J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, Chicago 1999, pp. 283-90.

18. S. HORNBLOWER, *Hellenism and Hellensiation*, in S. HORNBLOWER - A. SPAWFORTH (eds), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1996, pp. 677-79.

19. S. SHERWIN-WHITE - A. KUHURT, *From Samarkand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Berkeley 1993, pp. 141-87; F.E. PETERS, *The Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from the Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity*, New York 1970.

20. S. ALCOCK, *Breaking up the Hellenistic World: Survey and Society*, in I. MORRIS (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 174-75.

of the state. The main difference between the Ptolemies and earlier Egyptian Pharaohs lies on the availability of documents; previous states could have been using similar methods.

A clear-cut approach of assimilation and resistance is too simplistic to do justice to the complex and dynamic realities of the Ptolemaic state. The Ptolemies ruled Egypt for 275 years; it is the longest-lived, and final, dynasty in ancient Egyptian history. To summarise the whole period in binary categories is to give a false impression of a stable unchanging situation which defies the nature of power as a negotiable socio-political phenomenon. The long duration of the Ptolemaic rule, must have generated various responses at various times between acceptance and rejection and many other reactions in between.

Additionally, the situation within the Ptolemaic state does not directly fit the modern criteria of colonialism. Recent studies indicate that the "ethnic policy" of the Ptolemies was more a matter of institutional convenience to identify particular groups, than an act of racism.[21] On the other hand, the imposition of Greek language was slow and not compulsory, and the state itself provided incentives to switch.[22] Moreover, the general consensus today is that the 205 BC Thebaid revolts, which expelled Greek presence in the area till 186 BC, are the result of state economic policies, rather than resistance to foreign rule.[23]

Those who had less power were always exploited in the ancient world, as much under earlier Pharaohs as under the Ptolemies. Exploitation and monopolisation are features of pre-modern states. Most authoritative interpretations adopting the colonialism model tend to ignore that Greeks had settled in Egypt centuries before the Ptolemies arrived. The early Greek presence forces us to consider evidence from a dialectic perspective, envisaging a two way process of interaction between the Ptolemies and the Egyptians, particularly the elites. Additionally, the fact that Egypt formed the core of the Ptolemaic state is a major feature which makes 19th century colonialism an unproductive model.

21. MANNING, *Last Pharaohs*, p. 31.
22. *Ibidem*, p. 50.
23. MANNING, *Land and Power*, p. 166.

There were "aspects" of colonialism within the social relationships, for example the founding of new towns, movement of people, Greeks serving in administration even in temples. Certainly such aspects brought tensions. However, Egypt lacked important colonial features. Parallels from within Egypt's medieval history are, in my view, more constructive. The Fatimid state and the reign of Mohammed Ali offer parallels to the Ptolemaic situation in terms of foreign rule over Egypt which led to extensive institutional, social and cultural change, with Egypt at the core of a stretched empire. Such models provide ample opportunity to overcome biases based on Western experiences. Yet the Ptolemaic state operated on a complex web of institutions, social and cultural networks, and no single model can capture the totality of the period.

Trapping the Ptolemaic period within the framework of colonialism limits its participation in wider academic debates of pre-modern states. The colonialism model produces narrow specialised interpretations charged by modern western socio-political experiences with pre-assumed outcomes. Placing the Ptolemaic period within the wider and fluid framework of pre-modern states can provide more balanced and less biased interpretations. Recent approaches to Ptolemaic state and economy are radically reshaping much of our previous understanding.[24]

Additionally, the imposed acceptance / resistance dichotomy of the relationship between the Egyptian elites and the new Greek settlers obscures the analytics of power as a socio-political phenomenon. The Ptolemaic period confronts us with a unique opportunity to develop a contextual account of the construction, representation and impact of elite power in the past. The extensive visual and textual elite evidence provides a distinctive case study of the notion of power and elite status in pre-modern states. The foreignness of the kings, despite its negative connotation for modern scholarship, creates an interesting opportunity to observe how indigenous elites achieve their universal and particular aims under foreign rule. The Ptolemaic period has much to contribute

24. MANNING, *Last Pharaohs*; A. MONSON, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic change in Egypt*, Cambridge - New York 2012.

to modern debates of the dynamics of power which can offer insights into the past and lessons for the present.

II.2   Museum Display: Empire trophies

Museums are, perhaps, the most important actors in the process of the production of knowledge of the past. This is, primarily, due to the much wider audience they communicate to as opposed to universities and research institutions. Museums communicate to many "publics". Within the museum context the term public invokes a generalised body of people: an audience. It conveys the museum's status as an open institution of and for the people.[25]   In this respect, accounts of the past produced and displayed by museums are perceived by the public as highly authoritative. For instance, members of the public who took part in the public attitude research performed by the pollster BritainThinks on behalf of the British museums association, as part of Museums 2020 vision, stated that they consider museums as « the most factual sources of information and presenting all sides of the story as opposed to the government and media who have their own agendas ».[26]

In this sense, museums act as a monopoly of knowledge: a central structure of power, situated in an impressive city building, controlling the preservation of historical and world knowledge.[27]   For the public, the museum is where history is materially kept; they accept its representation of the past and how it portrays their national identity. As actors producing highly authoritative interpretations of the past, *what* museums display and *how* they display it have a major impact on how the past is perceived and reused. Museums, by virtue of their role have a social authority; they are agents of identity formation, nationalism and most recently social inclusion.[28]   Thus, they do not only control the knowledge of the past but they also affect contemporary human relations.

The museum mediates the knowledge it produces about the objects

25.   J. BARRETT, *Museums and the Public Sphere*, Oxford 2011, p.1.

26.   The report of the research could be found here: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=954916>.

27.   S. ASHLEY, *State Authority and the Public sphere: Ideas on the changing Role of the Museum as a Canadian Social Institution*, in S. WATSON (ed.), *Museums and their communities*, London - New York 2007, p. 486.

28.   Cf. R. SANDELL - E. NIGHTINGALE, *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, London - New York 2012.

through "screens", a collection of signs and signifiers given by social custom that represent the object. [29]   These screens take the form of label texts, exhibition design, and the narrative of audio guides. Each of these devices and techniques of display aims to produce knowledge through providing context for the visitor, yet each also controls the relationship between the audience and the artefact by predetermining its cultural value. In even the most informed or egalitarian environment, the prescribed meaning provided by the museum manages the visitor's understanding.

Museums' interpretation of the Ptolemaic period has, arguably, played a major role in the dismissive attitude and isolation of the period by the public. The perception of the "period apart" is enacted visually in museum display and in how Ptolemaic objects are managed and dispersed among the different collections. Ptolemaic objects are displayed as "empire trophies". The objects are physically separated according to modern western typologies of cultural and ethnic "appearances". Accordingly, objects which are defined "art-historically" as being Egyptian are often kept and displayed within Egyptian galleries, while those labelled as being Greek — even if being retrieved from Egypt — rest within Greek and Roman departments. In addition to the physical separation, Ptolemaic objects within Egyptian galleries are to a great extent neglected or confined to dustier less bright corners of museums in response to their "untraditional" status.[30]

On the other hand, Ptolemaic Egypt has always had Cleopatra. Exhibitions featuring the Ptolemaic period are normally focused around the figure of Cleopatra with most of the exhibition titles referring to Cleopatra as the only face of Ptolemaic Egypt.[31]   While part of the function of museum exhibitions is to draw more visitors in order to generate income, most of the pieces exhibited are of earlier male and female predecessors of Cleopatra. This is due to the scarce archaeological evidence of Cleopatra discovered so far. Her reign marks a

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29. N. BRYSON, *The Gaze in the Expanded Field*, in H. FOSTER (ed.) *Vision and Visuality*, Seattle 1988, p. 91.

30. Cf. BOWMAN, *Recolonising Egypt*, p. 216.

31. S. WALKER - P. HIGGS, *Cleopatra of Egypt: from History to Myth*, London 2001; R.S. BIANCHI, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, Brooklyn 1989.

shift in the history of the Ptolemaic period and its relation to Rome, one of the many political episodes the Ptolemaic history has gone through. Additionally, the Ptolemaic period is rich with prominent figures of much greater impact on the ancient world stage than Cleopatra. The extensive recycling of Cleopatra as the only face of the Ptolemaic period could be described as an exercise of creating a "false history" of the era which is being led by public appeal.

Here, a brief overview of the British museum's interpretation of the Ptolemaic period is reconstructed based on the display of Ptolemaic royal objects at the ground level. Three objects are placed in focus in an attempt to capture the overall attitude towards the period. The British Museum provides an interesting case study of museums' interpretations of the Ptolemaic period for a variety of reasons. First, it holds some of the most important Ptolemaic royal objects, after the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Second and most importantly, the geographic and cultural setting of the museum, based in the multicultural atmosphere of London, brings into question how museums' agency over the interpretation of the objects can, at times, limit the possibilities of the past to contribute to contemporary debates and human relationships.

II.2.1   *Rosetta Stone: out-of-context celebrity*

Royal Ptolemaic objects displayed at the ground level are divided between two rooms, room 4 of Egyptian sculpture, and room 23 of Greek and Roman sculpture (pl. XXIX, 1). If we attempt to reconstruct a visitor's experience of the royal Ptolemaic objects as projected at the ground level, our first stop will be « the most famous piece of rock in the world »,[32]   the Rosetta Stone (no. 33 in pl. XXIX, 1). The Rosetta Stone dates back to the reign of Ptolemy V (204-180 BC). It is a priestly decree documenting the resolution of a priestly synod. The decree lists the pious deeds of the king towards the gods and temples and the blessings granted to him in return. As with the other Ptolemaic priestly decrees, the Rosetta Stone is inscribed in the three scripts of hieroglyphs, demotic and Greek.[33]

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32.   B. SASS, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.*, «ÄUAT» 13, Wiesbaden 1988.
33.   Cf. C.A.R. ANDREWS, *The Rosetta Stone*, London 1982; EAD. - S. QUIRKE, *The Rosetta Stone: Facsimile Drawing*,

Priestly synods and the resulting decrees are "dynastic signatures" of the Ptolemies; they bring the power dynamics between the Egyptian priests and the Greek court into life. They provide us with a live broadcast of the power negotiations between the kings and the priests. They also highlight the unique power dynamics between the Greek kings and the Egyptian priests which is unmatched in rival Hellenistic states. In this respect, the priestly decrees are important source material for the understanding of the relationship between foreign kings and indigenous elites in pre-modern states. In addition to its ancient context, the Rosetta Stone has the modern significance of being the key for the decipherment of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs and the development of the whole field of Egyptology.

The Rosetta Stone falls within the category of celebrity pieces; it is the most famous and most visited object in the British museum. In this respect, the interpretation of the stone presented by the museum can be an integral aspect of how the Ptolemaic period is produced and perceived within the British museum. Ironically, little emphasis is being placed on the importance of the Rosetta for our understanding of the Ptolemaic period, as opposed to the role the decree played in the history of writing and the decipherment of the hiero-glyphs. In this case, the museum's authority over the interpretation imposed a new meaning over the object which serves modern aims rather than producing an account of its past. Unfortunately, on the only occasion when an object of a Ptolemaic date is engaged in a wider debate, no reference is being made to the Ptolemaic period itself.

Although this modern function is indispensable, it should not over-shadow the initial purpose for which the stone once stood. The Rosetta Stone, like any other ancient textual and material evidence, is the channel of trans-mission of a long communication process. It is intended to send messages by its producers to selected audiences. Yet, the narrative offered by the museum through the accompanying labels and audio description pays little attention to the object's original message. Our understanding of ancient Egypt is to a great

London 1988; R. PARKINSON, *Cracking Codes: the Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*, London 1999; ID., *The Rosetta Stone*, London 2005.

extent owed to the bilingual and multicultural environment within which the object once "lived". Yet this fact is completely obscured in the modern recon-struction of the Rosetta Stone.

II.2.2   *The separated royal cult*

The second stop in room 4 is at the western end leading to western stairs where the rest of the Ptolemaic "Egyptian sculpture" is being displayed. The wall is covered by a group of Ptolemaic stelae. They vary between royal stelae depicting kings dedicating offerings to particular deities or non royal stelae which portrays deified Ptolemaic kings receiving offerings from different individuals. The most interesting among the whole display is EA 1056 (pl. XXX, 1).[34]

EA 1056 is defined on the label as a temple relief representing Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. Yet, the size of the piece and of the scale of the scenes does not match those of a temple relief. Given the size, craftsmanship and the context in which it was discovered at the Ptolemaic chapel at Tanis, the piece could be identified as an ex-voto. It depicts Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) and his sister-wife Arsinoe II (270 BC) as *Theoi Adelphoi,* as brother-sister loving gods. The importance of the piece lies in the object being held by Ptolemy II in his left hand. The object is referred to on the online description of the piece as an unidentified object. However, it is a thunderbolt of Zeus. This confronts us with the situation of a pure Greek symbol being depicted on a purely Egyptian cultural and religious setting. Moreover, this ex-voto summarises the values and ideologies of Ptolemaic kingship in one scene: a) the prominent position of the queens, especially Arsinoe II; b) the deification of the Ptolemaic kings and queens; c) the fusion between the Egyptian and Greek ideologies creating a new form of kingship.

Yet little emphasis is placed on the importance of this piece, despite it being a visual proof of the multi-cultural nature of Ptolemaic Egypt. Scholarly debates on this piece are mainly concerned with the dating of the piece.[35]   Again,

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34. K. MYSLIWIEC, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX*, Mainz am Rehin 1988, p. 85; PH. BRISSAUD - C. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis, Travaux Récentes sur le tell Sân el-Haggar 1987-1997*, Paris 1998, p. 170, 110, and pl. 24.

35. BIANCHI, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, pp. 103-04; P. STANWICK, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin 2002, p. 22.

this is secondary to the appearance of a Greek element within the confined conservative environment of the Egyptian temple.

This ex-voto is complemented by two bronze statuettes, BM 38442 and 38443 retrieved from Alexandria, displayed at Room 23, Greek and Roman sculpture. The bronze statuettes are another visual representation of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe II as brother-sister loving gods in what is art-historically defined as pure Greek format (pl. XXX, 2).[36]   The statuettes are displayed in a showcase with other "Greek" objects retrieved from Egypt (pl. XXX, 3).

Although the ex-voto and the statuettes co-existed in Ptolemaic Egypt, they are dramatically separated in the British Museum. This physical separation is based on modern art-historical typologies creating a "superficial" visual analysis of a much more complicated situation. This invites us to reconsider what can be identified as Egyptian, Greek or even Hellenistic, with the latter term being the most problematic. "Hellenistic" has often been used to define a historical period that was "Hellenic-Greek-like" yet not fully Greek. The terms which we have imposed on this historical period and its material culture hardly do justice to what the Ptolemaic power actors had in mind. The world, then, was a fertile ground for the interaction of cultures and institutions. The display here leads to the assumption of ideologies are being depicted in an Egyptian style to Egyptians and a Greek style to Greeks. The Greek thunderbolt held by Ptolemy II defies this judgement. A considerable amount of Egyptian style sculpture have been recovered in recent underwater excavations in Alexandria dictating, indeed, demanding, new categories of interpretations to account for the newly discovered interconnections. Whether such sculptures were of an earlier date or not is secondary to the fact that what is perceived today as "Egyptian" style representations existed in Alexandria, the purely Greek city according to modern judgements.

A new typology which could be simply defined as "Ptolemaic" should be added to art-historical typologies dealing with material dating to the Ptolemaic period. Under this category should fall the three existing categories of

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36. For a comprehensive art-historical discussion of the bronze statuettes cf. W. CHESHIRE, *The Bronzes of Ptolemy II Philadelphus*, München 2009, pp. 64-162.

purely Greek, purely Egyptian and mixed Greek-Egyptian iconography. This would offer a more balanced understanding of the material which is based on the objects real stories rather than the museum interpretations.

The three royal Ptolemaic pieces discussed are a clear example of the major role the Ptolemaic objects kept at the British museum can play in modern discussions of multiculturalism. The modern geographical setting of the museum within London, one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse cities in the world today, is the strongest of these. For instance, the museum receives visits from local schools, whose students are from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, nearly on daily basis. The Rosetta Stone is already an important stop for the students to learn about the history of writing (pl. XXIX, 2). The students' diverse background and the multicultural Ptolemaic past, as exemplified in the Rosetta Stone's scripts and text, can form the basis of an interesting case study of the possible impact of ancient multiculturalism on reinforcing the sense of a 'shared history' among young generations in modern multicultural societies. Yet, this study can only be possible if the Rosetta Stone and the rest of the Ptolemaic objects can be reproduced in their original context.

III.   *Conclusions: A new Ptolemaic past for a new present*

Disciplinary and museum interpretations of the Ptolemaic period set a clear example for the major influence of authority in shaping interpretations of the past. The authority of the disciplines which deal with the Ptolemaic period lies mainly in the specialised training practices and the narrow scope and paradigms of analysis the discipline imposes on practitioners. Authoritative interpretations of the Ptolemaic period also reveal the narrow and possibly arbitrary or artificial boundaries between the fields of Egyptology and Classics, which prevents practitioners from seeing the close connections both disciplines can achieve. On the other hand, the museum display of Ptolemaic objects has been mainly based on art-historical categories which tell us what we can already see. They divorce the viewer from the real story behind the object, with the artefacts of the same historical and contextual background being separated in time and space.

This narrow and deep specialisation makes the Ptolemaic period less relevant to non partner disciplines and society. New contextual broad interpretations which are free from disciplinary and socio-political biases are needed to produce a new version of Ptolemaic history which can contribute to our new present. This calls into question the "objectivity" of both academic approaches and museum display when confronted by a cultural mix that floats between different ethnicities and disciplines. This opens up the debate about the alternative means that should be sought in reading and writing the past and the relevance of the past to wider knowledge and modern experiences. These debates force a critique of authoritative interpretations. They challenge us to evaluate in whose interests our interpretations lie, and to be more sensitive to the relationship between the messages conveyed by the past and its reception by the present's future audiences. A new reading of the past is needed for our new present.

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The planned past: policy and (ancient) Egypt *

William Carruthers

In the context of Forming Material Egypt'*s call for practical policy outcomes, this paper addresses the recent historical ramifications of that call. How has policy relating to Egypt's material past been made, and what have been its results? What is the meaning of policy in this context, and what are its connotations? In the light of recent discussions about the reform of Egypt's political institutions, this paper suggests that it is necessary to answer these questions before formulating policy options for the future. Concentrating on the period from c. 1925 until 1960, this paper suggests that, when recent policy-like statements have been made and decrees issued, they have invariably been linked to elite and technocratic tenets of (high) modernism as practised in Egypt and elsewhere. They have been a means of ordering the country and its population, whether past or present, in which both Egyptians and their foreign compatriots within archaeology/Egyptology have been involved. This involvement often occurred in the belief that a better, more progressive future would be the result. In practice, however — and as in many other agencies of the Egyptian state — the creation of a particular strand of authoritarianism seems to have been closer to eventual reality. The work of Colla provides a foundation for this interpretation. However, switching chronological frames, this paper argues that it is the period from 1925 until 1960 in particular that is vital. As contemporary legislation and educational reforms relating to Egypt's past began to be put into place, what work did these practices and representations do, and why? What sort of past did they plan, what sort of citizen was linked to it, and what was the result? The planning of Egypt's past contributed to the construction of an authoritarian state. Can a different sort of policy be realised?*

Introduction

The *Forming Material Egypt* conference asked for « practical policy outcomes » relating to the future of Egypt's ancient material past.[1]   Yet how has policy relating to this past previously been made, and what have been its results? It seems essential to answer these questions before any future policy can be formulated. Bearing in mind that the term "policy" is an anachronism, and

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1. ANON., *IoA Annual Conference: Forming Material Egypt*, online at UCL Institute of Archaeology, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/calendar/articles/20130520> (accessed 2/8/2013).

inevitably glossing certain historical complexities for the sake of brevity, this paper discusses this process during a period starting in the 1920s and continuing until the end of the 1950s. By doing so, it demonstrates that legislative practices relating to that past, whilst often linked to progressive modernist impulses, have actually aided the consolidation of a certain way of ordering Egypt and its population. This ordering resembles a high modernist authoritarianism,[2] and is therefore open to question.

Instituting Antiquities and Ordering Egypt

Elliott Colla has demonstrated the importance of legislation relating to Egyptian antiquities, emphasising its role within discourses relating to the contested formation of a modern Egyptian nation-state.[3] Indeed, Colla's work illustrates how control of the objects of an Egyptian past also led to control of the Egyptian present. Yet, beyond events surrounding the clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun, he does not discuss how this legislative control was implemented during the period after 1922, when Egypt was granted nominal independence by the British and Egyptians took increasing control of their past. However, during this period, legislative and administrative practice relating to the (ancient) Egyptian past continued. Indeed, it was during this time that legal categories, institutions, and administrative hierarchies relating to the Egyptian past that are still in use today were originally consolidated. This section discusses this consolidation in order to demonstrate how the rationalist assumptions that lay behind it (and the contested social practices that were involved in its negotiation) ordered Egypt in a way that suited both international and local interests, and therefore also began to create the conditions for a later (rationally justified) authoritarianism.

Similar to the social sciences,[4] post-1922 antiquities legislation in Egypt

2.   For which cf. J. SCOTT, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven (CT) - London 1998.
3.   E. COLLA, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity,* Durham, NC - London 2007.
4.   For which cf. O. EL SHAKRY, *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt*, Stanford (CA) 2007.

was produced in a context of complex international intellectual exchange and debate. Indeed, following its dialectical institution in the nineteenth century somewhere between European interests in Egypt and the consolidation of the rule of the Mehmed 'Ali dynasty,[5] it is clear that this dialectic continued. There is not space to discuss the entirety of this process here. However, it is reasonable to state that both the foreign archaeologists and Egyptologists who were now looking for ways to secure their presence in politically charged parliamentary Egypt — and also Egyptians themselves — could derive benefit from this situation. To do so, they had to respond appropriately to the top-down assertion of certain (powerfully rationalist) modernising norms by newly appointed Egyptian ministers. Education, both as a practice and as an institution, was vital to this process.

Starting in 1929, the various bodies responsible for the care and administration of the Egyptian past were consolidated under the auspices of the country's Ministry of Education, signalling an official change in the role of antiquities. Modernist, top-down didacticism was the order of the day. For instance, in 1929, the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (or Maslihat al-Athar al-Misriyya), which was responsible for the country's archaeological sites and the Egyptian Museum (al-Mathaf al-Misri) in Cairo, was the first such body to move to the Ministry.[6] Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, then Minister of Education, complained privately that the Department had previously been under the control of the Ministry of Public Works, because such a body « in all other countries is connected to ministries of [public] instruction ».[7] Consolidation under his Ministry therefore signified adherence to certain, apparently universal, governmental norms. It also signified the top-down acceptance of institutions that had often been set up somewhere between foreign and local impetuses; indeed, it was now seen as rational to accept them. Legislative practice within

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5. COLLA, *Conflicted Antiquities*, and D.M. REID, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, Berkeley (CA) - Los Angeles (CA) - London 2002.

6. REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, p. 175.

7. Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya (Egyptian National Archives, Cairo; hereafter DWQ): 0081-019102; al-Sayyid to unknown, 4/3/1929. The Arabic reads: « *fi jamī'a al-buldān al-ukhrā tāba'a li-wizārat al-ma'ārif* ».

nominally independent Egypt thus reified the knowledge historically connected to those institutions and, to some extent, justified the continued presence in Egypt of the foreign practitioners trained within that knowledge under the universal rubric of technical expertise.[8] Indeed, whilst the presence of these foreign practitioners was subject to contestation, it is notable that the conceptual histories of the Egyptian institutions they continued to work for were not. These institutions were now represented as rationally justified; they just had to be moved within the correct Ministry.

For instance, beyond the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, the Arab (now Islamic) Art Museum (Dar al-Athar al-'Arabiyya) became part of the Ministry of Education in 1929, the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe (or Lajnat Hifz al-Athar al-'Arabiyya) followed in 1936,[9] and the Coptic Museum (al-Mathaf al-Qibti) officially became a state institution in 1931.[10] Meanwhile, in the second half of 1941, a different Minister of Education, Muhammad Hussain Haikal, attempted to take this process further. Writing to the Prime Minister, Hussain Sirri, Haikal noted that:

> [T]his multiplicity [of institutions controlling antiquities] does not exist in Western countries, and in France for example there is one department which controls all the antiquities and all the archaeological museums in the country.[11]

Haikal was so impressed by this model that he suggested the foundation of an entirely new Egyptian organisation along these lines. Indeed, to aid the process, he suggested that this organisation should be called « the Department of Antiquities and Antiquity Museums » (« *maṣliḥat al-āthār wa-l-matāḥif al-athariyya* »).

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8. D.M. REID, *Nationalising the Pharaonic Past: Egyptology, Imperialism, and Egyptian Nationalism, 1922-1952*, in I. GERSHONI - J. JANKOWSKI (eds), *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, New York, NY 1997, pp. 127-49. Cf. particularly p. 146.

9. DWQ: 0081-003916 contains information about these moves. Within, a memo from the Minister of Education to the Egyptian Cabinet, dated 27/7/1929, confirms how tied to perceptions of Western administrative rationality these moves were. It expressly states that « different museums in European countries are all under one administration » (« *fa-fī jam'ia al-bilād al-awrūbiyya aslikat al-matāḥif al-mukhtalifa fī idāra wāḥida* »).

10. I. ZAKI (translated by R. JAMES), *History of the Coptic Museum*, no date, online at the Coptic Museum website <http://www.coptic-cairo.com/museum/about/about.html> (accessed 9/5/2013).

11. DWQ: 0081-003917; Haikal to Sirri, unknown date in 1941. The Arabic reads: « *wa lā yūjid mathīl li-hadhā al-ta'addud fī-l-bilād al-gharbiyya, fa-fī faransā mathalan tūjid maṣliḥa wāḥida tandamiju taḥt idāratihā kul al-āthār wa kul al-matāḥif al-athāriyya fī hadhihī al-balad* ».

He suggested that this Department should deal with all periods of Egyptian history, since they were all connected. However, he also recounted the periodisations now formally written into state institutions: « ancient Egyptian antiquities came to us linked to Graeco-Roman antiquities, and also to Coptic and Arab antiquities ».[12]   Ultimately, Haikal's attempt to found a new, rational Department failed.[13]   However, in 1953, Law 22 of January 8th would eventually found what was known simply as the Maslihat al-Athar (or the Department of Antiquities) along the same lines. Apparently universal ideals of rational state control had therefore produced conditions within which a certain model of the Egyptian past, suited to both certain local and international interests, was dominant. However, it was the practice of educating the Egyptian people that really demonstrated this model's potential power.

Curricula promulgated across Egyptian primary (*ibtidā'i*) and secondary (*thānawi*) schools during the period after 1929 emphasised Egypt's ancient past.[14]   Yet it was at university level that the past was perhaps most powerfully used to foster Egyptian subjectivities. When the Egyptian (later Fu'ad, and now Cairo) University was (re-) founded in 1925,[15]   it was as an avowedly secular state institution, dedicated to the formation of a modern Egyptian middle class. Somewhere within this process, any number of new *effendi* students made their way through the institution's Qism al-Athar (the Department, and later Institute, of Antiquities). The new *effendiyya* were a group who — along the lines of state ambitions relating to them — have often been equated to an Egyptian middle class. However, as Ryzova has demonstrated,[16]   it is more helpful to understand them culturally, as a changing group of people whose practices sought upward

12. The Arabic reads: « *hadhihī al-āthār al-miṣriyya taṣilu bi-nā ilā al-āthār al-yūnāniyya wa-l-rūmāniyya, wa hadhihī tantahā ilā al-āthār al-qibṭiyya fa-l-āthār al-'arabiyya* ».

13. Cf. Reid, *Nationalising the Pharaonic Past*, p. 146.

14. B.A. Salmoni, *Historical Consciousness for Modern Citizenship: Egyptian Schooling and the Lessons of History during the Constitutional Monarchy*, in A. Goldschmidt - A.J. Johnson - B.A. Salmoni (eds), *Re-Envisioning Egypt: 1919-1952*, Cairo - New York (ny) 2005, pp. 164-93.

15. D.M. Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*, « Cambridge Middle East Library » 23, Cambridge 1990.

16. L. Ryzova, *Egyptianising Modernity through the 'New Effendiya': Social and Cultural Constructions of the Middle Class in Egypt under the Monarchy*, in Goldschmidt - Johnson - Salmoni (eds), *Re-Envisioning Egypt*, pp. 124-63.

mobility, yet not necessarily into any easily definable class category. They also often contested state policy and its backers (including the lingering British). Therefore, new *effendi* mediation of what they were taught, like their mediation of the wider ways in which the state and others attempted to mobilise them, was vital to the acceptance of Egypt's increasingly consolidated antiquities legislation. The aspects of that legislation that they backed, like the aspects of the state that they supported or contested, was vital to its continued existence, and also to the continued possibility of non-Egyptian archaeological practitioners using their specialised knowledge to work in Egypt.

It is therefore highly meaningful that their response to their (Egyptian and European) lecturers and professors seems to have been mostly positive. As far as it is possible to tell, following the modernising rationality of the Ministry of Education seems to have been a way into steady employment, and top-down concepts were put into practice as part of that process. As, from 1933 onwards, students were taught to categorise the Egyptian past into either (presumably ancient) "Egyptian antiquities" or "Islamic antiquities" (*āthār miṣriyya* or *āthār islāmiyya*),[17]   so the rational, vaguely historicist model put forward by al-Sayyid and Haikal, and echoed by institutions around the world, was put into bureaucratic practice across Egypt. For instance, in 1933, there were four graduates from the Institute of Antiquities. All four ended up working in the public sphere. Iskandar Rizk became an Inspector (a *mufattish*) for the Ministry of Education, as did Mahmud Darwish Mustafa. Meanwhile, Azuz Muhammad al-Mursi became a teacher for the Ministry, whilst Fahmi Muhammad 'Ali became Director of the Division of Culture (*mudīr al-shu'ba al-thaqafiyya*) in the town of Shibin al-Kawm in the Nile Delta.[18]   Indeed, during the first twenty-five years of the University's Department/Institute of Antiquities, the proportion of its graduates entering some sort of public cultural or educational service was overwhelming (cf. table below). The Egyptian state's rationalising message about its past, forever linked to knowledge constructed in a dialectic with

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17. Fu'ad al-Awwal University Faculty of Arts, *Al-Kitab Al-Fiddi Li-Kulliyyat Al-Adab 1925-1950* [*The Silver Anniversary Volume of the Faculty of Arts 1925-1950*], Cairo 1951, p. 4.

18. *Ibidem*, p. 225.

Euro-American institutions, was now delivered across the country as one means to the further creation of a modern populace. It was also a prime source of stable employment. This process would dovetail with the 1950s rise of development work in Egypt so that such modernist paternalism became forever linked with rather more authoritarian practices.

EMPLOYMENT BEYOND GRADUATION	NUMBER OF GRADUATES
Department of Egyptian Antiquities and related	45
Ministry of Education	97
Academia and related	33
Other	37
TOTAL	212

Graduates of the Department / Institute of Antiquities, Faculty of Arts, Egyptian / Fu'ad University, 1925-1950.[19]

The Planned Past: Expertise and Egypt

After the Free Officers' coup of July 1952, modernisation and development projects became ever more visible in Egypt. Whilst modernisation work had clearly been on the Egyptian radar beforehand, the coup coincided with the early Cold War and attempts by both the United States and the Soviet Union to garner influence across what would later become the non-aligned world. Development projects were often the result, and Egypt was no exception to this rule.[20] Notably, however, neither were the country's archaeological sites. During the 1950s, development work slowly became the prime way in which the Egyptians

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19. *Ibidem*.
20. For this history, cf. *e.g.* J.B. ALTERMAN, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, Basingstoke - New York (NY) 2002, or D. EKBLADH, *The Great American Mission: Modernisation and the Construction of an American World Order*, Princeton (NJ) - Oxford 2010.

who now occupied the upper echelons of the Department of Antiquities could consolidate their position within the state. It was also the most effective way for foreign archaeologists and Egyptologists to continue working in Egypt. The rationality of these individuals confirmed by the modernist conceptual orientation of the antiquities institutions slowly consolidated since the 1920s, their archaeological and Egyptological *khibra* (expertise) was now of great potential value.

The final result of this process was the initiation of the UNESCO campaign in Nubia in 1959, presaged by the 1954 institution of the Markaz al-Tasjil al-Athar al-Misriyya (the Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte), set up under the auspices of the United Nations' Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.[21]   The UNESCO campaign was part of a fundamentally high modernist project: it (alongside the construction of the Aswan High Dam) used the power of the increasingly centralised Egyptian state, alongside the modernising discourse of development work, to flood (and therefore shape) an entire region. Indeed, it forced a mass migration whose results are still felt today.[22]   Authoritarian in result, the work in Nubia demonstrated how archaeological work tied to the ideals of development could increasingly be made a part of such highly planned practices. However, why had this situation come about? Why did an (often altruistic) desire on the behalf of archaeologists and Egyptologists to aid what they viewed as the positive modernisation of Egypt result in such socially destructive work?

It is clear that the conjunction of archaeological practice and development discourse produced the conditions within which such authoritarian projects could take place. The example of the collaborative work of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Egyptian Department of Antiquities at the site of Mit Rahina, which was negotiated, took place, and terminated during the period from 1953 to 1957, is instructive here.[23]   The

21. For which history cf. C. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, *La Grande Nubiade ou le Parcours d'une Égyptologue*, Paris 1992.

22. For the migration, cf. N. HOPKINS - S. MEHANNA (eds), *Nubian Encounters: the Story of the Nubian Ethnological Survey1961-1964*, Cairo - New York (NY) 2011; see also Zabrana (this volume).

23. For the excavation reports, cf. R. ANTHES (with contributions by H.S.K. BAKRY - J. DIMICK -

excavation suggested the possibility that archaeological practices could shape land and bodies in the ways desired by those now in charge of Egypt, themselves often the product of new *effendi* interaction with earlier processes of modernisation.[24] This modernist process of production was often also wellmeaning, its proponents believing that they were constructing a new and better Egypt. However, its shaping practices also fit well with later, more authoritarian projects such as the one that took place in Nubia. The vested interests that the excavations aided also presumably did nothing to halt the movement towards this direction.

The Mit Rahina excavations were self-consciously modelled on the development projects taking place in Egypt at the time, to the intended benefit of both the University Museum and representatives of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. Most obviously, they were semantically modelled after a land reclamation project called the Egyptian American Rural Improvement Service (EARIS) that was run by Point Four, the United States' technical assistance programme initiated by Truman in 1949.[25] Indeed, not particularly originally, the Mit Rahina excavations were formally known as the "Egyptian-American archaeological research programme".[26] More pertinently, however, the excavations also tallied with the manner in which such development programmes filtered into the Egypt of the time. Indeed, Egypt had set up its own, much more extensive, counterpart of the Egyptian American Rural Improvement Service. Tahrir (or Liberation) Province aimed to reclaim vast tracts of desert land and build the model, socialist population that would live and work on it.[27] It represented a competing vision of land reclamation and community development to the American project, which instead sought to create citizens attuned to the

H.G. FISCHER - L. HABACHI - J. JACQUET), *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia (PA) 1959, and R. ANTHES (with contributions by I. ABDEL AZIZ - H.S.K. BAKRY - H.G. FISCHER - L. HABACHI - J. JACQUET - W.K. SIMPSON - J. YOYOTTE), *Mit Rahineh 1956*, Philadelphia (PA) 1965.

24. RYZOVA, *Egyptianising Modernity*.

25. For EARIS, cf. ALTERMAN, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 28.

26. Archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA (hereafter UMA): Rudolf Anthes Memphis (Mit Rahineh) expedition records; Correspondence; Rainey to Ghurbal, 21/4/1953.

27. EL SHAKRY, *The Great Social Laboratory*, p. 212.

model of liberal capitalism. In essence, then, competing visions of post-War modernity were operative simultaneously, and archaeological practice proved malleable to the situation.

Rudolf Anthes, the German Egyptologist in charge of the work for the University Museum, thought that he would be spending his time at Mit Rahina training Egyptians for their own good. Indeed, he wrote a letter in April 1954 stating that « the Egyptians[,] if they are going to be efficient [archaeologists] in the future . . . can't do that without adapting themselves to the methods of European researchers ».[28]   The pay-off (or so the Museum Director, Froelich Rainey, hoped) was to be the return of artefacts excavated at the site to Philadelphia.[29]   Meanwhile, Egyptian officials from the Department of Antiquities bargained with Anthes to achieve their own ends. After meeting with Mustafa 'Amir, the new Director of the Department, to discuss which of a number of possible sites to excavate, Anthes noted of Mit Rahina that the « site anyhow must be done since the area is claimed by the peasants ».[30]   Official status would accrue if the state policy of re-modelling its poorest citizens and their land was to progress. Unsurprisingly, Mit Rahina was selected for archaeological intervention, and that policy (and certain officials) did progress.

Indeed, it is worth noting that this process would involve intervention in its most material sense. Occurring at a time when archaeologists were developing an increasing awareness of the importance of the shaping of the earth itself for their work,[31]   it is notable that Anthes stated that

> we learned by our own experience the fact which is elementary outside of Egypt, that only a coordinated system of horizontal and vertical cuts [in the ground] is adequate for the understanding of a site which has accumulated under changing living conditions …[32]

Excavation was work that could quite literally shape the revolutionary Egyptian

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28. UMA: Rudolf Anthes Memphis (Mit Rahineh) expedition records; Field Notes; Anthes' diary, 1954, entry for 12/4/1954.
29. *Supra* note 26.
30. *Supra* note 28, entry for 11/4/1954.
31. Cf. *e.g.* M. WHEELER, *Archaeology from the Earth*, Oxford 1954.
32. ANTHES, *Mit Rahineh 1956*, p. 2.

state being constructed under the Free Officers. There is not space here to illus-trate how this possibility was made manifest after the work at Mit Rahina was terminated. However, the sense of possibility present in archaeological work to produce the sort of vast geographical and populational re-shaping visible in Nubia is clear, and should provide food for thought. Neither members of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities nor foreign archaeologists or Egyptologists would offer much opposition to the continuation of this process, sharing both a modernising outlook that had germinated since the 1920s and a vested interest in continuing this style of work in Egypt. However, what price development?

Conclusion: Towards a More Inclusive Future?

This paper has presented a somewhat pessimistic viewpoint. During a period starting after 1922, legislative practices related to the administration and insti-tutionalisation of Egypt's (ancient) past ultimately led to increased state control over the Egyptian people. Contestations of this control also certainly occurred. However, an authoritarian, high modernist strain to proceedings was becoming increasingly visible by 1959. This authoritarianism has arguably persisted to the present day.[33]   Indeed, witness only the protests surrounding the eventual departure of Zahi Hawass from office after the events of January 2011: here was a government official, emblematic of the top-down, centralising, and all powerful apparatus of an authoritarian state.[34]   Yet conversely, many from outside Egypt trumpeted their collaboration with the Supreme Council of Antiquities as it existed under Hawass' control. Doing so, they used the same development-style rhetoric that had first been operative in the 1950s.[35]   Here was a continued way

33.   M. ELSHAHED, *The Case Against the Grand Egyptian Museum*, 2011, online at « Jadaliyya », <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2152/the-case-against-the-grand-egyptian-museum> (accessed 9/5/2013).

34.   Cf. *e.g.* J. SHENKER, *Egypt's Man from the Past Who Insists He Has a Future*, published online by « The Guardian » 19/5/2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/19/the-new-egypt-100-days-on> (accessed 9/5/2013).

35.   Cf. *e.g.* the comments in ANON., *A Harvard Egyptologist on Repatriation and the Future of Egyptian Archaeology*, online at Harvard University, <http://www.extension.harvard.edu/hub/blog/extension-blog/harvard-egyptologist-repatriation-future-egyptian-archaeology> (accessed 9/5/2013).

of making Egypt appropriately modern. However, what social damage did that collaboration conceal?

It is not the place of this paper to answer that question, although clearly the consolidation of authoritarian power structures did not benefit anyone in Egypt apart from those at the very top of them. Indeed, at the time of writing, the country is still undergoing the fall-out that eventual revolt against the existence of those structures caused. In this context, and narrowing the conversation to the small world of archaeology and Egyptology, one can only hope that a more inclusive future will be the result. It would be ludicrous for anyone from outside Egypt to try to impose ways that such inclusivity might take form; at this point in time, it is no one's place to do so. However, if archaeological and Egyptological practitioners from outside Egypt are to have a continued role in the country's past (and this situation does currently seem to be the case), they might do well to examine the assumptions that guide what it is that they do. Given their apparently vexed history, do current development-style and training projects actually serve the people they purport to help? This question is difficult. However, if future (archaeological or Egyptological) policy is to be considered, now is the time to answer it.

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Forming and performing material Egypt: archaeological knowledge production and presentation

Paolo Del Vesco

Egyptology, as a Western cultural product of the 19th century, has been shaped through an intense archaeological exploration of Egypt and an impressive flow of artefacts towards hundreds of collections around the world. Flinders Petrie played a central role not only in the development and professionalization of the discipline but also in its representation to the general public through the presentation of his excavations and of the relative finds. It has been argued that the artefacts retrieved in an excavation are at the same time the product of the culture that originally created them, as well as the product of the excavator who restores, inscribes, classifies and stores them. The double or multi-sided nature of material culture invites us to devote more attention to the operational chain of the excavation and to the processes of knowledge production and presentation as were established within Egyptian archaeology in its formative phase. All these elements heavily contributed to shape the discipline as we know it today. It is argued that the materiality of ancient Egypt has progressively obliterated the humanity populating the archaeological landscapes, and that the only possible way to exit this trend would be an increasing involvement of the local communities and of Egyptian society as a whole in the processes of archaeological knowledge production and presentation.

Forming a material Orient

Colonial control typically produced unequal relationships based on attitudes of domination and/or exploitation. According to Said, it expressed itself as « oppression of peasants » or as « manipulation or management of native societies for imperial purposes ».[1]   The development of archaeology and anthropology has often intersected with the histories of imperialism and colonialism. Scholars have contextualised the recovery of the ancient civilizations of Assyria and Mesopotamia, in particular, as coinciding, from the mid-19th century, with the process of « colonial appropriation of the Ottoman Empire ».[2]   Archaeological campaigns and ethnographical missions were often used to facilitate the political control and economic exploitation of the territory, just as the gradual European intrusion was presented as a moral imperative under the "civilizing

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1.   E. Said, *Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors*, in «Critical Inquiry» 15/2 (1989), p. 207.
2.   M. Liverani, *Imperialism*, in S. Pollock - R. Bernbeck (eds), *Archaeologies of the Middle East. Critical Perspectives*, Oxford 2005, p. 223.

mission" label. The supposed primitive and static cast of native cultures was seen as sufficient justification to assert colonial control. The stereotype of the "ignorant native" who does not manifest any care or interest for historical monuments and artefacts is almost obsessively repeated in the letters, accounts, travelogues and reports from Western "explorers", and adduced to endorse the right of the foreigners to the removal of cultural artefacts.

Moreover, the ancient civilizations of the Middle East were considered "roots" of Western culture and religion, and this was seen to justify fully the appropriation of their heritage. For over two centuries these regions have been thoroughly quarried in search of both antiquities, now enriching major Western collections, and "historical antecedents",[3] and have themselves remained disciplinarily excluded from the recovery of their own past.[4] This impressive endeavour of cultural appropriation resolved, around the mid-19th century, in an international "scramble" between France, Britain, Germany and the Ottoman Empire.[5] Even when governments, mainly for economic reasons, were reluctant to engage in such "cultural" enterprises, and prioritised instead different kinds of colonial interventions deemed to produce faster benefits, the battle for the antiquities was carried out on the field. The archaeologists-adventurers, seeking logistical and economic support and struggling to drag their respective countries into the contest, had sometimes to appeal to religious fervour or national pride. In a letter dated 21 April 1846 addressed to the British ambassador Stratford Canning, Austen Henry Layard, the famous explorer of many sites in what is now Iraq, wrote:

> The history of this remarkable country is a blank in the history of the world, and yet its connection with that of the Jews, the continued mention of the Assyrian Kings in the inspired writings, and the prominent part they played in the remotest periods, render it of the highest interest [...] When a second opportunity occurs

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3. C. STEELE, *Who Has Not Eaten Cherries with the Devil? Archaeology under Challenge*, in POLLOCK - BERNBECK (eds), *Archaeologies of the Middle East*, p. 44.
4. Z. BAHRANI, *Conjuring Mesopotamia. Imaginative geography and a world past*, in L. MESKELL (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire. Nationalism, politics and heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, London 1998, pp. 159-74.
5. Z. BAHRANI - Z. CELIK - E. ELDEM (eds), *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, Istanbul 2011.

[*after the French discovery of Khorsabad*], such as that furnished by Nimroud, it would indeed be a matter of deep regret if the English Government declined to undertake a work which would place additional materials in the hands of the learned of Europe.[6]

A new ambassador could even be openly hostile to the archaeological expeditions sponsored by his own country. This seems the case of Sir Henry George Elliot, British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. According to the account by Assyrian archaeologist Hormuzd Rassam *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, in 1877 the ambassador « treated the mission with indifference, and allowed this public duty to be conducted as if the trustees of the British Museum were traders seeking to enrich themselves by plundering the poor Turk ».[7] More often, however, officials and diplomats offered all possible support to the archaeological expeditions and were directly involved in the development of national collections of antiquities, in direct competition with the other European countries.[8]

In Egypt, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this "scramble for the past" staged the rivalry and the strategic alliance between two principal actors: England, after the 1882 military occupation the nation in charge of the government of the country, and France, since earlier that century holder of a virtual monopoly on a range of cultural matters.[9] The delicate balance between the two powers often required extensive diplomatic negotiations: the Director of the Antiquities Service, which remained a prerogative of the French scholars, deciding the destiny of the contest,[10] as he was in charge of the issue

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6. As quoted in S. MALLEY, *The Layard Enterprise: Victorian Archaeology and Informal Imperialism*, in BAHRANI - CELIK - ELDEM (eds), *Scramble for the Past*, p. 109, except insert in square brackets, added by the author.

7. H. RASSAM, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, Cincinnati 1897, p. 56.

8. H. HOOCK, *The British State and the Anglo-French Wars over Antiquities, 1798-1858*, in « The Historical Journal » 50 / 1 (2007), pp. 49-72; M. JASANOFF, *La Compagnia delle Indie. La prima multinazionale*, Milano 2012 (orig. title: *Edge of Empire, conquest and collecting in the east 1750-1850*, London 2005), pp. 229-59; L. PATRIZIO GUNNING, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, Farnham 2009.

9. D.M. REID, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, Cairo 2002, pp. 172-90.

10. É. GADY, *Égyptologues français et britanniques en Égypte dans la première moitié du XXᵉ siècle: une « Entent cordiale »?*, dans D. COOPER-RICHET - M. RAPPAPORT (éds), *L'Entente cordiale. Cent ans de relations culturelles franco-britanniques (1904-2004)*, Paris 2006, pp. 51-65.

of the excavation permits as well as the critical division of finds at the end of every season. On many occasions, British archaeologists lamented the weakness of their government officials in Cairo in promoting more favourable conditions. Flinders Petrie opened his inaugural lecture as newly appointed professor of Egyptian archaeology at University College London in January 1893 with a strong reproach to his own country:

> Germany, France and Italy have been far better provided than ourselves, owing largely to the wide-minded views of their governments, which have sent expeditions of research and published grand works. England, on the contrary, has occupied Egypt for ten years, without the smallest recognition by the government of its historical importance; and even private enterprise has been hindered rather than helped by English diplomacy.[11]

A few years before Petrie's lecture, pressure was placed on the French directorship to appoint British inspectors of antiquities, responsible for the care of archaeological sites and excavations in different regions of Egypt. However, great difficulties were encountered at the highest level. In 1890, the British Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring wrote:

> I have instructions, issued at my own suggestion, which enable me to move in the matter, but I must choose my own time and manner of moving. Just at present [...] the moment is not opportune [...] I cannot risk raising a serious diplomatic incident over this matter, interesting and important though it be. [...] I think I can eventually insure the appointment of a European Inspector. There is not the least chance of his being a Frenchman, but I cannot yet say positively that he will be an Englishman.[12]

At the end of the same year, the well-known and rather controversial agent of the British Museum, Wallis Budge, decided to act independently in order to evade the French Director's control, but his manoeuvre caused great embarrassment and almost resulted in a diplomatic incident:

> It will require a good deal of careful steering to prevent a small, but at the same

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11. Introductory Lecture of 14th January 1893, from R.M. JANSSEN, *The First Hundred Years. Egyptology at University College London 1892-1992*, London 1992, p. 98.
12. Letter of Evelyn Baring to General Brackenbury, Cairo 4th April 1890, FO 633/5, n. 417, *The National Archives*.

time disagreeable row with the French. I particularly want, if I can, to prevent it becoming an Anglo-French question, but I am a good deal hampered by the foolish violence and nonsenses of a small section of Egyptologists in England. [. . .] Many of the people concerned are bursting to indulge in mutual recriminations and under these circumstances it will be very awkward if just at this moment it comes out that the British Museum is endeavouring to smuggle objects of art out of Egypt. I dare say others have done the same, both private individuals and, may be, the Louvre. Indeed, the main reason why the monuments get mutilated is because people (notably some of those who have recently been writing to the newspapers) offer absurd prices for them. But the fact that others have done it is a very poor answer for me to give.[13]

A sort of digging fever, coupled by the collecting compulsion arisen in the archaeologists' home countries, spread wide during the 19th century.

Other nations later entered the competition for the appropriation of Egypt's past and for some time, in the early 20th century, the American scholars took the lead in Egyptological studies.[14]   In 1919 James Henry Breasted, of the newly established Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, very proudly stated:

> It is very gratifying to find that far and away the best work done in Egypt is being done by three American expeditions here, Reisner, Lythgoe and Fisher, that is Boston (Harvard), New York and Philadelphia.[15]

In 1953, as the British Empire was imploding, Mortimer Wheeler, speaking at the Royal Archaeological Institute, revived the "scramble" phantom, interestingly avoiding any reference to the modern names of the explored countries or to the modern inhabitants of those regions, exactly as during the 19th century appropriation of Mesopotamia:

> Looking back over the past century or more, we may truthfully affirm that, with one

13.   Letter of Evelyn Baring to Sir Philip Currie, Cairo 9th November 1890, FO 633/5, n. 453, *The National Archives*. Wallis Budge had apparently asked an agent working for the tourist company Thomas Cook and Sons to transport by boat several boxes of antiquities from Asyut directly to Alexandria, thus avoiding the control of the museum director in Cairo. On this episode cf. now also M. ISMAIL, *Wallis Budge. Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo*, Kilkerran 2011, pp. 204-5, 212.

14.   On American Egyptology cf. J. A. WILSON, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh: A History of American Egyptology*, Chicago 1964, and REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*, pp. 198-201.

15.   J. LARSON, *Letters from James Henry Breasted to his family. August 1919 – July 1920*, « OIDA » 1, Chicago 2010, p. 107.

or two exceptions, all the major archaeological discoveries have been substantially British. To our independent effort the cuneiform script surrendered, even though we admit an able foreign competitor. *We* tracked the minotaur to his Cretan layer. To the tale of the world's civilizations *we* added the Indus Valley. Elsewhere, again and again *we* have been *inter primos*, notably in the land of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and again in that of the Hittites.[16]

The process of cultural appropriation did not entail only the physical removal of the antiquities and the building of tangible representations of a material Orient, it also expressed itself as a tight control over the narratives and the knowledge production processes [17] and an almost complete excision of any competing or alternative discourse.

Commodified Artefacts

At the beginning of the systematic and more scientific archaeological exploration of Egypt stands the convergence of the foundation of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the hiring of Flinders Petrie as the archaeologist of the organization, and the British military occupation of the country. The law in force in Egypt at this time, since the Ordinance of Mohammed Ali of 1835, validated by further regulations and decrees in 1869, 1874, 1880, 1891 and 1897, included a complete ban on the exportation of antiquities.[18] Unfortunately, this law had never been able to cope effectively with the ponderous flux of *antikas* sold by official or improvised dealers to tourists or rich collectors. A few grotesque accounts of how the controls of the police were escaped give an idea of the diffusion of the phenomenon. Marianne Brocklehurst, a travel acquaintance of the novelist, and future founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), Amelia Edwards, wrote in a private appendix to her diary a memorandum entitled *How we got our mummy*.

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16. M. WHEELER, *Adventure and Flinders Petrie*, in « Antiquity » vol. 27 nr. 106 (1953), p. 89.

17. BAHRANI, *Untold Tales*, in BAHRANI - CELIK - ELDEM (eds), *Scramble for the Past*, p. 149.

18. On the juridical regime cf. A. KHATER, *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte*, Cairo 1960, pp. 38, 272, and H.G. LYONS, *The Law Relating to Antiquities in Egypt*, in « JEA » 1 (1914), pp. 45-46. On the protection of antiquities cf. also P. PIACENTINI, *The Preservation of Antiquities. Creation of Museums in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century*, in EAD. (ed.), *Egypt and the Pharaohs: From conservation to enjoyment. Egypt in the archives and libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 2012, pp. 5-29.

The excitement for the forbidden activity was one of the main element of the adventurous experience:

> we liked the idea of smuggling on a large scale under the nose of the Pasha's guards who, as excavations were going on nearby, were pretty thick on the ground and on the alert.[19]

In the original plan of Amelia Edwards the aim of the EEF was to support research, exploration and excavation of sites in the Delta which were supposedly concealing « the documents of a lost period of Biblical history ». The main objective was to cast light on a series of problematic aspects of that history and, in full respect of the antiquity law, did not entail the exportation of any find. However, the lure of material Egypt was too strong to be ignored. Samuel Birch, well-known Egyptologist and keeper of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, refused to subscribe to the foundation document of the EEF perhaps, among other reasons, because no acquisitions of antiquities were envisaged at the beginning.[20]   It was the sole responsibility of the French Director of Antiquities Gaston Maspero, but within the framework of the British occupation of the country, if eventually the rules were changed: foreign missions were allowed to excavate in Egypt and the principle of the division of finds between the Antiquities Service and the excavator was consequently established as a praxis.

Side by side with the beginning of a more "scientific" exploration of the country and the creation of a new material category, the "archaeological artefact",[21]   a new phase in the formation and representation of material Egypt was ushered in. Excavated finds became commodities exploited at both ends of their trajectory. In England they constituted the base of the funding system of the excavations and in Egypt they were used to bolster the low income of the Antiquity Service. In 1886 Maspero wrote in a letter to his wife that he was about to sell antiquities to the Italian collector Luigi Palma di Cesnola in order

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19. Quoted in H. FORREST, *Manufacturers, Mummies and Manchester. Two hundred years of interest in and study of Egyptology in the Greater Manchester area*, Oxford 2011, p. 6.

20. M. DROWER, *The Early Years*, in T.G.H. JAMES (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt. The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982,* London 1982, p. 14.

21. A. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of Excavation: the British collection and distribution of Egyptian finds to museums, 1880–1915*, in « Journal of the History of Collections » 26 / 1 (2014), pp. 89-102.

to cover the expenses of building works: « En attendant le travail marche sur le fonds du Musée, et j'espère qu'avec dix mille francs il sera terminé dans deux ou trois mois. [...] La commande de momies que Cesnola m'a faite couvrira heureusement une partie des frais ».[22] And then again a month later: « J'ai obtenu aussi l'autorisation de vendre pour environ 30 000 francs d'antiquités à Cesnola ».[23] These antiquities would become the core Egyptian collection of the newly opened Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

The system of the distribution of finds in exchange for sponsorships grew so deep-rooted that, in a private letter to his family, James Henry Breasted commented about Petrie in 1919 that: « He has become a mere digger after museum pieces and stuff to satisfy his subscribers ».[24] The "symbiotic relation-ships" between excavator and collector / sponsor[25] dominated the public scene of Egyptian archaeology before, and shortly after, the First World War. They presided at the consolidation of Egyptology as a discipline, at the formation of numerous new collections and at the appreciation of the value of context and provenance data attached to the objects. In 1926 a brief note in a newspaper announced:

> Excavating in Egypt. Unsatisfactory conditions.
> Cairo, Wednesday
>
> Mr Flinders Petrie is abandoning his excavations in Egypt, in favour of a site of the earliest civilisation, in Southern Palestine. He says the Egyptian Government is taking everything but is not paying the cost of excavation which terms are impossible, whereas every assistance is being given to archaeologists in Palestine.[26]

Without division of finds, the costs of Petrie's archaeological activity in Egypt were simply no longer covered. He subsequently moved to Palestine to start a new phase of explorations there.

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22. É. DAVID (éd.), *Gaston Maspero. Lettres d'Égypte. Correspondance avec Louise Maspero (1883-1914)*, Paris 2003, pp. 176-77.
23. *Ibidem*, p. 216.
24. LARSON, *Letters from James Henry Breasted*, p. 107.
25. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of Excavation*, p. 94.
26. « Recorder », Friday 9 July 1926.

Methods and aims

The formation of an Egyptian archaeology and of the great part of today's collections has been based on the attitude towards the materials retrieved by the excavations in Egypt. The tireless archaeological activity of Flinders Petrie in the country between 1880 and 1926 certainly contributed to this formation in a substantial way.

It is clear today that very little in the practice of archaeology is expression of a scientifically objective and detached approach. The archaeological fieldwork, as any other human experience, is mostly the product of the historical and social contexts in which the archaeologist lives. It is « a culturally specific approach to understanding and interpreting the past ».[27] Even the material culture of a civilization is not as objective as it may seem: it is actually formed, re-shaped and re-signified by the archaeologist through the same activity of excavating it, writing about it or displaying it.

> As archaeologists and anthropologists we are arch-appropriators of material cultures. The objects we collect from ethnographic contexts, the artefacts we find in the earth, are no longer a part of the material culture to which they belonged. […] they become part of our material culture, our systems of cultural significance. Their functions, affordances, associations, symbolic meanings […] are re-configured accordingly.[28]

From this perspective, I argue, an analysis of Petrie's approach to fieldwork might then help to illuminate not only the development of archaeology in Egypt as a professional practice and an authoritative discipline, but even the conceptual formation of a material Egypt, as it is often still perceived today.

Apart from the published works, archival sources are extremely useful in evaluating Petrie's archaeological practice. The pocket diaries [29] in particular

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27. R. THORPE, *Often Fun, Usually Messy: Fieldwork, Recording and Higher Orders of Things*, in H. COBB - O.J. T. HARRIS - C. JONES - P. RICHARDSON (eds), *Reconsidering Archaeological Fieldwork. Exploring On-Site Relationships Between Theory and Practice*, New York 2012, p. 33.
28. M. EDGEWORTH, *Double-artefacts: exploring the other side of material culture*, in V. OLIVEIRA JORGE - J. THOMAS (eds), *Overcoming the Modern Invention of Material Culture*, « Special issue of Journal of Iberian Archaeology » 9 / 10 (2007), p. 92.
29. Not to be confused with the notebooks which contain the proper archaeological records. On the pocket-diaries cf. now P. DEL VESCO, *Day after day with Flinders Petrie. Pocket diaries from the archive of the*

let us follow all the daily activities of the archaeologist on fieldwork in Egypt or in London as they unroll during every year. All the phases of the fieldwork are recorded, from the initial recognition of a site, to the opening of trenches or the number and positioning of the workers in different areas of a site, and sometimes, also the volume of earth removed. From the entries it is also possible to quantify with precision the time employed in surveying a site or a temple structure and the days spent in writing an excavation report. It is evident from the pocket diaries that Petrie had a very pragmatic approach to the work, and the whole process of retrieval and recording of the archaeological evidence was constantly adapted to the context and the contingency. This is also reflected in his 1904 "manual", *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, which, more than being a statement of principles and methods, is a presentation of cases from his empirical experience.[30]   From the pocket diaries it is also clear that the excavation was more a sampling activity, closer to the concept of test trenching, than a thorough and systematic investigation of the site: the work was typically started in the most "promising" spots and then moved accordingly when the results were not satisfying or the continuation of the excavation was impossible. This corresponds very well with the overall approach of Petrie to the archaeological evidence and his propensity for a "selective record", as opposed to the "total record", the collection and documentation of the entire material culture of a site, wished for by Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers.[31]   Petrie presents the selective approach as a necessity:

> In recording, the first difficulty is to know what to record. To state every fact about everything found would be useless, as no one could wade through the mass of statements. [...] It is absolutely necessary to know how much is already known before setting about recording more.[32]

Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, in M. BETRÒ - G. MINIACI (eds), *Talking along the Nile. Ippolito Rosellini, travellers and scholars of the 19th century in Egypt*, Pisa 2013, pp. 83-92.

30. W.M.F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, London 1904. Cf. also ID., *Excavating in Egypt. A Lecture delivered at the Royal Artillery Institution, Thursday, 29th March, 1900*, Woolwich 1900, pp. 15-16.

31. G. LUCAS, *Understanding the Archaeological Record*, Cambridge 2012, p. 47; M. CARVER, *Digging for Ideas*, in « Antiquity » vol. 63 nr. 241 (1989), pp. 666-74; ID., *Digging for Data: Archaeological Approaches to Data Definition, Acquisition and Analysis*, in R. FRANCOVICH - D. MANACORDA (a cura di), *Lo scavo archeologico. Dalla diagnosi all'edizione*, Firenze 1990, pp. 45-120.

32. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*, p. 49.

Petrie's attitude towards excavating and recording archaeological evidence is stressed even more in the central role which the notion of *corpus* [33] plays within his concept of "systematic archaeology". A complete collection of material types arranged in a chronological sequence is all archaeology needs.

All his archaeological work seems actually to resolve in a sampling activity finalized to the collection of representative groups of objects, filling the gaps in his knowledge of the material past. The collectors or museum curators financing Petrie's activity shared this vision; their main concern was to fill the gaps in their collections and to complete their typological series. The correspondence with the museums, regarding the distribution of finds at the end of each season, kept in the archive of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London, shows that the curators were addressing Petrie with specific requests and wish lists of materials. Two excerpts from the letters written by Adolf Erman (Berlin Museum, Germany) and Thomas Midgley (Chadwick Museum, Bolton, UK), give a clear example of the curators' concerns:

> […] Steindorff showed us some pots with <u>wavy handles</u>, that are not represented in our lot. I do not know, if you have plenty of them; but if there are still some of them at your disposition, I should be very glad, to have one of the wavy handles in the collection.[34]

> […] You have certainly made a selection for us closely following my list of desiderata, but I suppose you had not one of the Predynastic pots decorated with small spots to spare. We have most of the other types of this period but not this.[35]

The centrality of the artefact in Petrie's archaeology is even more evident if we compare his "manual" with the "method" [36] published a few years earlier by the Italian archaeologist Giacomo Boni.[37] The latter stresses the importance

33. *Ibidem*, pp. 122-26.
34. Letter of A. Erman to W.M.F. Petrie, Berlin 19th November 1895, *Petrie Museum Archive CD-Rom, Distribution Lists, 1895, scans 3-4.*
35. Letter of T. Midgley to W.M.F. Petrie, Bolton 24th August 1923, *Petrie Museum Archive CD-Rom, Distribution Lists, 1923, scan 51.*
36. G. BONI, *Il « metodo » negli scavi archeologici*, in « Nuova Antologia » 94 (1901), pp. 312-22.
37. On this archaeologist and his innovative methodology cf. M. BARBANERA, *L'archeologia degli italiani*, Roma 1998, pp. 82-86*,* and È. GRAN-AYMERICH, *Dictionnaire biographique d'archéologie 1798-1945*, Paris 2001, pp. 89-90, with bibliography.

of establishing precise rules to define the stratigraphic relationships between the monuments:

> Se in tutte le ricerche scientifiche è necessario procedere con un metodo ben determinato, lo è molto di più in questi scavi, sia per la diversa natura dei monumenti da investigare e la confusa tradizione dei più antichi fra essi, sia per la molteplicità e la compenetrazione degli strati.[38]

Boni continues detailing how to cut and document vertical sections, clean and follow strata and use the stratigraphic sequence of the layers to date their content; he shows as well a great attention to the geological and botanical aspects of the deposits, to the building techniques and to the manufacturing of different materials. Petrie, on the other hand, concentrates on the retrieval of the artefacts, on how to save them from « the ignorance, the carelessness, and the dishonesty »[39] of the workers, on the construction of a typological sequence, on the packing of the finds or on their storage and display in the museum. Although in his 1931 autobiography, Petrie states: « I was already in archaeology by nature »,[40] his early archaeological experiences were actually more connected to antiquarianism (numismatic collection) and topography (survey of stone monuments), and these two aspects will inform all his future activity. In fact, as he himself later put it in the "manual": « The two objects of excavation are (I) to obtain plans and topographical information, and (II) to obtain portable antiquities ».

This obsession for the objects is clearly connected on one side to the still dominant interest of this epoch for evolutionary classifications and typological sequences[41] and on the other with the system of sponsoring-through-finds described above which was the only way to guarantee the continuation of excavations.[42] No wonder then, that the same central place was given to the artefacts also in the publication of the results (in archaeological reports or

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38. BONI, *Il « metodo »*, p. 312.
39. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*, p. 33.
40. ID., *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London 1931, p. 8.
41. G. LUCAS, *Fieldwork and collecting*, in D. HICKS - M. BEAUDRY (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford 2010, pp. 229-45.
42. The same was also true for the EEF, cf. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of Excavation*, pp. 6-7.

memoirs), in the newspapers or in the annual exhibitions of finds organized by Petrie in London after every excavation season.

Presenting Material Egypt

Petrie was very good at publicising the results of the excavations or the opening of the exhibitions he was organizing every year in London. Raising the interest of the general public increased the chances to find new sponsors and collect funds for the researches or the publications. Petrie was perfectly aware that without sponsorships he would have to stop excavating. At the end of a very satisfying collaboration and friendship he had with two of his main sponsors, Martyn Kennard and Jesse Haworth, he heartily thanked them in the introduction to one of his reports, acknowledging that without them not one of the great results and discoveries of the previous nine years would have been possible.[43] At the beginning of Petrie's work in Egypt, Amelia Edwards and Cecil Smith were reporting the results, on his behalf, from the pages of the newspapers, usually using the "journals" (bulletin-letters on the fieldwork results) that Petrie was sending home. After a short time though, he took also this publicising activity into his hands and contributed regularly to « The Times », « The Academy » or « The Illustrated London News », sometimes also advertising there his exhibitions of Egyptian antiquities.

During the 19th century the central event of the gatherings of the archaeological societies was represented not by the delivery of the speeches, but by the organized visits to the sites, as these trips paralleled the experimental demonstrations performed at the meetings of the scientific organizations.[44] The equivalent of the field trips, for the Egyptian archaeology, was the exhibition of the excavation finds, where the antiquities played the role of the evidence supporting the statements and the historical reconstruction published in the newspapers or in the small catalogues accompanying the displays. Great care was

43. W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes. 1896*, London 1897, p. 2.
44. Lucas, *Understanding the Archaeological Record*, p. 247.

put into the preparation of the exhibitions, and from the pages of the pocket diaries we realize the great amount of time spent every year unpacking, sorting, mending and arranging the objects. Small catalogues were usually published and then sold for 6 pence to the visitors. These catalogues did not only offer a brief report on the work season and a description of the collection. On them the sponsors could also annotate their wish-lists for consideration during the phase of allotment of the finds after the closing of the exhibition. Besides, Petrie used them to advertise the coming excavation season and the potential to obtain new valuable objects: « the work will be continued with a larger staff next year on ground which is quite as promising as that already worked »;[45]   or other initiatives: « The Journal of the British School has been started since last exhibition, beginning this year. It contains articles of general interest and a large amount of illustrations. The subscription to "Ancient Egypt" is 7s. yearly for four quarterly parts sent post free ».[46]

Petrie was also very careful in considering the taste of the public and evaluating possible economic losses: « The produce from Meydum was not of sufficient public interest to warrant having rooms in London. Each of the town exhibitions cost me sixty to eighty pounds for rent and door-keeping, and I had to recoup that by shilling entrances — if I could do so ».[47]   In 1898 he felt the need to justify to the public the reduced quantity and quality of the objects exhibited. In the catalogue he wrote:

> Unhappily, the present exhibition is more disproportionate to the actual discoveries than is usually the case. the exactions for the Ghizeh Museum have been more severe than ever before, exceeding even the half legally claimable. It must always be remembered that all of the finest and most valuable objects are claimed by the Egyptian Government for nothing, beside imposing taxes for overseers, sealing, customs, &c.; hence the real return of the discoveries is far more important and

45. W.M.F. PETRIE, *The Treasure of Lahun, and Antiquities from Harageh, 1914. Exhibited at University College, Gower St., London, W.C., June 22nd to July 18th. Hours, 10-5. And Evenings at 30th and 10th, 7.30 to 9 p.m.*, London 1914, p. 16.
46. *Ibidem*, inside cover.
47. PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, p. 132, referring to the 1891 season.

valuable than could be supposed from the collections which are permitted to remove.[48]

Adding to the great dispersion of finds in a myriad of collections and the split of funerary assemblages or fragments of single decorations, sometimes the antiquities were also lost:

> During the packing of the things after the exhibition, there was a mysterious disappearance of all the worked flints, a piece of painted pottery with kudu figures, and other things. None of these reached the places to which they were allotted. [49]

Petrie was undoubtedly a very prolific author. He was firmly convinced of the importance of publishing the results of the excavation as soon as possible, in order to render them available to the scientific community. In his reports, the centrality of the objects is again extremely evident. As also noted by Alice Stevenson,[50]   the excavation reports of Petrie often read more as a catalogue raisonné of finds than as an actual study of the "archaeology" of a site. The disproportion between the number of plates and the accompanying text also testifies this imbalance in favour of the material Egypt. Although this tendency might be reconnected to the European tradition of antiquarian *répertoires* of objects typical of the 19th century, we must not forget that the excavation reports were mainly addressed to a general public of collectors, sponsors or interested people. The publications were used as a means to raise subscriptions[51] and were actually advertised in the exhibition catalogues giving as sole detail after the title, the number of plates. The connection with the artefacts shown at the London exhibitions is clear:

> The whole of this collection will be published in photographs and drawings in the double volume, 'Gizeh and Rifeh', supplied to subscribers of two guineas and

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48. ID., *Catalogue of Antiquities from the Excavation of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Dendereh, and the Egyptian Research Account at Hierakonpolis, Exhibited by permission of the Council at University College, Gower St., London, July 4th to July 30th, 1898*, London 1898, p. 4.

49. ID., *Seventy Years*, pp. 188-89, talking about the 1902 exhibition. Unfortunately, the objects were not completely safe even when they reached the museums. In 1916 a theft of Egyptian artefacts from the galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of New York is recorded in the pages of the city newspaper (« The New York Times », June 27th, 1916, p. 11).

50. STEVENSON, *Artefacts of Excavation*, p. 10.

51. Everyone donating at least 1 guinea was entitled to receive the season report.

upward. The single volume, containing forty plates, is now ready for delivery to all guinea subscribers.[52]

Interestingly, the articles published in « The Illustrated London News », reporting about the exhibitions, were often completed with drawings of the main artefacts on display, arranged in plates which closely mimicked the plates of the excavation reports.[53]   The representation of Material Egypt was performed in the exhibitions, reports, catalogues and newspapers in front of a highly heterogeneous public: the scholar, the antiquarian, the curious, the collector, the worker, the museum curator, the lord and the lady were all gathered together around the ancient objects from Egypt.[54]   A heterogeneous public indeed, but not an Egyptian one. To the archaeology made by foreign expeditions the Egyptians participated just as « diggers, labourers, guards and servants »,[55]   they had to struggle for many years just to be allowed to study Egyptology and to be trained in the archaeological practice.[56]   Certainly nothing had been done by the foreign Egyptologists to raise among the general public in Egypt awareness of the antiquities and history of the country.

Lost in Collection

The materiality of ancient Egypt has been disassembled, dismembered, dispersed and then re-materialized in completely different forms and in thousands of different places. During this process a great quantity of data and associations has gone lost. Nevertheless, one of the worst losses has arguably been the

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52. W.M.F. PETRIE, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, found by Prof. Flinders Petrie and Students at Gizeh and Rifeh, 1907. Exhibited at University College, Gower St., London, W.C., July 1st to 27th. Hours, 10-5, and Evenings of 5th, 15th & 25th, 7.30 to 9 p.m.*, London 1907, p. 14.

53. Cf. for instance « The Illustrated London News » issues of 21st November 1885, 21st September 1889, 13th July 1901, 20th June 1914.

54. The public face of British archaeology in Egypt has recently been investigated in A. THORNTON, *Exhibition Season: Annual Archaeological Exhibitions in London, 1880s-1930s*, Unpublished MSS and ID., *Public Egypt: London society, exhibitions and lectures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries*, Paper presented at the *Forming Material Egypt conference*, UCL Institute of Archaeology, 20-21 May 2013.

55. F. HASSAN, *Conserving Egyptian Heritage: Seizing the Moment*, in N. BREHONY - A. EL-DESOUKY (eds), *British-Egyptian Relations from Suez to the Present Day*, London 2007, p. 213.

56. D. REID, *Indigenous Egyptology: The Decolonization of a Profession?*, in « JAOS » 105 / 2 (1985), pp. 233-46.

human dimension of this materiality: the original bond of the Egyptian people and their lives with their own Past.

Through conscious or unconscious acts of excision the Egyptian workforce, which was and still is the founding element of any archaeology in the country, has been deleted from the accounts of the discoveries and the history of the discipline.[57] The Egyptians have been also excluded, during the formative phase of Egyptology, from the executive practices of archaeology and from the management of their heritage. The people living around or within the archaeological sites have been progressively removed, since the beginning of the 20th century, from the archaeological reports and from the interest of the Egyptologists. The obsessive focus on the antiquities has created, within the discipline but also in the collective imaginary, a huge gap between ancient and modern Egypt. Western school children, although well informed on mummies and pharaohs, are generally ignorant of where the country is situated or how its modern inhabitants live. The results of a survey on how ancient Egypt is perceived in Britain, conducted in 2000 by the Petrie Museum, showed how distorted the common image of this civilization is, and, even worse, that the modern Egyptians are generally seen just as « a regrettable blight on the ancient landscape ».[58]

Today we find ourselves confronting the conservation and management problems caused by a huge, multi-faceted and almost threatening material legacy deriving from a long tradition of archaeological exploitation of Egypt. Nevertheless, to focus again our attention exclusively on the objects would be a terrible mistake. We need to throw the human component back in the equation, almost as a reactive agent, and be open to unexpected outcomes. Reconnecting objects with people, the ancient with the modern history, the Material with the Living Egypt, should be our priority.

Today, although many foreign expeditions have implemented field schools to train Egyptian archaeologists or conservators, the local communities residing around the archaeological sites remain generally disconnected from

57. S. QUIRKE, *Interwoven Destines: Egyptians and English in the Labour of Archaeology, 1880-2007*, in BREHONY - EL-DESOUKY (eds), *British-Egyptian Relations*, pp. 247-73; S. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands. Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives, 1880-1924*, London 2010.
58. HASSAN, *Conserving Egyptian Heritage,* p. 212.

their own past; and the Egyptian authorities view them primarily as a problem, a dangerous element to be kept away from the antiquities.

The other main issue in Egypt is represented by the education system. According to the UNESCO International Bureau of Education profile, the first nine years of the compulsory formation program (primary and preparatory levels) did not include in 2010-11 History and Geography among the taught subjects.[59] The children's knowledge of both Islamic and pre-Islamic history thus seems to depend entirely on the individual initiative of the school teachers. They can in fact decide to use the four hours a week allocated to "additional subjects" in the second cycle of the basic education (last three years) to introduce history lessons and they can also organise school trips to museums or archaeological areas. Unfortunately, the teachers often fail to find the support and assistance they need to implement these initiatives from the same personnel that is engaged in the conservation and management of the antiquities, but is generally less concerned with the importance of raising the public awareness on the archaeological heritage of the country.

To facilitate the re-connection of the Egyptian people with his past, the principles and methods tested in Western countries during the last decades by many projects grouped under the fashionable but somehow elusive label of "community archaeology", could be introduced into the fieldwork conducted in Egypt,[60] in parallel with the further development of Egyptian-led archaeology. As community archaeology projects typically need a long-term engagement and a deep knowledge of the local culture to be successful, the new generations of Egyptian Egyptologists would be the most suitable archaeologists to carry on such projects. To this aim, the integration of seminars on the principles and objectives of community archaeology in the programs of the current field-schools and within the existing collaborations between European and Egyptian

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59. *World Data on Education, VII Ed. 2010/11: Egypt*, UNESCO - International Bureau of Education 2012, p. 15.
60. The Community Archaeology Project Quseir (CAPQ), started in 1998, is to my knowledge the only substantial and integrate initiative of this kind conducted in Egypt: S. MOSER - D. GLAZIER - J.E. PHILLIPS - L.N. EL NEMR - M.S. MOUSA - R.N. AIESH - S. RICHARDSON - A. CONNER - M. SEYMOUR, *Transforming archaeology through practice: strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt*, « World Archaeology » 34 / 2 (2002), pp. 220-48.

universities would probably be the most fruitful way to introduce this practice. The challenge of giving the local communities a primary role in developing and disseminating archaeological knowledge is of the outmost importance if we really want to move towards a fully decolonised Egyptology. The enriching potential of the inclusion of local perspectives and interpretative contributions has been clearly demonstrated by projects involving American and Australian First Peoples, and local communities in Turkey.[61] As Franklin pointed out: « as academics we often think about how our scholarship can enrich the lives of others. Seldom do we consider how our own lives, including our research, could benefit from knowledge and experiences of non-archaeologists ».[62]

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61. I. HODDER, *Ethics and Archaeology: The Attempt at Çatalhöyük*, « Near Eastern Archaeology » 65 / 3 (2002), pp. 176-7.
62. M. FRANKLIN, *"Power to the people": sociopolitics and the archaeology of black Americans*, « Historical Archaeology » 31 (1997), p. 44.

Egyptology in the shadow of class

Wendy Doyon

This paper identifies some of the key structural issues built into the historical foundations of Egyptology, which have limited the depth and scope of what we recognize as material Egypt. It focuses particularly on the construction of class difference in Egyptian archaeology, first as a result of Egypt's institutional transformation under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, and the birth of the scientific era of archaeology sponsored by European museums, during the first part of the 19th Century, and later through the competing class interests of Egyptology during the French period, the rise of Egyptian nationalism, the British colonial period, and the age of American expansionism. It emphasizes the growth and increasingly specialized interests of archaeological foremen, particularly the Quftis, by the turn of the 20th Century, and argues that the importance of this new class of power brokers in the formation of material Egypt lies in its unacknowledged relationship to shifting scientific values at the turn of the century. It suggests that both the alienation of land and property rights from lower-class Egyptians in the interests of science, and the exclusion of many Egyptians from the circulation of scientific knowledge, represent a class barrier that has limited the public sphere of Egyptology, and thus some part of its moral legitimacy in Egypt, perhaps also limiting its material interests in mostly elite cultures of ancient Egypt.

Introduction

The social construction of Egyptology as an institutional reality in Egypt and the West — here, the formation of material Egypt — is rooted in two crucial outcomes of Napoleon's invasion of the Ottoman province of Egypt in 1798, which brought Muhammad 'Ali Pasha to power as governor in 1805. The first relates to the rights and status of collectors in the context of Muhammad 'Ali's institutional reforms in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the second relates to the development of "scientific" archaeology, following the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* and the scramble for antiquities by European museum agents at the same time. Both of these events represent a crucial period of institutional transformation between c.1810 and 1850, and both are also crucial for understanding how Egyptology, as an institutional system, came to claim moral authority over the material remains of specially designated antiquities lands in Egypt. Egyptology's claim to moral authority was based on

fundamental structural inequalities arising from several factors in nineteenth-century Egypt, which have cast a shadow of competing class interests over the institutional formation of material Egypt since that time.

The institution of Egyptology is, in part, rooted in the competing interests of European collectors in the value of antiquities as commodities for enhancing both individual social status and national power in nineteenth-century Europe, which fueled the formation of a single global marketplace for antiquities, as with other natural resources at the heart of the competing British and French commercial interests that dominated the modern world economy in the eighteenth century.[1]   An emphasis on museum-sponsored collecting, specifically, becomes important in the early nineteenth century because it was at this point that a public interest emerged in the status of national collections in Europe, to be joined by an elite public interest in Egypt by the end of the nineteenth century.[2]

For reasons relating to Muhammad 'Ali's state-building project in Egypt and the Sudan, the formation of the global antiquities market for supplying national collections in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century also created a particular division of labor for the extraction of ancient artifacts, whereby the labor of Egyptian peasants was "invested" in Egypt's archaeological development. It may be argued that this so-called division of labor, beginning with the Pasha's conscription of Egyptian labor — but controlled by many different kinds of power brokers representing the interests and values of rural communities — for the excavation of archaeological concessions belonging to Europeans has been fundamental to the reproduction of Western moral authority over ancient Egypt. This suggests that the material value, cultural status, and scientific meaning of Egyptian antiquities all depend, in some sense, on the reproduction of certain class interests as expressed historically through claims

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1.   Cf. M. Jasanoff, *Edge of empire. Lives, culture, and conquest in the East, 1750-1850*, New York 2005.
2.   Cf. J. Bailkin, *The Culture of property. The Crisis of liberalism in modern Britain*, Chicago 2004; D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, museums, and Egyptian national identity from Napoleon to World War I*, Berkeley 2002; J. Thomas, *Archaeology and modernity*, London 2004. Cf. also P. Piacentini, *The Preservation of Antiquities. Creation of Museums in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century*, in Ead. (ed.), *Egypt and the Pharaohs: From conservation to enjoyment. Egypt in the archives and libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 2011, pp. 5-29.

to the land and labor around archaeological sites in rural Egypt. It may also be argued that the reproduction of those interests has helped to create structural inequalities in the archaeological record itself, whereby the material interests of Egyptology — with a focus on elite cultures that end around the time of the Islamic conquest in the seventh century — have come to reflect basic structural realities rooted in nineteenth-century social relations.

History

During his rule as *de facto* viceroy of Egypt until 1848, Muhammad 'Ali launched an era of massive state expansion, in which he expropriated most of Egypt's land for the state, replacing traditional land rights that were based on communal and hereditary ownership.[3] At the same time he conscripted large numbers of a now landless population into a new and modernized army, and instituted a forced labor tax to build dams, canals, and factories — as well as to excavate archaeological sites. During this period, Muhammad 'Ali also in many ways undermined traditional Islamic institutions by cultivating European schools, courts, and other institutions like Napoleon's Institut d'Égypte in Cairo.

The combination of these reforms produced three significant outcomes for the development of Egyptology. They recognized archaeological concessions as state-owned land, but they granted treaty rights to the resources beneath that land to European diplomats and collectors.[4] These reforms also created a large population of landless peasants with limited property rights, who became vulnerable to forced labor taxes. Finally, it may be argued that the growth of European-style civil courts at the expense of traditional Islamic institutions, in some ways gave non-Muslim foreigners in Egypt a higher civil status than many Egyptians. In other words, access to Egyptian labor and protected status

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3. Cf. G. BAER, *A History of landownership in modern Egypt, 1800-1950*, Oxford 1962; K. FAHMY, *All the Pasha's men. Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt*, Cairo 1997; F.R. HUNTER, *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805-1879. From household government to modern bureaucracy*, Pittsburgh 1984; A. MIKHAIL, *Nature and empire in Ottoman Egypt. An environmental history*, Cambridge 2011; REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*.

4. These treaty rights are directly analogous to other mineral and overland concessions for infrastructural development, through which European powers gained spheres of influence around the Islamic and wider world throughout the nineteenth century.

through economic concessions granted by Muhammad ʿAli and his successors was a large part of what gave Egyptologists the power to reproduce a certain image of ancient Egypt from the remains of its former existence. This protected legal status thus represents Egyptologists' first claim to moral authority over the archaeological landscape of Egypt, which simultaneously created a dependency on Egyptian labor for large-scale excavations. At the same time, the scientific era of archaeology was also launched with Napoleon's Egyptian Expedition, the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte*, and the scramble for antiquities by European museum agents, which laid the foundation for the systematic classification of Egyptian antiquity and eventually the development of systematic methods of excavation by the end of the nineteenth century. A claim to scientific method was Egyptology's second claim to moral authority.

Thus, the alienation of land and property claims, through treaty rights, by upper-class, Western or Westernized collectors and their museums, from lower-class, mostly Muslim, Egyptians, in the interests of science, in practice excluded Islamic civil status — that is, the institutional construction of legal rights and obligations in societies structured primarily by Islamic public discourse — from the public sphere of Egyptology. If this claim is correct, it suggests that perhaps there is more to the seventh-century "break"[5] in material Egypt than a discontinuity of cultural forms — that is, it suggests a political interest in reproducing non-Muslim forms of moral authority, with roots in Muhammad ʿAli's modernizing reforms of the nineteenth century.[6] It also suggests a need to focus on *reforming* material Egypt to reflect a more diverse set of Egyptian heritage values in the civil institutions of Egyptology.

As is well known, the French sphere of influence in Egypt was formalized under Muhammad ʿAli's successors in the 1850s and 60s — an era characterized by the French concession for the Suez Canal, and its construction by corvée (forced) labor. With the establishment of the Service des Antiquités

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5.   Cf. D. REDFORD (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2001.
6.   The nationalizing narrative of Egyptian museums in the twentieth century has insisted on a more unified vision of Egyptian history, perhaps in some sense to "correct" for the non-status of Islamic Egypt in Egyptology; cf. W. DOYON, *The Poetics of Egyptian museum practice*, in « BMSAES » 10 (2008), pp.1-37 (online: <www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_10/doyon.aspx>).

de l'Égypte by Mariette Pasha in 1858, the French gained direct administration over most of Egypt's archaeological territory, which expanded aggressively to fill the new Museum established in Cairo in the same year. At the same time, British and German spheres of influence, in particular, also continued to expand throughout the lands of the Ottoman Empire, however their methods of administration were much less direct than the French, relying instead on investments in wage labor, and on the role of local labor brokers to gain control of antiquities markets — in contrast to the centralizing powers of the Egyptian government and French administration.[7]   In addition, by the 1870s these foreign land claims also began to come into conflict with the territorial claims of Egyptian landowners and nationalists.

From the beginning of Muhammad 'Ali's state expansion into the Egyptian countryside, local *shaykhs* and overseers had acted as tax collectors in a rural hierarchy from villages, to landlords, to Ottoman officials. By around 1850, as museum collecting became increasingly competitive and labor intensive, the figure of the archaeological foreman, or *rayyis*, became an essential part of foreign claims to Egyptian territory. Around this time, the increasing specialization of traditional Egyptian foremen to Egyptology diverged along two lines. In the case of French excavations under the central authority of the Antiquities Service, a rather large network of Museum foremen collected tribute, in the form of forced labor, to excavate major archaeological sites. The authority of these Museum foremen was enforced through a combination of traditional Egyptian and elite French-colonial social status — also corresponding in some ways to non-institutional (*e.g.*, Sufi) and institutional (*e.g.*, Museum) contexts — which we might refer to as *baraka* and *kurbāj*, respectively.[8]

The 1870s were a turning point in Egypt's political economy, as national uprisings against the Turkish ruling class, the abolition of the slave trade and corvée labor, and a growing British influence over Egyptian government created

7. Cf. W. DOYON, *On Archaeological labor in modern Egypt*, in W. CARRUTHERS (ed.), *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary measures*, London 2014, pp. 141-56; W.M.F. PETRIE, *Methods and aims in archaeology*, London 1904; ID., *Seventy years in archaeology*, New York 1932.

8. For example, G. MASPERO, *Ruines et paysages d'Égypte*, Paris 1910 (Engl. transl. by Elizabeth Lee, *Egypt. Ancient sites and modern scenes*, London 1910).

the circumstances in which Flinders Petrie was able to revolutionize Egyptian archaeology in the 1880s and 90s, to be followed by George Reisner and his colleagues after 1900. As both Egypt and Egyptian archaeology began shifting to a primarily wage labor economy, local power brokers increasingly used their social status and family connections through village and household networks, to recruit archaeological labor for British and other European expeditions.

The development of what was called scientific archaeology in the late nineteenth century (c.1870s-1900) is most often traced back to Petrie alone, however it may be argued that important features of Petrie's methods, including his focus on context, documentation, and dating techniques, were in fact absolutely dependent on large-scale, organized, and skilled Egyptian labor. After the establishment of the Egypt Exploration Fund in London in 1882, Petrie was able to increase the amount of private funds that went directly into labor costs; and by 1890, he had organized a permanent team of skilled foremen, who began training local crews in special excavation techniques. This organization of the Egyptian side of large-scale excavations diversified the power structure within the labor market, which gave these privately funded expeditions the freedom to operate independently of French control — and to develop the systematic methods for which Petrie is so well known. Egyptian contributions from Petrie's assistants have recently begun to be acknowledged in an intellectual sense.[9]

Another important point in the nineteenth-century formation of material Egypt is the crucially large scale of excavations in Egypt, which has always determined the kinds of questions that archaeologists can ask, and thus the kind of material prioritized, in their research. Within the large scale of early archaeological operations — whether French, British, German, or American — the nature of the archaeological record uncovered has often been mediated by Egyptian foremen, since they represent a pivotal point in the economic relations that reproduce archaeological interests in Egypt. This relates to a further point about the importance of what was thought of as scientific archaeology at this time. That is, that when the interests of Egyptian nationalism began

9.   Cf. S. QUIRKE, *Hidden hands. Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives, 1880-1924*, London 2010.

pushing back against Khedive Isma'il, and against British and French interests in Egypt in the 1870s, these national interests included claims on Egyptology as a way of reclaiming the territory of Egypt for Egyptians.[10]   In response to changing antiquities laws during this period, it may be argued that notions of what constituted archaeological property very gradually began to shift from material to intellectual forms, and to the collection of empirical data, rather than solely museum specimens. So again, by Petrie's time in the 1880s and 90s, the use of the scientific method in archaeology was its second claim to moral authority, but also perhaps a kind of counter-challenge to Egyptian nationalism.

American interests in Egyptology began expanding rapidly around 1900, and certain patronage connections that were formed by the American archaeologist George Reisner during his first excavations near the modern village of Quft (ancient Coptos), sponsored by Phoebe Apperson Hearst and the University of California in 1899, went on to form the basis of a kind of archaeological industrialization in Egypt, which, significantly, continued to reproduce certain structural relations of class and power from Muhammad 'Ali's time.[11]   With the influx of American investment capital after 1900, and George Reisner's diplomatic savvy and influence in Quft, the growth of scientific Egyptian archaeology reached an absolutely massive scale by the onset of the First World War, expanding even beyond Egypt's borders. The grand scale of museum-sponsored excavations at this time was matched only by the Quftis' development of correspondingly fine skills in removing and recording stratigraphic layers, so that by 1914, the explicitly scientific aims of American archaeology — to carefully document context and chronology — became inseparable from the skilled techniques also developed by the Quftis. By that time, the Hearst Expedition had become the Harvard Expedition, co-sponsored by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with a major concession at Giza and a mostly Egyptian staff of photographers,

10. Cf. REID, *Whose Pharaohs?*; A. SCHÖLCH, *Egypt for the Egyptians! The socio-political crisis in Egypt, 1878-1882*, Oxford 1981.
11. Following Petrie and James Quibell's excavations, with their Egyptian team, in the southern area of Naqada, Quft/Coptos, Ballas, and Deir in the 1890s, George Reisner began excavating in the same area, on behalf of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition in 1899. At that time, perhaps on the recommendation of Petrie or Quibell, Reisner formed a connection with a family from the village of al-Qal'a in Quft, certain members of which had joined one of Petrie's digs in 1898; cf. DOYON, *On Archaeological labor*.

surveyors, registrars, accountants, professional excavators, and diarists, and was joined in the field by Egyptian expeditions at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, and the University of Chicago. All of these museum-sponsored American expeditions were extremely well funded by American investment capital — the Eckley Coxe, Jr. Egyptian Expedition at the University of Pennsylvania Museum alone was supported by a million-dollar endowment in 1915 — and the standard operating budgets for these projects often reached up to $15,000 per season, well over half of which was invested in labor costs that were mostly associated with the work of the Quftis.[12]

Why, we might ask, in this era of museum-sponsored excavations, whose primary aim as far as donors and their European and American publics were concerned was to form world-class museum collections, would the majority of private funds have gone to operating costs associated with the Quftis? At the turn of the century, American scholars, like their European counterparts, had interests in both investigating the historical claims of the Bible, and in repro-ducing Western values through modern, scientific forms of power. Again, the use of Science with a capital *S*, to claim territory in places like Egypt and Pales-tine was a claim to moral authority over land already highly politically contested by religious claims. Such claims depended also on Western claims to Egyptian labor, for both political and scientific legitimacy. In particular, it may be argued that the collection of empirical data in addition to artifacts of aesthetic value was made possible by the combination of scale and skill reflected in the Quftis' operations. This dependence is reflected not only in the Quftis' involvement at considerably high costs in the expansion of American expeditions to Palestine and the Sudan, but also in the highly professional nature of the Quftis' work,

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12. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Egyptian Expedition and Curatorial Records, Egypt (1914-1925); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Giza Archives (1902-1942); Harvard University Library Special Collections, Harvard Expedition to Samaria, 1908-1910; for discussion and specific references cf. DOYON, *On Archaeological labor*; EAD., *The Imam and the Museum: an Islamic provenance for Ancient Egypt at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, in « EDAL » 3 (2012), pp. 97-119; EAD., *Archaeological battles of the Great War in Egypt. George Reisner, Clarence Fisher, Sa'id Ahmed, Mahmud al-Mayyit, and American claims to archaeological land and labor in Egypt during the First World War*, lecture delivered to the American Research Center in Egypt Pennsylvania Chapter, Philadelphia 2013.

and their unacknowledged status in relation to American field directors during this era.

By the end of the First World War, the investment of private capital into Egyptian wage labor expanded American archaeological "territory" to essentially the levels claimed by British, French, and German interests — all of which, in some ways, had begun to retreat during the War. During and after the War, American expeditions covered major areas in Giza, Memphis, Thebes, and Dendera, and the scientific reputation of Americans at these sites was also used to claim sites in the Sudan, Syria, and Palestine. As German and Austrian concessions in Egypt were revoked by the Antiquities Service in 1914, and the archaeological activities of its British and French members were disrupted by the War in Europe and the anti-British struggle within Egypt, American interests remained decidedly decentralized, but nevertheless expanded into a kind of central power vacuum created by the conflict — relying on their considerable economic power, and relationships with patronage networks in Quft, to influence research. As the War unfolded around them, American archaeologists in Egypt very much saw themselves as fighting in some sense on a "scientific" front, to defend Egypt's archaeological territory. This was not just a matter of defending the archaeological interests of the Egyptian nation or the British Empire, but also a form of scientific and moral expansionism — that is, a way to advance American influence over the mythic landscape and cultural prestige of ancient Egypt, in competition with the older and contemporary claims of Europeans and Egyptian nationalists.

The period from 1900 to the 1920s represents a crucial turning point for Egyptology, because the work carried out by these American institutions would go on to shape the development of the archaeological method in Egypt and elsewhere for the rest of the twentieth century. The significance of these excavations lies in the level of empirical observation that was made possible by such careful methods of excavation, on such a large scale. Intellectually, the partnership between George Reisner and Clarence Fisher, Director of the Coxe Expedition at the University of Pennsylvania Museum at this time, has been credited with extending the conceptual possibilities of Petrie's work, by developing

improved methods of observing, recording, and documenting features, and then circulating and passing on these important methods to subsequent generations of Egyptologists.[13]   In addition to new methods of scientific documentation like photography, Reisner also emphasized scholarly publication on a vastly expanded scale, which was the only area of scientific production from which the Quftis were excluded in their work at Giza. The Quftis' exclusion from the *circulation* of knowledge, in spite of enormous investments that were made in the scientific production of which they were an essential part, requires explanation. Such an explanation lies, at least in part, in the construction of *real* boundaries of power from claims to moral authority built on symbolic meanings attached to race, class, gender, and culture. The majority attitude among Egyptologists in the early twentieth century basically viewed lower class, Muslim and Coptic Egyptians as essential for scientific objectives, but culturally inferior to the production of knowledge. This was an attitude that served the reproduction of the basic underlying structures of imperial, colonial, and national forms of Egyptology alike — and one that has helped to create a significant class barrier in Egyptology, which poses a serious threat to its moral and institutional legitimacy in Egypt today.

Discussion

The structural history of Egyptology outlined above raises a few issues of materiality. Historically, claims to public antiquities land and associated material, in an Egyptian context, have served mostly the private and elite interests of Western or Egyptian national museums and institutions. While significantly advancing our knowledge of Egypt's history, they have also limited land use and local economic and cultural priorities throughout rural Egypt. Given the conflicts we see today over antiquities land throughout Egypt, it is clear that the lack of public interest in Egyptology is a major threat to its institutional legitimacy. We need to address the lack of public interest in Egyptology within

13.   Cf. T. DAVIS, *Shifting sands. The Rise and fall of Biblical archaeology*, Oxford 2004, pp. 28-31, 59-61.

Egypt, to ensure the protection of sites and collections in the country. On prin-
ciple, Egyptology as an institutional fact — including the right of Egyptologists
to study Egypt — cannot exist without some kind of moral legitimacy inside
Egypt. A redefinition of the public sphere in Egyptology is needed, in which the
status of non-Western heritage values may be recognized more democratically
in the representation of material Egypt for new, particularly Arabic-speaking,
audiences. Institutional concern for a wider public should reflect new research
and curatorial priorities, such as the attention to social complexity and hybridity
suggested in Heba Abd el-Gawad's paper (this volume).

The class structure of Egyptian archaeology has impacted the meaning
of cultural property, in a fundamental way, within Egypt, by long associating the
value of antiquities with people's labor — thereby emphasizing the commercial
value of archaeological heritage. Greater emphasis is needed on the cultural
and educational value of archaeology inside Egypt. In many ways, the scale and
structure of archaeological work in Egypt fundamentally restricts civil discourse
about the importance of ancient Egypt. We need to address minority issues
and viewpoints in a more democratic way to work against the radicalization
of conflicting interests in Egypt's current, revolutionary context. The promo-
tion of shared interests in the cultural enrichment provided by traditional Egyp-
tology, and the establishment of trust between different classes and cultures
invested in material Egypt, through new forms of dialogue, may be the best
way to promote the free and equal exchange of ideas. This kind of commitment
to disciplinary reform, reaching beyond traditional boundaries to explore the
multicultural, pluralistic reality of archaeology in modern Egypt, can only work
in the discipline's own long-term interests.

In response to Stephen Quirke's thought-provoking paper (this volume),
however, I would argue that new professional meanings for Egyptology can be
derived from a wider public interest without losing the fundamental distinction
between the two separate domains of knowledge represented by scholars and
the general public. This is because, for me, there remains an important distinc-
tion between the free circulation of information, through media and education,

and the choice to pursue meaningful knowledge and intellectual advancement, which can lead from it.

A further challenge to the lack of public interest in Egyptology is the legal and bureaucratic framework of antiquities policy in Egypt, with its focus on issues of "national security" and foreign tourism. This particular structural issue suggests a need for grassroots educational and social networking initiatives to be built into the structure of foreign missions working, cooperating, and communicating transparently within the existing, and changing, legal framework of the Ministry of State for Antiquities.

Finally, as so many of the papers in this volume have suggested, context is what makes material meaningful, rather than simply valuable. There is a great need to consider the importance of building a "fourth dimension" of context, as Alice Stevenson in particular has suggested (this volume), into the curatorial priorities of Egyptology and Egyptian archaeology — one that is based not just on archival attention to the facts of deposition, but also to the facts of power embedded in the process of uncovering deposition through excavation itself, as a social and cultural act of contextual significance. This kind of historical provenance, through archival excavation, indeed represents a significant layer of "undiscovered" meaning in existing collections. Perhaps in this way we may come closer to understanding how the archaeological record has been shaped by modern social relations;[14] and how, for example, the material interests of Egyptology may reflect the political, social, and structural realities of Muhammad 'Ali's Egypt, as much as they may reflect an approximate reality of life in ancient Egypt.

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14. Cf. I. HODDER, *Reading the past*, Cambridge 1986; B. TRIGGER, *Archaeology and the image of the American Indian*, in « American Antiquity » 45 (1980), pp. 662-76; ID., *A History of archaeological thought*, Cambridge 1989; ID., *Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology*, in « IJAHS » 27 (1994), pp. 323-45; A. WYLIE, *Thinking from things. Essays in the philosophy of archaeology*, Berkeley 2002.

Find as theme: re-uniting "expert" and "public" agendas in Egyptian collections

Stephen Quirke

The different audiences and users of archaeological collections are often reduced to the oppositional pairing expert / public, generally considered to be mutually exclusive, with different needs: researchers require detailed information at minutely atomised level, where school groups and other visitors require generic, thematic summaries. However, the expert / public opposition can easily be turned on its head. Researchers produce, and may then unconsciously consume, the bland and banale Ancient Egypt they claim to seek to investigate in detail. Conversely, Media Studies can show how mass-circulated imagery may involve complex visual and verbal construction-work, requiring greater sophistication than most expert research writing. Beyond expert-public oppositions, whether individual or structural, I consider a third option, that audiences across the varied and overlapping range of interests share questions and needs, but remain divided by social structure. In the public sphere of collections, documented find-groups become a touchstone for a new exchange between public reminders of the unanswered and research reminders of the complex. However, re-uniting find and theme requires a new social contract between knowledge-seekers, which neither "experts" nor "publics" might be willing to pursue.

Introduction: a standardised contrast. Research Precision versus Public Cloud

In archaeological collections, London museum practice opposes the needs of specialist researchers and general public, with academic departments for the first, education departments for the second.[1] According to now received wisdom, specialist researchers require detailed information at minutely atomised level, whereas school groups and other visitors need more general, thematic summaries. For the study of ancient Egypt, as for other countries and regions, time and space, chronology and geography underpin this opposition:

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1. Departments of education in nationally-funded museums which have separate academic departments: Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Learning, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/l/learning-department/>; British Museum, education divisions not identified as a department on the web-site learning page <http://www.britishmuseum.org/learning.aspx>; a quick introduction to late twentieth-century development of museum education in the English context is given by V. WOOLLARD, *Identifying the rise of Museum Education Departments*, 2008: jiscmail document on the British Museum website at <https://www.google.co.uk/#q=british+museum+education+department&start=10>.

A) TIME:　in chronological terms, every researcher in Egyptian archaeology might be expected to know the conventional divisions of the "ancient" history into periods and dynasties, to have some knowledge of what these divisions signify, and how they have come into use.[2]　Thirty (or thirty-one) dynasties form the single central motif of the Egyptological timescape. For example, a person identified as Egyptologist would be able to explain why Dynasty 7 is a historiographical phantom, would be aware of the lack of contemporary evidence for the divisions between Dynasties 4-5-6 or 9-10, and of the absence of consensus currently over the definition and usage of the terms Dynasties 16 and 23.

B) SPACE:　a conventional geography may be less solidly established than that conventional history, but research monographs used for university courses provide information on the relative locations of sites, and the ecology of each region; even within the philological subject, standard reading-lists might include the study by Karl Butzer alongside the more Egyptological account of geography produced by Hermann Kees in 1933.[3]　The nomes (in the original Egyptian more neutrally *sepat* « district ») form a central motif of this more detailed Egyptological knowledge of the space of ancient Egypt, more often in a sequence of forty-two, rather than the more ancient and better attested thirty-nine.[4] However, the ability to locate place is not required as stringently as knowledge of dates, in the relative ranking of geography below chronology; probably fewer Egyptologists could recite the series than know the fifty-one states of the USA.

From the mystique of the hieroglyphs and their decipherment, iconic if misrepresented in history of science,[5]　there is probably also a general assumption that an Egyptologist can read ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. Although this expertise may be required for a certain range of archaeological evidence, this persistent assumption is highly problematic in privileging script over all other media, and

2.　As explored in D. REDFORD, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, Mississauga 1986.

3.　K. BUTZER, *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt: a study in cultural ecology*, Chicago 1976; H. KEES, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients 1. Ägypten*, Munich 1933, translated by T. JAMES as *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*, Chicago 1961.

4.　W. HELCK, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Wiesbaden 1974.

5.　A. LOUCAS, *L'autre Égypte, de Bonaparte à Taha Hussein*, Cairo 2006, pp. 89-116, on Father Chiftigi, Egyptian teacher of Coptic to Jean-François Champollion in Paris.

dividing one part of one slice of the past (Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, 3000 BC - AD 300) against and over earlier and later periods. Hieroglyphs elide Arabic language and script, which, bizarrely, outside Egypt are considered unnecessary in both specialist study and public imagination of (ancient) Egypt.

For, against the chronological and geographical tools of precision, broadest public consumption supposedly allows room for only one Ancient Egypt, generically themed alongside other blocks of humans. For example, the English National Curriculum for primary schools gives an official compartmentalised line-up of Ancient Egypt in the same paradigmatic slot as "the" Aztecs, or, within local North European history, "the" Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings. Department for Education web-page guidance for teachers at Key-Stage 2 level lists overseas options in section 13 as « Ancient Egypt, Ancient Sumer, the Assyrian Empire, the Indus Valley, the Maya, Benin, or the Aztecs ».[6]

Just as heavily as the singular "(Ancient) Egypt", the words expert and public effectively homogenise complex and variable social relations. Here I seek to contest both terms as categories that may undermine all efforts at finding or seeking and understanding evidence for past peoples in Egypt. I cite twentieth-century examples outside Egyptian archaeology to discuss how intractable the problem of the expert may be. For this problem in archaeology, I consider one old solution, the "return to sources";[7] renewed in a critical Public Archaeology, such a turn might convert the stasis of display into a transformative medium for advanced collaborative research. Against that possibility, I acknowledge how we ourselves in our own social and institutional settings may have too much at stake in the expert-public division to allow radical change.

6.   Cf. <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/teachingandlearning/curriculum/primary/b00199012/history/ks2>.

7.   In the sense of a liberating move, cf. in English translation A. CABRAL, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral*, New York 1973, p. 63, where the self-exiled must "return to the sources" never lost by a working population, as cited in E. VAN GRASDORFF, *African Renaissance and Discourse Ownership in the Information Age*, Münster 2005, p. 74.

Cloud of Experts

For the modern history of Egypt, which includes the history of archaeology in the country, Timothy Mitchell has placed centre-stage the problem of claims of expertise.[8]   Pivotally, in self-image and public image alike, the word researcher denotes a scientist detached from daily or political concerns, as Max Weber sought to conjure against the chaos of First World War Europe in his lecture on Science as Vocation.[9]   If anything undermines the idea of detached scientists, it is that fierce protection of economic interests such as university pension rights or pledged honoraria. This economic conservatism structures the social conservatism of an academia which reproduces in itself and beyond its walls the persistent distinctions of social class.[10]   From natural sciences to humanities, academic self-consciousness tends to involve a pronounced self-satisfaction, as a group enjoying the privileges of a middle-range economic salary, reinforced by the expectation of high-end social status as intellectual. We have tended to avoid or ignore the subversive notice of Antonio Gramsci, that the intellectual is not a separate species, but a socially approved role for a professionalised sub-set under particular historical circumstances; academia isolates and institutionalises the attributes of thinking and knowing, which are shared by all humans — Gramsci compared this to the historically variable institutionalisation of cooking.[11]

Despite the evasive action and persistent academic self-assurance, the conventional expert-public opposition can be turned on its head, as in caricatures of the intellectual. Researchers are the simpler thinkers, inasmuch as they disconnect themselves from a totality of complications of life. Rarely able to articulate their own long-term impact on society, focussed on immediate detail, by training and competition averse to self-criticism, researchers may forget that they themselves generate the bland and banale Ancient Egypt abhorred in

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8.   T. MITCHELL, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*, Berkeley 2002.

9.   M. WEBER, *Wissenschaft als Beruf*, originally delivered 7 November 1917, for later editions of the text cf. W. MOMMSEN (ed.), *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe. Bd. 17 Wissenschaft als Beruf*, Tübingen 1992.

10.   So P. BOURDIEU, *Homo Academicus*, Cambridge 1988 [translation from Paris 1984 edition], pp. 207, 215.

11.   K. CREHAN, *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology*, Berkeley 2002, pp. 128-61.

anti-lay rhetoric.[12] This auto-amnesia can be seen at work equally within the boundaries of academia, in both inter- and intradisciplinary contexts. Thus, the same antagonistic relation may emerge in an Anglophone archaeology unaware of current excavations published in French of German — unaware, in other words, of its own monoglossia — and frustrated by contemporary media fascination with ancient monuments and treasures.[13] Conversely, public imagery involves webs of politically ambivalent construction-work, requiring far greater sophistication than most expert research writing, as Stuart Hall, Cultural and Media Studies would analyse.[14] When consuming public media and ephemeral publications in general, those qualified as professional specialists enjoy the experience of critiquing their peers. For, if as individual researchers we may be poorly trained in advanced self-critique, our academic tribe encourages in us finely-honed skills in criticising others. This social activity may not be a topic of research within Egyptian archaeology, but its significance can be recognised with the more self-critical archaeology championed by Shanks and Tilley.[15] Following the category of the field of play, in Merleau-Ponty before Bourdieu,[16] informal conversations to denigrate "vulgarisation" might be ranked as one of the most important rituals in forming and sustaining academic self-consciousness.

Public clouds

Closer inspection demotes the status of specialist researcher, from the privileged superior thinker of tradition, to a single example of knowledge-container within a dizzyingly variable array of specific applications, and therefore with no

12. S. MARCHAND, *The end of Egyptomania: German scholarship and the banalisation of ancient Egypt 1830-1914*, in W. SEIPEL (ed.), *Ägyptomanie: europäische Ägyptenimagination von der Antike bis heute*, Vienna 2000, pp. 125-33.

13. Against the stereotype of frustrated expert before ignorant masses, see the balanced appreciation of expert archaeological negotiation with mass media by N. ASCHERSON, *Archaeology and the British Media*, in N. MERRIMAN (ed.), *Public Archaeology*, New York 2004, pp. 145-58.

14. Classically S. HALL, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*, Birmingham 1973.

15. M. SHANKS - C. TILLEY, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: theory and practice*, Cambridge 1987.

16. A. HAMMOUDI, *Phénoménologie et ethnographie. À propos de l'habitus kabyle chez Pierre Bourdieu*, in « L'Homme » 184 (2007), pp. 47-83.

automatic right to individual prestige. Equally radical change in status and iden-
tity can affect the notions of a "public", or in populist writing the "people".[17]
Instead of reducing all non-professionals to a single category, any encounter with
an audience (museum visitors, or a class of students) reveals the same variable
landscape of diffused knowledge, only imperfectly conveyed by categories such
as "lay expertise". Leroi-Gourhan proposed a diagrammatic "operational chain"
to articulate every aspect and, dynamically, every "gesture" of life embedded in
an artefact.[18]   We might try the same heuristic tool for acquiring greater aware-
ness of the number of present lives with greater technical knowledge or personal
experience of any item. The operational chain could then help us recognise our
own acts of foregrounding and concealing in our general construction of rela-
tions with past peoples. With heightened self-consciousness, we might identify
more clearly the potential and limits of traditional subject specialist knowledge,
within a web of knowledges and experiences, all inter-related through the arte-
fact. The object then becomes a social point of reunion as a step towards the
touchstone introduced below.

Experts in…

Notoriously, the expertise of the specialists can be difficult to pin down, behind
the labels assigned by university qualifications. What are words like archae-
ologist or Egyptologist supposed to mean, to different people, in the worlds
of media reception and governmental payments for consultants? How much
knowledge, or how much talent, is sought, or articulated in the commissions for
television programmes or news features or the vast budgets for new museums?
And, if these are questions, why do they not become political, public questions?
Why do modern "publics" in their many forms not require knowledge of the
experts they fund? For these debates of definition in modern times, it can be

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17.   As proposed for construction by E. LACLAU, *On Populist Reason*, London 2005.
18.   H. BALFET (ed.), *Observer l'action technique. Des chaînes opératoires, pour quoi faire?*, Paris 1991; N. SCHLANGER,
       « *Suivre les gestes, éclat par éclat* » — *la chaîne opératoire de Leroi-Gourhan*, in ID. - F. AUDOUZE (eds), *Autour
       de l'homme: contexte et actualité d'André Leroi-Gourhan*, Antibes 1995, pp. 127-48.

useful to follow earlier generations, particularly in the sharp turns of European critical theory. One of the most famous essays in critical theory of the interwar period is the *Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* written in 1935-1936 by Walter Benjamin. I would like to take up one exploration of this essay by Fredrik Schwartz.[19]   Against the age-old, passive contemplation of the aura of great art, Benjamin had sought to reject narrow subject specialists, and put in their place a new, polytechnically trained "expert" (in German *Fachmann*). The audience, as one broad public, would now be, not obediently contemplative, but actively testing, and not blindly committed, but distracted, coming obliquely to its object. In the terms of Benjamin, following Schwartz, modernity might be imagined as a four-fold character:

distraction
(MODE OF APPERCEPTION)

polytechnic expert (ROLE)   (APPROACH) *critical*

(TASK)
testing
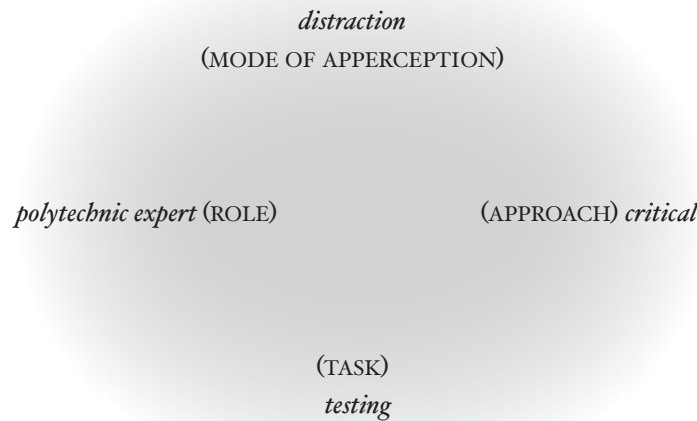
Within this account, Schwartz finds that both the "expert" and the quality of *Zerstreuung* « distraction » lack definition. The second blurry category, distraction, would be a mode of receiving information without being absorbed by it. To express this mode, Benjamin took up the technical design field of New Typographers, responding to the heady « Dynamik der Gross-Stadt (Dynamic of the Metropolis) », as Moholy-Nagy named a feature of his 1925 Bauhaus book *Painting, Photography, Film*; Schwartz discusses the 1928 manifesto-brochure *Einbahnstraße* (One-Way Street) which Benjamin developed in conjunction with

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19. F. SCHWARTZ, *Blind Spots: critical theory and the history of art in twentieth-century Germany*, New Haven 2005.

the multi-talented, polytechnical Sasha Stone. Is Stone the new expert, free from the narrow constraint of conventional university specialisation at?

Experts in survival

Twentieth-century histories help us to see the limitations to the potential for change, in the replacement of university specialisation with polytechnic training. A year and a half after the Russian Revolution, while Max Weber published in Munich on science professionals, in Moscow Lenin was arguing against the far left, who wanted an end to the highest salaries; Lenin defended the pragmatic line that "bourgeois experts" must be paid more during the training of a new society.[20] After the death of Lenin (1924), the old experts were incorporated for service in the new society as the "Soviet expert", as Sheila Fitzpatrick has documented.[21] Their re-recruitment was combined with the only massive example of affirmative action in the history of the Soviet Union, a short-lived late 1920s recruitment of hundreds of thousands from the working class into higher education — the *vydvizhentsy*. Simultaneously, a cultural revolution was launched against that same upper and middle class intelligentsia, leaving many victims and a lasting self-image of martyrdom. Yet, remarkably, it failed in practice to dislodge them from either their social status or economic privileges. As a professional class in socialist society under and after Stalin, most traditional experts survived by adapting to power, while an entire movement of Marxist cultural revolutionaries perished in the Great Purges or dissolved in the social stabilisation that followed. The pragmatic professional experts of right and left shared with the central government the wish to see the country modernised, top-down, and could feel motivated to take part in modernisation. As a result, their entrenched *prosloika* « stratum » retained its privileges, and stood theoretically beside, in practice still firmly above, the working population in agriculture

20. V. LENIN, *Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power*, originally published 28 April 1918, English translation in Lenin *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition, Volume 27, Moscow 1972, pp. 235-77, online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/mar/x03.htm>.

21. S. FITZPATRICK, *The Cultural Front. Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*, Ithaca 1992.

and industry.[22]   At around this time, Antonio Gramsci was writing his warning that social and cultural hegemony would be harder to conquer than political power.[23]   The forces against substantive change are formidable.

Different experts? Polytechnics

In 1930, before Stalinism took hold, Sergei Tretyakov brought the good news of the Soviet polytechnic expert, in lectures, to Berlin. Some there were convinced, as perhaps Benjamin, while others such as Siegfried Kracauer remained suspicious of the fashions of the left, and of the difference between old and new professional. As Schwartz charts the story, out of the debates between these contrasting receptions, Benjamin created his Art Work essay. The Art Work essay focusses on film, as a new medium with a revolutionary potential. The developing industrial laboratories of the day required mechanical psychological tests of human perception and capacity for making use of products being developed. Benjamin would transfer this practice of testing into the reception of cinema, to bring the testing out into the open, and give its revolutionary potential a chance to develop: « the critical eye of the tester can be taken over by the critical spectator, the filmic apparatus can encourage this probing sort of appraisal ».[24]   Yet, the tester is a figure of control, who seems to aim at the status, not of trained worker-technician, but of middle-class professional with academic qualification. Schwartz notes that, to understand this passage of history and theory, « we need to consider not a reified notion of the *content* but rather the *status* of the knowledge that could be considered 'expert' ».

Social class remains absolute dividing-line. Perhaps, precisely for this reason, content retains its revolutionary potential. In which specific ways might we move from the covert desire for prestige to a more transparent and more dedicated quest for knowledge? Returning to archaeology in Egypt, statutory quality assessments already take place in institutions of higher education

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22. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 15.
23. CREHAN, *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology*.
24. SCHWARTZ, *Blind Spots*, p. 86.

and research; assessors can test technically for re-assurance of valued knowledge beyond the paper qualification bestowed by university and the intangible authority wielded in society by museum. Here, as touchstone for public quality assurance, I am proposing the dangerous ground of the find-group.

Gem ma'at. *Finding truth in ancient Egypt?*

In place of the opposition specialist–public, the distribution of knowledge can be seen as more diffuse. One avenue of diffusion may be vocational training, as discussed in the 2012 British Egyptian Society Cairo-London conference on the future of education.[25]   More fundamentally, the relation of wider society to specific knowledge may be re-invigorated by the conception of a society of life-long learning, which Chris Smith promoted as Culture Secretary in late 1990s educational politics.[26]   The heterogeneous assemblage of knowledge-seekers is united by shared interest — in Egyptian archaeology, this is a shared interest in past peoples as part of our lived world. Since different views of the past compete for attention, both in the widest terms (starting from African-centred and Egyptian nationalist perspectives) and on those minutiae of Sixteenth Dynasty chronology, most seekers probably also place high value on the evidence brought to support any argument. As a public constituted by this shared double interest we might collectively place at the door of evidence-keepers – universities, museums, libraries — the demand for the material evidence in the form best suited to our shared double interest.

For discussion I would propose for this role the find-group, as, in the terms of Gianluca Miniaci, a microhistory within a frame of our wider horizons (cf. Miniaci, this volume). The find-group is risky material, for a worrying range of reasons. Find-group research tends to focus on material object rather than people. The most visible find-group is the one with the most and the richest objects, so it focusses on a few rather than many or all people. Conversely, an

25. Conference website <http://www.britishegyptiansociety.org.uk/en/conference/> still accessible at 15.10. 2013, Session 5: *How can vocational education and training be made more effective?*.

26. P. AINLEY, *Learning Policy, Towards the Certified Society*, London 1999.

emphasis on objects can make each object seem to carry equal weight, with no regard to context; the attendant risks have been realised in England in object-based policy-making, where statistics eclipsed the nuances of local life.[27] Research into objects might confine the quest within the walls of the very institutions we might seek to escape, with the book in the library and the archaeological find in the museum. Finally, the object is not a ready guide in itself to contemporary archaeology, which has shifted its focus from object evidence to the intangibles of broader statistics, survey and theory — though the material turn in the social sciences might make ours again a moment of objects.

Object spaces

Taking all these risks actively on board, a space experiment may be offered. The starting-point might be the uncovering of an individual from the past, resting with no objects at all, or, in this proposal, a single recorded item: one example would be from excavation of the burial of an adult man in a mat, with a single pottery bowl in his hands, in a cemetery near the village of Badari in Middle Egypt, where the site identified by Ali Suefi of al-Lahun was excavated by men and boys from Qift farther south and from local villages, under supervision of foreigners directed by Guy Brunton.[28]   The pot (now UC14514) and the location and style of the burial identify the time of this man in (some) 21st-century terms as around 4500 BC.

In order to show the location in the landscape, the pot would need to be put back on the ground beside the outline of a body in foetal position, with some form of shelter (so that it is not destroyed by antiquities-market-suppliers or erosion or tourism), perhaps rounded like the burial space and the documented huts of the time, and itself made the corner of a vaster arc of land beyond, reaching out to which horizon?, marked by signs of that time, invoking

27. T. GREENHAULGH, *Narrative based medicine in an evidence based world*, in « British Medical Journal » 318 (2011), pp. 323-25.
28. The burial is recorded as no. 5356 in G. BRUNTON - G. CATON-THOMPSON, *Badarian Civilization*, London 1927, p. 10, pl. 6 (tomb-register), pl. 12.

the scope also of GIS and Theory in the disciplinary archaeology. Implicitly, the only site of preservation is the landscape of origin — this re-staging/remembering can only happen at the place itself. This location raises the new risk that re-staging becomes read as historical reconstruction.[29]

The man from Badari lived at a time when we do not have evidence that society was divided into social strata. Periods of social division (3500 BC onwards) may introduce other challenges. For people present, people past may be most visible in architectural furnished space. Repeating the experiment, the poorest burial of a rich age demands display in another protected building, this time rectangular and vast and nearly all empty, for archaeologists only rarely documented the remains of people without objects — so a vaster area than could be afforded in London would be needed to create the message of the society that this was, with a vast meditative space empty of objects to be filled with the presence of people past and present, with in one corner a small space of finds of the poor, a smaller space of finds of the richer, a smallest space for the richest find-groups. Again this effect is only possible in the landscape of origin.

A series of further objections to the find-group comes more clearly into view after considering these two space experiments:

· the find-group is only proportionate with massive difficulty even in the landscape of origin — a vast garden is needed to convey the world missing from the evidence (thinking of the garden to the Nubian Museum Aswan);

· the find-group is most often difficult to understand, particularly as archaeological deposits are most often disturbed, either Partly or Quite (=Very) as Brunton summarised the Badari finds — the kitchen pots are rarely found on the kitchen table in the middle of use, they do not "say" KITCHEN, as they are found in unpredictable movement;

· the find-group as singular installation can too easily become a monolithic, single message (monoglossia) as in nation-building, not necessarily

29. U. SOMMER, *Groß Raden, a Slavonic open air museum in a unified Germany*, in P. STONE - P. PLANEL (eds), *The constructed Past. Experimental archaeology, education and the public*, London 1999, pp. 157-70; U. SOMMER, *Some reflections on site presentation*, in I. BENKOVA - V. GUICHARD (eds), *Management and presentation of the oppida, a European panoram,* Glux-en-Glenne 2008, pp. 165-78.

unwanted in itself, but unrealistically reductive as a massive simplifica-
tion of the complexity of our lives;

·   on a pragmatic level, the find-group is hard to achieve, following the
    political economy of distribution, including for most individuals on
    almost all excavations, the discarding of most human remains (or is this
    a more or less unconscious preservation by reburial on-site?). Neverthe-
    less, this dispersal of objects from one find is arguably one of the greatest
    research challenges for Egyptian archaeology worldwide, and perhaps
    the most powerful reason for pursuing re-groupings today.

### Concluding reflections: shared interest divided by necessity?

Beyond expert-public oppositions, whether individual or structural, I have
considered here a third view, that we share questions and needs, but remain
divided by historical social processes such as institutionalisation. These processes
set perhaps insuperable obstacles in the way of any change. Professional archae-
ologists, and research organisations and funders require an opposition expert-
public; commercialised multimedia public spheres require the same. Effectively
these institutions collude in division. Yet all life-long and occasional students
of the past can be organically united in the ways knowledge is constructed.
Knowledge-seekers at all levels expect evidence, which archaeology provides in
graphic and in material form. In the public sphere of collections, documented
find-groups become a touchstone for a new exchange between public reminders
of the unanswered and research reminders of the complex. However, re-uniting
find and theme requires a new social contract between knowledge-seekers. The
institutional forms of the contemporary public sphere in both London and
Cairo comprise televisual media and internet analogues and extensions into the
recent social media; parliamentary forms of large-scale representation; state-
funded or -subsidised universities; state-funded (direct or indirect) organisa-
tions for excavation and site maintenance. None of these channels for experts
and publics may feel any need or desire for structural transformations. Perhaps

winds of change can arrive from the outside. Still, the outsider will need, even more than an invitation, *amara* — a « token of authorisation ».[30]

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30.   A. EL-DESOUKY, *Heterologies of revolutionary action: on historical consciousness and the sacred in Mahfouz's Children of the Alley*, in «Journal of Postcolonial Writing» 47 (2011), pp. 428-39.

CONCLUSIONS
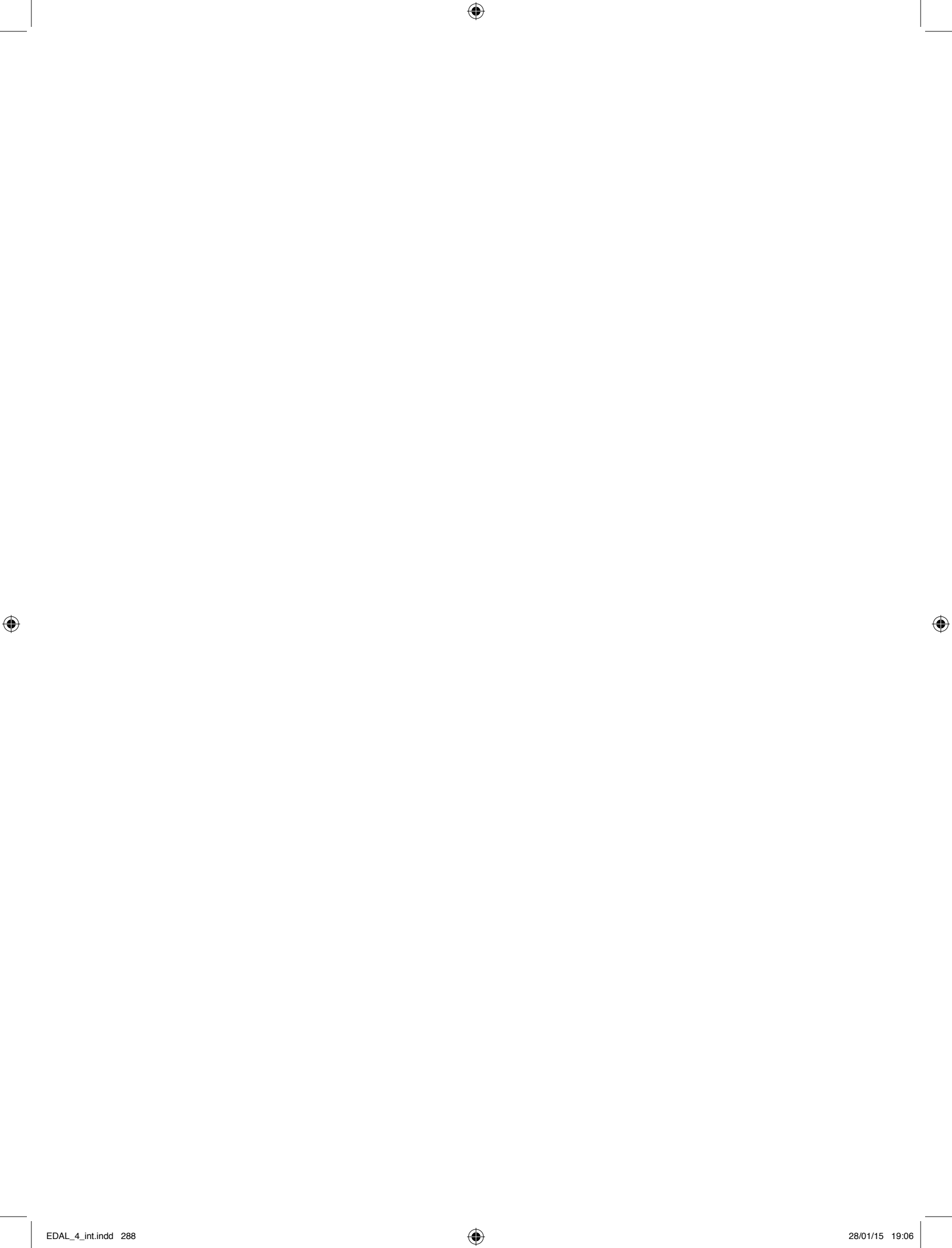
Back to the future: policy and practice.
Final open-floor discussion, chaired by Okasha El Daly.
Summary from notes by Birgit Schoer and Stephen Quirke

Stephen Quirke

Introductory note by Stephen Quirke

For the closing session of the conference, Okasha El Daly chaired a discussion open to the floor. To guide debate, he presented a list of points and issues which he had noted from the five conference panels. In the following summary of the closing session, I draw on my own notes and those taken by one member of the audience, Birgit Schoer, a Friend of the Petrie Museum. Rather than a literal transcript, my aim here is to convey the broad direction and content of debate. I am grateful to Okasha for chairing and to Birgit for her record, and I hope that the participants find in this summary an acceptable echo of the event. I have maintained anonymity to avoid misattribution; any errors are my own responsibility. Both Birgit Schoer and I noted three phases within the flow of discussion, and so the account below is divided into those sections. In order to reflect the event as closely as possible, I have not removed instances of repetition or disconnected sequences of comments. Participants were asked both to address problems frankly, and to offer constructive examples and ideas, as principles of the future. At the end of the three sections, I have summarised as "principles" the issues where participants identified a discussion point as a major item of note, either explicitly, or by their emphasis. These abstracted points are not intended to add up to a blue-print for action, but they provide my record of the strategic ideas voiced by individual participants in this event. The record can be compared with the appendix, a summary which I circulated to conference co-organisers in June 2013 as my first draft towards an agreed set of ideas.

I.   *Organisations*

Guidance points from Okasha El Daly

·   New approaches to the concept of "museum"
·   Sustainability, ambitions and reality: unpublished sites, decaying objects and sites
·   The potential of international bodies — as ICOM (CIPEG), ICROM
·   Professional advocacy: academics need media training, specific to Egypt

Discussion

There is a need:

·   to approach the media differently in Egypt
·   to pinpoint problems, to stop idealising, to look for solutions
·   for clear visions, policies and laws, and emergency measures for trouble-spot sites

Is it possible to draw on similar experiences from other countries, like Iraq post-2003?

Is this the right time to publicise more information about vulnerable sites?

There is a need:

·   to remember that people have a complex relationship with their past
·   to re-formulate policy to stop the market in stole antiquities
·   for advocacy! = to argue in every public and policy forum for the value of our work
·   to recognise the problem of looting in times of political instability
·   up-to-date list of missing/stolen antiquities to help at our end.

Caution: public lists may provide site information to the wrong people.

Question about priorities: what are we hoping to preserve: little-known sites or types of site? objects? human remains?

There is a need:

·   to publicise as quickly as possible (within 48 hours) theft cases and report to UNESCO

- for a dialogue between authorities and antiquities dealers to encourage co-operation
- to publicise cases where members of the public are rewarded for handing in finds, as in existing antiquities law providing for official rewards
- for media training: modern Egypt was invisible in western media before revolution

"Principles"

- advocacy to and with the media = at least basic level in media training
- self-discipline to avoid over-reaction in response to media reports
- working at all levels = local / regional / national / international level, in the most effective way at each level, aware of the activities at other levels
- focus on the local level as priority within the bigger picture: 2-way awareness local-excavator
- risk assessments and audit-inventories for protecting sites and museums against theft / damage
- audit of existing legislation / Egyptian projects, for a directory of Egyptian participants and their expertise, in all sectors relevant to archaeology / site management / preservation

II.   *Society*

Guidance points from Okasha El Daly

- Bottom-up approach
- Embedding activity at local level: the New Hermopolis model *Newhermopolis.org*
- Archaeology — social class and local residents
- Egyptology: for Egyptians or Egypt?
- Public and community archaeology — where are our media
- Mnemo-history, orality and recording the past from people still alive

Discussion

There is a need:

· for study of local site names/village names: Egyptology is still taught from a Western perspective, where the Persians are hated, the Greeks venerated.

· for a public message that history did not finish, time is continuous in place

· for these continuities of history to inform policy: a need to look after the totality of the built heritage (reference to demolition of old as well as new houses in Luxor!)

· to warn people inside and outside Egypt that Islamic antiquities are in the same poor state as Pharaonic antiquities.

· to look at and care for the object/material in the same way that conservators do, without "classifying" it by its date (ancient is more/less value than recent)

School curriculum: two opposing views on attitude of government in Egypt at May 2013:

· risk that the government sees ancient cultures as pagan, that ancient history is being deleted from school curriculum for schools in Egypt.

· a committee has been formed to re-write history books, and to include areas or topics previously neglected in the curriculum, including Christianity, Nubians, Sinai

There is a need:

· to take seriously collective modes of expression (example of interpretations of Akhenaten as one of the unnamed prophets) as modes of knowing and modes of connecting in the production of knowledge

· to understand the relevance of the past in moves of the present, and to bring cultural memory into the established institutions that work on the past (Archaeology, History)

Egyptology in Egypt is a young discipline, dominated by western schools.

There is elitism towards popular "misconceptions" /ideas of Egyptians towards their ancient heritage.

There is a lack of connection between ancient and modern Egypt in the western mind.

Foreign Egyptologists in London and elsewhere need:

· to work towards reconnecting ancient and modern Egypt, to widen popular awareness

· to reconnect the familiar motifs (camels, pyramids, Tutankhamun) with current research agendas

"Principles"

· Include oral history in archaeological expeditions: include local crafts production/use

· Include local history and social history in the horizon of the archaeological landscape

· Introduce the local memory that is the archaeological archive to local residents

· Avoid dividing Egypt into segments

· Engage with, and seek to understand and to learn from, popular imagery of past people

III. *Archaeology*

Guidance points from Okasha El Daly

· Excavations and sites

· Rescue archaeology

· Antiquities trade

· Rock art — much damage done by tourists

· Digital world - Digital Egypt, networking among museums

Discussion

· At Abu Simbel conference, Gaballa had called for an Ahmed Fakry centre of rock art studies

- On digital front, Bibliotheca Alexandrina currently has its own problems with "rejuvenation"
- Did archaeology contribute to conflict or unrest? What can archaeologists contribute to social cohesion and harmony on regional, national, international levels?

There is a need:

- to interact with people, to provide educational material, educational outreach programmes, to contribute positively to debate in the local community
- for training in issues of shared heritage

Comments:

- Authorities may be suspicious of community outreach programmes.
- Current reviews of MSA requirements for foreign missions could include an educational component, public engagement, community archaeology.
- Potential of Aga Khan grants for engagement, e.g. Azhar Park, importance of gardens.
- Funding problem with the educational component – it is not seen as a priority, so may need to become an MSA requirement.
- The word "community" has been used to exclude people; funding the richest museums has not always benefited people.

There is a need:

- to avoid imposing projects from above without local initiative
- to return to the bottom-up principle: the ministry should look to existing networks
- for active relations between archaeologists / MSA and Ministry of Education and Supreme Council of Culture, for mutual awareness of initiatives/ potential
- for listening and consultation, or people are not going to be interested/ responsive
- to contribute to teacher training
- to be pro-active, go out into the local communities
- to educate archaeologists! All archaeologists need to learn about issues /

histories local to their expedition areas (not yet a part of Egyptology/
Egyptian archaeology teaching)

· to consider hugely different levels of access to the digital world: an issue
of democracy.

· to monitor progress on educational and community components of
archaeology projects.

Comments:

· Example of the Museum on the Move as active regional programme in
England.

· Logistical problems of arranging security for antiquities outside museums
in practice

· Note difference between registered and unregistered material in London
museums too

· Manchester Museum insists on using real objects for outreach work, to
give people experience in how to engage with "the real thing".

· Petrie Museum provided a kind of Mobile Museum in form of library /
other local displays.

· Booklet on mathematics in ancient Egypt, to offer to schools, working
with Ministry of Education

· one great model in Egypt is the Nubia Museum Education Department
programme

· Question of priority and relation between universities programmes and
school programmes

Laws preventing the export of any material are now damaging current research
into prehistory. Only the export of geological samples is allowed.

There is a need:

· to build expertise in Egypt — a new analytical lab will be set up in Egypt

Comments:

· Danger of archaeology adopting a Rio Tinto approach to the work,
operating like an extractive industry and exporting its knowledge/data
as "raw materials"

· Export of material is a matter of national security.

There is a need:

· to keep databases updated and accessible: often big money is spent on databases that only function for a short time

"Principles"

· Provide local inspectorates with facilities for local study: books as a local resource for the inspectors and for others locally
· Support for relations between Ministries of Education and Antiquities
· Sustainable training and equipping in Egypt

Appendix.
Stephen Quirke 1.6.2013 draft of notes from the conference Forming Material Egypt

Conference held in London at UCL and SOAS 20-21 May 2013: co-organised by colleagues from Cairo University, Fayoum University, the Egypt Exploration Society, the School of Oriental and African Studies, and the UCL Institute of Archaeology and Petrie Museum; funded by the UCL Institute of Archaeology annual conference fund for 2013, the Egypt Exploration Society, the Friends of the Petrie Museum, and the SOAS Centre for Comparative Literature and Post-colonial Studies.

Notes compiled from concluding discussions of the conference chaired by Okasha El Daly.

Factors and needs considered important in discussions:

1   Flexible problem-solving instead of single solutions

Need for working at different levels, to identify solutions at different levels, in space and in time, rather than seeking always a single national solution for each problem:

· levels in space: internationally, nationally, by governorate, by site area;
· levels in time: emergency, short-, medium-, long-term.

2   Training needs

From Point 1, the urgent need for training in different areas can be broken down in different ways, and then resources allocated according to impact:

· areas where a technical skill is needed Example: maintenance of high-tech lab equipment;
· areas where organisation skills are needed Example: co-ordinating national risk assessments;
· need for assessment of most practical source for any training imported from outside — may not always be a richest country — need to select trainers according to need, not just by prestige/reputation.

3   Not always needing new solutions

Need for assessment of existing legislation and projects before starting new initiatives.

Need for a "skills audit" to see which specific skills and resources are already present.

4   The media and public advocacy

(Archaeology telling society through media what it is / does)

Need for working with media to explain to/discuss with the public the current scientific priorities.

Need for training for staff in communicating with the media and developing news agenda.

Need for training to avoid over-reacting to news e.g. from new digital/ social media; use national site assessment (point 6 below) to help keep each news story in proportion.

5   Egypt is diverse but not to be cut into segments

Need for avoiding the foreign manner of dividing Egypt into separate time-segments; information at sites and especially at museums can include an emphasis on the many diverse times of each place.

6   Security and conservation

System for risk assessment for security and for conservation across sites and stores.

System for swift reporting of thefts, with documentation, to assist police and customs.

7   Strategies in current / future fieldwork

Need for open discussion on priorities between Research Archaeology (selecting sites according to their importance) and Rescue Archaeology / Developer-led Archaeology (recording sites to scientific standard before they are removed in land development).

On question of removal from Egypt of minor archaeological samples for destructive analysis, discussants considered short- and longer-term possibilities e.g. importing equipment and training staff for new laboratory facilities within Egypt — see here Point 1 media debates.

8   The local is the important

Need for appreciating local needs at sites, including consulting and inviting local inhabitants nearest sites and museums — potential to connect with school teachers / inspectors network.
Need for scientific / university research to give full space to social history, oral history, craft experience — potential to use archaeological archives.

9   Valuing popular imagination

Need for scientific / professional archaeology / conservation to appreciate and learn from popular views and all collective modes of expression.

The object-interruptive: reflections on the social resonance of the archaeological find

Ayman A. El-Desouky

The contributions in this volume offer a cannily coordinated intervention in the practices and histories of Egyptian archaeology, reflecting the genuine and radical impulse behind the conception and organisation of the conference on "Forming Material Egypt" in 2013. The conference panels were carefully grouped in thematic clusters beginning with the materiality of archaeological work as a historical and positivist science: the work on the ground, the sites of discovery, the distribution of finds, the problems of conserving sites and material, and the latter set of issues was also revisited in crucial ways in a later panel on digital futures and possibilities. The critical debates surrounding the practices and their historical, cultural, geographic and theoretical ramifications were further explored in more depth on two occasions: a special panel on the history and theory of Egyptian archaeology and a final rounding discussion. The issues that have emerged as a result of the informed exchanges in this rounding discussion centred on the whole range, from site management, to conservation, to digital archiving for accessibility of knowledge. The exchanges also led to discussions over deeply set cultural and historical propensities, the exigencies of national and institutional agendas, the debatable objectivity of the discipline over against the subjectivities of practice, the need for a better informed and more committed practice of diffusionism, and finally to issues of policy making and dissemination in public awareness that may also help in directing local policies. My reflections here will centre on the issues surrounding the historical division between the private/expert spheres and the public spheres that were articulated with added insight and depth in the panel on history and theory as well as in the final rounding discussion.

The interdisciplinary focus on this historical divide and its ramifications sheds more light on the history and practices of archaeology both as a

classical discipline and a positive science [1] but also as a science that has in its classical roots the claim to all knowledge, the *archae* of the *logos*, the claim to the beginning of the logos and the origins of knowledge. This implicit claim in the discipline's self-imaginings (cutting across its diverse culture-historical contexts) is what led Edmund Husserl as a phenomenologist reflecting on the origins and history of philosophical thought to deplore the fact that a positive science had already laid claim on the one expression (archaeology) that could capture the essence of philosophy — as reported by Eugen Fink in *Das Problem der Phänomenologie* in 1934.[2] As Gasché also points out, the Greek origin of the term *archaiologia* « has to be retraced as 'antiquarian lore, ancient legends or history' », while the Greek dictionary cites the translations of *archae* « as beginnings, origin, first principle, element, as well as first place, or power, authority, and command ».[3] The implications of these definitions have been debated in revisionist histories of the practices of classical archaeology [4] and equally in other European disciplines,[5] as well as in recent debates informed by postcolonial theories (inspired largely by the work of Foucault and Said and later by the theories of cultural studies). But it is also worth noting here that the Greek origins include in their provenances the connotations of history as legendary lore, and this is perhaps where the questions of a social history of the archaeological find not only as an object of disciplinary knowledge but also as a locus of resonant identity-affirming knowledge can be traced. The latter possibility of this type of knowledge, however, has been relegated to spheres that are pushed outside the expert knowledge: communal popular practices and cultural memory.[6] For these latter are perceived to rely on experiential modes

1.   D.M. REID, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, Berkeley 2002; E. COLLA, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*, Durham 2007; S. QUIRKE, *Exclusion of Egyptians in English-directed archaeology 1882-1922 under British occupation of Egypt*, in S. BICKEL - H. FISCHER-ELFERT - A. LOPRIENO - S. RICHTER (Hrsgg), *Ägyptologen und Ägyptologien zwischen Kaiserreich und Gründungr beiden deutschen Staaten*, Berlin 2013, pp. 379-05; and others.

2.   Cited in R. GASCHÉ, *The Honor of Thinking: Critique, Theory, Philosophy*, Stanford 2007, p. 211.

3.   *Ibidem*, p. 216.

4.   S. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880-1924*, London 2010; ID., *Exclusion of Egyptians*; and others.

5.   Cf. R. GASCHÉ, *Europe or the Infinite Task: A Study of a Philosophical Concept*, Stanford 2009.

6.   Cf. J. ASSMANN, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, Stanford 2006 (trans. R. Livingstone) and ID., *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance and Political Imagination*, Cambridge 2011.

of knowing and collective modes of expression, that is, on social realities that are to be located below the first place or power, or even outside the bounds of the logos altogether. What they offer are not systematic modes of knowing but ephemeral ideologies of existence.

The epistemological situation here is comparable to that of the masses in intellectual discourses: the communities surrounding archaeological sites, and by extension their nations and national imaginaries, can only live and exist, they cannot articulate the knowledge that forms the basis and justification of their existence, just as the people cannot articulate their own truth to power, only the intellectual, or in this case the professional expert, can do so.[7] The breakdown in communication, or disconnect in the ideological and epistemological divides, begins to occur when the intellectual or the professional expert turns around and begins to speak to the masses their own truth. The archaeologist — and here the Egyptian archaeologist, previously excluded from the official histories of the disciplinary modes of knowledge production, *is* included — has yet to turn to the people for an understanding of the socially resonant and collective modes of knowledge. For these modes lead to considerations of the find beyond its provenance as the object of a positive science of knowledge and of the history of such expert knowledge — and here *history* itself becomes only the history of such expertly reconstructed knowledge. The collective modes of reception, having for own temporality and historical depth the connectivity of cultural memory, reveal dimensions of the find as a collectively reconstituted symbol of identity, a socially cementing locus of significance to the very people whose lives are materially intertwined with the open potential of the symbolic energy of an otherwise lived history. And "the people" here should not be conflated with "the public" as the latter is still largely a construct of archaeological thought and practices. Indeed, this "public" remains in the discourses of Egyptian archaeology largely a referent for the British or German or French general public whose favourable reception and support, and even influence over

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7.   A. EL-DESOUKY, *Heterologies of Revolutionary Action: On Historical Consciousness and the Sacred in Naguib Mahfouz's Children of the Alley*, in « Journal of Postcolonial Writing » 47/4 (2011), pp. 428-39 [= Special Issue: C. ROONEY - A. EL-DESOUKY (eds), *Egyptian Literary Culture and Egyptian Modernity*].

funding or policy making, is to be curried for the survival of archaeological digs or museum collections. The Egyptian people are hence kept at a doubled further remove, not even yet constituting such a public, they index a double absence as the hidden hands of the digs [8]   and the players with deep historical stakes in knowledge production. Here, a useful lesson can still be learned from the recent events in Egypt.

Arguably, one indomitable lesson we have all learned from the crucial 18 days in Tahrir Square, 25 January–11 February 2011, is that the people remember. The past is ever continuous in forms of resonance that are the creative cultural forms of remembrance. The spontaneous verbal and visual signs, collective street performances, body gestures, songs and murals have all revealed new forms of aesthetic production that are at once collective, resonant individually, resistant to power and embracing of diversity, and all in the name of "We the Egyptians". The official discourses of religious and political ideologies were absent from the scene in those days. A moment of interruption in the social history of all Egyptians was raised to iconic status not only nationally but also globally. In this iconic moment, collective structures of consciousness revealed not only that the people can speak and do speak — not needing for the intellectual, cultured or professional, to speak their truth to power — but also that their forms of speech reveal a language that is at once verbal and visual, and that these are embedded in powerfully resonant acts of remembrance. Tahrir Square has become, in Rita Sakr's words, « a symbolic political geography that extends to the entire Egyptian nation », and this symbolic geography, an *archae* of collective origins, has offered « a language and practice of 'Tahrir' ('liberation') that spans a century of resistance against different forms of imperial hegemony and social and spatial injustice in Cairo, Egypt, and beyond ».[9]   The Square has had a much longer history before and a more contentious one since, but it is this particular historical moment that has reconfigured the different histories and

8.   QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*.
9.   R. SAKR, *'Anticipating' the 2011 Arab Uprisings: Revolutionary Literatures and Political Geographies*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 21; A. EL-DESOUKY, *The Amāra on the Square: Connective Agency and the Aesthetics of the Egyptian Revolution*, in « Contention: A Journal of Social Protest », forthcoming [= Special Issue: N. HUSSEIN - I. MACKENZIe (eds), *Creative Practices/Resistant Acts*].

manifestations of urban spatial politics into the icon that has rallied national and global imaginaries of a people claiming their own destiny.

The forms of solidaristic action on the Square constituted a materiality for such collective and collectivizing resonance, well beyond the bounds of physical space, that may be usefully compared with the possibilities of social and historical insight offered by the archaeological find. The "object" that emerges out of the finds of a site has the potential to reveal not only dimensions of the past but also urgencies in the present. The tension between these two possibilities still remains strictly within the professional spheres of influence, and these have laid exclusive claims on a disciplinarily constituted originary past that can only become significant through the modes of knowledge production of the positive sciences. Can we think of a past that resonates in the present but is neither necessarily a forced origin nor a forced *telos*? What forms of materiality would such a temporal possibility have? What alternative modes of knowledge could be sought after here?

The search for answers seems to have begun in the various attempts to open up the history and theory of archaeology to other disciplinary methods and not least to the questions of social history, cultural memory and relation to the past, and these have yet to be investigated more systematically in the Egyptian context. The contributions that have focused on the questions of history and theory read together with the force of resonant insight, naturally forming thematic clusters, with Abd el-Gawad offering a comparably crucial account of another set of intersections within the divisions of "expertise" but with art-history as the dividing line; Doyon, Carruthers and Del Vesco offering good historical accounts of disciplinary and institutional practices within the Egyptian context; and Quirke offering a rounded theoretical critique. All papers share a fundamental critical revisionist impulse and a constructivist approach, seeking to offer viable interventionist practices. The questions posed hinge on the junctures of disciplinary knowledge production and institutionalisation. Examples from popular reception and the positioning of the public and the interfacing with "scientific" expertise seem to reinforce Quirke's comment about such expertise reinforcing popular views of Egypt, as he dismisses the

banal view abhorred in anti-lay rhetoric. This is clearly implied in the arguments of Abd el-Gawad on the conservatism of art historical divisions, where the provenance of the object or the find recedes with all its crucial implications, before popular view and entrenched practice.

Carruthers' arguments, Abd el-Gawad's and Del Vesco's, with examples from other papers, are further illuminated when read against Quirke's final theoretical and methodological suggestions, which seem to hinge on a projected equality in access to knowledge and knowledge production between expertise and practice on the one hand and reception and institutionalisation on the other, mitigating the fields of knowledge production in the former binary and leveling the power play and partitioning of participatory acts in the latter. The fundamental division of knowledge production and reception between "expert" and "public" is clearly embedded in the historical present (refracted in the history of the discipline) and its dictates — political, cultural, social, ideological, economic and religious (Christian/Biblical). The "public" outside of Egypt seem to come across as already part of the whole network of knowledge production, even when they stand for general, popular, thematic knowledge as opposed to the specialized knowledge of research. The "public" inside of Egypt seems to be outside of the equation altogether, except when spawning the *effendiyya* middle class (Carruthers) or in the more diffuse terms of state propaganda, especially after 1952. The question to be posed here is this: What type of knowledge production is assigned to either side of the epistemological divide and how is it conceived before it is culturally and historically placed in the imaginaries of the discipline's temporal causalities that have usurped the very history of knowledge? (cf. Doyon and Quirke).

On the side of "expertise" it seems there is yet the further internal differentiation of an inside and an outside. The figure of the non-Egyptian expert remains embodied, gendered, individualised, persons who represent fields of expertise, standing metonymically for systematic, verifiable, unbiased knowledge — read "disciplinary" and "scientific". Whereas inside of Egypt, the expertise is represented mainly, perhaps only, institutionally — state-institutions as the purveyors of expertise, and even then only inasmuch as these reflect or

tally with the dictates of a rational modernity (Carruthers). In this narrative, institutions in the West stand either for disciplinary knowledge and specialised research or for policies and the very rational modernity sought after in the history of Egyptian institutions, while the knowledge produced is in reality the summations of a history of iconic and representative figures. Again, what kind of knowledge production is assumed here, and how can it be transformed if thus authoritatively embodied? What would have happened had the technical know-how of the Qiftis, for example, been systematically incorporated in the publication and dissemination of archaeological "knowledge" and "disciplinary" methods? (Doyon).[10]   Similarly, what would have happened had the provenance of a complex and diverse Egypt been disseminated around and through the objects and the finds? (Abd el-Gawad) And this could also extend to the Islamic-Arabic provenance as suggested by Doyon — for example, the complex and rigorous methods of the Islamic science of *isnād*, the verification of transmission through a chain of authorities, lends itself naturally to a rigorous method of documentation, one that moreover transmutes the dreaded subjective-objective divides. The thirteenth-century Egyptian scholar Abu Ja'far al-Idrīsī (1173-1251), for example, drew on this methodology, as well as on direct and carefully documented first-hand experience, in his authentication of all knowledge recorded in writing or transmitted orally surrounding the Pyramids at Giza. His compendium, *Anwār 'ulwiyy al-ajrām fī al-kashf 'an asrār al-Ahram*,[11]   offers the first and fullest study of all knowledge, including local knowledge, pertaining to the Pyramids and establishes scholarly as well as culturally relevant arguments regarding their meaning for the present moment. Centuries later, and through his self-avowed struggle against the effacing effects of time on historical life, the Egyptian novelist Gamal al-Ghitani has tapped into the possibilities of a rich, architectonic style, which crosses the boundaries of many classical Arabic genres and narrative discourses. In the space of the narrative, the genres are transformed into categories of self-discovery, traversed in and through a character's consciousness, while their distinctive linguistic styles serve as the personal

10. Cf. also QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*.
11. A. AL-IDRĪSĪ, *Anwār 'ulwiyy al-ajrām fī al-kashf 'an asrār al-Ahram* (ed. U. Haarmann), Beirut 1991.

traits of the character. Al-Ghitani does not preoccupy himself simply with attempts at reconstructing the past. He is concerned rather with connecting the present, in its complex affinities and forces, to the past, by revealing its myriad living legacies. On al-Ghitani's view, memory must have a redemptive force. Thus in *Mutūn al-Ahrām* (*Pyramid Texts*), the narrative, its movement and divisions, and the various characters, from across time and space, all come together to reveal the secret behind the shape of the pyramid. The main characters' lives are intertwined with the mystery of the Great Pyramid, whose shape holds them together in their disparate, irretrievable historical moments. In this case, literature literally seeks to cross the boundary into the monumental. The fecund mysteries of structure and architecture are further explored in another novel, *Sifr al-Bunyān* (*The Gospel of Structure*).

Al-Ghitani generally relies only on pre-Egyptological Arabic sources for his literary works.[12]   For him, it is the resonances in language and daily lives, firmly held beliefs and honoured age old practices that constitute the knowledge that the writer must draw on. It is the same impulse that is also at work in the decision to offer the popular TV programme on Akhenaten naming such an iconic figure as possibly one of the unnamed prophets mentioned in the Qur'an. These and similar impulses have also brought back the undifferentiated but visually iconic figures of Ancient Egyptian murals to Tahrir Square as a collectivising and a subjectivising image of the people, the resurrected "We the Egyptians". These are all forms of the connective agency of cultural memory, they not only inform common, identity cementing forms of expression but also modes of knowing that are embedded in the collective ethos and that are always retrieved in the folds of present and resonant urgencies. And it is the task of the Egyptologist and the archaeologist-cum-expert-cum-intellectual to engage with these collective modes of expression and of knowing, as these offer the socially cementing and cultural spheres of knowledge. The people by far exceed the private expert's construct of the public, and the knowledge to be sought after

12.   A. EL-DESOUKY, *Al-qaṣṣ wa al-iqtiṣāṣ: Qirā'a fī riwāyat Mutūn al-Ahrām li al-Ghīṭānī / Narrating and Tracing the Past: A Reading of al-Ghitani's Mutūn al-Ahrām*, in « Alif: A Journal of Comparative Poetics » 24 (2004), pp. 119-52.

cannot always be the pre-determined *telos* of the *archae* as the reconstituted knowledge of origins. This is what Foucault has sought to revert as a paradigm for all knowledge and to open up to the historicality of regimes of power in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and it is through this intellectual reorientation that Foucault also recognised that the people already know but, seen only as collective movement inspired by famines and dreaming only of a loaf of bread, they have always been barred from the possibilities of collectively exercising power in the official discourses of history.[13]

What exactly constitutes the possibility of knowledge, presented by the object and the find, as evidentiary and disciplinary, beyond the external factors of moral authority and colonial power relations? Are there other modes of knowing that are equally conceptually rigorous and that can mediate the divide of "expert" and "public", "inside" of Egypt and "outside" of Egypt? The contributions in this volume all seem to converge on the need to divest the materiality of find from traditions of labour, state and knowledge institutions and to expand into social spheres and other cultural modes of knowledge production. The *object* and the *past*: the object seems potentially to carry with it a form of pastness that disciplinary expertise seems to protect and to preserve in temporal causalities, but it yet remains fatefully a construct, given the lack of provenance and correlated evidence. It has to be interpreted for the sake of the present, the past can never be repristinated. The object in the middle of the web of social, cultural, institutional and disciplinary claims, still withholds its own possibility, while metonymically suggesting a relevant pastness on a continuum with the present, with rhythmic moves of significance. The questions of rhythmic historical relevance, however, are still conflated with the thorny issues of continuity and of bad identity politics, and are still pitted against the specialised modes of historical reconstruction. As Bruce Trigger had noted in 1989, referring to the social contexts of archaeological practices and the conflicts of subjective interpretations:[14]

13. EL-DESOUKY, *Heterologies of Revolutionary Action*.
14. B. TRIGGER, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge 1989, p. 409.

> Archaeology is best able to contribute to a general understanding of human behaviour in terms of the information that it provides about changes that occur over longer periods of time and which therefore cannot be studied using contemporary social-science data. This temporal perspective compensates to a considerable degree for lack of direct information about perceptions and intentions, which, in the absence of other sources of information about culturally specific aspects of the past, largely reduces archaeology to considering constraints on human behaviour.

Trigger further argues that social-science data must follow high theories, and while such high theories are hard to refute, they lack the kind of evidence that archaeology has access to over longer stretches of time and which offer a temporal dimension that can be studied through elaborate chronologies. In the end, this methodological approach leads to consideration of temporal relations only in their causal modalities. Yet, the divide implied here between the high theories of the social sciences and the hard evidence of positive-science methods still leaves out of the equation the possibility of admitting other forms of knowledge production that are based on collective forms of expression and of remembered behaviour such as now being offered in the theories of cultural memory, the operative modes of which Assmann has explored as demonstrating a certain collective and connective agency.[15]

In the contributions to this volume, arguments are offered suggesting the crucial necessity for mediating the divide of expert-public and modes of knowledge production and reception, but precisely how so, and how is this to be achieved simultaneously inside and outside of Egypt? An implicit answer suggests itself along the lines of vision of a necessitated re-partitioning of the sensible or the perceptible, in Jacques Rancière theories of the aesthetics of the political: every one has equal access to modes of knowledge and everyone too has equal access to modes of speech and an equal right to speaking. But even then, the question remains as to what type of knowledge production is recognised and then hierarchised, and more crucially, what manner of speech is to be recognised for its cementing force and beyond simply the assertions of the right to speak. Simply to assert the right to speak does not seem to have changed the

15.   ASSMANN, *Religion and Cultural Memory*.

theoretical terms of the game. Moreover, this possibility, as Quirke suggests, leaves institutions of expertise and the rule of experts in a precarious position.

The "new social contract between knowledge seekers" which Quirke calls for has to begin first with this fundamental equality in the right to speak and in the recognition that such a speech constitutes a form of knowing inseparable from how the present makes sense of the past, even in the sight of evidence – evidence may inform disciplinary method but does not yet speak knowingly. The missing "public" of the equations, common Egyptians, for example, spoke when they formed a protective cordon round the Egyptian Museum on the 28th of January 2011. But this was taken simply as an expression of national pride, or was there something else deeper at work, a resonance with the revolutionary impulse, which created such an ethic of solidarity as rarely seen before? There is a presentist, existential dimension to all modes of knowing, including the disciplinary modes of expert knowledge, which is rightly to be sought for in collective modes of expression and the spheres of cultural memory.

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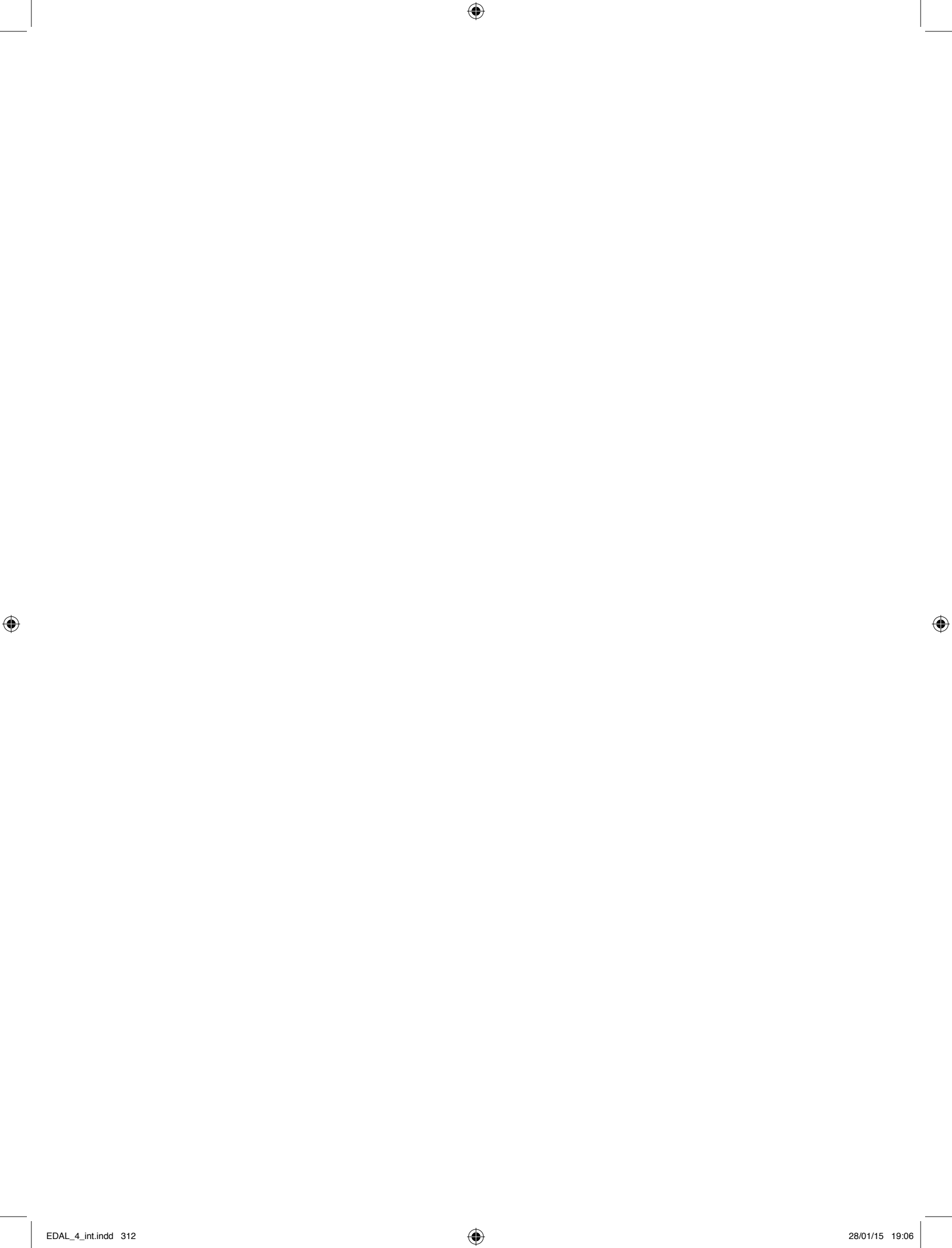
Afterword from Cairo January 2014

Tarek Sayed Tawfik

This unconventional "Egyptological conference" with its difficult title *Forming Material Egypt* showed in a remarkable way that there is more to Egyptology than just tombs, temples and artifacts. The speakers presented interesting scientific results concerning virtually reuniting pieces of one object, or different parts of one discovery scattered in variant museums across the world (Miniaci, Stevenson, Bagh, Quirke, Abd el-Gawad), finding long forgotten details in archives (Naunton, Piacentini, Thornton, Garnett, Price, Moshenska), revealing interesting facts about ancient sites (Bussmann, Villing, Tassie / van Wetering, Zabrana, Jeffreys / Tavares), dangers and opportunities for sites, museums, objects, archives and libraries (Picchi, Lankester, Carruthers, Doyon, Del Vesco, Tawfik, Razanajao, Elnaggar, Eissa / Mahmoud).

Beside these, the conference also addressed current issues and problems of Egyptology like the need for more intense rescue archaeology, the standardization of formats, the tyranny of types, how to display find-groups, the problems of funding and of selective publication, that is to name only a few that came up. Also another important and different aspect of Egyptology which is only rarely touched surfaced in many discussions, namely the humans behind Egyptology, including Egyptologists both international and Egyptians, conservators, employees of the Egyptian Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA), security forces protecting archaeological sites and preventing antiquities trade across Egyptian borders, etc. The attitudes of all these people become especially important at times of crises, turmoil und unrest.

Egypt is going through a difficult time of change in its history, starting with the revolution of the 25th of January 2011 which eventually toppled the regime of President Hosni Mubarak, and since then there have been many ups and downs in Egypt's struggle for democracy, stability and economical growth.

In the light of these events in Egypt several speakers and panelists discussed the impact of what happened and is still happening in Egypt not only on the archaeological sites and objects but also on the people dealing with them inside and outside Egypt.

The confrontations at the beginning of the revolution of the 25th of January 2011 led to the retreat and later to the complete disappearance of the police and security forces. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo is located very close to the Tahrir Square which became the heart and symbol of the revolution. On the evening of 28th January attempts began to loot the museum. Following a distressing television report, hundreds of concerned Egyptians formed a human shield around the Museum which prevented it from being ransacked by looters. Still a few managed to enter the museum and to steal a small number of artifacts, before Egyptian Special Forces from the Army succeeded in securing the museum building and its treasures again.

In these days of total anarchy also several inspectors in charge of archaeological sites all over Egypt turned into heroes trying to defend their sites against looting and destruction, with no presence of the police at all.

Egypt had to sacrifice a small part of its heritage for this historical change taking place in the country during these first days, but it could have turned much worse, had it not been for ordinary people joining hands with the intellectuals to save the Museum on the 28th of January, and for the inspectors who risked their lives to protect their archaeological sites.

In his introduction to this volume Stephen Quirke criticized the response of foreign archaeological missions in Egypt and their main concern for "their" sites and stores in « an illegitimate sense of ownership ». This and the complete inactivity and silence of the International Association of Egyptologists (IAE) were received negatively by Egyptian Egyptology both scholarly and administratively.

Unfortunately as unrests in the country continued and the total absence of law enforcement became obvious (this continued more or less for two and a half years) archeological sites, storehouses and Museums continued to suffer from looting attempts, uncontrolled digs, trespassing and building on land

which is part of archaeological sites and property of the Ministry of Antiquities (most excessively on the sites of Matariya and Dahshour, but also sites in Abydos, Minya, Fayoum, etc.). Over one hundred artifacts fell victim to theft from the two archaeological collections (ancient Egyptian and Islamic) of the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University in the first half of 2011. None of these objects has yet been recovered.

The clashes in and around the Tahrir Square kept erupting again and again, and left their heavy marks on some historical buildings and old schools, most prominently the Institut d'Égypte founded by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1789 during the French invasion of Egypt. This precious scholarly archive allocated near the parliament's assembly building and housing around two hundred thousand rare books, manuscripts, maps and illustrated documents was set alight with Molotov cocktails on the 17th of December 2011 resulting in irreplaceable great losses including original copies of *Description de l'Égypte* and Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*.

Despite presidential elections which were narrowly won by Dr. Mohamed Morsi, candidate of the Moslem Brotherhood, the country did not really come to rest, because the promised and long awaited social, economic and political improvements were not happening fast enough and did not satisfy a substantial part of the Egyptian citizenry. So again, just a month after our conference, on the 30th of June 2013 millions took to the streets to show their discontent with president Morsi and his government. A few days later the Army sided with the huge number of protestors, and Morsi and his ministers were removed from power. The centre of the massive demonstrations was again Tahrir Square, so there was again concern about the safety of the Egyptian Museum, but this time volunteers from the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University and tourist guides followed my appeal to form a kind of civil guard posted around the Museum for its protection. We also welcomed on this occasion working together with the tourism police and the security forces, who were making their come back, to encourage them to fully take over their duties again.

A real tragedy occurred in Middle Egypt on 14th August 2013 when a crowd of protestors, outraged because of the dispersal of two large sit-ins in

Cairo and Giza staged by supporters of the ousted president Morsi, ransacked the Museum of Mallawy, killing one of the curators who tried to keep them from entering the Museum. This time blind fury led to the reasonless smashing and breaking of the bigger objects and the looting of over one thousand artifacts from the museum. This was not organized crime: more than half of the stolen pieces were returned or recovered a short time later. At the same day of this disaster several old churches in the vicinity were also ransacked and burnt.

As Egypt tries to define itself anew, unrest continues, now taking the form of terror acts. Just as the third memory of the beginning of the revolution approaches, early in the morning on the 24th January 2014 a massive explosion caused by a car bomb in front of Cairo's central police headquarters also caused severe structural damage to Egypt's Museum of Islamic Art and to Egypt's National Library and Archives (NLA), two historical buildings located across the street from the security directorate targeted in the blast. The interior of the Museum of Islamic Art was ripped apart and many of its unique pieces were badly damaged or partly destroyed. There were also casualties in the NLA, where papyri and old manuscripts were affected by the explosion. Stained glass windows of four historic mosques in the vicinity (Agha Al-Hini, Al-Amen Hussein, Fatma Al-Shaqraa and Abdel-Ghani El-Fakhri, also known as Al-Banat Mosque) were shattered, as well as parts of their wooden gates and latticed wooden windows known as *mashrabiya*.[1]

Awareness concerning heritage has already increased: this became apparent when inhabitants of the area rushed to the Museum immediately after the blast to secure its doors against looting until the security forces arrived.

This incident, where the antiquities were not even the main target of the attack, made it clear once more how unpredictable dangers to archaeological sites and museums can be, that we cannot provide complete protection, but that action plans must be carefully developed with clear step-by-step catalogues for standard procedures to deal with such crises. Here again archaeologists at

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1.   N. EL-AREF, *Neighbouring historical mosques damaged in explosion*, « Arham Online » Friday 24 Jan. 2014, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/43/92418/Heritage/Islamic/%20Neighbouring-historical-mosques-damaged-in-explosi.aspx>.

the site of the catastrophe are improvising to deal with the situation, and asking themselves how to move and store the damaged objects.

On a more positive note Irina Bokova the Director-General of UNESCO quickly responded and declared: « I pledge today that I will mobilise all of UNESCO's experience and expertise to rebuilding the Museum and restoring the damage — this is as essential for the people of Egypt as it is for women and men across the world ».[2]

These were but a few examples of the greater loses Egypt's heritage suffered the last three years which have shown dramatically how vulnerable our archeological sites and museums are.

For objects that are registered and documented in Egypt, there is the possibility of tracing them and requesting their return to Egypt, but objects which resulted from hundreds of recent illegal digs which are not documented are the real loss. These objects are lost for Egypt and Egyptology.

Antiquities smuggling, especially across the countries long desert borders with Libya and the Sudan, is difficult to control and the amount of these criminal activities is hard to estimate. Egyptian efforts to decrease smuggle must be supported by equipment, expertise and closer cooperation with Interpol and custom authorities all over the world. Functioning communication, a quick exchange of information and immediate reaction is crucial to stop the worst antiquities drain Egypt has witnessed in its modern history.

Poverty, illiteracy, the dream of quickly making big money by haphazardly digging for antiquities to sell them and a lack of public awareness, not only among less wealthy classes of Egyptian society, about the value and importance of their heritage were also factors in the careless destruction and looting of archeological sites and museums.

An initiative by active and enthusiastic Egyptian archaeologists (including El Daly, Elnaggar, Eissa and Tawfik who participated in the conference) is on the way to offer the new decision makers a policy paper including pragmatic models of good practice and governance for the Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA),

2. Cf. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1081> (accessed on 24.01.2014).

programs for raising the qualifications and skills of those working in the field of archaeology, modern methods of storing and documenting, solutions for decades old problems with inventory systems, ways of benefitting from the digital future in terms of networking, archiving, conservation, presentation, protection etc.

A syndicate of Egyptian archeologists is just awaiting a new parliament to be elected to apply for its official recognition to start actively working on the improvement of the working and financial conditions of Egyptian archeologists and to stand up for their rights and needs, so that they may go about their work in a more efficient and professional way.

These exceptional circumstances in Egypt have taught us as Egyptians that we must be better prepared in the future to deal with any crises involving archaeological sites and museums in a quicker, more organized and efficient way, but we will continue to count on our colleagues and friends throughout the world to help us, not only by further studying our antiquities and thereby contributing to a better understanding of Egypt's past but especially by aiding us in preparing a young qualified generation of Egyptian archaeologists with high scientific, practical and managerial skills, by contributing to a better protection of sites and artifacts and by assisting in the quick flow of information when there are cases of illegal antiquities trade.

This conference most certainly was a step in the right direction. Admitting to problems, facing and discussing them jointly on an international level may help lay the foundation for a new more responsible and effective international Egyptological community, one where modern Egypt as heir to ancient Egypt plays a key role and be the centre where Egyptological data produced all over the world is gathered and made available to all scholars who share the enthusiasm for Egypt's past. The land of Egypt still conceals a mass of archaeological treasures. Recently some were lost, but let us work together on saving, protecting and conserving parts of Egyptian heritage that have yet to be discovered.

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