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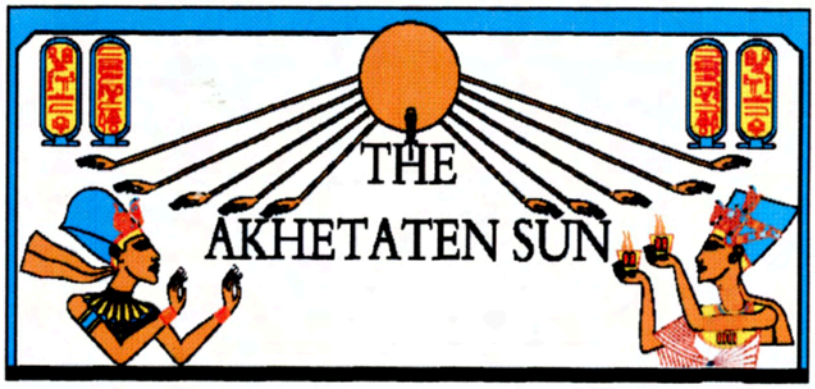

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THE PRESIDENT'S PAPYRUS

The War in Iraq seems to be on everyone's mind these days. And it is not surprising. Over the past seven months, I spent 12 weeks in Egypt. And even before the war began it was a constant subject of conversation.

Every Egyptian I spoke with dislikes Saddam Hussein, however the tribalism inherent in being a Muslim and an Arab caused people in Egypt, and the Middle East in general, to close ranks behind him when he became threatened by an outside (read United States) force. This apparent contradiction is difficult for a Westerner to really grasp. But the fact is that the issue of right or wrong simply takes a back seat to the issue of family versus outsiders.

Tourism was down during the entire period I was there and we were told that beginning in March bookings had dropped off almost completely. This really does severe damage to the Egyptian economy as it is heavily dependent on tourism.

Archaeological activity was, of course, ongoing. The amount seemed, to me at least, to be somewhat less than normal. Whether this was because of concerns over the impending war, the effects of the new regulations put in place by the Supreme Council, or the worldwide economic downturn, I can't say.

No matter which side of the Iraq issue one is on, I think everyone can share the hope that the situation will return to normal as quickly as possible.

Pray for peace.

Bill Petty

NEW EVIDENCE FOR PAINTED FLOORS AT THE NORTH PALACE

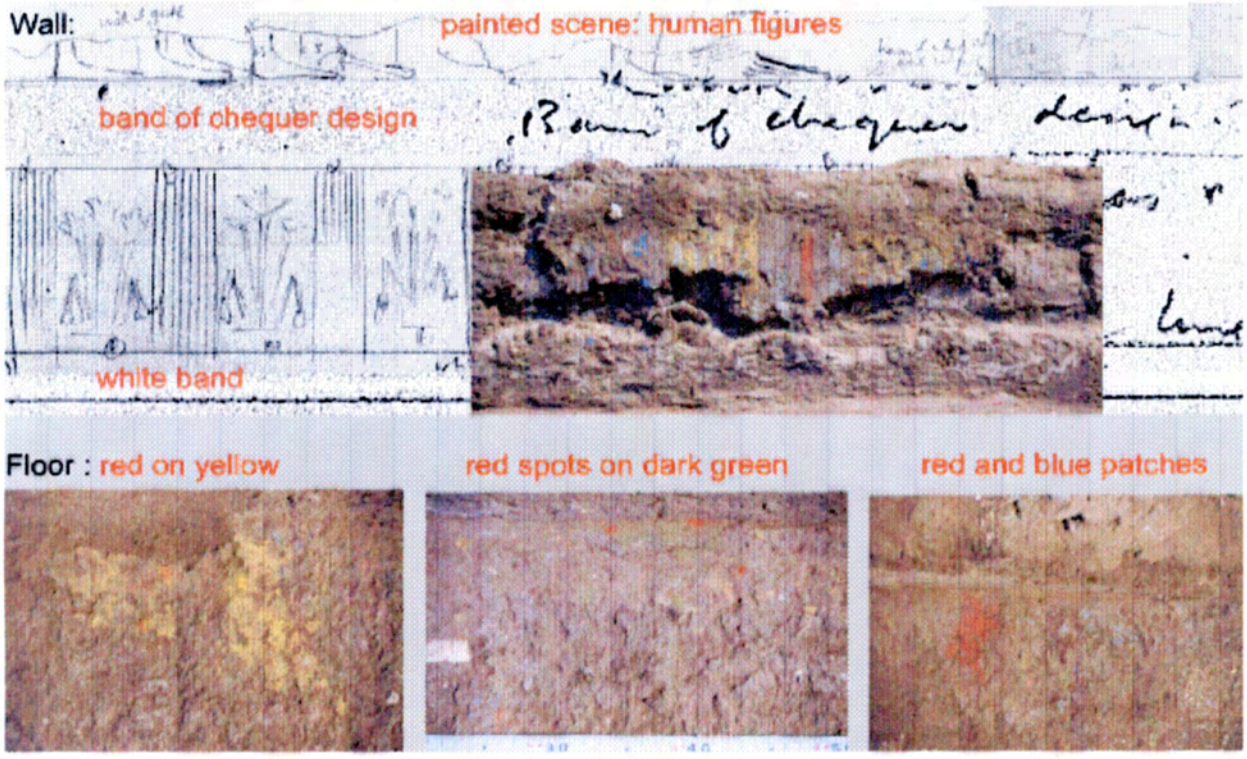
By Barry Kemp

An exhibit in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, which visitors to Amarna seem generally to remember, is a large low greenhouse-like construction in the central hall covering an area of pavement painted with scenes from nature. This pavement was discovered by the British archaeologist Flinders Petrie in 1891–2 at the Great Palace at Amarna. Petrie records how he conserved it by using various dilutions of tapioca, which he personally spread over the surface with his finger (Petrie 1894, 12). At the same time he built a two-roomed shelter over it, with mud-brick walls and a wooden roof supported on wooden poles, for the benefit of tourists who were already coming to Amarna with some regularity. In 1912, however, the painting fell victim to a feud between two groups of guardians and was hacked up. The surviving pieces were then taken to Cairo where they were reassembled to look similar to the original. As for Petrie's shelter, the lower parts of the walls still survive, filled with spoil from a later excavation. Some local people, the original story now forgotten, call the building the *kenisa*, implying that they think it is the remains of a Coptic church.

The painting in the Egyptian Museum is likely to be a montage of pieces from paintings on the floors of at least three adjacent rooms in the so-called 'North Harim' area of the Great Palace over which Petrie built his shelter (Weatherhead 1992). The fact that so much has survived at all is on account of the base material being moderately robust: two layers of gypsum plaster, the upper layer reinforced with animal hair. These floors seem to have been rare in Amarna palaces, and no example is known from a private house. In addition to the group from the Great Palace, one was later discovered in one of the buildings in the Maru-Aten enclosure. Many parts of this last example are to be found in a number of museums. In recent years three further instances have come to light in other buildings, but all have been reduced to small loose fragments. These are: a) the King's House: fragments picked from Pendlebury's spoil-heap adjacent to the central columned hall (Weatherhead 1995, 104–6). The most likely source is one or more of the halls themselves, but the interior of this building has not be re-examined by us; (b) the Great Palace, the southern building O42.2: a small number of fragments were discovered in 1996 associated with an early phase of the palace which was destroyed to its foundations to make way for the Smenkhkara Hall; (c) the South Pavilion at Kom el-Nana: a quantity of fragments was found along with a deposit of rubbish (mostly pottery) which had been used as filling-material for a sunken garden. It is still not clear whether this debris was thrown in during or after the Amarna Period. It is noteworthy that no trace of a painted gypsum floor has been found at the North Palace. The conservation work undertaken here during the recent season at Amarna has, however, brought to light evidence for floor painting of a much more fragile kind.

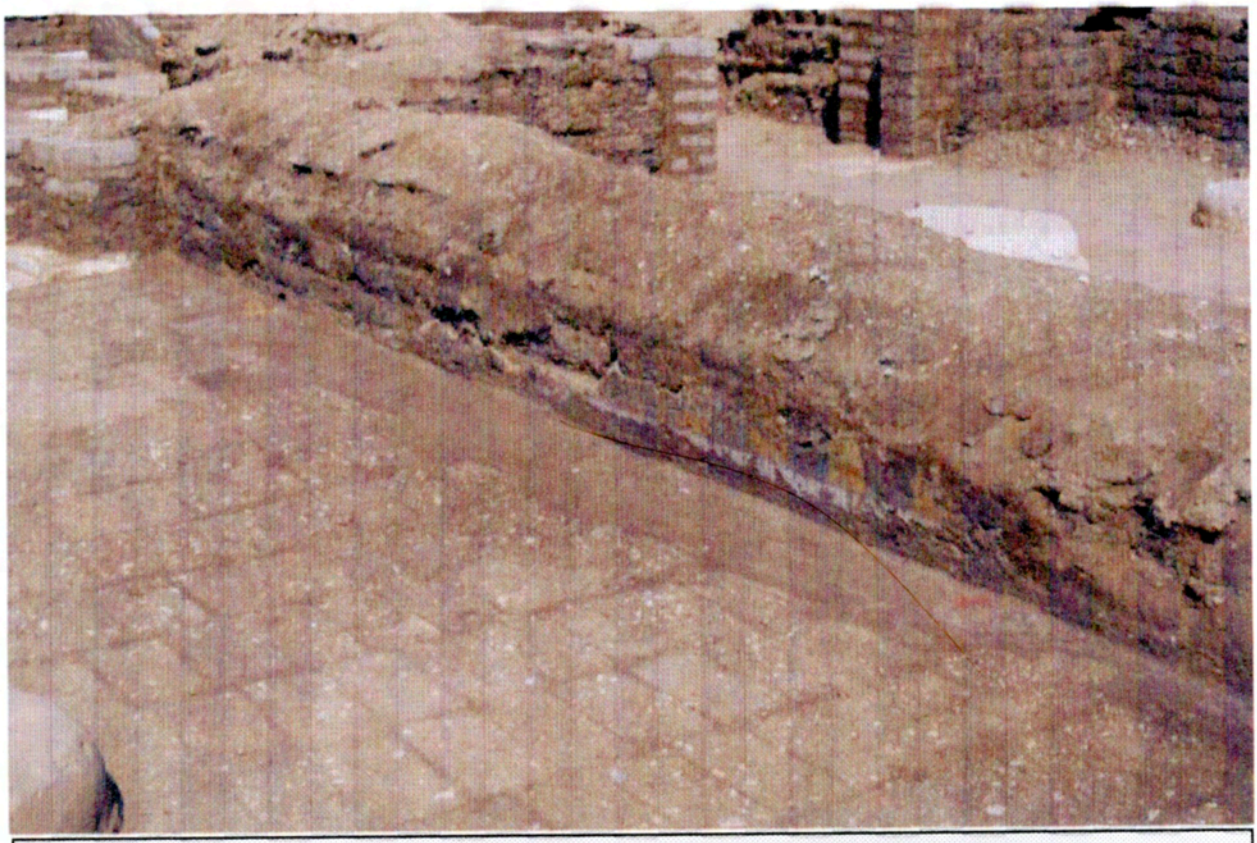
When the central hall of the long building which stands at the back of the palace was first excavated in 1923 the lower part of a wall-painting was found on the east wall to the north of the central doorway. It preserved the feet and legs of a procession of human figures above a dado consisting of vertical painted lines and formal plant designs.

All that survives now are small portions of the dado, which have been protected by sand banked against them. In order to photograph them I had the sand removed. This revealed also patches of paint on a narrow strip of mud plaster, which covers the mud-brick floor. This seems to be an accidentally preserved area of a layer of mud plaster that had originally been spread over the entire floor but has otherwise been eroded away, as is almost invariably the case in Amarna buildings. The surface of the flooring bricks was slightly irregular. They had been covered with a thin layer of mud plaster enriched with chopped straw, often only 2 mm in thickness, increasing to 4 mm, but in one place thinning to nothing so that the paint was applied directly to the protruding surface of small pebbles embedded in the bricks. In a few places this floor-plaster still joins directly with the much thicker mud wall-plaster, which often reaches 2 cm in thickness. Traces of yellow and blue paint from the floor design continue across the join at one point. At another point the wall-plaster overlaps the floor-plaster and its covering of paint, showing that the floor had been painted before the wall was plastered. The wall-plaster itself had been spread not directly over the bricks of the wall but over a thin layer of gypsum plaster. One place was preserved where it can be seen that this white underlay had also been applied over a small area where the coloured floor paint had risen for a few millimetres up the wall.



When the remains of wall painting in the central hall were first uncovered in 1923, they were sketched by the Egyptologist S.R.K. Glanville. This is the only record for most of it. The illustration given here is a montage composed from sketches on several pages in Glanville's notebook (now in the archive of the EES). Superimposed is a colour photograph of what survives of the frieze; alternating panels of plants and vertical bands. The three views below (at slightly different scales) are sample patches of the traces of paint applied to the mud-plastered floor.

The floor paint was in a poor powdery condition and rarely present in more than small spots. It nevertheless survives in this condition over a length of 5.50 metres, representing the greater part of the distance between the north-east corner of the hall and the edge of the large central doorway. A few spots (yellow and red) are preserved at between 12.85 and 13.30 m from the north-east corner, along the edge of the wall to the south of the central doorway, where erosion has been more severe. It is thus reasonable to conclude that the floor-painting was continuous along the whole east side of the hall. The colours used were yellow, red, orange, blue, turquoise, black and a dark green. Yellow was the colour most frequently present; probably because it was used as a base colour over which other colours were painted. This was visibly the case wherever red was used, probably the second most common colour. The best preserved part was a patch of dark green measuring about 10 x 3 cm on which small red spots had been painted. Otherwise no individual design could be made out, and in particular no trace was visible of black outlining to designs or figures.

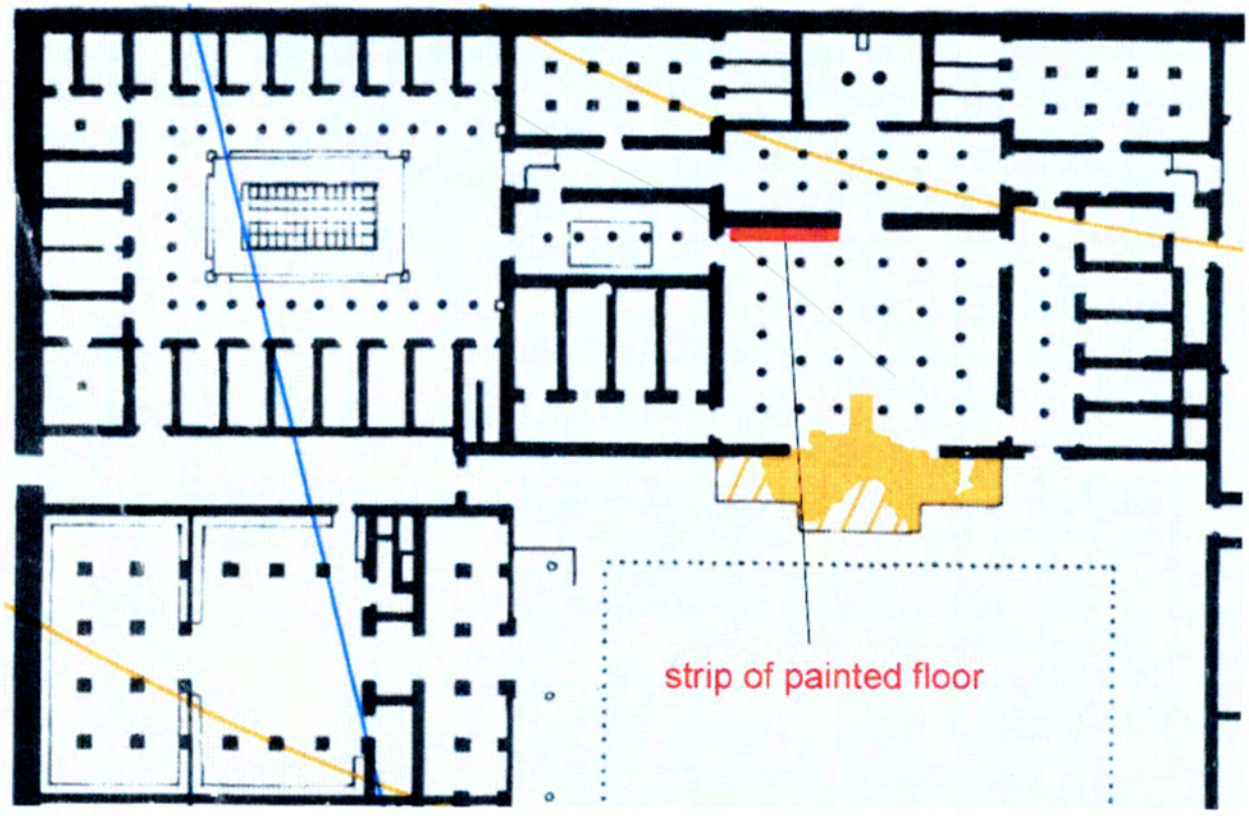


View of the rear wall of the central hall of the North Palace. Remains of the painted frieze along the base of the wall survive. The traces of the painted floor are in front.

It is unlikely that in palaces and the houses of the elite the mud-brick floors of the interior rooms were left unpainted. In the absence of evidence to the contrary plain white is the safest suggestion. Occasionally some of the whitewash has remained, as in the case of the building MIV at Maru-Aten where in at least one room (the bedroom), so the excavators tell us, the floor had been simply whitewashed (Peet and Woolley 1923, 116). In one of the better preserved of the large Amarna private houses, belonging to

the vizier Nakht, the excavators reported that the floors had been whitewashed, but the intriguing observation was also made that one of the floors (they do not say which one) had subsequently been replastered with mud and 'had been painted in bright colours, of which only traces of red and yellow remained' (Peet and Woolley 1923, 6). In another house, R44.1, there was evidence of several layers of paint on the floor, at least one of which was blue (Frankfort 1929, 56). The new evidence from the North Palace opens up the likelihood that decorative painting on a suitably prepared mud surface over a mud-brick floor was an option that could be taken up in palaces, as well as in the houses of the elite. This helps to fill an otherwise awkward gap in our knowledge of decorative schemes especially at the North Palace where so far it has seemed that, in contrast to the richness of the wall paintings; no decoration was applied to floors.

What those decorative schemes might have been remains, however, quite uncertain. Apart from the comments quoted in the last paragraph our only knowledge of floor painting comes from the well known gypsum palace floors. Both the schematics from the Great Palace and those from Maru-Aten were surrounded by a narrow band of plain yellow paint (Petrie 1894, 14, Pl. II; Weatherhead 1992, 186, Fig. 2; 189, Fig. 4; Peet and Woolley 1923, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX). The newly discovered traces at the North Palace seem to represent an initial covering of yellow paint with other colours painted over. One possibility is that the other colours do not belong to the original scheme but represent a later repainting. In this case the yellow could represent the same plain edge band to areas of design that lay further out into the floor and are now wholly lost.



Plan of the rear part of the North Palace showing the location of the strip of floor painting.

The best guess is that the latter resembled the plant, animal and pond life of the gypsum floors. That would still leave the multi-coloured repainting as something quite different, though the quotation in the last paragraph concerning the house of the vizier Nakht suggests that this practice was not unique. The best preserved area at the North Palace, as already noted, consisted of irregular red spots on a dark-green background but not far away was a series of larger continuous patches of both black and red. So narrow is the strip that has survived, however, that these too are likely to have belonged only to an edging to the main designs, now lost, rather than having been representative of a more abstract kind of design that covered the whole floor.

Unlike wall paintings, floor paintings are bound to suffer from wear, not only from people walking on them but also from the regular sweeping away of the dust that is inescapable in a dry country, and especially in a city built on the desert. Contemporary pictures of Amarna palaces show servants both sprinkling water onto the floors and sweeping them. Petrie recorded that a portion of one of the gypsum pavements at the Great Palace had been re-laid and repainted with a similar design but differently positioned (Petrie 1894, 13, Pl. IV.5). Painted mud floors must have been even more vulnerable to wear, and it is to be expected that, quite quickly, frequently used routes between doorways developed visible pathways. The central hall at the North Palace was the hub of the building and was laid out with multiple doorways. Here more than anywhere one might have expected a more hard-wearing gypsum floor. If one takes Amarna in isolation then one could claim that this is another example of the speed and economy of its building. Other palaces of the New Kingdom have, however, survived, the largest being Amenhotep III's at Malkata, at western Thebes. No painted gypsum floors are known from any of them, although one example has been discovered of bows and captives painted on mud plaster on the mud brick treads of steps leading up to the platform at Malkata South (Kom el-Samak; Watanabe 1986, Pls. 4, 5; Waseda University 1993, Pl. 1) We simply have to accept that Egyptians, even the royal family, were thoroughly adapted to living in mud-brick buildings and accepted a speedier rate of attrition in their surroundings than we are used to.

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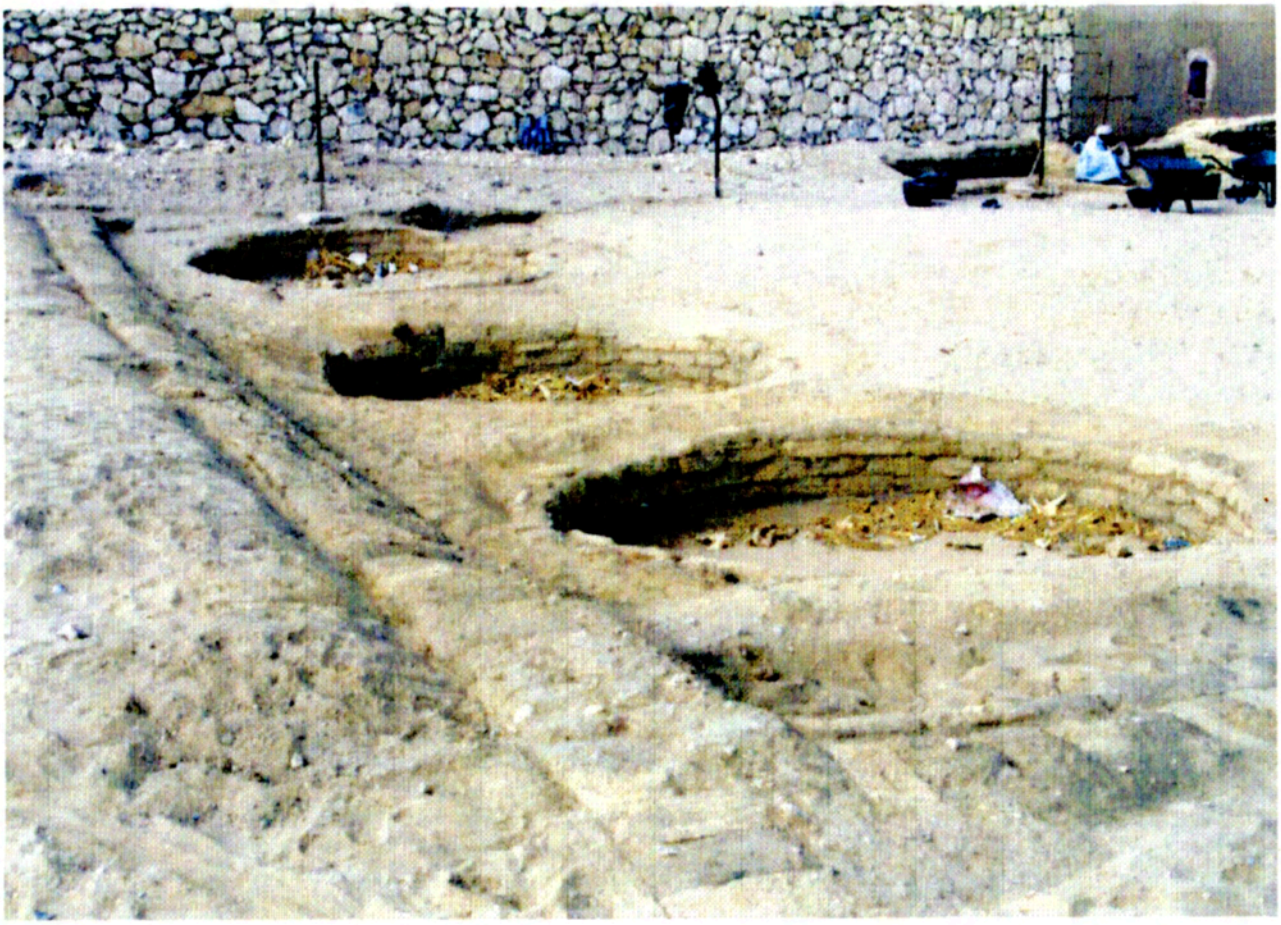
A TALE OF TWO DUMPS
By Kristin Thompson

In an earlier issue of the *Sun*, I reported on my first season at Amarna, in 2001, when I tackled the task of registering hundreds of statuary fragments recovered from two dumps ("Putting the Pieces Together at Amarna," Vol. 5, no. 2). These dumps are areas where previous excavators have left material they did not consider worth keeping. One, the South House Dump, had been buried by either the German expedition of the pre-World War I era, or the early Egypt Exploration Society teams of the 1920s. John Pendlebury's EES team had buried the second, the North House Dump, in the mid-1930s. One major discovery among the South House material was a set of 188 granodiorite pieces of an unfinished pair statue of Akhenaten and Nefertiti seated side-by-side. During the 2002 and 2003 seasons, I returned to Amarna to continue reconstructing that statue and dealing with the hundreds of North House pieces that continued to multiply at an astonishing rate.



The South House Dump material was found buried in these ancient granaries.

Since 2001, when it became apparent that we had and were acquiring huge amounts of new evidence about the statuary program at Akhetaten, I have also been visiting museums around to the world (from the Louvre to the Otago Museum in New Zealand)

to examine pieces from our site and accumulate further evidence. During the 2002 season, as part of this project, I spent part of my time in Cairo to examine some fragments from the 1930s EES expedition that were not on display at the Egyptian Museum. (These turned out to be wrapped and neatly stored in the bottom of the case in the Amarna room that contains some of the clay tablets known as the Amarna Letters.) I then abandoned the noise and crowds of Cairo for the peace of Amarna. There I recommenced making matches on the seated pair statue. By the end of the season I had found 18 more joins, and the result began to look more like sections of a statue than just shattered scraps of grey stone.

After I had begun fitting the pair statue together in 2001, Barry applied to the Egyptian Museum for the return of two crates containing over 200 pieces of pink granite and quartzite that had been recovered from the North House Dump in 1981. His idea was that I might be able to make matches among those pieces as well. The SCA and Museum officials kindly agreed, and during this season Barry and I went back to Cairo to help locate these crates and prepare them for shipment to Amarna. This trip provided my first visit to the basement of the Museum—though I saw only one area of a huge space that apparently extends under the entire building. It was full of many identical-looking crates and a great deal of dust, but eventually the two we were looking for turned up. A quick glance through the contents to count the pieces whetted my appetite for more attempts to relate them to the pieces we already had in the magazine (which were gathered from the same spot in the early 1990s).

All this museum-going limited my time at Amarna, but apart from making progress on the pair statue, I was able to supervise a further clearance of the North House Dump, bringing back perhaps three to four hundred additional fragments of granite, quartzite, and travertine (the latter apparently from a balustrade in the Great Palace containing a relief of an offering scene). This was supposed to be the final clearance of the Dump, but as we learned in 2003, it was far from having yielded up all its treasures.

The North House Dump has yielded hundreds of pink-granite and quartzite statuary fragments

The provenance of the North House Dump material is fortunately fairly clear. Pendlebury's writings and a number of labeled ostraca from the dump indicate that most or all of the fragments came from the Great Palace. The source of the pieces in the South House Dump, however, remained elusive. They were mostly unfinished and hence almost certainly came from a sculptor's workshop. During my museum visits, I

hoped to find clues as to which expedition might have found these fragments. I got lucky during my first attempt, at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, which I visited in July of 2002. Reading through the manuscript dig diary of Ludwig Borchardt, the leader of the German expedition, I found a clear reference on December 13, 1912 to "black granite pieces" that he identified as coming from an unfinished pair statue of Nefertiti and Akhenaten seated side by side, about two-thirds life-size. That description exactly fits our pieces. Just as exciting was the fact that a beautiful and well-known head of Nefertiti, in the Berlin collection, catalogue 21358, was found next to the pieces, in house P47.3—which diehard Amarna enthusiasts will recognize as part of the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose.

The head, which many SUN readers will have seen in Berlin or in the "Pharaohs of the Sun" exhibition, is unfinished, made of grey granodiorite, and has a large tenon at the top painted in the same pink color of the guidelines on "our" statue. (The tenon would have been for the addition of a crown, probably in relatively lightweight hollow faience; otherwise the statue was solid granodiorite—a hard but brittle stone that might well have broken at the necks if Nefertiti's tall crown were carved of that material as well.) Dr. Dietrich Wildung, head of the Museum, kindly provided the EES with a plaster cast of that head, which I carried to Amarna this year, hoping to match it with the pieces there and prove definitively the source of the pair statue.

Laundry time during the 2003 season. Rinsing the dusty pieces of quartzite brought out the colors of the stone and aided in grouping those from the same statutes. Here I wash a quartzite knee from a colossal statue of Nefertiti.

Despite the uncertainties about the impending war on Iraq (and resulting nervousness on the part of friends and family), my travel within Egypt, as I expected, went normally. A group of five of us gathered as usual at the Garden City House Hotel, on the Nile, and on March 1 we went by car to Amarna—a trip somewhat delayed by the necessity for security convoys at each stage, but otherwise uneventful. The magazine was officially opened that day, so I was able to take the crates and trays containing the pair statue into my work area. Not to draw out the suspense, the cast from Berlin fit perfectly onto the top of Nefertiti's back pillar. Thus we had conclusive proof that our statue came from the Thutmose workshop, most famously the source of the painted limestone bust of Nefertiti, also in Berlin. Indeed, our statue was discovered exactly

one week after that bust. Other evidence in Berlin suggests that most or all of the pieces in the South House Dump are the scraps left over from that workshop—pieces that Borchardt deemed not to be museum worthy. He left them in the magazine, and we assume the EES buried them around 1924, along with their own unwanted material.

Dr. Dimitri Laboury, an expert on Eighteenth Dynasty sculpture from the University of Liege in Belgium, joined us this year to examine our statuary fragments. Apart from his own work, however, Dimitri pitched in and helped us in all sorts of ways. These included working with another team member, Corinna Rossi, to make digital photographs of the major parts of the pair statue and assemble them via computer into frontal and profile reconstructions of what remains of the bodies. The images reveal just how much of the statues we actually have—something that is not so apparent when the reassembled chunks are scattered around the worktables. Eventually we hope to incorporate Dimitri and Corinna's virtual-statue images into a formal publication of the pair statue, which I will prepare this year.

My last day at Amarna in 2002. In the dig-houses courtyards with trays of stone brought in from the North House Dump.

As this implies, the process of actually joining the statues seems to be drawing to an end. I still, however, need to deal with dozens of small pieces to make sure there are no further matches. Moreover, oddly enough, we are still finding pieces of the statue. I decided to check a large collection of querns (small grind-stones) that had been systematically gathered by Delwyn Samuel in 1992. Sure enough, one flat-sided piece about the size of a soccer ball turned out to be a piece of the pair-statue's base. An email to Delwyn revealed that she had picked up that "quern" in the complex of Thutmose's workshop. Dimitri and I hiked over to that workshop to check if there might be more pieces. Sure enough, an even larger flat-sided piece—almost certainly another piece of the base--was still sitting in the very building where Borchardt had originally found the granodiorite statue fragments. We also found several smaller pieces, including one unimpressive scrap that proved, when cleaned, to be a little slice of Akhenaten's right ankle. Various team members also kept finding chips and even somewhat larger pieces of unworked granodiorite in the area just behind the dig house—presumably scattered when the original German/EES magazine collapsed at some unknown point.

Despite all the excitement over the pair statue, the North House Dump absorbed much of my time as well. The two crates of fragments that we had examined briefly in the Egyptian Museum basement had arrived at Amarna on the last day of the 2002 season—after I had returned home. They had waited safely in the magazine for a year, and I was able to unpack them and do a bit of rough sorting by stone and possible type, putting them into trays in preparation for registration next season. The majority of the pieces are pink granite, many clearly from colossal statues that once stood in the Great Palace--probably in the Broad Hall, on the east side of which they were found by Pendlebury's team in the mid-1930s. A preliminary examination suggests that these may have been on a scale similar to that of the familiar sandstone colossi from the East Karnak Aten temple. There was also a smaller group of quartzite fragments, and a few in limestone. Happily, early on I was able to find two joins among the Museum's pieces of quartzite—one a section of a feather from a Hathoric crown, most likely from a colossal statue of Nefertiti, the other a body surface covered with pleats. Once I am able to compare these quartzite pieces with the others from the North House Dump, further matches seem likely. The pink granite pieces, being so much more numerous, offer perhaps an even greater potential for matches and, with luck, the possibility for partial reconstructions of some statues.

The unpromising-looking site of the North House Dump, near the northern cliffs as they approach the Nile.

Many fragments mentioned by Pendlebury are still unaccounted for, however, and Dimitri and I spent a few hours in the vicinity of the North Dig House, looking for signs of other possible dumps besides the one that had yielded all the fragments found so far. We did not find any, but upon investigating the North House Dump itself, we discovered dozens of additional fragments—two buckets full by the time the truck came and fetched us. As I remarked to Barry, I have almost become accustomed to visiting Amarna, walking into the desert, and digging up chunks of statuary as if I were harvesting potatoes. Determined finally to empty the Dump, I returned for a short day's work with one worker, the sharp-eyed Mohammed, who spotted the tiniest of faience fragments as we hauled out piece after piece of granite, quartzite, and travertine (more pieces of that shattered balustrade). We ended with a heap of 60 grams of faience tile fragments, beads, and inlays. We also probably brought back a few hundred more statuary and relief pieces to add to those already awaiting registration. Mohammed and I dug until we found clean, packed sand, so think that the North House Dump is finally empty. In 2004, I

hope to be able to catch up with my long-delayed registration—which, at a very rough estimate, will probably involve numbering, measuring and otherwise recording upwards of a thousand pieces! Indeed, Barry had to spend some time this year erecting new shelving in order to accommodate this avalanche of new stone fragments.

After three weeks I took the train for Cairo and went straight to the airport for a 3:55 a.m. flight! While I was sitting waiting for that, the attack on Iraq began. Fortunately it seemed to have no immediate disruptive effect on European air routes, and my KLM flight went out exactly as scheduled, beginning a long but pleasantly uneventful return to the States.

During the past three seasons, the relatively routine task of registering the stone fragments, which I initially undertook and which was somewhat peripheral to the main projects of the Expedition, has rapidly turned into a major area of discovery. I look forward to reporting more progress in years to come.

BEHIND THE SCENES OF AN EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION - PART I

Richard S. Harwood

We all read with great interest about the results of various Egyptological field seasons, especially when an important discovery is made or when the expedition is able to shed new light on a specific aspect of Egyptian history. Few of us, however, stop to think about what goes on behind the scenes of those expeditions, starting long before the team actually arrives at the work site.

Part I of this article will discuss the formal preparations and approval procedures for putting together an American archaeological expedition in Egypt. Part II, which will be published in the Spring 2003 issue of *The Scroll*, will deal with the experience of preparing for a field season once the project team has arrived in Egypt.

The governing body that oversees all archaeological work in Egypt is the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), a major department under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture. The official decisions as to which expeditions are approved and which are denied are made by the Permanent Committee of the SCA, whose current Secretary General is Dr. Zahi Hawass and whose members include influential Directors of Antiquities throughout Egypt.

Egypt is a "sexy" place to work on the archaeological scale. Everyone from serious scientists to New Agers with theories about aliens would like the opportunity to work there. If the SCA had to consider every request, the task would be overwhelming and would bring the work of the SCA to a standstill.

As a result, all applications for projects must be submitted through the Egyptological association of the Project Director's home country. For the United States, that association is the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) which has its main headquarters in the Garden City district of Cairo and its American office at Emory University in Atlanta, GA. Even for an ongoing project that may require several years of work, a separate application must be submitted and approved each year.

For an American expedition, the Project Director submits a preliminary application for the proposed project to ARCE many months before the date on which the on-site project will begin. The application contains a summary of the purpose of the project, the names of the individual team members and a curriculum vitae of the Project Director. An evaluation committee at the ARCE headquarters in Cairo reviews each application and rejects the vast majority of requests as insubstantial, not well thought out, or not having serious Egyptological validity. If the evaluation committee determines that the proposed project has substantial merit, it sends a formal letter to the Project Director informing him or her of its approval and advising the Project Director that an official application can be submitted to the SCA.

The formal application, which must be submitted to the SCA at least three months before the on-site work is to begin, is an expanded version of the summary application made to ARCE and has four primary components:

1. A full description of the project: its purpose and intended results; a detailed description of the exact sites at which the work will be conducted, including survey maps of the area to be investigated which the Project Director must sign in red ink; and the exact dates within which the work will be conducted that season.

   In regulations issued in June, 2002, the SCA stated that no new concessions will be granted to any non-Egyptian missions who apply to do excavation work along the Nile Valley between the Giza Plateau in the north and Abu Simbel in the south. For the past few years, Dr. Hawass has been very vocal about wanting all foreign expeditions to work only in the Egyptian Delta in order to excavate, record and conserve sites that are rapidly deteriorating due to the humidity and high water table in that area. Unfortunately, few expeditions want to work in the Delta, or in the Eastern or Western Deserts where concessions will also be granted, due their remoteness and uncomfortable working conditions. The SCA has stated that it may continue to grant approvals to on-going projects in Upper Egypt and to new projects whose sole purpose is the clearance, preservation and publication of known sites.

2. A curriculum vita of the Project Director including his or her Egyptological training, professional credentials and affiliations, previous work experience in Egypt, and professional publications. For the past several years, it has been nearly impossible to receive SCA approval for a project whose director does not have (a) a doctorate degree in Egyptology or a closely related field, (b) significant scientific publication credits, (c) a meaningful affiliation with a recognized university or a museum with a major Egyptian collection, and (d) previous work experience in Egypt.

In addition, if any team member has not worked in Egypt at least once during the previous two years, he or she is considered "new" and their participation on the expedition has a high likelihood of being denied. Fieldwork in Egypt is rapidly becoming a "closed shop" and current expeditions are finding it increasingly important to work in Egypt on a continuing, periodic basis in order to receive future approvals of their applications. With the dramatic increase in highly trained and professional Egyptian Egyptologists within the past few decades, the SCA also may be reluctant to approve a project aimed at a major discovery that is led by a non-Egyptian Project Director.

3. A short curriculum vita of each member of the proposed team including his or her nationality, religion, archaeological training, prior work experience in Egypt, and the specific skills that he or she will bring to the expedition. The SCA requires a photocopy of the front page of each team member's passport and five passport-size photographs of each team member. These photographs are distributed to the general office of the SCA, the Permanent Committee, the Mukabarrat (the Egyptian equivalent of the American FBI), the Director General of Antiquities for the area of Egypt where the project will be conducted, and the expedition's permanent file.

4. A summary of the projected funding available for the project. In recent years, it has been imperative that the foreign expedition neither has nor will receive any funding from a private or institutional source within Egypt.

The formal application, along with a cover letter addressed to the Secretary General and the members of the Permanent Committee, is sent to the SCA in care of the ARCE headquarters in Cairo. ARCE personnel translate the application and letter into Arabic and forward both the originals and a copy of the translations to the SCA.

Contrary to past procedures, the Permanent Committee of the SCA now meets on a monthly basis to review applications. Because of the number of applications it receives from all over the world, it generally will not rule on an application for a project beginning more than three months beyond the date the application is received.

If approved by the Permanent Committee, the SCA informs the ARCE office in Cairo, which relays the information to the Project Director. At that point, the first of two major hurdles has been cleared: the project itself has received preliminary approval.

The next hurdle is just as crucial and is independent of the first one: the SCA must approve each individual member of the project team. The SCA sends the approved project file to the office of the Antiquities Security Police. The Security Police run checks on all of the proposed team members to make sure they have not violated any Egyptian laws and, in particular, have not tried to take any antiquities out of the country (including common rocks and even desert sand which, by their very definitions, are deemed to be "ancient" under Egypt's antiquity laws). In some cases, the Mukabarrat will also conduct its own investigations of team members.

Once the Security Police have cleared all of the team members, they notify ARCE that security clearances will be issued. ARCE then relays this information to the Project Director and the last major hurdle has been cleared. Now all that remains is the signing of the official papers once the project team arrives in Cairo. That should, but does not always, follow smoothly.

As the approval procedures progress, another factor takes on an ever-increasing priority: *money*. Can the expedition afford to conduct its proposed season's work? It is not unusual for a project to receive SCA approval, only to be canceled at the last minute due to a lack of funding.

The governments of many foreign countries provide substantial funds to their Egyptian expeditions, either directly or indirectly. Such expeditions can afford to conduct long field seasons and many of these foreign missions even have their own dig houses where team members live, complete with cooks and caretakers. In the United States, a few major museums fund their own expeditions, although to a lesser extent. That is not the case with expeditions associated with American universities. Regardless of the publicity and prestige that an expedition might bring to a university, most American Project Directors must raise all of the funds needed to conduct their field seasons. Members of the project team are usually invited volunteers and generally must pay their own travel, food and lodging expenses with little or no financial help from the expedition itself.

Grants from charitable foundations, when available, are usually awarded on the "political correctness" of the project. In recent years, for example, race and gender issues in ancient Egypt have become "in" topics and grants are sometimes made for such projects. However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for more traditional research and excavations to obtain such funding. Consequently, most American Egyptological expeditions must rely almost entirely on the generosity of individuals and the fundraising abilities of the Project Director.

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DID YOU KNOW?

Akhenaten's tomb opens to the east? Many have suggested that since this corridor leads straight into Akhenaten burial chamber - Room E- that it was designed this way, to allow the first rays of the rising sun to strike him. This is impossible. His sarcophagus was located off to the side of the chamber and not in line with the corridor. There is no way that sunrays, real or imaginary, could reach him. (The entrance to the tomb was filled with blocking stones anyway.)

ARTICLES FROM VALLEY OF THE KINGS FOUNDATION BULLETIN 2 (2003)
Nick Reeves

ARTP discovers a new Egyptian Queen: It's not every day that Egyptologists are able to add a new member of the royal family to the history books, but during its second season ARTP managed just that. The royal in question is a queen, her name and official title are sketched very neatly in black on a limestone ostracon recovered in 1999 from Ramessid workmen's debris on Site 1, to the north of the tomb of Amenmesse (KV10). The text, which is complete, reads: 'King's wife, lady of the Two Lands, Taiay, may she live!' Who was this mysterious royal lady? And why were her name and titles written on an ostracon in the Valley of the Kings?

Taiay was not a queen of the first rank, that much is evident from her titulary; but since the hieroglyphs of her name are placed within a cartouche, neither was she an insignificant member of pharaoh's harem. Date wise, the quality of the drafting would suggest that the sketch had been prepared by a Ramessid master scribe, and the likely purpose of such a sketch would have been to serve as reference for workers decorating a tomb wall. It might well be, therefore, that preparations had been underway to inter the lady nearby. But, if so, where? There are two possibilities: that Taiay was buried in a known tomb whose decoration is now damaged at the crucial point; or - more dramatically - that the queen's burial is still waiting to be discovered.

Missing piece of Horemheb sarcophagus found: A sharp eye in archaeology is absolutely essential, as ARTP's deputy field director Mohsen Kamel demonstrated early on in our work at Site 1. Among the finds of the first season had been a brick-sized fragment of pink Aswan granite with three carefully worked edges, a fragment that had clearly been broken from a monument of some scale and quality. But what could this monument have been? Nothing specific sprang to mind. The answer came following a visit by Mohsen to the nearby tomb of Horemheb (KV57). "'I know where that fragment fits," he casually remarked on his return to the surface. "It's part of Horemheb's sarcophagus."

Ever skeptical, a group of us trooped off to check, fragment in hand. Mohsen was right, it slotted neatly into a mortice cut into one of the corners of the king's sarcophagus-box. The piece proved to be an ancient repair, dating from the time of manufacture. Formerly set in place with resin, we were now able to restore it to its original position with the help of Mohammed el-Bialy, at that time the West Bank director, and the skilful restorers of the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

Our fragment had turned up on Site 1, in disturbed ground between KV56 ('the Gold Tomb') and the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9), an area which Theodore Davis had used as a dump for spoil from the excavation of Horemheb's wonderful tomb in 1908. Now, thanks to Mohsen's keen eye, the sarcophagus is rather more complete than it was, and another small but significant piece of the 'who dug what and dumped where' jigsaw is slotted into place.

Decorated pebbles from a Ramessid workmen's shelter: Between 1940 and 1945 a fascinating series of Etudes Egyptologiques appeared in Cairo from the pen of the talented German Egyptologist Ludwig Keimer. These essays brilliantly investigated several interesting byways of Egyptian archaeology, including *Jeux de la nature retouchés par la main de l'homme* (Tricks of nature retouched by the hand of man). The subject matter of Keimer's paper was suggestively shaped rocks, with the majority of examples cited originating from the tomb-workers' settlement at Deir el-Medina. It ought, therefore, to have come as no real surprise when we began to discover similar pieces during the course of our work in the Valley of the Kings on the factory floor so to speak, as well as in the home.

The principal findspot of ARTP's *jeux de la nature* was one of the upper level workmen's shelters on Site 1, which can be dated by pottery finds to the period Ramesses III-Ramesses VI. The specimens were of two distinct types: flint pebbles resembling a stylised *akhet*, or horizon, with dawning sun (the disc in one instance embellished with a black uraeus-serpent); and a single, larger flint nodule which bore a passing resemblance to a kneeling goddess - a resemblance which had been strengthened by the addition, in black paint, of crude facial details and a broad collar with pendent pectoral ornament. The collection seemed to have been gathered deliberately, and placed for safekeeping in the west corner of the hut, close to the rock face-perhaps with some cultic significance. Today we take such naturally occurring simulacra for granted, knowing that the resemblances owe nothing to the gods and everything to chance. In an Antiquity ignorant of geological process, however, pebbles of this sort must have been regarded with particular reverence and awe, especially when the subject matter was ostensibly religious in character.

And finally some fresh light on Tomb 55: New facts relating to controversial tomb KV55 are rare birds indeed, but we may have one to report. Re-examining the walls of the sepulchre during a casual visit in 1999, at a moment when the light was just right, an interesting feature was observed: a section of the left rock-cut jamb at the top of the tomb corridor appeared decidedly concave, and closer examination revealed a surface finish quite different from that of the surrounding walls. Without doubt there had once been something on that jamb which had been removed - ground out - at a stage in Tomb 55's extraordinary history. If this was a text, what had it said? If a representation, whom had it shown? Frustratingly, there remains today no trace of what had been removed. The erasure had been accomplished very thoroughly indeed. Check for yourself next time you're there. NR

Dr. Henri Riad, a TARF Honorary Trustee, received an award for his significant contributions during the first 100 years of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The award was presented at the Centennial Celebration Ceremony held in the courtyard of the Museum on December 11, 2002. Dr. Henri is a retired director of the Egyptian Museum and is not at Chicago House.

EGYPT AND MONOTHEISM*

By Richard H. Wilkinson

In the 19th century a debate arose among Egyptologists which was to rage for many years and which is still not entirely over. The debate has centered around a fundamental aspect of Egyptian religion: were the ancient Egyptians at all times polytheists or were there times or even ongoing trends in which Egyptian religion moved slowly but inexorably towards monotheism?

Believers in one god or many

In his work *The Dawn of Conscience*, the American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted argued in the early 1930s that the religion of the heretic 18th-dynasty pharaoh, Akhenaten - who attempted to do away with most of Egypt's traditional gods and to replace them with the worship of the solar disk or Aten - was nothing less than a direct precursor of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic monotheism of later history. Beginning in 1934 the German Egyptologist Herman Junker went even further, suggesting that Egyptian religion had, in fact, originally been monotheistic and had only eventually degenerated into a morass of separate cults after the founding of the Egyptian state. Although the argument for this kind of primitive monotheism and the idea of a single, transcendent deity has long been discarded, the idea that the Egyptians did gradually develop monotheistic ways of thought has been more abiding. Some scholars have seen the successive rise of preeminent deities such as Re, Osiris and Amun as precisely this kind of development, while others have felt that the Egyptian word for god, *netcher*, used without reference to any particular god (which was especially common in Egyptian 'wisdom literature' or 'instructions' and in personal names which combined the word god with some other element) also demonstrated the idea of an underlying single god in Egyptian religion. In an influential work published in 1960, Siegfreid Morenz[1] drew these arguments together in support of the idea that behind the nearly countless deities of the Egyptian pantheon there was, historically, among at least some Egyptians, a growing awareness of a single god.

But another side to the story appeared with the publication of an incisive study by Erik Hornung[2] in 1971. Hornung systematically examined this question, and found no evidence for an ongoing movement towards monotheism. Of central importance, he argued that the word 'god' in Egyptian usage never appears to refer to an abstract deity of higher order than other gods but is rather a neutral term that can apply to any deity, or as Hornung expressed it, 'whichever god you wish'. In the same manner, personal names such as Mery-netcher 'whom god loves' could mean any god and may be found with many specified parallels such as 'whom Ptah loves'. From this perspective the various expressions of syncretism or the 'indwelling' of one deity in another do not present evidence of a move towards monotheism, and while worshippers may have elected to venerate a given god above all others, this is merely henotheism, a form of religion in which the other gods remain. Finally, while it is true that at given times we find a supreme god at the head of the Egyptian pantheon, the other gods remain, the

qualities of the supreme being are not limited to any one god, and even within the same period of time we find many gods being called 'lord of all that exists' and 'sole' or 'unique'. According to Hornung, only the 'heretic' Akhenaten clearly insisted upon an approach, which affirmed One god to the exclusion of the Many.

Other scholars have looked at the context of Akhenaten's religious 'revolution' differently, however. In his work *Moses the Egyptian*, for example, Jan Assmann[3] has pointed out that the various creation accounts developed by the Egyptians and the ongoing process of syncretism reflect two fundamental but different approaches to the paradox of 'the One and the Many' inherent in all ancient Egyptian religion. Assmann has characterized these divergent viewpoints as one of *generation* - by which the One produces the Many (as seen in Egyptian creation accounts), and one of *emanation* - in which the One is present in the Many (as seen in syncretism). Both of these viewpoints existed concurrently in Egypt throughout most of the Dynastic Period, but in the religion of Akhenaten the concept of the emanation of the god Aten is not to be found. It is through generation alone that the Aten recreates the world and all that is in it. In this view, although visible and in that sense immanent in his creation, the Aten also transcended it and exhibited other aspects of true monotheism.

Believers in the Many and the One

More recently, James Allen[4] has taken this debate a step further by suggesting a synthesis of the two opposing views of modern Egyptology regarding Akhenaten's monotheism. While one approach views Akhenaten's ideas as simply derivative of concepts present in Egyptian religion long before that king's reign, and the other sees Akhenaten's religion - especially his monotheism - as a radical innovation without any precedent whatsoever, Allen accepts evidence from both sides and provides a new perspective. While stressing that Hornung is certainly right in pointing to the distinction between Akhenaten's monotheism and earlier Egyptian understandings of god, Allen has shown that what was radical about Akhenaten's theology was not its proclamation of the oneness of god but its insistence on *exclusivity* and that the polyvalent logic of Egyptian thought could easily allow an appreciation of the underlying oneness of god to coexist with traditional Egyptian polytheism. He suggests, in fact, that the best evidence for this is actually the phenomenon of syncretism which 'unites the view of god as simultaneously Many and One'. But as Allen has emphasized, this is not to say that Egyptian religion was essentially 'monotheism with a polytheistic face' - and the perception of god as essentially One may perhaps have been limited to a few Egyptian theologians at any one time. Yet it might also be that for even ordinary Egyptians the experience of god could have been to some extent monotheistic in that while they continued to view the world in polytheistic terms, they also identified their uniform notion of 'god' with a particular god in particular situations.

The advantage of this view of the evidence is that while accepting Hornung's valid criticism of many of the individual 'proofs' of Egyptian monotheism, it nevertheless allows an acceptance of evidence such as the kind of attitude that does seem to lie beneath many Egyptian texts, such as those found in the so-called wisdom writings. As

Allen has written, 'The authors of these texts are not espousing a particular theology; they are giving expression to their appreciation of humanity's relationship to the divine in general - not "this god" as in polytheism, or "the god" as in henotheism, but simply "god".' From this perspective, the Egyptians were in a sense both polytheists and monotheists, and the religion of Akhenaten may have had certain precedents in formal theology and even in popular attitudes which amount to the idea of god in the singular. Rather than its radical focus on one god, however, it was a dogmatic exclusiveness that set the religion of Akhenaten apart and that ultimately made his theology unacceptable to most ancient Egyptians. It would only be with the eventual rise of Judaism, Christianity and Islam that such exclusivity in the worship of the One would take hold, and in so doing, would historically spell the end for Egypt's Many.

*This article is an adaptation of material from Professor Wilkinson's forthcoming book, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* to be published, in May 2003, by Thames & Hudson in London and New York, and by The American University in Cairo Press in Egypt.

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