



Papers in Memory of Cathleen A. Keller

# Weseretkau *“Mighty of Kas”*

Deanna Kiser-Go | Carol A. Redmount (eds.)

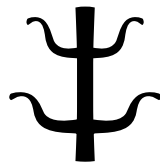
# Weseretskau “Mighty of Kas”



Weseretkau “Mighty of Kas”  
Papers in Memory of Cathleen A. Keller

Edited by

Deanna Kiser-Go  
*and*  
Carol A. Redmount



LOCKWOOD PRESS  
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA  
2023

# Weseretskau “Mighty of Kas”

## Papers in Memory of Cathleen A. Keller

*Project funded in part by the American Research Center in Egypt  
Antiquities Endowment Fund*

Copyright © 2023 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, PO Box 1080, Columbus, GA 31901 USA.

ISBN: 978-1-948488-85-3

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm. Cover image: The draftsman brother (Ipu) of Neferabu among other Deir el-Medina inhabitants in TT 5. Photograph by Cathleen A. Keller.

### Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Names: Kiser-Go, Deanna, editor. | Redmount, Carol Ann, 1952- editor. | Keller, Cathleen A., honouree.

Title: Weseretskau “Mighty of kas” : papers submitted in memory of Cathleen A. Keller / edited by Deanna Kiser-Go and Carol A. Redmount.

Description: Columbus, Georgia : Lockwood Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index. |

Identifiers: LCCN 2022058919 (print) | LCCN 2022058920 (ebook) | ISBN 9781948488853 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781948488860 (adobe pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Art, Egyptian. | Egypt—Antiquities. |

Egypt—Civilization—To 332 B.C. | LCGFT: Festschriften.

Classification: LCC DT60 .W44 2022 (print) | LCC DT60 (ebook) | DDC 932/.01—dc23/eng/20221214

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022058919>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022058920>

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).





Cathleen A. Keller (1945–2008)



# Contents

Dedication	ix
Biography	x
Student Dedication	xi
Acknowledgments	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xx
Contributors	xxi
Bibliography of Cathleen A. Keller	xxii
Abbreviations	xxv

## I. EGYPTIAN ART

Coffin Reuse in the Twenty-First Dynasty: A Case Study of Egyptian Coffins in Italian Collections KATHLYN M. COONEY	1
Why Gild the Lily? On “Color Symbolism” and Color Use in Egyptian Art LORELEI H. CORCORAN	17
“The Tomb”: A Small Cache of Statuary and Reliefs at South Karnak RICHARD FAZZINI	29
Akhenaten, Smiting Egypt’s Enemies: Remarks on the Character of the “House of the King’s Statue” at Amarna MARSHA HILL	49
“Gods’ Red” and the Separation of Divine from Human DEANNA KISER-GO	65
A Singer in the Residence of the Temple of Amun at Berkeley JEAN LI	77
“Isis Nursing Harpocrates” Enthroned: Reconstructing a Greco-Egyptian Plaster Plaque from the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology BARBARA MENDOZA	93
Faience Tiles from Deir el-Ballas and Kerma: New Evidence of Egyptian-Nubian Relations at the Foundation of the New Kingdom ELIZABETH MINOR	103
The Eyes Have It: A Figured Ostrakon with Baboon in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri PATRICIA PODZORSKI	117
The Decorative Program in the Nonroyal Tombs at Amarna GAY ROBINS	135



The Mapping of Landscape in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels ANN MACY ROTH	151
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## II. DEIR EL-MEDINA

The <i>Wab</i> -Priests of Deir el-Medina BENEDICT G. DAVIES	167
A Modest Burial: A New Perspective on Roman Period Mummy Shrouds and Burials from Deir el-Medina LISSETTE M. JIMÉNEZ	203
Continuity and Change at Deir el-Medina: Legal Texts TOM LOGAN	217
The Priesthood of Hathor at Deir el-Medina: Devotion to the Goddess by her Clergy and Their Families BARBARA A. RICHTER	235

## III. VARIA

For Whom the Gods Hear CINDY AUSEC	271
The Birth of the King: Word Play in the Westcar Papyrus EUGENE CRUZ-URIBE <sup>†</sup>	287
The Palestinian Campaign(s) of Shoshenq I AIDAN DODSON	295
Mummy by the Bay: Irethorrou, an Egyptian Priest of the Early Persian Period RENÉE DREYFUS AND JONATHAN P. ELIAS	307
Ancient Egyptian Bits and Biting: An Equestrian Viewpoint KATHY HANSEN <sup>†</sup>	323
Was Shedsukhonsu's Wife Overbearing or Was She the Owner of the Field? JANET H. JOHNSON	343
When Death Comes, He Steals the Infant: Child Burials at the Wall of the Crow Cemetery, Giza JESSICA KAISER	347
Tomb 526 at the Site of El Ahaiwah JOAN KNUDSEN AND REXINE HUMMEL	371
Eight Inscribed Stones, the First Chariot Driver of His Majesty, and Tell el-Muqdam in the Ramesside Period BRIAN MUHS	381
Requiem for a Sanctuary: In Memory of the Shoshenq I Temple at El Hibeh, Middle Egypt CAROL A. REDMOUNT	395
Index	439

# Dedication

(CAROL A. REDMOUNT)

We dedicate this volume to Cathleen Ann Keller, our greatly missed and much-loved colleague, professor, teacher, and friend. Candy passed away unexpectedly of pancreatic cancer on April 18, 2008 at the age of 62. Her truncated life was marked by humanity, big-heartedness, grace, wit, courage, and loyalty. She enriched the lives of everyone she touched, and was one of those larger-than-life personalities who lit up a room merely by entering it.

Candy was a gifted, insightful, and rigorous scholar, a warm and supportive colleague, and an inspiring teacher and mentor. She always encouraged students (and colleagues) to follow their own ideas and develop individually as scholars, rather than channeling them into her own projects or interests. She was a polymath: the breadth and depth of her knowledge and her formidable intellect awed those who knew her. At the same time, her self-deprecating modesty humbled peers and students alike. She skewered pomposity with a nicely judged lift of the eyebrow or roll of the eyes. Innumerable students quailed before the raised-gaze-over-the-glasses look after offering some unfortunate comment. But Candy demanded no less rigor of herself than of her students, and she was a demanding but fair taskmaster.

Universally respected for her unshakable integrity and universally loved for her intellectual and personal generosity, Candy cared deeply about her chosen profession of Egyptology, about her students, and about Egyptology at Berkeley in particular. She traveled to Egypt, ancient and modern, literally and figuratively, as often as she could, and journeyed to and through the country as art historian, tour-leader, researcher, teacher, and expedition team member. She had a “great camera and an even better eye,” as one of her colleagues put it, and one of her bequests to Berkeley is an encyclopedic collection of professional quality pictures of Ramesside and New Kingdom art.

Although greatly missed by all those who knew her, Candy will live on in her many legacies: her intellectual achievements, her endowments to Egyptology at Cal, her students, and all future students who will study Egyptology at Berkeley. We can think of no greater homage with which to close this dedication than these personal tributes offered by colleagues and students after her death and collected in various obituaries:<sup>1</sup>

“I got to know Candy’s self-deprecation and humble honesty and humor when she was Acting Chair, a job she obviously performed with dedication and fairness and lack of self-interest.”

---

1. Kathleen Maclay, “Egyptologist Cathleen Keller dies at age 62,” UC Berkeley News, May 7, 2008, [http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2008/05/07\\_kellerobit.shtml](http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2008/05/07_kellerobit.shtml); Kathleen Maclay, Carol Redmount, “In Memorium,” UC Berkeley Academic Senate memorial, <http://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/inmemoriam/cathleenkeller.html>; Charles Burrell, Chronicle Staff Writer, “Cathleen Keller - UC Egyptologist dies,” *SF Chronicle* Friday, May 16, 2008, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Cathleen-Keller-UC-Egyptologist-dies-3213476.php>; Thomas Logan, “Cathleen Keller (November 7, 1945-April 18, 2008),” *JARCE* 45 (2009): 1–2.

"She presented a knockout brilliant paper on artists' hands at Deir el Medina. And Candy was a knockout. . . . She proved that she could be beautiful and brilliant. Go Candy."

"She was a very special person and scholar, as well as a fine a lady as I have ever met . . . she was, above all, a worthy and decent person."

"Candy was one of a kind, smart, feisty, funny but with a very soft heart . . . "

"I'm really saddened by Candy's passing. Of all the professors I had for the Egyptian language, she was definitely the best . . . she understood that teaching the language wasn't just studying the grammar and palaeography, but a way to gain insight into ancient Egyptian society. . . . It's a real loss for Berkeley."

"She was a consummate scholar, a generous, warm-hearted colleague and friend with a wry sense of humor and highly developed sense of the absurd. She also was a gifted and much-loved teacher whose passing left a huge hole in the department . . . She will be greatly missed."

"She was beautiful, brilliant, kind, willing to listen, attentive, talented, knowledgeable, interested, elegant, and decent. . . . She was both tough-minded and fair-minded. A formidable lady and a radiant human being."

"With her passing American Egyptology lost a great scholar and a good friend."

## Biography

Born in San Francisco on November 7, 1945, Candy was raised, along with her younger sister Susan, in Atherton, California. She graduated from the former Crystal Springs School for Girls in Hillsborough in 1963, and the close friendships that she forged in childhood lasted her entire life. Together with her best friends Marcia Congdon, Gail Innes, and Sherry Sheffield, Candy formed the "Four-Lorns," an amateur sixties folk-singing group that even appeared on local television. Also forged in childhood were her life-long love of animals, especially dogs, and her trademark wry sense of humor and appreciation of the absurdities of life.

Candy received her BA, MA, and PhD from UC Berkeley. Her 1971 MA was the first degree ever awarded by the then-fledgling Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology (AHMA). Her Egyptology PhD, completed in the Near Eastern Studies Department in 1978 under the supervision of Leonard Lesko, included an innovative dissertation on the craftsmen and painters at Deir el-Medina; this topic was to become one of the focal points of her academic career. While still a graduate student, Candy spent a formative year at University College London (UCL) working with some of the most eminent British Egyptologists of the time. While completing her Berkeley dissertation, she became an assistant professor of classical archaeology at San Francisco State University (1976–1977), as well as curator of their Suto Egyptian Collection (1975–1977). In 1977, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City hired Candy to organize their Ramesside material; she worked at the Met until 1983, first as an assistant and then as an associate curator. In 1983 she returned to California and UC Berkeley, where she joined the Near Eastern Studies Department faculty as a specialist in Egyptian art and language. She chaired the department twice. While on leave from Berkeley in 1990–1991, Candy taught in the Department of Fine Arts at Harvard University as the Wellcome Lecturer in Egyptian Civilization. Candy's expertise in Egyptian

art of the New Kingdom gained her national and international recognition and she was regularly invited to conferences on the subject.

Throughout her career, Candy maintained a life-long association with museum Egyptology. She served as curator of Egyptian art and epigraphy at UC Berkeley's Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology from 1987 until her death. In 1990, she curated "From Palace and Province," an exhibit at the Berkeley Art Museum that highlighted objects from the Hearst Museum's Egyptian collection. At the Hearst, she cocurated the 1999–2001 exhibit "Sites Along the Nile: Rescuing Ancient Egypt" and supervised the graduate and undergraduate students who participated in the creation of the exhibit. She developed a program to have students digitize the Egyptian collection for the museum's web site. At the time of her death Candy was helping plan an exhibit entitled "The Conservator's Art: Preserving Egypt's Past," which, sadly, turned into a memorial for her. "Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh" was Candy's last national exhibition. She helped plan it and cocurated it, and also coedited the accompanying scholarly museum catalogue, for which she wrote several articles. The show debuted at the reopening of the de Young Museum in San Francisco in 2005 and went on to venues at the Kimball Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

Candy was a long-time member of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), the Egypt Exploration Society, the Egyptological Seminar of New York and the International Association of Egyptologists. She served as a member of the ARCE's Board of Governors and Executive Committee in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Prior to her death, Candy established two university funds and contributed to another to benefit Egyptology and Egyptology students at Berkeley. In addition, she donated her professional library to the Klaus Baer Library of Egyptology, now renamed the Baer-Keller Library of Egyptology, which is housed in Cal's Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures Department.

## Student Dedication

(DEANNA KISER-GO)

Candy Keller was one of the most influential people in my life and could be termed an "unsung hero" in Egyptology. My gratitude that she so thoroughly shared her love of ancient Egypt with me is boundless. While many people have spoken about her wry humor and exacting standards for her students, others have publicly credited her with the brilliance and conscientious scholarship that she so often displayed. (Her files are filled with documents pertaining to her own research and course preparation, as well as copious notes penned at the many conferences and workshops she attended over the years.) For my part, I initially quailed with trepidation at her office door while preparing requests for favors or permission to write papers on untested topics, that is until I discovered her deeply generous nature. Few people know, for example, that it was her regular practice for many years to buy duplicate copies of books so that she might keep one for herself and donate the other to the Klaus Baer Library in UC Berkeley's Department of Near Eastern Studies. Others, like me, suspect she had an eidetic memory that enabled her to remember every word of every journal article and book—which she promptly read upon receiving them.

As I progressed through Berkeley's graduate program my relationship with Candy evolved, from intimidated newcomer to Tell el-Muqdam dig roommate (her hilarious antics and insistence that I stop calling her "Dr. Keller" helped matters) to—almost—protégé. Perhaps someday I'll live up to that ambitious label. I discovered that when I traveled, I suddenly became her representative as numerous international scholars pressed me for updates on Candy's research and asked to be remembered to her upon my return. Along the way I was privileged to experience her profound affection for her students, evident in all her exams ("tough but fair") and profuse, at times unwelcome, comments on research papers; everything was done out of concern that we develop professionally in order to survive in the post-Berkeley world. She read every page of my lengthy PhD dissertation. Twice. Indeed, her sense of responsibility to Berkeley's Egyptology program often superseded her own interests, as she taught 3 + 3 course loads year after year without taking sabbaticals. Within the field of Egyptian studies Candy was a constant presence for four decades, but her innate shyness and self-criticism were incompatible with sharing her work in print, so she devoted her time and, even money, to helping her students and colleagues progress. Thus, we gratefully remember her sense of fun (famous for her parties and *Zombie punch*), the constructive criticism that made us better scholars, and the impish cackle that used to emanate from her office while she gleefully designed another exam to test whether we had attempted to log study times equal to her own.

## Acknowledgments

We wish to thank and acknowledge the many individuals and organizations that have helped make this memorial volume possible. The *Gedenkschrift* was a labor of love, and sorrow, and respect, and especially gratitude for the woman to whom it is dedicated. Eugene Cruz-Urbe utilized his extensive experience to vet and edit some of the papers prior to his own unexpected, shocking passing (Cruz, you too are mourned and missed). Brian Muhs also contributed to the selection and revising of articles. Cindy Ausec compiled the bibliography. UC Berkeley's Near Eastern Studies Department (recently renamed the Department of Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures), the home institution of the editors and of Cathleen Keller, assisted with various aspects of manuscript production. The Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF) of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) generously underwrote expenses of this volume. We would also like to express our thanks for the kind support extended by our families and friends, without whom we might never have completed this project. Above all we are grateful to our contributors for their patience and their understanding as a variety of factors delayed, far too long, the publication of this *Gedenkschrift*. We only hope that the quality of the final publication can help alleviate some of that unforeseen delay.

## List of Figures

### COONEY

- Figure 1.1. Coffin of Ikhy, detail of foot inscription. Gregorian Egyptian Museum in Vatican, Inv. no. 25035.3.1. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 7
- Figure 1.2. Coffin of Ikhy, detail of side seam inscription. Gregorian Egyptian Museum in Vatican, Inv. no. 25035.3.1. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 7
- Figure 1.3. Coffin showing modifications from male to female depiction. Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 2157. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 8
- Figure 1.4. Coffin showing modifications from male to female depiction. Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 2157. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 8
- Figure 1.5. Coffin with multiple reuses. Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 8524. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 8
- Figure 1.6. Reused coffin with modeling of female body. Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. no. 2228. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 8
- Figure 1.7. Coffin of Iset showing deceased with white dress of *akh*-spirit, from Theban Tomb 1; Egyptian Museum Cairo, Inv. no. JdE 27309. Photograph by the author. 9
- Figure 1.8. Coffin showing traces of modeled arms under plaster surface. Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 10
- Figure 1.9. Reused Nineteenth Dynasty coffin. Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 7450. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 10
- Figure 1.10. Reused Nineteenth Dynasty coffin. Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 7450. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 10
- Figure 1.11. Mismatched coffins in the set of Butehamen. Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. no. C.2237. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 12
- Figure 1.12. Stola coffin of Paditmut in Museo Archaeologico in Florence, Inv. no. 2154. Photograph by Remy Hiramoto. 12

### FAZZINI

- Figure 3.1. Plan of the northern part of the Mut Precinct with detail of location of "The Tomb." Drawing by W. H. Peck. 30
- Figure 3.2. "The Tomb": general view to SE of the wall running west from Mut Temple's First Pylon. Photograph by M. McKercher. 31
- Figure 3.3. Three blocks with part of Ramesses II's titulary: 5MWB.17 (left) and 5MWB.25+5MWB.32. (right). 5MWB.17 is a capping block visible in fig. 3.2. Photograph by M. McKercher. 32
- Figure 3.4. (a) 5MWB.21, upper part a figure of Amun, with two tall feathers atop his headdress, and Mut; (b) 5MWB.31, upper part of a god, probably Amun, followed by a goddess (Mut?), both facing left. Before them and facing right is a figure of Ma'at, possibly an offering being made to them. Photograph by M. McKercher. 34
- Figure 3.5. 5M.30, sandstone sunk relief inscription, probably part of a door jamb, broken in two pieces. Photograph by M. McKercher. 34
- Figure 3.6. 5M.29, part of a door jamb. Side A (left) has part of 3 columns of text; side B (center) is 2 columns wide; side C is the reveal of the door jamb. Photograph by M. McKercher. 36
- Figure 3.7. 5MWB.33, possibly from the same structure as 5M.29. Photograph by M. McKercher. 36
- Figure 3.8. 5M.24, sandstone stela of a woman offering to Amun. Photograph by M. McKercher. 39
- Figure 3.9. 5M.17, lower portion of limestone block statue of Pestjenef. Photograph by M. McKercher. 43
- Figure 3.10. 5M.27, part of an offering table, possibly from a statue of a man or fecundity figure making offerings. Photograph by M. McKercher. 44
- Figure 3.11. Sakhmet(?) with inlaid eyes, Brooklyn Museum 16.171. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. 45
- Figure 3.12. Text on throne of a Sakhmet statue in the Mut Precinct calling the goddess "Sakhmet united with Mut." Photograph by M. McKercher. 45



Figure 3.13. Four fragments of leonine statues used in the construction of “The Tomb.” The haunch at lower right is diorite; the rest are sandstone. Photograph by M. McKercher. 47

#### HILL

- Figure 4.1. Plan of the Central City, showing location and plan of House of the King’s Statue at lower edge. Courtesy of Barry Kemp. 50
- Figure 4.2. Uraeus frieze, EES neg. TA 36/O 23. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 52
- Figure 4.3. Photograph of the panel from the central room, EES archive negative TA 36/A 78. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 53
- Figure 4.4. Reconstruction by Barry J. Kemp of the shrine from the central room, based on the previous photograph. 53
- Figure 4.5. Photograph of the panel from the columned hall. EES archive negative TA 36/A 79, with correction for perspective by Barry J. Kemp. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 54
- Figure 4.6. Reconstruction by Barry J. Kemp of the panel from figure 4.5, framed by the same shrine outline as used in figure 4.4. 56
- Figure 4.7. Three faience crowns from R43.2. 36. EES archive negative TA 36/0 31. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 58
- Figure 4.8. Wooden statuary elements from R43.2. EES archive negative TA 36/0 20 modified. Images courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 58
- Figure 4.9a. Part of a group of papyrus fragments, EA 74100. © Trustees of the British Museum. 60
- Figure 4.9b. More papyri fragments from the same group, EA 74100. © Trustees of the British Museum. 60
- Figure 4.10. Drawing of one fragment from British Museum, EA74102 after photograph of same, by Scott Murphy, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 61
- Figure 4.11. Petrie Museum UC2260. Photograph by Kristin Thompson, used with permission of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. 62
- Figure 4.12. Petrie Museum UC2269. Photograph by Kristin Thompson, used with permission of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. 63

#### KISER-GO

- Figure 5.1. Tomb of Roy, funeral procession with echeloned skin tones (TT 255). Photograph by the author. 66
- Figure 5.2. Roy and his wife approach deities (TT 255). Photograph by the author. 67
- Figure 5.3. Userhat being led by Re-Horakhty (TT 51). Photograph by the author. 67
- Figure 5.4. Women in Userhat’s tomb. Metropolitan Museum of Art, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons. 68
- Figure 5.5a. Deities in Amenmose’s tomb (TT 19). Photograph by the author. 69
- Figure 5.5b. Priests and mourners below the same scene in TT 19. Photograph by the author. 69
- Figure 5.6a. Roy and his wife approach the sun god and Hathor (TT 255). Photograph by the author. 69
- Figure 5.6b. Detail of same: Re-Horakhty-Atum wearing solar disk. Photograph by the author. 69
- Figure 5.7. The mortal pair being led to Osiris. Photograph by the author. 70
- Figure 5.8. Bread loaf with wash over yellow base. Photograph by the author. 70
- Figure 5.9a. Horemheb in TT 255 approaching Osiris. Photograph by the author. 71
- Figure 5.9b. Roy offering to all the deities in scene immediately below. Photograph by the author. 71
- Figure 5.10. King list now lost from TT 19. After Foucart, *Tombeau d’Amonmos*, pl. 12A. 71
- Figure 5.11. Amenwahsu and wife follow god (TT 111). Photograph by the author. 72
- Figure 5.12. Thoth in Amenwahsu’s tomb (at right). Photograph by the author. 73
- Figure 5.13. Sokar and Tuthmosis III in Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. CC BY-SA 2.5, Wikimedia Commons. 73

#### LI

- Figure 6.1. Outer Coffin of PAHMA 5-1404a-c. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of California, catalog PAHMA 5-1404a-c. 78
- Figure 6.2. Lid of the *Krsu* Coffin of Amenirdis. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of California, catalog PAHMA 5-1404a-c. 79
- Figure 6.3. Inner coffin. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of California, catalog PAHMA 5-1404a-c. 80
- Figure 6.4. Sons of Horus in the Second Register of the Inner Coffin. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of California, catalog PAHMA 5-1404a-c. 84

**MENDOZA**

- Figure 7.1. PAHMA 6-20448. Photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. 94
- Figure 7.2. Cairo CGC 27470. Photograph courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Edgar, *Catalogue général*, pl. 9. 95
- Figure 7.3. Berlin Inv. no. 14078. Photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Heinrich Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin: Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, 1925), 291 (top). 96
- Figure 7.4. PAHMA 5-291. Photograph courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California; Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, pl. 6a. 97
- Figure 7.5. Berlin Inv. no. 19.655. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Kaiser, *Staatliche Museen*, fig. 998. 98
- Figure 7.6. Berlin Inv. no. 20.004. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Kaiser, *Staatliche Museen*, fig. 999. 98
- Figure 7.7. Cairo CGC 55242. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Dunand, *Religion populaire*, pl. 24, no. 37. 99
- Figure 7.8. Reconstruction of Isis (a) with child positioned “back to viewer”; (b) with child positioned on its side; (c) with child positioned frontally. Line drawings by the author. 101

**MINOR**

- Figure 8.1. Plan of Deir el-Ballas North Palace with locations of faience tiles, based on map from Reisner’s excavations, now in the PAHMA archives. Plan by Elizabeth Minor, 2012. 108
- Figure 8.2. Peaked faience tiles from Deir el-Ballas, from a torus molding(?) housed in PAHMA 6-9695. Photograph by the author. 109
- Figure 8.3. Faience tiles with central ridge, from Deir el-Ballas, from a cavetto cornice(?) housed in PAHMA 6-9695. Photograph by the author. 109
- Figure 8.4. Top surface of large rectangular faience tile from Deir el-Ballas, showing concentric circles of slumped glaze defect. PAHMA 6-9695. Photograph by the author. 110
- Figure 8.5. Back surface of large rectangular faience tile from Deir el-Ballas, showing basketry impression and scoring marks. PAHMA 6-9695. Photograph by the author. 110
- Figure 8.6. Two lotus blossom tiles from Deir el-Ballas. PAHMA 6-8009 and 6-9144. Photograph courtesy of PAHMA 2022. 111
- Figure 8.7. Faience funerary stela from Deir el-Ballas, PAHMA 6-8764a, b. Photograph courtesy of PAHMA 2022. 113
- Figure 8.8. Faience stelae(?) from Kerma with human figures. Line drawing by Elizabeth Minor, 2012. 114

**PODZORSKI**

- Figure 9.1. Ostrakon with Animal Figures, MAA 63.6.8. New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 attr., pigments on limestone. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber. Photograph by Jeffrey Wilcox; used with permission of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. 118
- Figure 9.2. Drawing of Ostrakon with Animal Figures, MAA 63.6.8. John Huffstot, 1977, updated P. V. Podzorski, 2013. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber; used with permission of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. 118
- Figure 9.3. Detail of Baboon Eye and Brow Ridge, MAA 63.6.8. Photograph by Jeffrey Wilcox; drawing by P. V. Podzorski. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber; used with permission of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. 120
- Figure 9.4. Detail of Winged Insect, MAA 63.6.8. Photograph by Jeffrey Wilcox; drawing by John Huffstot. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber; used with permission of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. 120

**ROTH**

- Figure 11.1. Schematic plan of an L-shaped mastaba chapel, indicating the most common placement of scenes. Drawing by the author. 154
- Figure 11.2. Plan of the mastaba chapel of Mereruka with shafts and substructures, and the position of the rooms discussed. Drawing by the author. 155
- Figure 11.3. Schematic drawing of the east wall in the tomb of Nimaatre (G 2097) in the Western Cemetery at Giza. Drawing by the author. 162
- Figure 11.4. Schematic drawing of the east wall of the mastaba of Akhethetep, now in the Louvre. Drawing by the author. 163

**DAVIES**

- Figure 12.1. Priestly affiliations of the family of sculptor Piay (ii). After Davies, *Who's Who*, charts 13 and 14, abridged. 171

**JIMÉNEZ**

- Figure 13.1. Plan of coffins in Tomb 1407/C3, Deir el-Medina. Source: Adapted from Bruyère and Bataille “Une tombe gréco-romaine,” 150, fig. 3 and Monserrat and Meskell “Mortuary Archaeology,” 191. 205
- Figure 13.2. Painted shroud of Neferhotep, Son of Herrotiou, Deir el-Medina Tomb 1447, 100–225 CE. Brooklyn Museum 75.114. Photograph from Brooklyn Museum 75.114\_PS1.jpg; Creative Commons-BY. 208
- Figure 13.3. Mummified body of a boy with a painted shroud, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, early third century CE. British Museum EA6709. © The Trustees of the British Museum. 209
- Figure 13.4. Mummified body of a boy in a coffin with a painted shroud, unknown provenance, ca. 230–250 CE. British Museum EA6715. © The Trustees of the British Museum. 209
- Figure 13.5. Leiden painted shroud, Deir el-Medina Tomb 1447, second to third century CE. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1968/2.1. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. 211

**RICHTER**

- Figure 15.1. Plan of the Hathor Temple of Seti I at DeM. Illustration by David Rager; after Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–40*, I:pl. 10. 237
- Figure 15.2. Hathor cow protecting Ramesses II on lintel from *khenu* of Ramesses II at DeM (Louvre E 16276). Illustration by the author. 238
- Figure 15.3. Offering of sistrum and *menits* in TT 82 of Amenemhet, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Reign of Tuthmose III. Illustration by Caris Reid. 241
- Figure 15.4. Nofretkhau (iii) shaking sistrum, in TT 335 of Nakhtamun at DeM. Photograph © Thierry Benderitter / osirisnet.net. 242
- Figure 15.5. Iyemwaw (i) and Neferhotep (i) in TT 6 at DeM. Illustration by the author. 242
- Figure 15.6. Presentation of sistra in TT 100 of Rekhmire, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Time of Tuthmose III to Amenhotep II. Illustration by David Rager. 245
- Figure 15.7. Khabekhnet (i) and his wife Sahte (i), *ḥsyt ʿ3t* of Hathor on Lucarne Stela BM 555 from DeM. Illustration by David Rager. 249
- Figure 15.8. Stela of Penbuy (i), Louvre E 16374 from DeM. Illustration by the author. 249

**AUSEC**

- Figure 16.1. Eastern temples at Karnak. After Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 9. 272
- Figure 16.2. Ramesses II escorted to Amun-Re “Who Hears Prayer.” Photograph by Cindy Ausec. 273
- Figure 16.3. Plan of Eastern High Gate. After *Medinet Habu*, VIII, fig. 1. 274
- Figure 16.4. Ptah “Who Hears Prayer” on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. Photograph by Cindy Ausec. 275
- Figure 16.5. *Rekhyt* on Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. Photograph by Cindy Ausec. 277
- Figure 16.6. Plan of Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple at Karnak. After Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 9. 279

**DODSON**

- Figure 18.1. Triumphant relief of Shoshenq I at Karnak. The figure of the king appears to have been modeled in high relief plaster, which has now fallen away, while the bulb of the White Crown is just visible. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 296
- Figure 18.2. Plan of the outer part of the temple complex of Amun-Re at Karnak. Drawing by Aidan Dodson. 297
- Figure 18.3. Plan of the Bubastite Portal and adjacent structures. Drawing by Aidan Dodson. 297
- Figure 18.4. E wall of the temple of Rameses III, the Bubastite Portal, and S wall of Hypostyle Hall, as seen from SE. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 298
- Figure 18.5. Eastern pilaster of the Bubastite Portal, as seen from the north. The outer (left-hand) face was decorated by Sheshonq I, while the other was face adorned by Osorkon I. Sheshonq I decorated the outer face of the western pilaster, but the other face was left undecorated. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 298
- Figure 18.6. The Bubastite Portal from the south. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 299
- Figure 18.7. The sandstone quarries at Gebel el-Silsila West. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 300
- Figure 18.8. Detail of the area of stelae and chapels at Gebel el-Silsila West. Photograph by Aidan Dodson. 300

Figure 18.9. Stela 100 at Gebel el-Silsila. Drawing adapted from Caminos “Gebel es-Silsilah,” pls. 10–13.	301
Figure 18.10. S side of the First Court at Karnak, showing the Bubastite Portal and southern colonnaded wall, erected by Sheshonq I, separated by temple of Rameses III, and Pylon I, probably built during the Thirtieth Dynasty. Photograph by Aidan Dodson.	302
Figure 18.11. N side of the First Court, with the triple shrine of Seti II in foreground and northern colonnaded wall of Sheshonq I beyond. Photograph by Aidan Dodson.	303
Figure 18.12. The outside of the northern colonnaded wall with the northern gateway, showing their entire lack of decoration. Photograph by Aidan Dodson.	303
Figure 18.13. The outside of northern colonnaded wall, showing its interface with the northern wall of Hypostyle Hall with battle reliefs of Seti I. Photograph by Aidan Dodson.	304
Figure 18.14. Smiting scene of Sheshonq I from temple at El-Hibeh (Heidelberg 1970+1971b; courtesy Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg).	305
<b>DREYFUS</b>	
Figure 19.1. <i>Very Postmortem: Mummies and Medicine</i> , 31 October 2009–31 October 2010, Legion of Honor, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Image courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.	308
Figure 19.2. Postcard of the Golden Gate Park Museum after the earthquake of 1906.	310
Figure 19.3. The coffin of Irethorrou. FAMSF 42895. Image courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.	312
Figure 19.4. Image of the winged scarab ( <i>apay</i> ) in place of Nut. Image courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.	312
Figure 19.5. Genealogy of Irethorrou. FAMSF 42895.	314
Figure 19.6. Irethorrou, his outer shroud in situ. Image courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.	315
Figure 19.7. Placement of Irethorrou’s amulets.	316
Figure 19.8. Amulet 1 (scarab) and Amulet 3 (“two plumes”).	316
Figure 19.9. Amulet 2 ( <i>weres</i> ).	316
Figure 19.10. Amulet 6 ( <i>ib</i> ); Amulet 4 ( <i>wedjat</i> ).	318
Figure 19.11. Amulet 8 ( <i>khu?</i> ).	318
Figure 19.12. Amulet 9 ( <i>tyet</i> ), between the body wall and left elbow; inset A shows full form.	318
Figure 19.13. Visceral packets (A & B) in the mid-thorax.	319
Figure 19.14. Visceral packets C and D.	319
Figure 19.15. Visceral packets C and D nested on the complex pelvic inclusion, sagittal view.	320
Figure 19.16. Complex pelvic inclusion, coronal view.	320
Figure 19.17. View of back showing eruptions of the skin and Amulet 7 ( <i>djed</i> ).	321
Figure 19.18. 3D printed skull model and forensic facial reconstruction of Irethorrou. Image courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.	321
<b>HANSEN</b>	
Figure 20.1. Horse skull demonstrating the interdental space ( <i>diasmia</i> ) where the bit lies. Public domain.	326
Figure 20.2. Relief from Luxor Temple depicting ancient Egyptian bridling. Photograph by the author; published with permission of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture.	326
Figure 20.3. Typical example of the ancient Egyptian bit, labeled with modern terms and showing its spiral mouth-piece ( <i>cannons</i> ). Photograph by the author; published by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.	326
Figure 20.4. Inside end of the Cairo Bit showing the squared loops and studs or prongs, as well as the large hole in the cheek piece where the cannon inserts. Photograph by the author; published with the permission of the Cairo Antiquities Museum.	327
Figure 20.5. Cairo Bit showing the unique joint which limits the nutcracking action of the snaffle. Photograph by the author; published with the permission of the Cairo Antiquities Museum.	327
Figure 20.6. Design drawing of the ancient Egyptian bridle for Kentucky Chariot Project. Author’s drawing, published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	329
Figure 20.7. Relief from Karnak Temple showing ancient Egyptian two-handed grip similar to modern dressage driving grip. Photograph by the author; published by permission of NOVA/TV6 Project.	331
Figure 20.8. British Museum fragment (EA 37982), clearly showing ancient Egyptian horses collected: with well-bent hindquarters, raised head and neck, and tucked-in noses.	332

Figure 20.9. Noor and Tommy showing early stages of collection during training: with hind legs well bent, backs correctly stretched (not dropped), necks raised, and noses approaching vertical. Photograph by the author; published with permission of the NOVA/TV6 project.	332
Figure 20.10. Modern dropped noseband correctly fitted and encircling horse’s nose below bit. Product of Sabre Leather, UK.	332
Figure 20.11. Modern longeing cavesson showing position of prongs in relation to noseband. Photograph by the author.	334
Figure 20.12. Karnak Temple scene showing bit possibly whipped (lashed) to noseband.	334
Figure 20.13. Noseband and bit showing fitted noseband not encircling the nose. Photograph by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	335
Figure 20.14. Drawing of ancient noseband made for Kentucky Chariot Project, with bit holes for bit attachment. Drawing by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	335
Figure 20.15. Saied Mohammad attaching bit to the noseband for NOVA/TV6 Project. Photograph by the author; published by permission of NOVA/TV6 project.	335
Figure 20.16. Tommy demonstrating the ancient noseband’s ability to clear his nostrils and not obstruct breathing. Photograph by the author; published with permission of NOVA/TV6 project.	335
Figure 20.17. Drawing for line (rein) attachment for Kentucky Chariot Project. Drawing by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	338
Figure 20.18a. Ornamental line (rein) attachment. Photograph by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	338
Figure 20.18b. Ornamental line (rein) attachment viewed from front. Photograph by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	338
Figure 20.18c. Line attachment in place on line and connected to bridle. Photograph by the author; published by permission of International Museum of the Horse, Lexington, KY.	338
Figure 20.19. Noor showing check-rowels attached to bit and fastened to spool at the top of neck fork by two half-hitches. Photograph by the author; published with permission of NOVA/TV6 project.	339
<b>KAISER</b>	
Figure 22.1. Skeletal stress markers (LEH and CO) in Wall of the Crow sample (by age group).	352
Figure 22.2. Spatial distribution of the burials at Wall of the Crow site.	354
Figure 22.3. Distribution of coffins by period and age group. The letter “n” denotes number of observable burials.	357
Figure 22.4. Saite period painted anthropoid mud-coffin, with detail of mask. The burial belonged to a child aged 7–10 years (Infans II). Photos by author, drawing by Johnny Karlsson.	357
Figure 22.5. Distribution of grave goods (of any type) per age group.	359
Figure 22.6. Object type by period and age group.	359
Figure 22.7. Polychrome painted pottery, Saite period. Photograph by Kevin Kaiser.	360
Figure 22.8. Selection of amulets from the Wall of the Crow burials.	361
<b>KNUDSEN AND HUMMEL</b>	
Figure 23.1. Reconstruction of typical El Ahaiwah brick-vaulted tomb. All figures by the authors.	372
Figure 23.2. Reconstruction of back wall and foundation.	372
Figure 23.3. Plan of Tomb 526 at El Ahaiwah.	373
Figure 23.4. PAHMA 6-22024a obverse (left) and reverse (right).	374
Figure 23.5. PAHMA 6-22024b obverse (left) and reverse (right).	375
Figure 23.6. PAHMA 6-22025b obverse (left) and reverse (right).	375
Figure 23.7. PAHMA 6-22027 obverse (left) and reverse (right).	376
Figure 23.8. Falcon amulet (PAHMA 6-22022b).	377
Figure 23.9. Falcon amulet (PAHMA 6-22023b).	377
Figure 23.10. Drawings of four globular jars recovered from Tomb 526 by George A. Reisner in 1900.	378
Figure 23.11. PAHMA 6-18490.	379
Figure 23.12. PAHMA 6-18488.	379
Figure 23.13. PAHMA 6-18489.	380
Figure 23.14. PAHMA 6-18487.	380

**MUHS**

Figure 24.1. Red granite sarcophagus lid: (a) long edge; (b) surface. All figures by the author.	384
Figure 24.2. Red granite block: (a) left face; (b) right face.	386
Figure 24.3. Red granite block: (a) left face; (b) right face.	387
Figure 24.4. Red granite statue fragment.	388
Figure 24.5. Limestone doorjamb.	389
Figure 24.6. Limestone doorjamb.	391
Figure 24.7. Limestone block with fragmentary relief of seated male.	392
Figure 24.8. Limestone block with fragmentary relief of king offering floral bouquet.	393

**REDMOUNT**

Figure 25.1a. Temple and temenos looking NW.	400
Figure 25.1b. Temple, temenos, and temenos wall looking SW.	400
Figure 25.2. Remains of pillar decoration in situ in temple.	402
Figure 25.3a. Reused relief blocks in situ.	403
Figure 25.3b. Reused relief block with king.	403
Figure 25.3c. Reused relief block with god.	403
Figure 25.4. Drawing of reused block with god. Image by Deanna Kiser-Go.	404
Figure 25.5. Broken relief block with striding king.	404
Figure 25.6. Composite temple plan per Kamal and Daressy, top (Griffiths 1909); 1914 temple plan after excavation, bottom (Breith, "Der Amontempel").	408
Figure 25.7. Temple plan with room identification. After Arnold, <i>Temples</i> , 33, fig. 5.	413
Figure 25.8. Inscribed limestone fragment reused as capping for Coptic burial.	429



# List of Tables

## COONEY

Table 1.1. Reuse scores.	6
Table 1.2. Rate of reuse for Dynasty 21 coffins in Italian collections.	6

## PODZORSKI

Table 9.1. Eye forms.	119
Table 9.2. Brow ridge forms.	125
Table 9.3. Cheek whisker forms.	125

## DAVIES

Table 12.1. The <i>wab</i> -priests of Deir el-Medina.	171
--------------------------------------------------------	-----

## LOGAN

Table 14.1. Complete <i>imyt-pr</i> legal documents	219
Table 14.2. List of <i>imyt-pr</i> documents	228

## RICHTER

Table 15.1. Attested priesthood of Hathor at Deir el-Medina.	256
Table 15.2. Distribution of the priesthood of Hathor at Deir el-Medina.	258
Table 15.3. Family relationships between title holders in Hathor's priesthood.	259
Table 15.4. Devotion to Hathor by family members in Hathor's priesthood.	260
Table 15.5. References for Hathoric inscriptions by family members.	261
Table 15.6. Titles of clergy members' husbands.	266
Table 15.7. Hathoric clergy serving other deities.	267
Table 15.8. Possible members of Hathor's priesthood at Deir el-Medina.	268
Table 15.9. Timeline of Hathor's priesthood at Deir el-Medina.	269

## CRUZ-URIBE

Table 17.1. Possible word plays.	293
----------------------------------	-----

## KAISER

Table 22.1. Age distribution of the Wall of the Crow sample.	351
Table 22.2. Distribution of coffins, vessels, and objects.	364

## Contributors

Cindy Ausec	Zaytuna College
Kathlyn M. Cooney	University of California, Los Angeles
Eugene Cruz-Uribe <sup>†</sup>	Indiana University East
Lorelei H. Corcoran	University of Memphis
Benedict G. Davies	Independent Scholar
Aidan Dodson	University of Bristol
Renée Dreyfus & Jonathan P. Elias	Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Richard Fazzini	Brooklyn Museum
Kathy Hansen <sup>†</sup>	Independent Scholar
Marsha Hill	Metropolitan Museum of Art
Lisette M. Jiménez	San Francisco State University
Janet H. Johnson	University of Chicago
Jessica Kaiser	Uppsala University
Deanna Kiser-Go	University of California, Berkeley
Joan Knudsen & Rexine Hummel	Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology
Jean Li	Toronto Metropolitan University
Tom Logan	Monterey Peninsula College
Barbara Mendoza	Santa Monica College
Elizabeth Minor	Wellesley College
Brian Muhs	University of Chicago
Patricia Podzorski	University of Memphis
Carol A. Redmount	University of California, Berkeley
Barbara A. Richter	University of California, Berkeley
Gay Robins	Emory University
Ann Macy Roth	New York University

# Bibliography of Cathleen A. Keller

(CINDY AUSEC AND CAROL A. REDMOUNT)

When she passed away so suddenly, Candy was working on a number of major research projects that she characterized (in two research enabling grant applications to the university) as: 1) inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata; 2) New Kingdom figured and hieratic ostraca in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; 3) a book on artistic individuality in Ancient Egypt; 4) a survey of Twentieth Dynasty private art; 5) preplanning for a major conservation and publication project on Egyptian sculpture and relief in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology, where she served as curator of Egyptian art and epigraphy; and 6) planning for an international art exhibition about Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (opened 2005). Sadly, the only one of these projects that came to fruition was the last.

## Published Works

- Keller, Cathleen A. "Two Painters of the Tomb of Ramesses IV." *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 99/100 (1977): 16.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Old Monuments in New Settings: The Temple of Dendur in New York." In *The Preservation and Use of Artistic Cultural Heritage: Perspectives and Solutions*, edited by Relazioni Culturali della Società Olivetti, 94–101. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.
- Keller, Cathleen A. [sic]. "The Draughtsmen of Deir el-Medina: A Preliminary Report." *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 115 (1981): 7–21; 15 ills. (1 on cover).
- Keller, Cathleen A. "The Excavation of the Palace of Amenhotep III (1910–1920): A Re-evaluation." *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982): 272.
- Keller, Cathleen A. Catalogue entries for the Department of Egyptian Art in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. 88–109.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Problems in Dating Glass Industries of the Egyptian New Kingdom: Examples from Malkata and Lisht." *Journal of Glass Studies* 25 (1983): 19–28.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "How Many Draughtsmen Named Amenhotep? A Study of Some Deir el-Medina Painters." *JARCE* 21 (1984): 119–29.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "A Late Book of the Dead in the Emory University Museum." *BES* 6 (1984): 55–67.
- Keller, Cathleen A. Review of *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh Nos. 3100–3372* (5e fascicule), by Annie Gasse. *JARCE* 25 (1988): 251–52.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Denkmäler der Macht." In *Ägypten: Geschichte, Kunst, das Leben heute*, edited by Jaromir Málek, 109–21. Munich: Christian-Verlag, 1993.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Monuments of the Mighty." In *Egypt: Ancient Culture, Modern Land*, edited by Jaromir Málek, 109–19. Cradles of Civilization 1. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Royal Painters: Deir el-Medina in Dynasty XIX." In *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, edited by Edward Bleiberg and Rita E. Freed, 50–86. Memphis, TN: University of Memphis, 1993.

- Keller, Cathleen A. "Speculations concerning Interconnections between the Royal Policy and Reputation of Ramesses IV." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, 145–57. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994.
- Keller, Cathleen A. Catalogue entries for objects from the Egyptian collection of the P. A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (UC Berkeley) in *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Nancy Thomas. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1995. Pp. 100–102, 109, 119–21, 124–25, 129–35, 138–41, 214–16, 231–33.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Sethos I," "Deir el-Medina," "Malkata," "Nefertari," and "Royal Tombs (Thebes)." *The Dictionary of Art*. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Private Votives in Royal Cemeteries: The Case of KV 9." *VarAeg* 10.2–3 (1997): 139–56.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Women and the Afterlife." In *Women of the Nile*, edited by Jill Freeman et al., 41–43. San Jose, CA: Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, 1999.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "A Family Affair: The Decoration of Theban Tomb 359." In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W.V. Davies, 73–93. London: British Museum Press, 2001.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Un artiste égyptien à l'œuvre: Le dessinateur en chef Amenhotep." In *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Egypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire; Actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, edited by Guillemette Andreu, 83–114. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003.
- Redmount, Carol A., and Cathleen A. Keller, eds. *Egyptian Pottery: Proceedings of the Pottery Symposium at the University of California, Berkeley*. University of California Publications in Egyptian Archaeology 8; Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 58. Berkeley: Regents of the University of California, 2003.
- Roehrig, Catharine H., Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, eds. *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Hatshepsut's Reputation in History." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 294–97. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Roehrig, Catharine H., Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller. "Introduction." In *Hatshepsut From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 2–5. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "The Joint Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 96–100. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "The Royal Court." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 101–6. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "The Statuary of Hatshepsut." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 158–73. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "The Statuary of Senenmut." In *Hatshepsut From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, 117–31. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Keller, Cathleen A. "Some Thoughts on Religious Change at Deir el-Medina." In *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, edited by Sue H. D'Auria, 149–54. PdÄ 28. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

### Conference Papers

- "Two Painters of the Tomb of Ramesses IV." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Detroit, 1977.
- "The Painter Hormin and the Style of Theban Tomb 359." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York, 1978.
- "Excavated Evidence for New Kingdom Glass Production in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, San Francisco, 1980.
- "The Excavation of the Palace of Amenhotep III (1910–1920): A Reevaluation." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco, 1981.
- "Figured Ostraca in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Drawn by Deir el-Medina Draughtsmen." Paper presented at the Third International Congress of Egyptology, Toronto, 1982.
- "Some Attribution Studies of Deir el-Medina Draughtsmen." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Cleveland, 1984.
- "Attribution Studies of Deir el-Medina Draughtsmen." Paper presented at the Fourth International Congress of Egyptology, Munich, 1985.
- "How Many Draughtsmen? An Investigation of Deir el-Medina Painters." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York, 1985.
- "The Malkata Palace of Amenhotep III." Paper presented at the Fifth International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, 1988.
- "The Malkata Palace of Amenhotep III: Publication Update." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Chicago, 1988.
- "Work Organization in the 18th Dynasty Royal Tombs." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, 1991.
- "Work Organization in the 18th Dynasty Royal Tombs: Some Chronological Considerations." Paper presented at the Sixth International Congress of Egyptology, Turin, 1991.
- "Private Votives in Royal Tombs: The Ramesside Evidence." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Atlanta, 1995.
- "Private Votives in Royal Cemeteries." In *Abstracts of Papers of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*. (Cambridge, 1995). Edited by Christopher Eyre, 97–99.
- "Religion at Deir el-Medina: A Chronological Perspective." Paper presented at the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 2004.

# Abbreviations

## GENERAL

ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
BCE	Before the Common Era
BM	British Museum, London
BMFA	Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
ca.	<i>circa</i> , about, approximately
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
CE	Common Era
ch.	chapter
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
coll.	collection
CT	Coffin Texts
D	depth
doc.	document
DM/DeM	Deir el-Medina
ed(s).	editor(s), edition(s)
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth
ex(s).	example(s)
f/ff.	following
FAMSF	Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gr.	Greek
GRM	Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
H	height
JdE	Journal d'Entree (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
KM	Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan
km	kilometer
KV	King's Valley
l.	line
L	length
m	meter(s)
masc.	masculine
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MH	Medinet Habu
mm	millimeter(s)



MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSA	Ministry of State for Antiquities, Egypt
max.	maximum
min.	minimum
n(n).	note(s)
n.b.	<i>nota bene</i>
no(s).	number(s)
n.s.	<i>nova series</i> , new series
O.	ostracon, ostraca
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago
P.	papyrus
p(p).	page(s)
<i>pace</i>	in peace
PAHMA	Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley
<i>passim</i>	here and there
pers. comm.	personal communication
phot(s).	photograph(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
plur.	plural
PN	personal name
PT	Pyramid Texts
QV	Queen's Valley
rto.	recto
sing.	singular
s.v.	<i>sub verbo, sub voce</i> , under the word
TT	Theban Tomb
<i>viz.</i>	<i>videlicet</i> , namely
vol.	volume
vso.	verso
W	width

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
AegHel	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
<i>BABesch</i>	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BAR	British Archaeological Reports

BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BARCE	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BdÉ	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude</i> , Institut Français d'Archéologie
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BESud	Brown Egyptological Studies; Providence
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
BzÄ	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie
CD	Crum, <i>Coptic Dictionary</i>
CDD	<i>Chicago Demotic Dictionary</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CG	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNWS	Centre of Non-Western Studies; Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CRIPEL	Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et Égyptologie de Lille
Daressy, <i>Ostraca</i>	Georges Daressy, <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Ostraca, nos. 25001–25385</i> . Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1901.
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
DFIFAO	Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
DGÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i> . The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
EPRO	Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> . Beiträge zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion; Göttingen
GMT	<i>Graffiti de la Montagne Thebaine</i> by Jaroslav Černý [and Abdel Aziz Sadek]; Cairo, 1969-72, CEDAE Collection Scientifique.
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge; Hildesheim
Hölscher, <i>Medinet Habu V</i>	Uvo Hölscher, <i>The Excavation of Medinet Habu</i> , vol. V, <i>Post Ramessid Remains</i> , OIP 66. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1954.
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JAMA	<i>Journal of the American Medical Association</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Orientalist Society</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JdÉ	<i>Journal d'Entrée du Musée Égyptienne du Caire</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> ; London
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KI	Harold H. Nelson, <i>Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations</i> , section I.

- OIP 56. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- KRI Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*. 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969–1990.
- LÄ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Edited by W. Helck et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
- LD R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien*. 12 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1849–1858.
- LGG Christian Leitz, ed. *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. OLA 110–116. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- LingAeg* *Lingua aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies*
- MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
- MEEF Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund
- Medinet Habu I* Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. OIP 8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- Medinet Habu II* Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, *Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. OIP 9. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
- Medinet Habu IV* Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. IV, *The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Part 2*. OIP 55. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1951.
- Medinet Habu V* Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. V, *The Temple Proper, Part 1; The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels Adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall with Marginal Material from the Forecourts*. OIP 83. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1957.
- Medinet Habu VIII* Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. VIII, *The Eastern High Gate, with Translations of Texts*. OIP 94. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1970.
- MIFAO Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale; Cairo
- MjBK *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenen Kunst*
- MMAF Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archeologique Française au Caire
- MUSE *Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology*
- NARCE *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OEAE *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by Donald B. Redford. 3 vols. Oxford: University Press, 2001.
- OIMP Oriental Institute Museum Publications
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- Or *Orientalia*
- PdÄ *Probleme der Ägyptologie*
- PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- PM I.1 Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 1, *The Theban Necropolis, Part 1, Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960. Repr. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994.
- PM I.2 Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 1, *The Theban Necropolis, Part 2, Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.
- PM II Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 2, *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed., rev. and augmented. Oxford, 1972.
- Ranke, PN Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, Band II*. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1949.
- RdÉ *Revue d’Égyptologie*
- RecTrav *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l’Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*
- RIDA *Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité*

<i>RITA</i>	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1996–.
<i>RITANC</i>	Kenneth A. Kitchen and Benedict G. Davies. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Notes and Comments</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1996–.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SASAE	Supplements aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte
SDAIK	Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
StDem	Studia Demotica
TN	Thebanische Nekropole
TTS	Theban Tomb Series
UC	University College, London
<i>Urk.</i>	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Neuen Reiches, historisch-biographische Urkunden</i> . Fascicles 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–1909. Continued by Wolfgang Helck, fascicles 17–22. Berlin: Akademie, 1955–1958.
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>VarAeg</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VIAÄ	Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>Wb.</i>	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1955.
<i>WdO</i>	<i>Welt des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WZKMB	Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

# Subject Index

## A

Abenpide, chariot driver, 389, 392  
Abydos, 42, 74, 80, 112, 136, 158, 217, 223, 356, 358  
Abydos fetish, 42, 44, 87  
agriculture, 343–44  
Ahmose, 74–75, 104, 137, 141, 147, 227, 275  
Ahmose, scribe, 350  
Ahmose-Nefertari, 167, 178, 181, 183, 188, 198, 227, 242. *See also* deities  
Aipy son of Nayebo, 390  
Akhenaten, 24, 49, 52, 54, 56, 59, 61–64, 74–75, 135, 136, 138, 140–42, 147  
Akhetaten, 135–38, 141–45, 147  
Akhmim, 307–14  
Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium, 308, 317  
Alexander III of Macedon, 287  
Allam, Schafik, 221  
Amarna, 29, 49, 55, 57, 59, 61–63, 65, 72–75, 111–12, 135–50, 292, 331, 355  
Amarna Triad, 136, 147  
Amenemhet, 246  
Amenemhet III, 289  
Amenhotep, 49  
Amenhotep III, 61, 70, 136, 146, 282, 287, 324, 430  
Amenhotep IV. *See* Akhenaten  
Amenirdis, 79–91  
Amenmose, 66  
Amenwahsu, 66, 70  
American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), 343, 396  
amulets, 25, 314–18, 361–62, 373  
    Bes, 362  
    Eye of Re, 362  
    faience, 361–63  
    falcon, 377  
    Horus, 374  
    Horus or *wedjat*-eye, 361–64, 369  
Amunirdes, 45  
Amuniridis I, 42  
Ancient Egypt Research Association, 347  
Anderson, J. K., 333–34, 336, 338  
Anen, 275

animals, depictions of, 121  
Ankhnesmerire I, queen, 96  
Ankhwennefer, mummy of, 313, 315, 320  
Anubeion cemetery, 358  
Any, 144–45  
Ariès, Philippe, 350  
Arnold, Dieter, 26, 395, 408, 415, 426  
Asia, 430  
Assmann, Jan, 292  
Aston, David, 42  
Aswan, 152  
Atet, 23  
attendant in the Place of Truth, 174  
Ay, 137, 142–43, 147–48

## B

*ba*, 144, 146, 149, 253, 289  
baboons  
    brow ridges of, 125, 130, 132  
    cheek whiskers of, 126, 131  
    eyes of, 118–19, 126–30, 133  
    images of, 117–34  
    *Papio Anubis*, 122  
    *Papio hamadryas*, 122  
back, anatomy of, 289  
Baines, John, 19, 20, 71  
Barguet, Paul, 275, 279  
Bataille, André, 204, 208  
beer, 241–42  
Bekenhonsu, 271, 275  
Berkeley Tell el-Muqdam Project, 381, 384–92  
Bierbrier, Morris L., 219, 233, 236  
Bietak, Manfred, 382  
bits, for horses, 324–28, 334  
    cheek pieces, 328  
    snaffles, 326–27, 332  
    width of, 335–36  
*b3kw* priests, 241–43  
Bleeker, Claas J., 281  
Bohemian Club, 308–10  
Bonnet, Charles, 107  
Bothmer, Bernard V., 23

- Bourriau, Janine, 104–5  
 Brandl, Helmut, 42  
 Breasted, James Henry, 336  
 Brech, Ruth, 311  
 Breith, Karl, 407, 408, 410, 412–13, 416–17, 422–24, 431  
 bridle, for horses, 329–30  
   bit studs, 333  
   bitless, 336  
   blinkers, 330  
   brow band, 330  
   cheek straps, 329, 333  
   headstall, 329  
   noseband, 330, 333–36  
 Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition, 29–48  
 Brown, Paul, 308  
 Brugsch, Emile Bey, 309  
 Brunner-Traut, Emma, 23  
 Brunton, Guy, 356  
 Bruyère, Bernard, 204–6, 208, 210, 235, 237, 240, 253–54  
 Bryan, Betsy M., 43, 72  
 Burton, Harry, 324  
 Butehamen, coffins of, 3, 11–13  
 butterflies. *See* insects  
 Byblos, 305
- C
- carpenters, 86, 172, 180, 192, 252  
 carrying chair, 140, 155–56, 158, 159, 165. *See also* palanquin-bearers  
 Carter, Howard, 324, 336  
 Cemetery 500, 371–73  
 Černý, Jaroslav, 167  
 Champollion, Jean-François, 70, 295  
 chantress, 7, 236, 237, 243–44, 254  
 Chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos, 217, 223  
 Chapelle Votives, 195, 195–96  
 chariot driver, 381, 389, 390–92  
 chariots, 323, 325, 329–31, 340  
 chief musician-priestess, 237–39, 242, 244, 248, 255  
 chief workman, 170, 172, 177–79, 181, 183, 185–86, 189–90, 193–94, 197  
 childbirth, 239, 288, 290–91, 349, 355, 361–63, 367–69  
 children, 347–69  
   attitude toward, 348–50, 368–69  
   mortality of. *See* mortality  
   naming practices, 89  
   and work, 350  
 coffins  
   anthropoid, 79, 88, 356, 358, 369  
   for children, 349, 356–57, 367–69  
   fetishization of, 14  
   gender modification in, 9, 11  
   Greco-Roman period, 206  
   *krsw*, 78–79, 83–86  
   reuse of, 1–16  
   stola, 13  
   collection, in horse training, 331–32  
   color, words used for, 20–21  
   complex pelvic inclusion, 319–20  
   concubine figures, 366  
   contact, in horses, 326  
 Cooney, Kathlyn, 367  
 cosmography, 153–55  
 Costa, Salvador, 278–80  
 cow, as symbol of Hathor, 97–98, 100, 240, 245, 249–50, 254–55, 362  
 cowrie shells, 360, 373  
 cribra orbitalia, 352–53  
 Crouwel, Joost, 324, 336
- D
- dancers, 155, 245, 246  
 Daressy, Georges, 405, 408, 416–421, 428  
 darkness, symbolism of, 289, 292–93  
 David, Arlette, 231  
 Davies, Benedict G., 176, 236  
 Davies, Nina de Garis, 324  
 Davies, Norman de Garis, 135–36, 141, 144  
 Davis, Whitney, 23  
 de Meulenaere, Herman, 42  
 de Young, Michael H., 308, 310–11  
 Deir al-Ballas, 103–16  
 deities  
   Ahmose-Nefertari (deified), 188, 198, 242, 246.  
     *See also* Ahmose-Nefertari  
   Amenhotep I (deified), 167–70, 174, 178, 181–84, 187, 190, 197, 238, 245–46, 252  
   Amun, 37, 42, 55, 78, 87, 89, 90, 151, 169–70, 172, 180, 187, 189–94, 206, 225–27, 236, 238, 245–47, 250, 253–55, 278, 287, 376, 385, 391, 395, 402, 407, 418, 420–21, 424, 429, 431, 434, 436  
   Amun Ka-mutef, 435  
   Amun-Re, 22, 33, 39, 152, 170, 173, 188, 192–93, 224–25, 232, 271–75, 280–86, 304, 343, 375, 383, 422, 428, 431  
   Anubis, 10, 21, 68, 72, 87, 122, 129, 249, 252–54  
   Aten, 49, 52–56, 59–60, 62–63, 75, 136–50, 293  
   Atum, 223, 279, 280, 363, 366, 418, 421, 428, 431

- Bastet, 362  
 Bes, 61, 362, 368  
 Ennead, 223, 246, 278, 281, 283, 422, 429  
 Four Sons of Horus, 10, 84, 87  
 Geb, 289, 363, 366  
 Hapi, 87, 130, 363, 374  
 Harpocrates, 95, 97, 99–102, 368. *See also* Horus  
 Hathor, 96, 97, 226, 235–70, 273–74, 292, 356, 367  
 Hathor-Isis, 249–51  
 Hathor-Tefnut, 253  
 Heh, 374, 414  
 Heqat, 288  
 Horus, 10, 32, 59, 68, 87, 95–100, 102, 223, 245,  
     276, 277, 280, 285, 292–93, 318, 360–62, 366,  
     374, 383, 385, 387–88, 414, 419–21, 428, 431  
 Horus-Re, 289  
 Isis, 19, 80, 87, 88, 93–102, 94, 218, 226, 247, 288,  
     292, 313, 318, 366, 423, 424–25, 431  
 Isis Kourotophos, 95  
 Kauket, 292  
 Keku, 288  
 Khepri, 21, 292, 362  
 Khnum, 288, 428–29, 431  
 Khonsu, 41–42, 224, 232, 250, 283, 285, 302, 313,  
     343, 428–29, 431  
 Khonsu-em-Waset-Neferhotep, 284  
 Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, 429  
 Kuk, 292  
 Ma'at, 32, 33, 88, 196–97, 274, 278, 280, 284–85,  
     387–88  
 Mertseger, 194  
 Meskhenet, 288  
 Mihos, 386  
 Min, 196, 225–26, 275, 307, 313–14  
 Mut, 29, 32–33, 35, 37, 41–42, 44, 46, 48, 224, 232,  
     238, 245, 250, 254, 280, 285, 423, 428, 431  
 Neith, 226  
 Nekhbet, 284, 417, 419–20, 424–25  
 Nephthys, 87, 247, 288, 292, 313  
 Nut, 87, 312, 356, 363, 366, 369  
 Orion, 288, 291  
 Orion-Re, 289  
 Osiris, 11, 13, 21, 68, 73, 87–89, 136, 148–49, 158,  
     245–47, 252–53, 278, 289, 293, 313, 317–18,  
     361, 366–68  
 Osiris-Orion, 292  
 Osiris-Sokar, 78, 311, 313–14  
 Osiris-Wennefer, 249, 255  
 Ptah, 182, 253, 274–76, 280–81, 283, 286, 317  
 Ptah “of the Place of Beauty,” 194  
 Ptah-Sokar, 88  
 Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, 368  
 Ptah-Tatenen, 282, 284  
 Re, 151–52, 249–50, 279, 282, 285, 287–90, 292,  
     294, 362, 385, 387–88, 414, 417–18, 419–21,  
     424–25, 428–29, 431  
 Re-Horakhty, 68, 74, 245, 249, 253–54  
 Sah, 288  
 Sekhmet, 46, 280  
 Seth, 289, 291–92, 361, 366  
 Shepses, 423–25, 431  
 Shu, 280, 363  
 Sokar, 72, 88, 315, 317  
 Sokar-Osiris, 214  
 Sothis, 291  
 Taweret, 250, 362  
 Tefnut, 292, 363  
 Thoth, 10, 68, 70, 87, 125, 134, 196, 280, 292, 361,  
     389, 428–29, 431  
 Weser, 288  
 DeMause, Lloyd, 350  
 deputy of the workforce, 172, 175, 178–79, 183, 186,  
     190, 195, 197  
 Diesehebsed (ii), 90  
 Dodson, Aidan, 83, 135  
 Domitian, 271, 285–86  
 draftsman, 133, 169, 172, 177, 183, 185, 187–90, 192,  
     197  
 Dreyfus, Renée, 307–8  
 Dunand, Françoise, 100
- E**
- Eastern Temples at Karnak, 271–86  
 Edgar, Campbell Cohen, 383–84  
 Edgerton, W. F., 276  
 Egyptian Revolution of 2011, 403  
 El Hibe, 304  
 El Hibe Project, 396  
 elder of the portal, 174  
 Elias, Jonathan, 308  
 evisceration, 318  
 excerebration, 318  
 eyes, human, 289
- F**
- Fahrig, Rebecca, 307  
 fan-bearer, 145, 169, 170, 172–73, 241, 254  
 fertility, human, 95, 196, 239, 307, 313, 349, 355, 360–  
     63, 366, 368–69, 374  
 Festival of Hathor, 44, 240–41, 246

Festival of the Beautiful Valley, 240–41, 255  
 Feucht, Erika, 407, 413–15, 422–25, 430  
 Field Museum of Natural History, 312  
 Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 307  
 first prophet of the Lord of Both Lands, 175  
 Frankfort, Henri, 280  
 Freiburg Scientific Society, 405  
 Froid, Elizabeth, 37  
 funerary ritual, 136–37, 145, 156, 158, 238, 247–48

## G

Gage, John, 18  
 Gardiner, Alan H., 246, 382  
 Gauthier, Henri, 41, 383, 384  
 gender  
     and the afterlife, 367  
     and children, 369  
     and skin color, 65–75  
 Giddy, Lisa L., 358  
 Giza Plateau Mapping Project, 347  
 god's father, 142–43, 168, 173, 177, 179, 184, 194–95, 198  
 Goedicke, Hans, 294  
 Goelet, Ogdon, 282  
 gold, decorative use of, 25–27  
 Golden Gate Park Museum, 309–10  
 Graeber, David, 16  
 graffiti, 37, 167, 176, 180–81, 184, 186, 193–94, 198, 236, 274–76, 390  
 Great Festival, 169  
 Greco-Roman period, 203–5. *See also* Roman period  
 Grenfell, Bernard, 77, 81, 93

## H

*hm-ntr*, "prophet," 168  
*hry-hbt*, "lector-priest." *See* lector-priest  
 Habachi, Labib, 275, 382, 391  
 Haggin Museum, Stockton CA, 307  
 Hamza, Mahmud, 382  
 Harmose, 382–83  
 harness, for horses  
     check-rowels, 330, 338–39  
     driving lines, 336–38, 340  
     turrets, 330  
 "Hatason," mummy, 309–10  
 Hathor (iv), singer, 245  
 Hatshepsut, 55, 73, 281, 282, 287  
     mortuary temple of, 72, 152–54, 165, 274  
 Hearst, Phoebe Apperson, 77, 81  
 Hearst, William Randolph, 81–83

Heer, David, 350  
 Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, 405  
 Heidelberger Ägyptologischen Institut, 436–37  
 hellenization, 98–99  
 Hemiunu, 23  
 Henutdjuu, 241–42  
 Herihor, 283–84  
 Herold, Anja, 324  
 Hetepheres, queen, 24  
 Hill, Marsha, 26  
 Hoffmann, Eva, 68  
 Hor, 304  
 Horemheb, 68, 389  
 Horemsaf, 298  
 Hori son of Kama, 390  
 Hornblower, George D., 97  
 Hornung, Erich, 278, 292  
 Hunt, Arthur, 77, 93  
 huntite, 72  
 Huy, 252–53  
 Huya, 137, 140–41, 144–46

## I

*imyt-pr* documents, 217–34  
 Iahati, 250  
 Ikram, Salima, 135  
 incense bearer, 173  
 insects, images of, 117, 121, 123  
 Instruction of Papyrus Insinger, 214–15  
 International Museum of the Horse, 325  
 Iny, king, 41  
 Irethorrou, mummy of, 310–22  
 Irtnofret, 250  
 Israel, 303, 430  
*it-ntr*, "god's father." *See* god's father  
 Iuefaaw, 79, 89  
 Iuni, 390  
 Iuput (A), high priest of Amun, 431–432  
 Iyemwaw, 254  
 Iyi, 254  
 Iyinfreti, 248–49

## J

Jansen-Winkel, Karl, 409, 414, 417–18, 420, 428  
 Jasnaw, Richard, 219, 222  
 Jeroboam, 303  
 Jerusalem, 295, 302  
 jewelry, 24–25, 61, 106, 111, 157, 358–60, 363, 367, 373  
*jmn*, 20, 21



Johnson, J., 230  
 Judah, 303  
*jwn*, 20, 21

## K

*ka*, 145, 148, 245–46, 249, 252, 254–55, 278, 281, 283, 285, 295  
 Kamal, Ahmed Bey, 45, 383, 405, 408–10, 416–20, 427–29  
 Karnak, 29–48, 54, 56–57, 59, 146, 152, 189, 193, 225–26, 255, 271–86, 295, 304, 333, 338, 393, 430, 431, 433, 436–37  
 Keller, Cathleen, 17, 29, 49, 77, 103, 132, 135, 151, 167, 187, 217, 295, 307, 323–32, 343, 347, 381, 395  
     biography of, x–xi  
 Kemp, Barry J., 27, 49, 51, 54  
 Kerma, 103–16  
 Khabeknet (i), 126, 172–74, 190, 238, 247, 249–51  
 Khafre, 347  
 Khonsu (ii), son of Sennedjem, 1, 3, 250, 283  
 Khufu, 287  
 Kitchen, Kenneth, 41, 182, 219, 237, 383, 432  
 Klales, Alexandra, 321  
 Klotz, David, 285  
 Kopytoff, Igor, 14–15  
 Kummer, Hans, 122  
 Kushites, 41, 42, 81, 83, 85, 88–91

## L

Lange, Eva, 281  
 Late Period, 29, 34, 38, 42, 78, 80–84, 91, 97, 99, 225, 227, 291, 344–45, 358, 362, 367  
 Leahy, Anthony, 89  
 leather, painted, 51, 59–60  
 lector-priest, 168, 170, 172, 177, 179, 184–86, 191–92, 195, 248  
 Lehner, Mark, 347  
 Lesko, Leonard H., 236, 238  
 letters, 2, 3, 184, 187, 343, 349  
 light, symbolism of, 293  
 linear enamel hypoplasia, 352–353  
 lions, images of, 46–48, 106, 111, 113, 115, 386  
 Littauer, Mary, 324, 336, 340  
 Loades, Mike, 341  
 Logan, Thomas, 219  
 looting, 403  
 Lucas, Alfred, 18  
 Luxor, 37, 46, 81–82, 152–53, 189, 283, 287, 313, 338  
 Lynch, Jeremiah, 308–11  
 Lythgoe, Albert, 371

## M

Mahu, 137, 143–44, 146–47  
 Malinine, Michel, 219  
 Manniche, Lise, 22  
 Mason, Allen, 313  
 May, 137, 144  
 McDowell, Andrea, 182, 221  
 Medinet Habu, 24, 26, 193–94, 271–86, 340  
 Medjay, 143–44, 147  
 Memphis, 100, 105, 152, 185, 214, 275, 282–83, 355, 429  
*menit*, 240, 245–46, 248–49, 254  
 Menkaure, 347  
 Menkheperre, high priest of Amun, 376, 402, 407, 432  
 Menkheperre, king, 41, 278  
 Menu, Bernadette, 230  
 Merenptah, 26, 56, 183, 382–83, 390, 392  
 Merenptah, palace of, 26  
 Mereruka, 155–60  
 Merira I, 137–39, 142, 146–48  
 Merira II, 137, 139–40, 147  
 Meriteti, 155, 157  
 Mertseger, 194, 252–53  
 Meskell, Lynn, 205, 209  
 Middle Kingdom, 38, 96, 113, 115, 154, 231, 238, 287, 360, 381–82  
 Mistress of the North Wind. *See* Hathor  
 Möller, Georg, 343  
 monkey  
     *gelada*, *Theropithecus gelada*, 122  
     green, *Cercopithecus aethiops*, 123  
 Montet, Pierre, 382  
 Montserrat, Dominic, 205, 208  
 Montuemhat, 35, 37, 38, 77, 85, 90  
 Montuherkhepeshef, 390  
 Morenz, Sigfried, 19  
 Morgan, Lyvia, 25  
 mortality, infant and child, 348–54  
 Mrsich, Tycho, 227  
 Müller, Hans W., 48  
 mummies, 2, 3, 10, 81–82, 172, 193, 206, 307, 308–11, 313, 315, 317, 320–21, 345  
     disposal of, 7  
 mummification, 206, 209, 314, 318–22  
 Munsell Color Book, 18, 66  
 musician-priestess, 236–40, 243–48, 254–56  
 Mut, Temple of, at Karnak, 29–48  
 Mutnofret, 251

Myśliwiec, Karol, 430

## N

Naguib, S.-A., 244–45

Nakht, 123, 275

natron, 318, 321

Nebenmaat, 190, 237, 241–42, 246, 252–53

Nebmaat, 49, 61

Nebnefer, 254–55

neck, anatomy of, 289

Nectanebo I, 279, 284, 286

Neferhotep (i), 126, 172, 237, 248, 254–55

Neferhotep (ii), 183, 240, 254–55

Neferhotep, shroud of, 210, 212, 215

Neferkara Kakai, 288

Nefermaat, 23

Nefertiti, 55, 57, 62–64, 136, 139, 141–43, 147

Nehesy, 382

New Kingdom, 1–3, 24, 37, 39, 44, 46, 48–49, 72, 74, 89, 103–7, 109, 111–15, 125, 128, 133–34, 146, 151–53, 156, 203, 206, 235, 242, 271, 274–76, 278, 282–83, 291, 294, 302, 329, 333, 343, 356, 367, 371, 373–74, 378–79, 389–90, 415, 430, 432

Newberry, Percy E., 336

Nile river, 37, 107, 136, 151–52, 157–58, 160–61, 164–65, 192, 245, 281, 309, 363, 379–80, 395–96, 399, 409

Nimaatra, 289

Nims, Charles, 272, 283

Niwiński, Andrzej, 4, 9

Nubia, 42, 103–16, 151, 344, 390, 413–15, 419

nursing, 349

nursing mother motif, 96–97

## O

Old Kingdom, 25, 38, 77, 96, 115, 151–65, 217, 222, 227, 233, 245, 288, 290, 293, 347, 355

Olympias, 287

Opening of the Mouth, 15, 25, 136, 172

Opet Festival, 152, 192, 283

Oratory, the, 194

orpiment, 27, 70

Osorkon B, 298

Osorkon I, 298, 302, 387, 395, 427–33

Osorkon II, 281, 305, 382–83

Osorkon III, 26, 41, 42, 383

## P

palanquins, 33, 169, 171, 173, 181, 189, 192, 196

Palestine, 304, 430

Paneb, 126, 131, 133, 172–73, 245

Panehsy, 136–39, 145, 147–48

papyrus, 19, 62–63, 79, 85, 111, 131, 134, 136, 140, 151, 158, 160, 164, 221, 240, 312, 374, 408, 413, 415, 424–25, 428

cost of, 221

painted, 59

Parnefer, 137, 141, 146–47

Paser, 239, 240, 250

Pasherene, 345

Patch, Diana Craig, 356

Peck, Elsie Holmes, 29

Peck, William H., 29

Penbuy, 129, 174, 238, 250–51

Pendlebury, John, 49, 51, 53, 55, 62

Pentu, 137, 141–42, 147

Pepi II, 96

Perdu, Olivier, 37

Pestjenef, 42–44

Pestman, P. W., 204–5, 227, 345

Petrie, W. M. F., 225, 275, 356

Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 77, 91, 93, 103, 373

Pillet, Maurice, 33

Pinudjem, high priest of Amun, 194, 402, 432

Pi-Ramesses, 382, 384

Pirenne, Jacques, 227, 231

Place of Truth, 79, 89, 169–74, 177–86, 189, 191–95

Plutarch, 287, 349

Podzorski, Patricia, 311–12

Pramesses, 389

Predynastic period, 73, 77, 96, 371

Preherwenemef, 390

Presentation of the Sistrum and *Menit*, 246

priest of the Lord of Both Lands, 170, 175, 177–79, 182–85, 191–92, 194, 197

prophet, 41, 168–70, 175–77, 181–82, 184–87, 189–93, 197–98, 304, 311, 313–14, 349, 421–22, 431–32.

*See also* first prophet of the Lord of Both Lands

Puyemre, 246

## Q

Qaha (i), 170, 252–53

Qaha (v), 181–82

Quirke, Stephen, 20–22

## R

Rahotep, 275

Ramesses I, 373–76, 389, 390

- Ramesses II, 32–33, 66, 240, 245, 250, 255, 273–86, 381–88, 390–92  
 Ramesses III, 26, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280–84, 286, 302, 381, 384  
 Ramesses IX, 276, 387  
 Ramesses VI, 225  
 Ramose, 59, 146, 250  
 Ranke, Hermann, 405–8, 410, 413, 415–28, 431  
 Ransom Williams, Caroline, 25  
 Raue, Dietrich, 41–42  
 Raven, Maarten Jan, 26  
 realgar, 71  
 red ochre, 71  
 Rehoboam, 295, 303  
 Reisner, George, 77, 81–83, 103, 105, 107, 112–13, 371–73, 378  
 Reisner, Mary, 371  
 Rekhpatet, 390  
*rekhyt* birds, 276–77  
 Riggs, Christina, 205, 367  
 Ringgren, Helmer, 292  
 Ritner, Robert K., 381, 409, 414–21, 422–25, 428–29, 431  
 Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 77, 83  
 Roman period, 29, 83, 93, 95, 99–102, 203–9, 213–14, 271, 285, 348, 353–60, 363, 367, 369, 426  
 Roth, Ann Macy, 209, 366  
 Roy, 66, 68  
 Ruddedet, 288, 290  
 Russmann, Edna, 77
- S
- sacred bark of Amun-Re, 189, 192, 255  
 sacred bark of Hathor, 240–41  
 Sahte, 248–50  
 Sahura, 288  
 Saite period, 312–13, 317, 320, 349, 351–61, 368–69  
 scarabs, 21, 61, 79, 84, 85, 311–12, 317, 362–63, 373–76, 383  
 Schäfer, Heinrich, 23, 160–61  
 Scharff, Alexander, 227  
 Schenkel, Wolfgang, 18  
 Schuyler, Eugene, 309  
 scribe, 3, 61, 64, 90, 142, 144, 159, 172, 176–77, 179–81, 184–88, 192–94, 196, 221, 236, 238–40, 243, 250, 255, 275, 289, 304, 313, 343–44, 350  
 sculptor, 27, 132, 140, 169–73, 181–82, 186–87, 190–91, 197, 238, 301  
 Second Intermediate period, 103–5, 107, 112, 114, 381–82  
*Sed*-festivals, 32, 271, 278–86, 299  
 Seidl, Erwin, 219, 227  
*senet*, 159  
 Sennedjem, 1–3, 126–27, 173–74, 189–90, 237, 241–42, 248–52  
 Senusert III, 382–83  
 Serdjehuty, 344  
 servant, 137–39, 141–43, 145, 147, 158, 169, 171–72, 177–81, 183, 186, 189, 191–92, 195, 225, 233, 237, 241, 249, 252, 275, 313  
 Sethherkhepeshef, 390–91  
 Seti I, 66, 217, 223, 239, 252, 303, 430, 436  
 Seti II, 387  
 Setne II, story of, 214–15  
 sexual intercourse, 156, 159, 366, 369  
 Shedsukhonsu, 343  
 Sheikholeslami, Cynthia M., 43, 408  
 Shepenwepet I, 42, 45  
 Sheshonq I. *See* Shoshenq I  
 Shishek, 295, 302  
 Shoshenq I, 45, 225, 295–305, 395–96, 399, 401, 404, 408, 413–14, 416–21, 425, 427, 430–34, 436–37  
 Shoshenq III, 387  
 Siamun Text, 225  
 Siptah, 390  
 sistrum, 35, 41, 158–59, 244–46, 248, 254  
 skin color, 86  
 Smendes, 387  
 Solomon, 303  
 sow, as symbol of Nut, 363, 369  
 Spencer, Neal, 38  
 Staehelin, Elizabeth, 278  
 stonemason, 189, 196  
 Strudwick, Nigel, 65, 205  
 Suemniwet, 72  
 Sweeney, Dan, 310–11
- T
- Tameket, 250  
 Tanehsy, 252–53  
 Ta-Remu. *See* Tell el-Muqdam  
 Tarepit, mummy of, 317  
 Tatai, 241  
 Tatiḥathor, 344  
 Taylor, John H., 85–88, 91, 205  
 Tell el-Muqdam, 381–92  
 Tell el-Mutesellim, 304  
 Tey, 350  
 Théodoridès, Astride, 219, 227, 230–31

Third Intermediate period, 1–4, 35, 37, 40, 42, 44,  
46, 73, 79–80, 82–86, 88–91, 133, 203, 206, 295,  
317, 356, 358, 363, 367, 371, 373–74, 378–83, 395,  
432–34, 436  
Thutmose I, 275  
Thutmose III, 24, 26, 57, 72, 271–79, 281, 283–86  
Thutmose IV, 60, 71, 275, 323–24  
Tiy, nurse, 142–143, 147  
Tiye, queen, 57, 140–43, 145, 147, 275  
Todros, Moharreb, 313  
toes, human, 289, 291  
tomb guardian, 174  
Tout, 344  
Tran Tam Tinh, Vincent, 97, 99–100  
Tsenhor, 345  
Tutankhamun, 55–56, 125, 324, 328, 330–31, 337–38  
Tuthmosis I. *See* Thutmose I  
Tuthmosis III. *See* Thutmose III  
Tutu, 137, 142, 147

## U

Userhat, 66  
Userkaf, 288

## V

Van den Boorn, G. P. F., 230  
Veldmeijer, André, 324  
visceral packets, 319–20  
vizier, 42, 94–95, 99, 105, 134, 167, 220–21, 235, 239,  
241, 246, 248–50, 252–56, 276  
Vleeming, S. P., 204  
votive offerings, 42, 94–95, 99, 134, 167, 235, 237–39,  
241, 246, 248–50, 252–56, 274–76

## W

*wab*-priests, 167–98  
Wall of the Crow Cemetery, Giza, 347–69

Washington State Historical Society, 313  
Wa'tetkethor, 155–161, 164–65  
*wdt-mdw* documents, 233  
weaning, 351–52  
Webekhsenu, 390  
Webkhet, 240, 248–49, 254–55  
Wenke, Robert, 408  
Wente, Edward, 343  
Wepemnefret, 232–33  
whips, 331  
Wilbour, Charles Edwin, 46  
Wilkinson, Charles K., 324  
Wilkinson, Richard H., 18, 70  
witnesses, in legal disputes, 218–22  
women. *See also* gender  
    in the afterlife, 369  
    artistic representations of, 100, 112  
    coffins of, 9, 86, 89  
    fertility rituals of, 355  
    funerary images of, 366–68  
    in funerary rituals, 156, 247–48, 250–51  
    pregnancy and childbirth, 290. *See also*  
        childbirth  
    in the priesthood, 235–38, 242–43, 246, 248  
    and property ownership, 231, 343–45  
    as servants, 236  
    as singers in the cult of Hathor, 243–44  
    as singers in the Temple of Amun, 90  
    skin color of, 70  
    status of, 38  
workmen, 89, 115, 125, 127, 167–70, 172–73, 176–78,  
179–87, 189–91, 193–98, 206, 217, 235–36, 238–  
39, 241–42, 248–49, 252, 255

## Y

Young, John P., 309–11  
Yoyotte, Jean, 41

# Index of Ancient Sources and Objects

## Architectural Elements

Cairo, Egyptian Museum  
CG 51512, 169  
JdE 25580, 38  
El Hibeh, decorated blocks, 435–43  
Karnak, Bubastite Portal, 296, 301–2, 433, 436  
Uppsala, Victoria Museum 2345, 391

## Buildings

Abydos, Chapel of Ramesses I, 223  
Amarna, House of the King's Statue, 49–64  
El Hibeh, Temple of Shoshenq I, 395–437  
Kanais, Temple of Seti I, 223  
Karnak  
Temple of Ramesses II, 271  
Temple of Thutmose III, 24–25, 271  
Medinet Habu, Ramesses III Mortuary Temple, 271  
Tell el-Amarna, Amarna R43.2, 49–64  
Thebes, Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, 226

## Coffins

Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of  
Anthropology  
PAHMA 5-1404-a-c, 77–91  
PAHMA 5-1405-a-i, 82–83  
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 41036, 85  
Copenhagen, Copenhagen National Museum, AAa.1,  
85  
Florence, Museo Archaeologico  
Inv. no. 2154, 13  
Inv. no. 8524, 11  
Turin, Museo Egizio, C. 2237, 11  
Vatican, Gregorian Museum, Inv. no. 25035.3.1, 8

## Equestrian Materials

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 43006, 327–28  
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv. 1933.1209, 328

## Faience

Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of  
Anthropology  
PAHMA 6-8009, 111–12

PAHMA 6-8708, 109  
PAHMA 6-8764a, b, 112–13  
PAHMA 6-9144, 111–12  
PAHMA 6-9695, 109, 111  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts  
MFA 13.4360/Su. 1131, 106  
MFA 20.1305/14-1-16, 111  
MFA Eg. Inv. 3552, 109–10  
MFA Eg. Inv. 3568-9, 110

London, British Museum  
EA 67174, 105  
EA 67175, 105  
Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 3610, 105

## Human Remains

Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, FMNH  
111517, 312  
Davenport, IA, Putnam Museum of Nature and  
History, AR 21190, 320  
London, British Museum, EA 20745, 311, 313  
San Francisco  
Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco FAMSF  
20295, 310  
Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco FAMSF  
42895, 307–8  
Tacoma, Washington State Historical Society, WSHS  
1898.6.1, 313, 315, 320

## Inscribed Stones

Berkeley, Department of Antiquities, Tell el-  
Muqdam, uncatalogued, 384–93

## Letter

London, British Museum, EA 29, 25

## Mastaba Chapels

Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 10958 A, the “Mastaba du  
Louvre,” 161–64  
Saqqara  
Chapel of Mereruka, 155–61  
Mastaba of Akhethetep, 358

**Ostraca**

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum  
 CG 25204, 281  
 CG 25216, 196  
 CG 25555, 181, 183–84  
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.GA.4293.1943,  
 131  
 Columbia, MO, University of Missouri, 63.6.8,  
 117–32  
 Deir-el-Medina  
 DM 115, 187  
 Ostrakon 108, 217–22  
 Ostrakon 219, 239  
 Ostrakon 828 + O. Vienna H. 01, 3  
 London, British Museum, EA 8507, 130  
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum  
 Ashmolean Museum 4, 181  
 O. Gardiner 28, 281

**Painted Shrouds**

- Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum, 73.114, 209–10, 212  
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F 1968/2.1,  
 212–13  
 London, British Museum  
 EA 6709, 211  
 EA 6715, 211

**Papyri**

- Berlin, Egyptian Museum  
 P. Berlin 8523, 343  
 P. Berlin 9010, 222  
 P. Westcar, Berlin 3033, 287  
 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, P. Bologna  
 1094, 392  
 Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum, 34.5596.4, Papyrus  
 Wilbour, 390  
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F95/5.1,  
 Papyrus Insinger, 206, 213, 349  
 London, British Museum  
 EA 9955, 129  
 EA 9999, Papyrus Harris I, 224, 232–33, 282  
 EA 10375, 3  
 EA 10470, 73, 129  
 EA 10822, 206, 213–14  
 EA 74100, 59  
 EA 74101, 59  
 EA 74102, 59  
 EA 10246,6, P. Anastasi III, 392

- London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology  
 P. Kahun I.1, 221, 232  
 P. Kahun I.2, 231  
 P. Kahun VII.1, 232  
 P. Kahun VIII.1, 231  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library,  
 Rylands papyri, 431  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, P. Bibliothèque  
 Nationale 237, 225  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre  
 N 263, 345  
 P. Louvre 3230, 350  
 Turin, Museo Egizio, Inv. Suppl. 6107, 344

**Reliefs**

- Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of  
 Anthropology, PAHMA 6-20448, 93  
 London, British Museum, EA 55317, 131  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 16276, 240

**Small Items**

- London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology  
 UC2260, 61  
 UC2269, 61–62

**Statues**

- Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 23.730, 26  
 Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 16.171, 46  
 Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition, no. 5M.17, 42  
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 42236, 38

**Statuettes**

- Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of  
 Anthropology, PAHMA 5-291, 97  
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung,  
 21836, 59  
 Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin  
 Inv. no. 19.655, 98  
 Inv. no. 20.004, 98–99  
 Inv. no. 14078, 96  
 Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 39.119, 96  
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum  
 CG 27470, 94, 100  
 CG 42197, 26  
 CG 55242, 99–100

**Stelae**

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Nitocris Adoption Stela,  
 226–27  
 Gebel-es-Silsilah, no. 100, 298–99

Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum,  
 Horbeit Stelae, 275  
 London, British Museum, EA 444, 189  
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MMA 21.2.6, 192  
 MMA 25.3.210, 26  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre  
 C 96, 390–91  
 E 16374, 250  
 Turin, Museo Egizio, 50069, 252

#### Texts

Book of the Dead, 1, 125, 127, 367  
 Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 433  
 Coffin Texts, 291  
 Great Aten Hymn, 293  
 Inscription of Penmeru, 233  
 Instruction of Any, 349  
 Old Testament, 1 Kings, 295  
 Pyramid Texts, 291  
 Takelot III Inscription, 226  
 Tomb Robbery Papyri, 3–4, 13

#### Tombs

##### Amarna

1, 135, 137, 140–41, 144–46  
 1A, 135  
 2, 137, 139–40  
 3, 135, 137, 141, 147  
 3F, 135  
 4, 135, 137–39, 146–48  
 5, 135, 137, 141–42, 147  
 6, 135, 137–39, 145, 147–48  
 7, 135, 137, 141, 146  
 8, 135, 137, 142  
 9, 135, 137, 143–44, 146–47  
 10, 135  
 11, 135, 146  
 12, 135  
 13, 135  
 14, 135, 137, 144  
 15, 135  
 16, 135  
 22, 135  
 23, 135, 144–45  
 24, 135  
 25, 135, 137, 142–43, 147–48  
 25A, 135

Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition, “The Tomb,”  
 29–48

##### Deir el-Medina

1407/C3, 205–6, 208, 213  
 1447, 206, 208–10, 212

El Ahaiweh, Tomb A526, 371–80

##### Thebes

TT 1, 1–4, 126, 148–49  
 TT 2, 134, 174, 176, 247  
 TT 3, 127, 132, 134  
 TT 5, 129, 132–33  
 TT 10, 129, 250  
 TT 19, 66–67  
 TT 51, 66–67  
 TT 82, 243, 246  
 TT 100, 247, 329  
 TT 211, 126–27, 131, 133, 245  
 TT 214, 127  
 TT 216, 254–55  
 TT 219, 252  
 TT 235, 127–29  
 TT 250, 172, 261  
 TT 255, 66, 68  
 TT 322, 170, 172  
 TT 335, 127, 132–34, 170  
 TT 336, 127, 133, 170  
 TT 355, 191  
 TT 359, 172, 191  
 TT 360, 253

##### Valley of the Kings

KV 1, 131  
 KV 2, 131  
 KV 6, 128, 130–31, 134  
 KV 9, 128, 130, 134, 184  
 KV 14, 131  
 KV 15, 128  
 KV 16, 130  
 KV 17, 126, 129–34  
 KV 19, 130  
 KV 22, 134  
 KV 23, 125, 134  
 KV 35, 193  
 KV 57, 123, 129  
 KV 62, 125, 134

##### Valley of the Queens

QV 38, 126  
 QV 40, 126  
 QV 43, 390–91  
 QV 55, 130  
 QV 60, 126, 130  
 QV 66, 129–30, 132  
 QV 71, 130  
 QV 440, 130

