

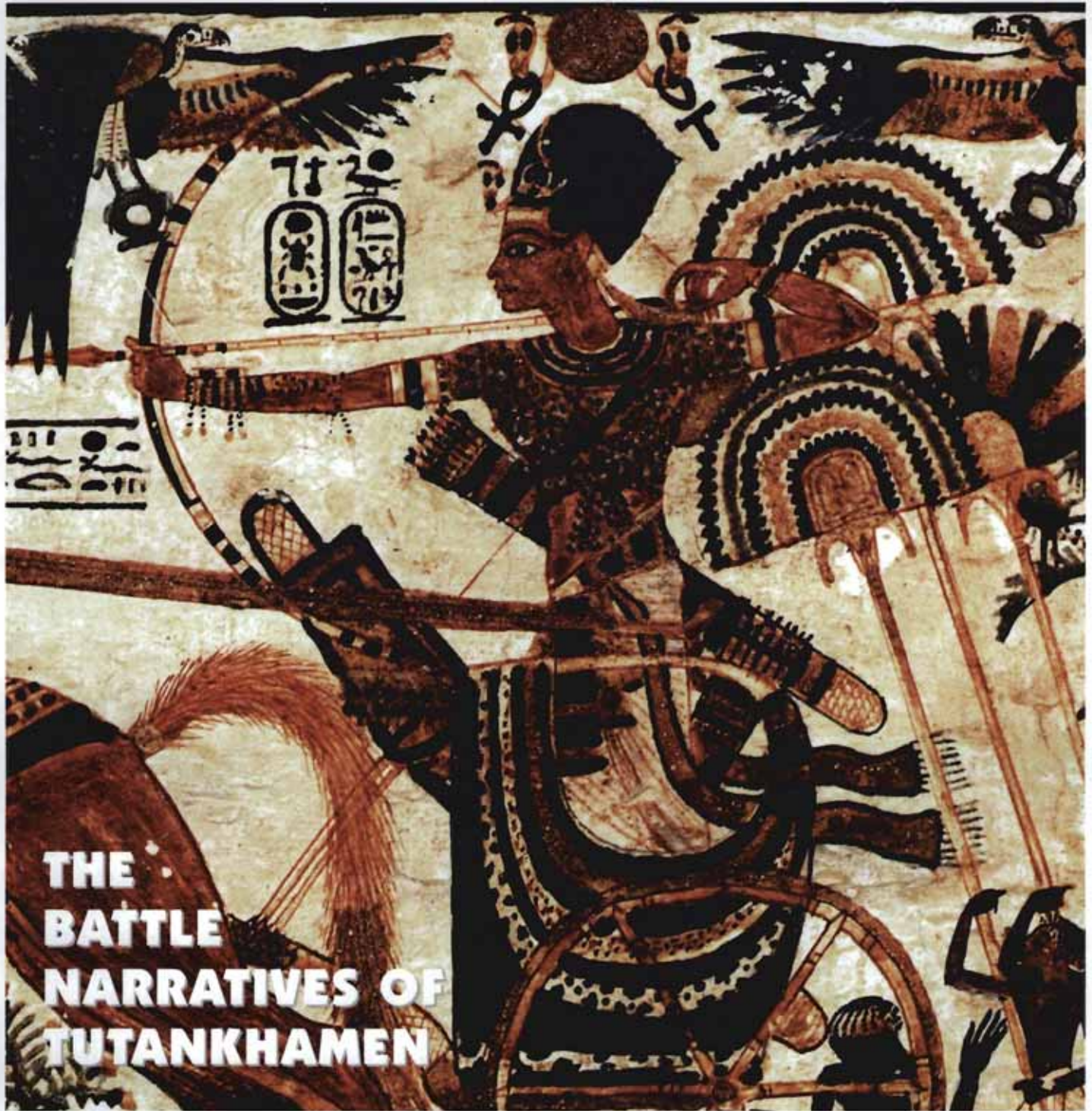
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US \$9.50 CAN \$12.95

A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Volume 20 Number 4 Winter 2009-10



THE BATTLE NARRATIVES OF TUTANKHAMEN



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TUTANKHAMEN'S BURIAL - SECRETS OF BERSHA TOMB 10A
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MERESAMUN'S FACE - 'LOST' PHOTOS
OF EDWARD L. WILSON - MANCHESTER, UK, EGYPTIAN COLLECTION
NILE CURRENTS - FOR THE RECORD - & MORE

"When we ascended from the tomb I grouped my companions at its mouth and once more caused the camera to secure a link of history. Professor Maspero reclined upon the rocks at the right; Emil Brugsch Bey stood at the palm log; and Mohammed was posed in front, holding the very rope in his hand which had served in hoisting royalty from its long hidden resting-place. The next day the shaft was filled up again."¹

'Lost' Photographs of **EDWARD L. WILSON**

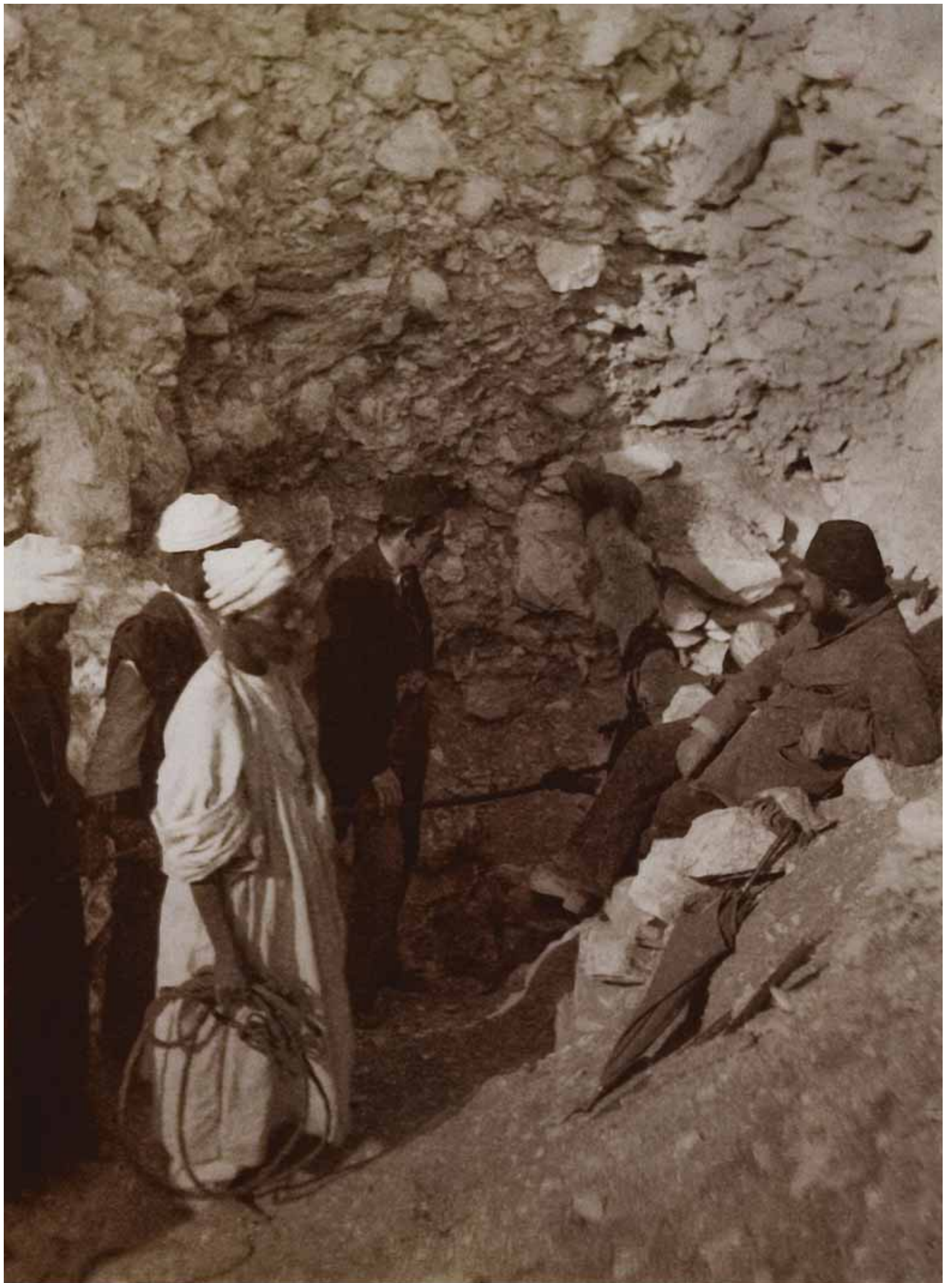
The American Who Documented the Discovery of The Royal Mummies Cache

by **George L. Mutter & Bernard P. Fishman**

Rumors told of a treasure secreted in a Luxor-area tomb known only to thieves. Sometime in the 1870s the Abd el Rassul family of Gurna Village, just outside the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of Luxor, stumbled across a cache of royal mummies hidden in a tomb within the cliffs neighboring Deir el Bahari. The tomb was too large to empty at once, without drawing unwanted attention from the authorities; so, over the next few years, the Rassul brothers quietly removed small numbers of portable objects — including papyri and jewelry — for sale on the antiquities market. It was a risky business, because the Egyptian government had been cracking down on the plundering of antiquities. All finds were required to be reported to the Antiquities Service, which retained unique pieces for the national collection. To export ancient relics required a government license, and theft or smuggling of antiquities was punishable by imprisonment.

Some of the artifacts were fenced by Mustapha Aga Ayad, vice-consul for England and Belgium in Luxor, whose diplomatic status provided some degree of immunity from prosecution. His house stood inside the colonnade of the Luxor temple, and was a much more imposing structure than the shabby "French House" at the south end of the temple, occupied in 1864-1867 by Lucie Duff Gordon, and where she wrote her *Letters from Egypt*.² The vice-consul's house was regularly visited by wealthy foreigners, and it sometimes served as a showroom where objects from the cache-tomb were offered for sale.

Opposite, The first time the familiar scene of Maspero, Brugsch & company posed at the top of the vertical shaft leading to DB320 — the Royal Mummies Cache — has been published as a photographic image rather than the engraving made from Edward L. Wilson's view taken in January 1882. This is one-half of a stereoview card published by Wilson & now in the collections of the Authors.



I found out that our quiet Mr. Campbell...bought of Mustapha the book of the dead papyrus of pharaoh Pi-nezem I and that Abd-cr-Rasool's new white house is said to be built over this king's tomb to hide it. [Rassul] is Mustapha's right hand man and Mustapha must be taught a lesson and the people made to know he cannot protect them, so poor Abd-cr-Rasool goes down tomorrow to Kench in chains.

Charles Edwin Wilbour
Luxor, April 8, 1881³

It took several years for the Antiquities Service to notice the steady appearance on the market of sufficient Twenty-first Dynasty priestly and royal funerary objects to suggest a clandestine discovery. The newly appointed director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, Gaston Maspero, decided to do something about it and issued an order for the arrest of Ahmed Abd er Rassul, who was harshly interrogated during a two-month imprisonment in Qeneh. Ahmed never cracked; but his brother, Mohammed, suspected their secret was lost. So in early July, he quietly traveled to Qeneh from Luxor, where he confessed knowledge of the tomb to the *mudir*, and offered to guide the authorities to the site. Gaston Maspero himself had just left Egypt, to spend the summer in France; so it was his deputy, Emile Brugsch, who received the message in Cairo and departed immediately with his assistant, Ahmad Kamal, and Tadros Moutafian (inspector of the pyramids) to Luxor, where they were met by Mohammed Abd er Rassul.

On July 5, 1881, Brugsch and Kamal were lowered by rope into a forty-foot-deep vertical shaft to a tomb that would later become known as DB320, or the 320th numbered tomb in the Deir el Bahari area. Walking through a narrow corridor packed with wooden sarcophagi and ending in DB320's single chamber, they first saw the white-and-yellow coffin of Nebsani. This was quickly followed by the coffins of Queen Henttawy and King Seti I. Moving further, they read on other coffins the names of Rameses II and Thutmose III. Ultimately, in the end chamber, the original owners of the papyri and funerary goods which had tipped Maspero off to the tomb were present, including Pinudjem I and II.

Greatly outnumbered by locals who made a living from tomb robbery — and would soon be aware of the discovery — Brugsch made a quick decision that was regretted by many of his successors and is debated to this day: immediate removal of all mummies and objects to Cairo, to secure the treasure for the Antiquities Service. Perhaps in doing so, he saved the find from further molestation by locals; but he forever obliterated the evidence of the spatial and archaeological relationships among these ancient worthies and their possessions.

There was but little sleep in Luxor that night. Early the next morning three hundred Arabs were employed under my direction — each one a thief. One by one the coffins were hoisted to the surface, were securely sewed up in sail-cloth and matting, and then were carried across the plain of Thebes to the steamers awaiting them at Luxor. Two squads of Arabs accompanied each sarcophagus — one to carry it and a second to watch the wily carriers.

Emil Brugsch⁴

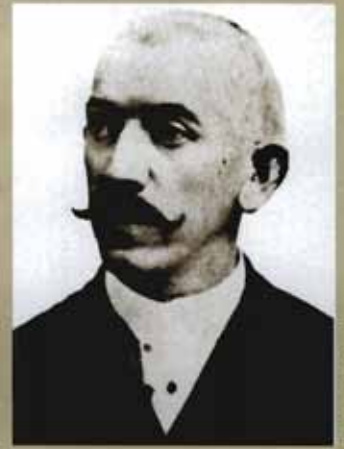
The tomb was emptied over a period of forty-eight hours; and soon thereafter the Nile steamer *El Manshiah* was loaded with the mummies, and their funerary goods.⁵ No on-site maps or drawings have survived — perhaps they were never prepared. No photographs were taken. The corridors and chamber were left littered with residual wrappings and remnants of broken artifacts. News spread down the Nile Valley in advance of the royal entour-

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age, drawing crowds at the banks.



Gaston Maspero



Emile Brugsch

Photos: Kmt Archives

People gathered at the quays and made most frantic demonstrations. The fantasia dancers were holding their wildest orgies here and there; a strange wail went up from the men; the women were screaming and tearing their hair, and the children were so frightened I pitied them.

Emile Brugsch⁵



Entrance to the Boulak Museum, Cairo, photographed in January 1882 by Edward L. Wilson & published as card No. 423 in his stereoview series, "Scenes of the Orient." Collections of the Aunors

Transfer to Cairo, July, 1881

At Boulak the mummies and tomb contents were unloaded into the museum there, to await the return of Maspero. Included were a total of thirty-five mummies, nine of which have since been identified as Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom.⁶ These were accompanied by burial goods numbering over 5,000 objects.⁷ This grouping was nothing less than the salvaged remains of a plundered royal necropolis that had been assembled for safekeeping in a hidden rock-cut chamber originally intended for the Twenty-first Dynasty Priest-King Pinudjem II and his family about 960 BC. For a full 2,800 years this odd collection had lain forgot-



Above, E.L. Wilson's never-before-published January 1882 photograph of several of the DB320 coffins displayed in the central salon of the Boulak Museum. It was previously known only from an engraving (left), illustrating Amelia Edwards's 1882 Harper's Magazine article, "Lying in State in Cairo." The photo, No. 445 from Wilson's "Scenes of the Orient" series is, obviously cropped to fit the glass-lantern slide format. Photo: Collections of the Authors

ten and undisturbed. Upon arrival at Cairo, the coffined mummies from DB320 were lined up in rows in the central salon of the Boulak Museum.⁸ Identifications were confusing at best — names on coffins and wrappings were sometimes mismatched and some of the mummies had no written docket at all. Obscuring wrappings prevented assessment of the physical features of most of them. The first attempts at unwrapping the royal mummies would not take place for another five years.

The Boulak Museum in 1881 was a small building prone to occasional flooding in years of high inundation. Its façade was in the style of a temple pylon, complete with cavetto cornice, and



Two images published by Wilson as stereoviews in his "Scenes of the Orient," which he photographed at the Boulak Museum in January 1882: Left, Two coffins, wood & stone (No. 129); Below, The decapitated head of an anonymous mummy (No. 450), which was identified as a "Queen found 1881," but almost certainly not from the Royal Mummies Cache and even questionably female. Collections of the Authors.



nearby was a small garden housing scattered statuary. The collection itself had been subject for many years to the whims of the ruling khedive; and, in 1855, Khedive Abbas Pasha presented it in its entirety to the Hapsburg Archduke, Maximilian, as a gift. Fortunately Maximilian left this in Austria, when he departed, in 1864, to serve as Emperor of Mexico — where he was executed by nationalists in 1867. Inventory of the 1855 gift today forms the core of the Vienna Egyptian collection.

With the appointment of Auguste Mariette as director of the Antiquities Service in 1858, custodianship of antiquities was finally stabilized under him, for the public benefit. A new museum was created at Boulak in 1863, and the collections grew rapidly both through sponsored excavation and a policy of default government ownership of all antiquities. By 1881 the small museum had just been expanded, displaying objects that are still on view in the Cairo Egyptian Museum in Tahir Square.

Edward Livingston Wilson Arrives in Egypt

In December 1881 professional photographer Edward Livingston Wilson of Philadelphia had just begun a six-month tour of the Holy Land, with the purpose of generating fresh pictures of the Middle East for sale back in the United States. He planned to meet up with his old friend, Emile Brugsch, who had been the Egyptian official responsible for the organization and setup of the Egyptian display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Wilson had photographed the stuffed crocodile that was the centerpiece of the Exhibition's Egyptian display, and he and Brugsch parted with a shared passion for the relatively new field of photography. Brugsch would use his newly acquired skills to illustrate Maspero's official report of the cache in a deluxe volume with pasted-in original albu-

men photographs.⁷ He did a superb job, and today these are vivid documents of the condition of the material as newly removed from DB320.

Wilson took many of his own photographs in Egypt in early 1882. These included displays of the finds in the Boulak Museum and a visit to the tomb itself, not many months after the discovery. Engravings of Wilson's DB320 views published in the popular press were highly visible and widely distributed, in contrast to the photographic originals, which are much less well known, even though they had been produced commercially by the hundreds, or even thousands. Wilson recorded the newly arrived mummies in Boulak, laid out in the central hall, as if for an eminent group portrait. Free of any enclosures and delicately garlanded with original funeral bouquets and heaped-up wrappings, they were only later encased under glass in an adjacent room. Amelia Edwards, founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund and popularizer of ancient Egypt, published a steel-engraving version of this photo as pharaohs "Lying In State at Cairo."⁸

The somber majesty of the assemblage was offset by an immediacy that captured the imagination of the public. The coffin of Amenhotep I, open in the foreground, contained a now-famous unintended stowaway — a wasp entrapped at the moment of burial. Faces of most of the mummies were inaccessible in their still-wrapped state. The wonderfully preserved features of Rameses II and Seti I, so familiar today, had yet to be revealed. At the Museum a decapitated mummified head was produced for Wilson and placed atop an arrangement of bandages on a pedestal. Its identification

is now a mystery, limited to a brief caption as "A Royal Mummy Head — Queen found 1881," printed within the image and with a romanticized description on the back which specifies: "Probably 3500 years old, and found at Thebes. Said to be the head of a royal princess. Bits of her mummy cloth of various textures are about her neck. The lost art of embalming was a wonderful one, to preserve so much of the semblance of humanity even in these very ancient relics." This head is not particularly feminine, and almost certainly not from DB320 itself, as it is not referred to or illustrated in any of the published records of the finds from the Royal Mummies Cache.

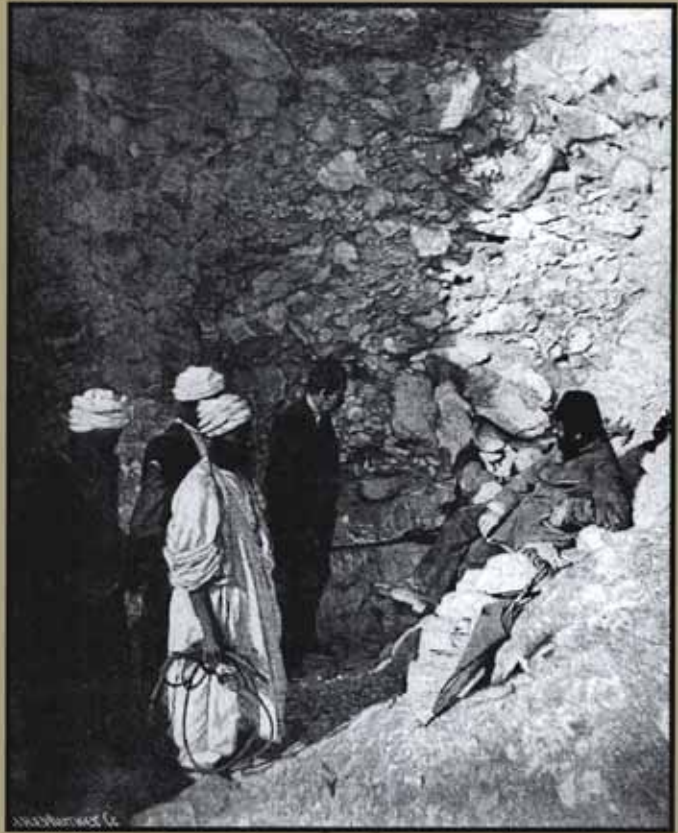
Cairo to Luxor, January 1882

Inspecting the tomb was a high priority for Maspero, who had been unable to see it before clearance and had not yet visited the site. There were many unanswered questions about the circumstances of burial and subsequent discovery. Maspero decided to meet Wilson and Brugsch in Luxor, and include them in his first visit to DB320. Wilson departed the Boulak Museum and sailed on the khedive's Nile steamer, the *Beni Soueff*, to Luxor. On the way upriver, he passed other steamers and masted *dahabiehs*, several of which later appear in his photographic portfolio, along with classic Nile scenes. Much is yet unchanged in the small villages of upper Egypt, where dovescotes and manual water lifts (*shadufs*) identical to those seen by Wilson remain today.

On the other hand, modern Luxor is a very different place. In 1882 there were few European-style hotels and the flamboyant Winter Palace had yet to be constructed. Continuing residence of tourists aboard their Nile boats along the embankment was the norm. The Luxor Temple was encumbered by whitewashed private buildings, and the floodplain completely open.

Photographing DB320, January 25, 1882

Few travelers to Egypt today would recognize the Deir el Bahari encountered by Maspero and his retinue, when the sweeping terraces of Hatshepsut's temple were still covered by the tow-



Above, Steel engraving of Maspero, Brugsch & company posed at the top of the DB320 shaft on January 25, 1882, published as an illustration to Edward L. Wilson's article, "Finding Pharaoh," in the May 1887 edition of *The Century Magazine*. Below, The original stereoview of the same scene (reproduced here actual size), No. 246 in Wilson's "Scenes of the Orient" series. Stereocard, collections of the Authors.



“When he got back to the United States, Wilson’s sales catalog of stereoviews and lantern slides listed 443 new Egyptian views. Included are several more from the DB320 visit, such as ‘#245, ‘Chamber of the Mummies – Found 1881,’ in which Emil Brugsch poses inside the emptied burial chamber.”

ering ruin of a Coptic monastery and mounds of excavated debris. In 1858 Mariette had begun a limited dismantling of the obscuring ruins, but ended up displacing the debris from one part of the area to another, rather than uncovering the temple itself. By the time the Egypt Exploration Fund began systematic clearance of the site in 1894, it was a series of mounds of relocated overburden, interrupted by the occasional pit. This activity of constant excavation was confined primarily to the structures on the flat plain below, as the sheer cliffs behind were difficult to climb, much less examine systematically.

DB320 is within the righthand cliff-face of a bay beyond and to the west of Hatshepsut’s temple, with an entrance at the bottom of a deep man-made vertical shaft hidden within the shadows of a cleft, or “chimney.” Nothing is visible from below. It was January 25, 1882, when Maspero, Brugsch, Wilson and Mohammed Abd er Rassul reached this spot and descended the deep vertical shaft to the tomb’s low doorway. Wilson brought his camera along, a nontrivial task, given its bulk and the forty-foot drop straight down. Leading into the cliff from the shaft bottom was a long corridor ending in a single largish room. The group proceeded through the dark, and Wilson captured the moment in more ways than one:

*A*fter much stumbling we arrived at the inner chamber where, but a few weeks before, stood or reclined the coffins of so many royal dead. The camera must have a long time for its delicate, difficult work, and so we did not need to hurry. Seated upon a stone which for centuries had served as the pillow of priest or king while waiting for immortality, Herr Brugsch told me the whole story of his historical “find.” It was a unique interview. When we ascended from the tomb I grouped my companions at its mouth and once more caused the camera to secure a link of history. Professor Maspero reclined upon the rocks at the right; Emil Brugsch Bey stood at the palm log; and Mohammed [Abd er Rassul] was posed in front, holding the very rope in his hand which had served in hoisting royalty from its long hidden resting place. The next day the shaft was filled up again.

Edward L. Wilson⁹

An American Photographer in Egypt



Edward Livingston Wilson

Completing the Tour, February-July 1882

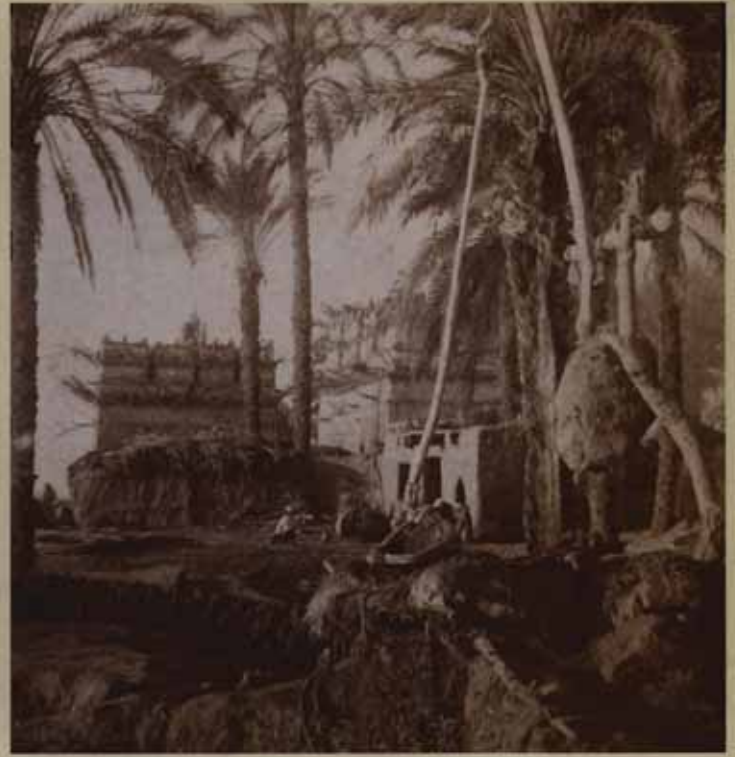
Edward Wilson parted from Brugsch and continued his journey south to Abu Simbel on the *Sesostris*, a first-class *dahibieh* secured from Thomas Cook. Cook offered a fleet of several classes of *dahibiehs*, of which this was the highest. It was the perfect way to travel, allowing Wilson to set up his equipment on deck under a sun awning — when he was not below decks lounging in the skylit salon. He headed for Abu Simbel, where he posed with traveling companions on the lap of Rameses II, before passing into Nubia. Returning downstream on the Nile to Lower Egypt, he then struck out across the Sinai and Arabia on camel to Palestine and Syria. Upon departing from the eastern Mediterranean in July, 1882, he witnessed the British fleet arriving to bombard Alexandria, in response to nationalist riots in the wake of the overthrow of the khedive. This unrest intimidated most English and many European travelers, who avoided Egypt throughout the winter season of 1882-1883.

When he got back to the United States, Wilson’s sales catalog of stereoviews and lantern slides listed 443 new Egyptian views. Included are several more from the DB320 visit, such as “#245, “Chamber of the Mummies – Found 1881,” in which Emil Brugsch poses inside the emptied burial chamber. The authors have not yet discovered examples of these views, and hope that they will surface one day.

Edward Wilson never got to see Rameses II face to face, as this most-famous of all pharaohs was not unwrapped until June 1886. Wilson did, however, continue to lecture on the subject of Egypt to American audiences, and later incorporated other peoples’ images of the unwrapped mummies in his updated talks. The royal mummies today can be seen in the Cairo Egyptian Museum, safely housed in humidity-controlled, nitrogen-flushed cabinets to prevent further decay. Nearly 120 years after the official discovery of the Deir el Bahari cache, it is fitting to recall the photographer who documented that startling find.

Edward L. Wilson (1838-1903) was a driving force in popularizing photography in the United States, writing technical works for photographers and by 1864 producing photos for sale. He established the Centennial Photographic Company in order to document the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, marking the first 100 years of American independence. National pride — and a genuine interest in the exhibition’s many technical and cultural displays — drove a public craving for souvenirs that could be brought home and shared. By the time of the Centennial Exhibition, stereoviews had been a popular craze for almost twenty years, allowing the scenes they depicted to be viewed three-dimensionally, and so conveying a degree of realism that no other graphic format could match. As a result the most common images of the Centennial remaining today are available as stereoview cards, and they allow the modern “visitor” to stand in the Exhibition’s now-virtual pavilions and see exactly — except for the color — what was viewed by an actual visitor in 1876.

Realizing that almost every parlor had a viewing stereo-



scope, Wilson wanted to make it possible for the masses to travel the world in the comfort of their own home. This was his purpose when he set off for Egypt and Palestine in late 1881, with bible in one hand and camera in the other. He was accompanied by William H. Rau, a largely uncredited photographer in his employ, who probably took most of the pictures later sold under the Wilson imprint. Printing of photos at that time was done without enlargement, by simply exposing the paper through a glass negative sitting directly on the paper. Large prints required large cameras, but the smaller 3 1/2" x 7" format stereoviews were more manageable, especially when using the newly available dry plates that did not require a portable darkroom to prepare in the field.

Wilson is the first-known user of the new dry plates in Egypt, having brought them from Philadelphia and only developing them months later, upon return from the Middle East. The improved ease of this arrangement allowed Wilson greater flexibility to photograph from awkward locations — and, spontaneously on short notice, in a manner unavailable to his predecessors.

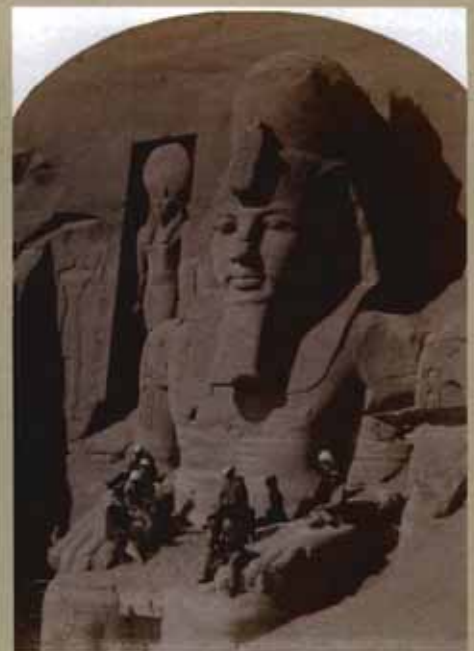
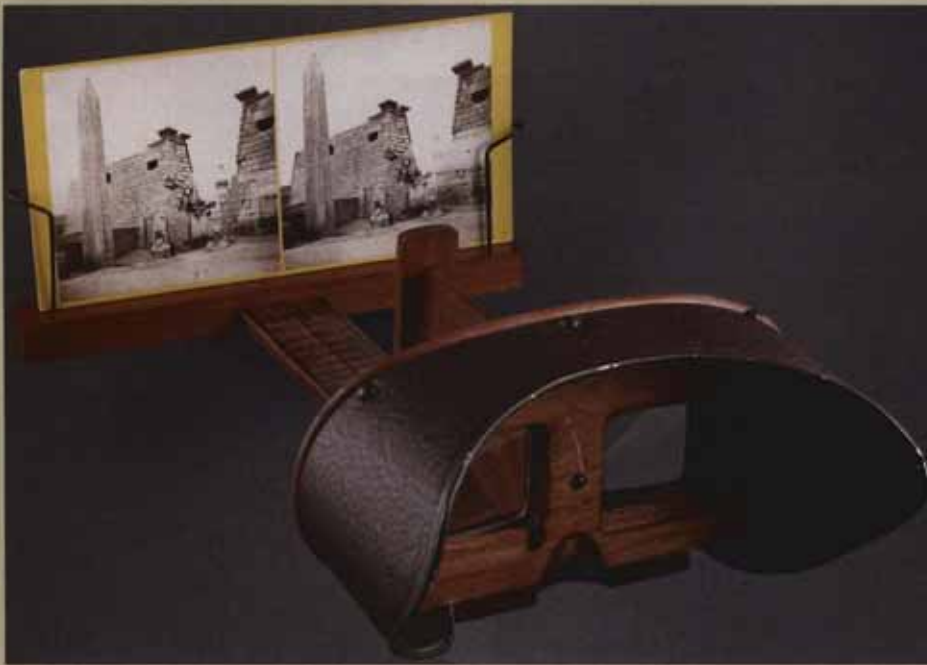
Plates secured and safely home, he lectured about his Middle Eastern experiences throughout the United States. Illustrated with projected lantern slides, and reproduced as an engraving-illustrated book, *In Scripture Lands*, his presentations were enthusiastically received by armchair travelers and by religious groups.¹⁰ The talks were advertisements for more-expensive original images, available to the public as glass lantern slides or as photo images mounted on cards as stereoviews. For the "Scenes in the Orient" series of stereoviews — which included his views of Egypt — Wilson created an exotic peach-colored mount, embellished on the borders with papyrus fronds and bearing his name in Arabic. His "Oriental" stereoviews — which cost thirty-five cents each in 1882 (now equivalent to almost \$5.00) — must have sold poorly, as they are quite rare today and unsold inventory outlasted his company. Remaining stock was acquired by Roberts & Fellows of Philadelphia, who distributed them with a new back label announcing themselves as "Successors to E.L. Wilson," but these must have sat on the shelf, as fewer than five percent of all Wilson views bear "Roberts" markings. The lantern slides were picked up by McIntosh Battery and Optical Company of Chicago by 1895.

Above left, Wilson's stereocard view of the Egyptian Hall at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, where he befriended Emile Brugsch. Above, Village scene captured by Wilson on his 1882 sail up the Nile. Below, His view of the Luxor west-bank flood plain; Luxor Temple is seen across the Nile, surrounded by white-washed private homes. Authors' photos



Three-Dimensional Photography in Egypt

The stereoview photograph was a Victorian invention popular in the 1850s to 1890s, which enabled the observer to see two images from slightly different perspectives (separated by the distance between the average human eyes) as a single three-dimensional image. When viewed separately from the right and left eyes, through a special device called a stereoscope, the two images appeared as a single scene that popped into three dimensions, allowing the viewer to experience the visual sensation of actually being present at the scene depicted and perceiving its spatial depth. Many views were prepared in the shape of an arched portal, to add to the illusion of looking through a window. Seen stereoscopically, even the most-exotic locations became at least realistically observable.



Above, Wilson's stereoview of Abu Simbel, 1882.
Left, A stereo viewer with card in place.

Photos: Authors' collections

Stereoviews were made on commissioned expeditions to generate fresh images of exotic locations.

Edward L. Wilson's photographs in this article have never before been published, although tantalizing engravings of these very scenes appeared in popular magazines of his day and these have since been reprinted extensively.

Prior to the introduction of inexpensive halftone photo-mechanical reproduction in 1880, photographs either had to be converted to engravings for mass reproduction, or copied as costly albumen prints. Wilson produced versions of his photographs as positive images on glass and used them as lantern slides, to produce shows he would narrate to sold-out audiences. Although that provided excellent exposure at the time, the slides were more suited to public than private use, as they broke easily and their large size (3 1/2 x 4 inches) required bulky projectors.

Stereoviews were more personal and much easier to manipulate. Sold individually, and only viewed by one person at a time, they had added value as a virtual-reality experience. Wilson was a major producer of these small photographic prints, which were mounted in pairs on cardboard cards, in his case at a size (7 x 4.5 inches) slightly larger than the standard stereoview and known as "Cabinet" views.

The heyday of stereo photography was the 1850s to 1870s, when beautiful Egyptian scenes in the artistic tradition were produced under grueling conditions by photographers such as the Englishman Francis Frith and the French masters Claude-Marie Ferrier and Charles Soulier, using wet plates freshly prepared in hot portable darkrooms. Paper-card stereoviews are treasures, but the very best stereoviews were produced as diapositives on glass, with stunning, almost microscopic detail which emerges when seen in a magnification viewer.

By the late 1890s, the stereoview market became consolidated in the hands of a few large publishers, led by Underwood & Underwood, which revived then-flagging interest in the medium by door-to-door sales of thematic sets. American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted was commissioned by Underwood in 1905 to write an accompanying book for a 100-card tour of Egypt, with a patented map-system showing vantage points of all of the views.¹¹ These were expanded upon by companies such as Keystone

(Meadville, PA), which issued Egyptian and Middle East "geography" sets. By the late 1890s, a poor economy and the success of inexpensive, mechanically printed photographs in newspapers and books decimated sales of expensive studio-produced silver emulsion views. Although produced continuously through the 1960s, the market for stereoviews after 1915 or so was characterized by the popularity of limited themes (World War I sets sold well) and a constrained educational and private market.

The early photographic record of Egyptian sites and society captured in stereo photographs remains a largely untapped resource, despite its richness. This results from a combination of the widely scattered distribution of individual views, and ownership primarily by individuals rather than institutions. Today stereoviews have very-low visibility within the Egyptological community. But large numbers of stereoviews of Egypt are out there, and no doubt will continue to yield many surprises — and solve mysteries — for those who search.

Notes

1. E.L. Wilson, "Finding Pharaoh," *The Century Magazine* (1887; 34[1]), 3-10.
2. L.D. Gordon, *Letters from Egypt* (London, 1902).
3. J. Capart, *Travels in Egypt (December 1880 to May 1891). Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour* (Brooklyn, 1936).
4. Wilson, "Finding Pharaoh."
5. *Ibid.*
6. D.C. Forbes, "Inventory of the Occupants of DB320," *Kmt, A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 15:3 (fall 2004), 58-61.
7. G. Maspero, E. Brugsch, *La Trouvaille de Deir-el Bahari* (Cairo, 1881).
8. A. Edwards, "Lying In State In Cairo," *Harper's Magazine* (1882), 185-204.
9. E.L. Wilson, *Catalogue of Stereoscopic Views of Palestine, Arabia Petraea, and Egypt* (Philadelphia, 1882).
10. E.L. Wilson, *Lantern Journeys*, 5th ed. (Philadelphia, 1878).
11. J.H. Breasted, *Egypt Through the Stereoscope* (New York, 1905).

About the Authors Avid collectors of Nineteenth Century photographs, the authors have separate holdings reflecting a shared interest in Egypt. George Mutter (gmutter@gmail.com) is associate professor of Pathology at Harvard Medical School. Bernard Fishman (bfishman@rihs.org) was trained as an Egyptologist (University of Pennsylvania) and is executive director of the Rhode Historical Society.