

Lecture Transcript:

Panel Discussion: "Anxieties about Race in Egyptology and Egyptomania, 1890-1960"

By Donald Reid, Salima Ikram, Vanessa Davies, Fayza Haikal,

Eve M. Troutt Powell, & Annissa Malvoisin

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Louise Bertini:

Hello, everyone, and happy New Year. I'm Dr. Louise Bertini, the executive director of the American Research Center in Egypt, and I want to welcome you all to the first of our January public lecture series, a special panel discussion that's cosponsored by the ARCE Northwest chapter titled "Anxieties About Race In Egyptology and Egyptomania, 1890 - 1960." Despite ideals of scientific and scholarly objectivity, both Egyptologists and non-specialists often projected their own racial anxieties onto Ancient Egypt. Recurrent attempts to prove that Ancient Egyptians were white or Black, for example, reveal more about modern societies than about Ancient Egypt. Today's panel will discuss the history of how such debates have played out among Western and modern Egyptian scholars, artists, writers and how interpretations of Ancient Egypt are intertwined with personal values. Before I introduce the panelists, for those of you who are new to ARCE, we are a private nonprofit organization whose mission is to support research on all aspects of Egyptian history and culture, foster a broader knowledge about Egypt among the general public and support Egyptian-American cultural ties. As a nonprofit, we rely on ARCE members to support our work, so I want to first give a special welcome to our ARCE members who are joining us to do. If you are not already a member and are interested in joining, I invite you to visit our website, arce.org, and join online and learn more. We provide a suite of benefits to our members, including our private, member-only lecture series. Our next public lecture is on January 23rd at 1 p.m. Eastern Time and is the second lecture in our "Africa Interconnected: Ancient Egypt And Nubia" virtual lecture series with Dr. Denise Doxey of the Museum of Fine Arts and is titled "New Perspectives on Ancient Nubia at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston." So with that, I'm going to introduce our first speaker of our panel today. Dr. Donald Reid specialized in the history of modern Middle East, especially Egypt. His books include "Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser," published in 2015, "Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I," published in 2000, and "Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt," 1990. Welcome, Dr. Reid.

Donald Reid:

Thank you, Louise and ARCE, for sponsoring this panel, the ARCE Northwest chapter for cosponsoring and the University of Washington's department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization. The idea for today's panel came up last July after ARCE's

board issued a statement on racial and cultural diversity in the wake of the killing of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter protests against systematic racism in the US. Let me share my screen here. Here. The board said, quote, "The American Research Center in Egypt believes that Black Lives Matter. We stand for equity and justice for all people of color and all underrepresented minorities." It went on, quote, "whether ARCE researchers focus on the recent or early history of Egypt, we must confront our own history and biases as well as that of past researchers. Sadly, racist orientalism and the nationalist aims of Western ideologies over past centuries influenced early scholarship," end quote. ARCE announced a new committee, quote, "to educate ourselves and to take action to increase diversity and inclusion within our organization and otherwise," end quote. Next slide. This statement called to mind a lecture I gave back in 2017 at the invitation of Peter Manuelian at the what is now the Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East. I hope most of you have had a chance to listen to the regarding of "Anxieties About Race in Egyptology and Egyptomania, 1890 - 1960." It used five vignettes to explore how Egyptology and Egyptomania often projected modern racial anxieties anachronistically back into Ancient Egypt. Vignette one, "Whitening the Egyptians," centered on James Henry Breasted, who founded the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. He was a distinguished Egyptologist, but unfortunately, he proudly claimed the Ancient Egyptians were what he called, quote, the great white race. Vignette two, "Ancient Egypt as the Founder of Civilization," with the question marks, Western, white, analyzed this 1890s painting, "Evolution of Civilization," by Edwin Blashfield around the dome of the reading room of the Library of Congress. A light-skinned Egypt is the beginning of civilization here, and civilization progresses around the dome, Egypt, Judea, Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages and so on, until it reaches its climax in contemporary America. Vignette three, "Blackening the Egyptians," examined the countervailing views of African-American scholar and activist W.E.B Du Bois of the NCAAP and Atlanta University. Vignette four, "Sons of the Pharaohs?" discussed modern Egyptian views on race and their legacy from Ancient Egypt. I should've called this, "Children of the Pharaohs?" but the title and cover of this century-old, admittedly patriarchal book were too catchy to resist. Vignette five, "Nazi Anti-Semitism, Egyptology and Harvard's Missed Opportunity," examined the tragic late career of German, Jewish Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt in the 1930s. One weakness of the lecture was that I'm not a specialist on Ancient Egypt. We'll make up for that today with four Egyptologists on our panel. The other two of us, Eve and myself, are modern historians, and now over to the rest of the panel.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you. I'm going to now introduce our next speaker, Dr. Fayza Haikal, who received her BA in Egyptology from Cairo University and her Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Oxford. She taught at Cairo University, faculty of archeology, until she moved to the American University of Cairo to establish the Egyptology program. She was also a visiting professor at Paris - La Sorbonne, at Charles University at Prague and at Romo La Sapienza and has lectured intensely all over the world. She is the first

Egyptian woman to have worked in Nubia during the international campaign for the salvage of its monuments in the 1960s and, in the 1990s, directed the international campaign for the salvage of archaeological sites in North Sinai during the digging of the Peace Canal. She has also been honored ... of the American University in Cairo. She continues her research on many aspects of Ancient Egyptian culture and their transmission to the modern world. Dr. Haikal. I think you need to unmute.

Fayza Haikal:

Now it's okay? You hear me now?

Louise Bertini:

Yes, yes.

Fayza Haikal:

Okay. So first I begin by thanking you all for inviting me to this panel, which I think is very interesting. However, I may defer a little bit with Professor Reid because having carefully read his latest book, particularly "Whose Pharaohs?" and "Contesting Ancient Egypt," in addition to his seminal conference of 2017, "Anxiety about Race in Egyptology," I believe there nothing left for me to say about racists in the West in general and in America in particular. I want to quote what he said, which is particularly important, and, quote, "I start from the premise that races are not fixed, scientifically verifiable identities but shifting social constructs which varies from time to time and place to place. A person considered Black in the US might be judged colored in the Caribbean and white in Brazil. In 1924, some Virginians who thought they were white woke up one morning to find a change in the law that made them Black," and so on, so this evaluation or appreciation of who is who is very complicated because in the very same country, a country like Egypt, we, I suppose, have all the races possible. Maybe we don't have Asians but that's it, and maybe they have existing at some point, but we can't see them anymore. So I don't really ... I agree entirely with Dr. Reid, Professor Reid in that. But I would like only to add to that although racism existing in Egypt and maybe still exists, particularly in upper classes who employ nannies for their children as well as bawab, doorkeepers, [indistinct] which is another domestic profession, this racism, American racism as he presented it whether in Egyptology or anywhere else, has nothing to do with American or any Western racism. There has never been laws in Egypt against an Egyptian because of the color of their skin or any other religion or different ethnic groups or anything. We don't have this. It never existed. There are no rules for that. There has never been, to my knowledge, any feelings of hatred against them unless it is politicized, and they had the same rights as other Egyptians. Having them in socially inferior jobs or as domestic help was usually due to their lack of education, not to their color or ethnicity. This applied to all Egyptians who are in that same situation, meaning uneducated, and unfortunately, there are still far too many today in Egypt. As a matter of fact, Nubians and Sudanese are often commended for their particular cleanliness and honesty and also entrusted with important and delicate jobs in the homes. The word

barbari that is used for colored people in Egypt, and particularly Black colored, can be mentioned affectionately among Egyptians or jokingly to a child whose skin is darker than the average Egyptian or to people who have a strong suntan, for example. However, this reserved to Egyptians talking to each other. Another kind of racism which has nothing to do again with this friendly racism, if I can say so, is not necessarily related to skin color is the one the colonists showed towards the people they colonized. In Egypt, for example, and Egyptology, it was predominant in the period studied by Professor Reid, but particularly, it's the first half of the 20th century when a number of Egyptians become interested in Egyptology and wanted to contribute to this field of knowledge and to their patrimony. But foreigners were in charge of antiquity in Egypt because at this period, we were, I would say, colonized, although we were not called a colony, but a protectorate, by the English, and the French had also tried to impose themselves upon us, and as a matter of fact, they succeeded because they, until the revolution of 1952, most of the antiquities in Egypt were run by French people, and these people were definitely racist, most of them. Not all of them, but most of them. The racism included arrogance and disdain, as showed by hate, as well as condescension and content and ignorance of the local culture, in spite of the fact that they well knew that it was much older than their own, and a flagrant example of this racism is the one that kept Ahmed Pasha Kamal and his generation, the first generation of Egyptologists ... They were kept away from academic positions because foreigners did not want to have indigenous people as their colleague. That was particularly at the very beginning of Egyptology in Egypt and Mariette in particular. Then Mariette was succeeded by Maspero, who was a little bit more open-minded. Still, they never gave him a job of the standard of his knowledge, the quality of his knowledge. He spoke many, many languages, Oriental language, Hebrew, Egyptian, French and English, of course, like we all ... Most Egyptian educated people speak French and English. So it's really ... I wanted to make this point because we are in modern Egypt, and if racism was not very evident in other walks of life, maybe but in Egyptology, which is what I know best, it was very evident. I don't know if I have time to tell you a little bit more about Ahmed Pasha Kamal, but anyway, one of the things he wrote several articles in French because the antiquities were in French. They deigned to publish them. Although they refused to have his dictionary published because the great Egyptian dictionary of the [Indistinct] had not yet been published, and they couldn't take the idea, couldn't accept the idea that there would be an Egyptian who would write a dictionary because the westerners. When Kamal died in 1923, a whole century had passed with Egyptology still totally controlled by foreigners fighting among each other to dominate the scene in Egypt, agreeing only in their reluctance to have natives as their colleagues. Of course, native is quote-unquote, et cetera. Now, I'm passing to more recent times, since I'm supposed to speak about modern Egypt. Since colonization was over in 1952, the new generations of foreign Egyptologists mingled more with the population, and they were much less ... gradually more friendly and less racist and more interested in making friends among the Egyptians. But if racism is much less felt, there are reasons for that, and there are many

reasons, but most important of them is the empowerment of Egyptian administration and control of its heritage. You may or may not know, so I shall say, that today in order to excavate in Egypt, you have to obtain the permission of Egyptian antiquities and also of security official in Egypt, so you better be, obviously, on good terms. Egyptian Egyptologists, also another reason why there are more friendliness between the relationship. Young Egyptian Egyptologists have increased a lot, and some of them are very good, so they cannot not consider them, and then the friendship has really established there is no good current passing now between Egyptian Egyptologists and the foreigners, to the point that many of them, many archaeological institutes in Egypt genuinely desire to help young Egyptian Egyptologists. As a conclusion, I shall just say that I believe we are on the right track humanly as well as academically. It would help, however, if more Egyptians could be part of international missions, excavating all over Egypt and when I say it would help, I don't mean it would help only Egyptians. It would also help non-Egyptians, foreigners, because Egyptians have an understanding of ancient culture, which is kind of ... The ancient culture is transmission, and so they have it a little bit in their blood because we have a lot of traditions, a lot of material culture which existed in Ancient Egypt and which exists until today. In the language, we have a lot of words which come from Ancient Egypt, which religion, a lot more, so the culture would be better understood by a team which has an Egyptian among them, and I hope it will happen soon, and I wish best of luck to everybody, and I thank you for your attention.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you so much.

Fayza Haikal:

Oh, I just want to say that there will be a Q and A, and, of course, you are very welcome to ask anything you like.

Louise Bertini:

Yes. We do have a Q and A button, so if anybody has any questions throughout the panel, you can please pose the questions there. I'm going to now introduce our next speaker, Dr. Eve Troutt Powell, who teaches the history of modern Middle East and the history of slavery in the Nile Valley and the Ottoman Empire. As a cultural historian, she emphasizes the exploration of literature and film in her courses. Her most recent book is "Tell This in my Memory: Stories of Enslavement from Egypt, Sudan and the Late Ottoman Empire," published in 2012. Dr. Troutt Powell is now working on a book about the visual culture of slavery in the Middle East, which will explore the painting and photography about African and Circassian slavery in the 19th and early 20th centuries. She is the Christopher H. Browne Distinguished Professor of History at University of Pennsylvania and the incoming president of the Middle East Studies Association. Dr. Powell.

Eve Troutt Powell:

Thank you so much, Louise, and thank you so much, everyone, for inviting me to participate in this panel. I do want to introduce my comments by saying if it hadn't been for ARCE back in 1991, I don't know how I would've gotten by dissertation written. I was an ARCE fellow in 1991 and 1992, and it was just a wonderful period in my life, so it's nice to existentially be there if not physically be in ARCE in Cairo. So I'll just start because we don't have much time. There are many languages and many vocabularies of race. Don Reid's recent work has shown us that the field of Egyptology, which became so important to the world in the 19th century, was created within a framework of racial hierarchies. European and American Egyptologists almost immediately sought justification in the majesty of the pyramids and the pharaohs and the temples for their belief in the supremacy of white civilization. The art and hieroglyphs of these temples would also capture the imagination of African-Americans in the 19th century, especially political leaders and intellectuals like W.E.B Du Bois, who wrestled with the uglier ramifications of white supremacy every day of their lives, as Vanessa will talk about shortly. These glorious ancient presences seemed to call to everyone that they would be home in them. My own work has explored how Egyptian society, particularly in the 19th century, negotiated these racial hierarchies and negotiated racism itself. Egyptology emerged as a field in the years when Muhammad Ali conquered the Sudan in 1821. The following decades of this century saw a rise in the colonization of the Sudan to the point where many Egyptians, by the early 20th century, believed firmly in the unity of the Nile Valley as Egyptian nationalism grew and strengthened as a movement. Thousands of Sudanese were enslaved and brought through Egypt to the Indian Ocean and to Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. I have only a minute to summarize that this trade in Black slaves, although it occurred often at the same time as people from the Balkans and the Caucasus were also enslaved, helped to develop a language and vocabulary about race in the Nile Valley. Some of these words came from Ottoman Turkish. Many of them came from Napoleon's armies, who dealt in the enslavement of Nubians in 1798, '99 and 1800. A lot of the words were English. Many of the words were French, but my research has taught me that a great deal of the basis for racial categorizing in Egypt itself came from the slave raiders of Sudan and upper Egypt, the Jalabba, as they are known in Arabic. These words in Arabic have had lasting consequences for those of African descent who have lived and continue to be present in Egypt today. And the words I'm particularly talking about, the one word in particular I'm talking about is *abeedh*, but, of course, we can also talk about the term *barbari*, that Dr. Fayza brought up, and I hope that we can talk about that in the Q and A. We are now confronting today the impact and legacy of these words, particularly in what they carry in translation. At the most recent of the Middle East Studies Association, I was lucky to be on a panel with Afro-Arab and African-American scholars in Middle East studies, some of whom called in particular for a new conversation about race in Arabic, not in English, not in French, but in Arabic. This is also happening among students and younger scholars who are beginning to question and look at the verbal and linguist legacies of the slave trade in African-descended peoples in Iran and in the Ottoman

Empire and now Turkish society. Through the exploration of blackface that is still rampant ... Well, rampant in the United States but also quite rampant on television and in the film industries of Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, other parts of the Middle East, Iran. There is a new questioning of exactly how do all societies define and look race, racism, racial hierarchies and the legacies of the ... These words bear witness, perhaps a witness that we don't always understand, to the history of slavery in these societies, and I'll stop there.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you so much. Our next presenter is Dr. Salima Ikram, and she's an Egyptologist and distinguished university professor at the American University in Cairo. She directs the Amenmesse project, KV10/KV63, and the North Kharga Darb Ain Amur Survey and works with other missions in both Egypt and Sudan. Her research interests focus on daily life, funerary customs, rock art, animals and the environment and heritage management. Her most recent publication is "A History of World Egyptology." Dr. Ikram.

Salima Ikram:

Thank you so much. I am going to be more boring and conventional and use a PowerPoint because I am taking us back to the time of the Ancient Egyptians, and I will briefly just talk about what the Ancient Egyptians thought of as race, or did they think of anything as race? Because first of all, I have to say that we all, I think, agree that there is no word for race in Ancient Egypt, but they did show people who were phenotypically different, so there were easily recognized codes in Egyptian art. If you were a male, especially of upper class, you were red, being out in the Sun. If you were a woman from the upper class, you're supposed to be fairer because you don't have to go out to work, so you don't spend as much time in the Sun, whereas if you are a woman who is from a class which goes out and works in fields, you would be brown again. So you can see that there are various codes that the Egyptians believed in, and you can see this throughout Egyptian history and how they maintain stereotypes or shorthand for people to understand. If you're a child, again, you have the color-coding, but you also have the "children should be seen not heard" sign with the finger to the lips. If someone was different, they did point that out. We have different clothing, and the blond hair, which is inexplicable to some extent, though maybe not genetically, of Meresankh's mother, Hetepheres. So you have biological sex being indicated, as you can see, by color coding and stereotypes being put forward, and the Egyptians did have stereotypes. So again, you can see over here, cattle herders are often shown with this particular pose. These were the Bisharin, and they were greatly renowned as cattle herders, and you wanted to have them look after your cattle because it meant that you were then very, very looked, and very rich, and these were specific people. So again, the Egyptians used shorthand to show the phenotypes of different groups of people, the same way they did whether they were talking about age. If you were older, you could have man-boobs, a big belly, but you should definitely not wear a miniskirt because your legs weren't up to it,

whereas if you were younger, you would have the better physique, and you could have your muscled legs and your short kilt. So again, the Egyptians showed things in a variety of ways, and, of course, kingship had a lot of iconography and imagery associated with it. And one of the things that the king did was to trample over the enemies of Egypt, and on the south and the north sides, you get different things. So on the south, you will see different African tribes, Nubian and others, who will have been subjugated by the king. They're under his foot, and you get different groups being seen because there are slight differentiations in terms of what people wear and the physiognomy. On the other side, on the northern side, you will have all the northerners who were enemies of Egypt, and again, they are typecast, but you see them being sort of under the feet of the king. So this was sort of a trope. This is what the king did. These are who the enemies were, whether you are Tutankhamun and you are stepping on your enemies, regardless of their color. It just depends where they came from, or this is your footstool, but you can also see that within Tutankhamun's chest, in his soldiers, they're not just brown Egyptians, but there are people who are darker-skinned Nubians, so it was not whether you were born ... what color you were born that made a difference to them but more it had something to do with what ... was. As far as we can make out, to a large extent for the Ancient Egyptians, if you were acculturated, and you were Egyptian, then you were Egyptian, and differentials weren't made on your color, based on color and appearance, so it's more to do with acculturation and social class, so you had many people called *Panehesy*, the Black One, which had different positions in ancient Egyptian society, and you can see that there are many people such as that as well as also people called *Aamu*, the Asiatic, and they might be of Asiatic descent, i.e., from the Near East, but they had become part of Egyptian culture and civilization, so you see them as having quite grand tombs, high positions and being treated just as the norm. Now that doesn't mean that the Egyptians might not have been prejudiced at certain points, but that is not something we can talk about, so in terms of ancient Egypt, the concept of race was probably very different from what it is in the United States. Now to touch on other things that we were going to talk about is, who is an Egyptologist? In the earliest history of Egyptology, as Don pointed out, we have a lot of Westerners. However, things have changed since 1822, and we should also remember that, because the West does not read Arabic for the most part ... I know this is a bit of a sweeping generalization. They miss out on other things that have been done, so Okasha El Daly's book, "Egyptology: The Missing Millennium," talks about all the work or the interest that was for Egyptians and Egyptology through the Arab period. From the 19-teens onward as we have ... Dr. Haikal pointed out, there was an increase in Egyptian Egyptologists albeit somewhat grudging, and then here in Egypt, there are many, many Egyptian Egyptologists who are ... And there are Nubian Egyptologists and some Sudanese Egyptologists, so we can see that there is much more of a cocktail here. One of the problems, of course, with the West is that they don't ... Most of them don't read Arabic, so they're missing out on a lot of scholarship that has also occurred. Now the other thing about Egyptology that we were talking about as you know, who gets to be an Egyptologist? And I have to say because I'm not Egyptian, how many Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Burmese,

Indonesian, Thai or whatever Egyptologists are there? Because one of the problems of becoming an Egyptologist is that it is taught in a limited number of places. It is an expensive degree to get. It is financially unviable and unstable and therefore has in the West certainly been more of the purview of those who can afford it. Whose parents nowadays would say, "Oh, yes, darling. Go ahead and be an Egyptologist. We know that we'll pay for 12 years of education, and after that, you might be washing dishes in some third-rate hotel"? So this is another question as to who gets to be an Egyptologist and what choices individuals are making based on financial issues and practical issues. And just moving on briefly, I know that Anissa is going to touch on this, but I wanted to mention Nubian studies, which is becoming an increasingly large field, and one of the problems with Nubian studies is that generally this has been from an ancient Egyptian perspective. What were the Egyptians doing? So again, we have another whole construct of colonization. Now, however, things are changing where you have people looking at the lovely French team with [Indistinct] and [Indistinct] looking at Kerma and Doukki Gel, and there are many more excavations in Sudan where people are looking at Sudanese archaeology much more from the African perspective as opposed to the ancient Egyptian pharaonic perspective, and we must remember that, here in Egypt, we did have the Kushite dynasty, and the Egyptians did not really care for them but not because of their phenotype but because the Kushites were the sworn enemies of the Egyptians since 3000 BC, and they were really regarded as enemies here, and so to be taken over by them was a mark of great embarrassment for the ancient Egyptians. So anyway, thank you very much.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you. Going to now introduce our next speaker, Dr. Vanessa Davies, who is the founding organizer of the Nile Valley Collective, which promotes the Africinity of the ancient Nile Valley cultures. She is writing a book on the contributions of scholars of African descent in the US to disciplinary histories of Egyptology and Nubiology. She is author of "Peace in Ancient Egypt," the coeditor of "The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography" and editor of "The Phoebe Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir, Cemeteries N 2000 and N 2500." Vanessa.

Vanessa Davies:

Thank you, Louise, and thank you for inviting me to this panel today, and, Don, thank you for your talk. There are a few things that Don says that I want to draw attention to. The first is this concept of race. As Professor Haikal is saying, race is not a biological reality, and I agree with Don's description of race as not fixed scientifically verifiable identities but shifting social constructs. This aligns with what Salim Faraji says in his book, "The Roots of Nubian Christianity Uncovered." He says that most discussions about the quote-unquote race of the ancient Egyptians repeat Western conceptions of race as a stable source of division among humans, and he calls that the unscientific categories of quote-unquote blackness and quote-unquote whiteness, so to underscore the unscientific nature of these categories, I want to draw attention to the difference in

terminology between how black is defined in the US and how it's defined in other places such as Egypt. So Don in his talk explained that a person considered Black in the US might be judged colored in the Caribbean and white in Brazil. Black in the US sense is a very broad term. It can refer to people with a whole range of skin types from darker to lighter. In the case of modern Egyptians, an Egyptian person may not identify as Black in a racial sense, but in the social context of the US, they might be perceived as Black, and to confuse the issue further in the context of official federal forms in the US, Egyptians are considered white, so in this example, how one identifies in Egypt doesn't necessarily relate to the box that one checks on a federal form in the US, and it doesn't necessarily relate to how one is perceived and treated in social context in the US. These categories of Black and white are arbitrary and unscientific, but they have significant ramifications in people's lives. So another point that Don made that I want to draw out relates to Breasted's published views on race and Nile Valley cultures. I discovered a number of conversations that took place in the same period as Don covers between intellectuals of African descent in the US and some of the same Egyptologists whom Don discussed so people like Flinders Petrie, James Henry Breasted and George Reisner in conversation with people like Pauline Hopkins, W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey. These relationships take various forms, and they play out in different ways, but they're happening early in the history of Egyptology in the US because keep in mind that, in 1900, Egyptology was just beginning to be taught in universities in the US, so the formal discipline was brand-new, but right at that moment at the cusp of Egyptology becoming part of the curriculum in the US, intellectuals of African descent in the US are already there. They're already knowledgeable. They're ready to engage with these university Egyptologists. Dr. Gamal Mukhtar described ancient Egyptian culture as profoundly distinctive and African in the 1970s. The intellectuals of African descent in the US whom I'm studying were tapping into what Dr. Mukhtar saw but decades earlier, so how did it happen that these intellectuals were prepared to engage with Egyptology even as the discipline was so new in the US? Well, that's because there's a long history in the US of people of African descent engaging with ancient Nile Valley cultures. You can see it in writings from back in the 1820s in a newspaper called *The Freedmen's Journal*, in a pamphlet written by an African American man named David Walker, in a commencement speech made by Frederick Douglass in 1854, so why were intellectuals of African descent in the US engaging with ancient Nile Valley cultures? Well, because in the 19th and 20th centuries, there was an incorrect belief circulated by loud voices in European and American thought that said that Africa had no history, all of Africa, none of it had history and that, by extension, people of African descent had no history, so that's an attack on the basic humanity of people of African descent because if you don't share in the human experience of history, you're not fully human. The unscientific black-white dichotomy distracts us from the more sinister issue, which is dehumanizing attacks on people of African descent. African Americans are socially and culturally linked to the ancient Nile Valley through a long history of looking to this region to show the history of Africa, to claim a share in human history, to demand the recognition of the humanity of

Africans before Egyptology ever arose as a formal discipline in the US and continuing through until today.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you so much. Our last speaker is Annissa Malvoisin, who is a PhD candidate at the University of Toronto in the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations and specializes in Egyptology, Nubian studies and museum studies. She earned her master's in museum studies from the University of Toronto's Faculty of Information. She is currently an Of Africa intern conducting research, object cataloging and community engagement in Toronto's Black community at the Royal Ontario Museum under the supervision of the Senior Curator of Art and Culture Global Africa. Her research interests are focused in Meroitic pottery, typological analysis, cultural contextualization of which she combines with museological practice and theory. Her doctoral thesis: "Research Investigates the Summary Production and Trade Industry During Meroitic Nubia and Its Potential Far Reach In Networks Linking Nubia and Egypt to Iron Age Western African Cultures." Annissa.

Annissa Malvoisin:

Thank you, Louise, and thank you for this invitation to speak on this panel with such amazing scholars. So I wanted to preface my approach by saying that I do not study race and the idea of ancient racial affinity directly in my research, but I do interact with it indirectly through analyses of Egyptological literature and also my practical and theoretical work with cultural institutions and the public perception of ancient Egypt and Nubia. So I thought that the lecture was great in analyzing how modern conceptions of race influenced Egyptology and also how they continue to influence the way that scholars and the public digest knowledge. So looking at the first statement of the lecture, the basic fact is that Egyptology has been pioneered by white supremacy, which is based in race and racial superiority, so I believe that this is inherently reflected in foundational and subsidiary literature in the field, and I always say that I'm perpetually triggered reading academic literature from the early 19th and 20th centuries because they are essentially racially insensitive in terms of language, terminology, interpretation, and if we are to face these anxieties in a way that actually contributes to tangible change, then it should be intentionally addressed, and I believe that when I say, "Intentionally addressed," I feel like it should be addressed especially for new scholars, so I needed to personally think about conversations where there was explanations for racism in the literature by saying, "It was so because the scholar was a product of their time," which I'm sure everybody has heard before, and not to focus holistically on their interpretation but the hard data. Unfortunately, these scholars, these early scholars, made interpretive decisions informed by race and their perceptions of race, which means that the interpretation is embedded in the work, and as a new student, making the separation is not always obvious, so that's why I believe that addressing it head-on and addressing it intentionally is important, especially for new scholars. Further, going by that logic of if those scholars were of their time and that is meant to be some sort of appropriate

response for addressing racism in the field and racial bias in the field, then how should our contemporary scholarship be? Should it also not be of our time as we are deconstructing what has been taught? I also work closely with cultural institutions and museum theory in practice, which I think is an important position to understand for representing ancient Egypt to the public since museums and curatorship are powerful positions for public engagement. So post Carter's discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922 and then later the discovery of el-Amarna a year later, there was a frenzied reincitement surrounding ancient Egyptian history, archaeology and material culture, Egyptomania, so during this particular period of Egyptomania, ancient Egypt history poured even more into popular media, and the public consumption of ancient Egypt heightened, and cultural institutions were no stranger to this and acquired a multitude of artifacts and objects and material culture through excavations. These artifacts and Egyptomania's effects, which still persist today, have since fallen into one concept of [Indistinct] expeditionary complex, one that secures them in a permanent and carefully curated display of knowledge to put a very complex theoretical idea simply and also that perpetuated a system of power throughout society. However, we know that Egyptomania began even before Tutankhamun's tomb was discovered, and I'm speaking about world fairs, the international exhibition of the early 19th century, which lasted between roughly 1850 to 1930, and there's two that I want to mention. I'll go into depth for just one of them, but the first is the Paris World Fair in 1867 where Mariette exhibited an Egyptian temple, but the one that everyone is probably already familiar with is the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 at Chicago representing the Cairo Street, and this exhibition reinforced stereotypes about the Middle East with images of what Western perceptions of the Middle East was through an Orientalist viewpoint. This also placed Egypt in what we consider to be the Middle East. So all of this is to say that, at a very early stage in Egyptology and modern history, Egypt and the Middle East were institutionally being coupled together in a political way with the example of world fairs and then also with collection practices for cultural institutions during Egyptomania while simultaneously being dissociated from the rest of Africa for imperial and racial superiority purposes, which is essentially where the problem lies. Additionally, another issue lies in the fact that Egypt is frequently separated from the rest of Africa in gallery and exhibition displays. So in terms of thinking about public consumption and of what is presented to the public and using audiences by cultural institutions, I believe we should think about how Egypt is connected to African galleries and museums, or is it connected in any way? Should it be connected? I believe that museums are often part of an alternate foundation pedagogy and which influence what the museum audience learns, so for example, I'm thinking about youth who attend museum trips from elementary to high school. I'm just thinking of myself. This tangible difference of Egypt physically being separated from Africa in a gallery space, it influences the way that these youth or museum audiences in general perceive Egypt from a young age and how it is sort of a disassociated entity from where it is geographically located, especially with regards to museological interpretive strategy. So these are visible and physical issues for didactic public engagement. So just conclude with saying that, in the academy, the issue

is really the imposition of modern perceptions of race onto ancient understandings, which are not the same and which many of the panelists here have already expressed. Race's idea charged in the sense that socially and politically constructed ideas have been attached to the term decades ago and has now been immortalized in a decades-long construction of systematic contentions, which create barriers systematically and institutionally and also preconceived perceptions to what we define as race contemporarily although, whether or not these constructs are real, they are also lived experiences, and race does matter in our current context in order to understand power, power structures, power dynamics to superiority, and if we ask ourselves, "Would early scholars associate ancient Egypt with humanity and complex society during a time where Black people were not considered humans but product?" we can see that Egyptology was founded through colonial, imperial and racial filters, which is why it is so important to have discussions like this one and to critically assess and reassess what has been taught as well as unlearn and relearn what has been studied. Thank you.

Louise Bertini:

Great. Thank you so much. We're going to get to the question, answers in just one moment, but I do want to thank all of our panelists for this necessary conversation, which now has sprung off into, I think, a number of different fields to which we could probably be here forever discussing and not just within Egyptology but across the social sciences and humanities. So notwithstanding the colonial past of our field and anthropology and other fields, various people with multiple identities have sought far-off lands for understanding of our shared history, so this mosaic, at least how I see it, is notwithstanding of its challenges, its ups and downs or even its lasting legacy, so my question, I guess, for each of you is, considering your own experiences as leaders in your fields and having heard perhaps from students, your own students or others, their concerns over the years, what advice might you give for up and coming scholars who may be at times discouraged for what they feel is racism or discrimination in their interactions with the discipline or in the field to which they want to devote their lives and careers? So I don't know if you all maybe want to comment or somebody want to take that.

Eve Troutt Powell:

Louise, can you be ... Can you clarify your question just a little bit?

Louise Bertini:

Yeah, I think my question is, what advice might you give students who are facing ... or maybe what they feel is discrimination or racism or challenges within the field? How might you ... What advice might you give to how they can approach this where they're not just entering the field but also with studying as we can see that there are ... I think we've talked already about some of these colonial pasts and how people have approached especially racism within scholarship. Yes, please, yeah.

Eve Troutt Powell:

I'll ...

Salima Ikram (offscreen):

Vanessa, do you want to do that?

Donald Reid:

Eve has a comment.

Eve Troutt Powell:

Yeah, I'll give it a try. We're talking about a lot of fields here, so I'm going to be more field-specific in terms of modern history, and I should also say that I'm a professor in history and in Africana studies, which has helped me personally negotiate a lot of the pushback I have field for decades in academia against the intellectual power of Africana studies, and so I find that, in teaching history graduate students and history undergrads, that those who feel that they are facing discrimination, and they are often, that it's very helpful to reach back into the treasure chest of academic success or pursuit of people like Frederick Douglass or W. B. Du Bois or Ida B. Wells, et cetera, but not just ... And the problem in Africana studies often in the United States is that it's always just focused on the United States and the diaspora, and I think it's really important to have students and for ourselves as well to think about race in a more global context. How is this discussed, for instance, in Nigeria? How is it discussed in Côte d'Ivoire? How is it discussed in Sudan? Sudan split because South Sudan seceded because much of the political conversation was about race. So I think finding an intellectual space where you're not alone in feeling isolated, whatever your race or ethnic background is in exploring these questions, I think, is very important, but I also think that we as older scholars need to respond to the needs of our students who are asking for this and who are really pushing for this, whether they are in Egyptology or they are in history of Middle Eastern studies, and we're finding it's happening in the field in Middle East studies period. That's my answer.

Vanessa Davies:

Yeah, I agree very much with what Eve was saying, that it's critical to sort of find your crew, find your posse, find the people who share your views and who can support you in the viewpoint that you're looking for because it is very difficult to find as Annissa pointed out in the sources, and it may be difficult to find in a particular intellectual community, and I think trying to go it alone is ... could be very discouraging, so I would encourage students to definitely find your crew to go through it with you.

Donald Reid:

I was wondering ... I think Egyptian younger Egyptologists must be very aware from the history of their discipline in Egypt about the kind of discrimination that Ahmed Pasha Kamāl and his generation faced in trying to deal with Western imperial domination of

their field and their country. I was wondering how much nowadays they're aware when they read some of the great Egyptologists who were great scholars but had these Western biases coming out of America plantation-slavery background, or the backgrounds of all our experience of slavery are somewhat different from Egypt, then how much younger Egyptian scholars are attuned to the problems that this created for the field. Maybe Fayza or Salima would comment on that.

Fayza Haikal:

I'm not very clear about the question, how young Egyptians are.

Salima Ikram:

I think nowadays people have slightly moved on from a lot of that, yeah, we all ... Egyptian scholars have access to doing a lot of what they want. Obviously this is not everything, but I don't think that there's this great burden of what happened in the past. There's a bit of a burden but not a terrible thing because people are too busy moving forward now because now there's a chance to advance in whether you're excavating or intellectual things, so I don't know what Fayza would say, but I think that there's not as much of a feeling that there is this oppression.

Donald Reid:

Mm-hmm.

Fayza Haikal:

No, if I may, I would like to make two comments, one related to racism and one related how races has imposed on Egyptians to write in a language which is not theirs. They couldn't read [Indistinct]. And obviously Egyptologists, even from my generation, want to enter the field, and therefore, they have to write in a language which is not theirs, and that sort of makes writing more difficult for them. They publish less. We all publish less because try writing in a language which is not ours. That's ... And the young generation is not ... who did not have access to foreign schools or that kind of schooling find it even, of course, even more complicated. And I assume that in other civilizations, say Mexico, for example, because it's closer to the United States, people can write in Spanish and be accepted and be read. If we write in Arabic here, until now, we're not read. And that, of course, is not right in my opinion. That's one of my comments. The other comment is about racism, which is over discussed again because we don't need to discuss it here because we don't feel it as much, but personally I lectured and different other... at AUC where I had African American students or in Africa itself. I lectured in Africa itself and Cameroon and other people, other places, and this obsession of race ... And obsession is not a strong word, I think. If I had stronger, I would use it, but I don't know it. So this obsession of race on Egyptians, ancient Egyptians, white or Black, and I always answer, "They are like me. You can decide for yourself if I am white or Black, doesn't matter. The majority is like me. Of course, there are people who are darker, and there are people who are lighter according to the latitude in Egypt where they are, and the problem is

that they are so obsessed by this idea of what color they are that they do not want to understand the culture, the culture itself of ancient Egypt and races of ancient Egypt and so on. It bothers them to ... They always have this screen in front of them which means they do not study Egyptology enough because they want to know what race first, and of course we know that, as Donald mentioned, we have had African Americans ... Not Americans, pure Africans, Senegalese in particular, who claimed Egyptology the way they want to see it, which is not wrong in my opinion. There is a lot of very interesting thing, and it's obvious that we have a lot of Africanism in our ... in ancient-Egyptian civilization and even onto today. So I think that here in Egypt we do not speak so much about race anymore. We have had presidents, for example, Anwar Sadat was very loved. We have had ministers and we still have of all ethnicities in Egypt. So the problem is not as alive and well and hurting as it would be in any other place.

Louise Bertini:

I think, Eve, you have a comment?

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

I do. Dr. Fayza, I want to respect your scholarship and definitely your erudition, but I'm having a problem with the word obsession because this whole panel was brought up because an effort on the part of ARCE to try to somehow represent ARCE's own feelings and conduct as an institution, and not a new institution, about what happened in the United States with George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, et cetera, and I am certainly not advocating that race and the discussions of race in Egypt are the same as they are in America, but we are giving this talk sponsored by ARCE in hopes of coming to some kind of understanding about how race is discussed. This is an American institution in Egypt just as the American University in Cairo is also very much a part of United States culture as it is a part of Egyptian culture. So when I hear you say that some of your ... And maybe I misunderstood you, and if I did, please correct me, but when I hear you say that African-American students come to Egyptology with an obsession, it seems to be it's a bit of a diminishment of what their own intellectual background would be. I wonder if you would say the same things about somebody coming from, I don't know, a non-black environment, and the other thing I just want to ask is also when you speak of pure Africans as opposed to African Americans, I'm starting to wonder then on what spectrum of race is this discussion really supposed to take place, and I want to throw that at the whole panel because I think that ARCE, you're delving into a place that has not usually been ARCE territory, and it might be helpful for, Louise, for you to help explain to us what was the intention here because ... And finally I'll just say one more thing. I've spent a lot of time in Egypt. I have lived in Egypt, and I am now working on a class about the history of blackface around the world, and there's a lot that comes out of Egypt this year, and that is the performance of darkening up in comedic movies, Egyptian "Saturday Night Live," the comedian Shaimaa Seif, of people darkening up in order to represent Sudanese people. So the idea that this just doesn't ... this is not

happening. That is mysterious to me and mystifying to me. I know I'm throwing a lot at everybody, but I just had to express that, and I'll stop.

Fayza Haikal:

Well I am not very clear about it myself what I want to say. Firstly that racism in Egypt I didn't say doesn't exist, but I said it is much ... It doesn't have the hatred that we have and that we ... When I say we is what I see on television because I don't live in the United States. Definitely it is completely different. I personally ... I was brought up when I was a child by a black Sudanese person who was living with us in the family, and she was highly respected. Her daughter was being treated like us. She grew up as us. So we don't have this feeling. I don't know. I cannot think of it as I say ... Again, I say when it exists if you can be joking a little bit about it. You can ... But there is no hatred like what we hear about what's going on in the United States. This is why I insist on the fact that our races is different. Have I answered the question?

Louise Bertini:

I think that ...

Fayza Haikal:

I don't know ...

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

You certainly explained where you're coming from. Thank you.

Louise Bertini:

I think ...

Fayza Haikal:

Where I'm coming from ... I am trying to tell you that this ... It's not me. I'm not ... I have nothing to do with ... I'm just giving you an example. It happens to be me. I [Indistinct]

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

I understand. You've clarified your position, and I understand, Dr. Fayza. I've got it.

Louise Bertini:

I think that where we're ...

Salima Ikram:

Can I jump in?

Louise Bertini:

Or, Salima, if you want.

Salima Ikram:

Yeah. No, I was just going to say I think that it is very hard to find any society that is not racist in terms of prejudiced. What the prejudice is based on varies. So you can have ...

And I think there is a sadness in me because in Pakistan, for example, as well as in Egypt, as well as in the United States and many other countries, there is a preference given to fairer skin. So that is obviously on some level a phenotypical racist choice being made, and it is something that is accent here as well as in certainly the United States, the subcontinent of India and many other places. So there is some degree of racism but how ... or color-based racism. How it plays out varies considerably, and that I think also one thing to remember is, at least I can speak for the subcontinent and here to some extent, is that if your social class and socioeconomic class is high enough, than whether you are black, white or purple doesn't seem to matter as much. So it really is the social class that trumps phenotypical racism, but this is my impression here. I can speak with confidence from where I come from, but I think that that is something to bear in mind.

Fayza Haikal:

Personally, I think that in the lower classes of the population they are not particularly racist either. On the contrary, I feel that ... I don't think that in the poorer classes there are more racists. I don't think so, on the contrary.

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

I never said anything about classes. I didn't say that, and actually one of the people on the chat is just asking what do I mean when I said, "Dr. Fayza, where are you coming from?" What I mean is I understand you are putting your past, your present, your scholarship, and you were explaining where your views on race in Egypt come from, and that's why I said thank you for your response to that person, but I will say that I think that this ... And then I'll stop because I really do have a question to ARCE, and I really want hear Louise answer that question. I will say that it really depends on who you ask, and who you ask is very important. So the idea that humor can be very funny, that the way that people look at Sudanese, for instance, or Nubians in the past as the clean bawab, as the et cetera, as those who do certain kinds of domestic work. This has been questioned in Egyptian society, in the Middle East, and I always that if ... So for instance, Abdullah al-Nadeem who was a very important nationalist while the Egyptians were cementing their power in Egypt. Abdullah al-Nadeem really created a very forceful anti-racist thematic in his journals that were read out loud in the cafes of Azbakeya, that were read out loud because so many people could not read. Others would take the responsibility for reading them. In which he really advanced Egyptians. Take a look at how we look at our enslaved people. What do we do? What is manumission about? I think ... I'll give one more example. Ali al-Kassar, the famous comedian around World I and then afterwards, would perform in blackface, and his plays which were very funny to Egyptians. He actually called himself the Othman, the one and only Nubian, okay, and performed this character in blackface. In ARCE ... and I would bring some of these plays

back because there were a lot of Nubian people working in ARCE at the time, and I would read or show them the plays. When I studied this at the National Theatre Archive, people, Egyptian drama students, thought it was very funny, but when I showed it to Nubian people, they didn't laugh at all. They were like, "This isn't funny, and we see it all the time, and we don't find it funny." So when you look at the experience of Sudanese refugees in Egypt, none of whom find race a laughing matter. So I'm saying it really does matter. It's not just who has this idea that this is funny. It's also who's responding, who's identity if incorporated into words like abeeds or Nubi and how that works. So that's my response to you, and I really do want to hear because we are all speaking in an event that was sponsored by ARCE, and I just want to hear, ARCE, what were you thinking?

Louise Bertini:

I think what we are thinking is to really ... I don't ... Start the conversation is not the right word but to give them a more public platform for this conversation, and already many things have come up even in the course of this conversation which I think will warrant lots of further discussion. The point that Annissa brought up about museums and where Egypt and Africa, how that fits in. I think how we ... The language and how the issue of Arabic being a challenge for students and not just for Egyptian students but also for Western students who also want to better engage with Egyptian students. I think there is just so much that has come up in this that we want to bring some of these issues for discussion, and already there is no way we are going to get through all the questions that are coming through both on the Q and A and the chat that have come out of this. So there's a lot that's coming up. There's a lot, I think, more that we are going to need to clearly discuss based on some of these points that have come up. So that is where ARCE is just ... We are wanting to help to facilitate, to give a platform to a lot of these issues that scholars and students are also facing, especially in the United States now with the change in what is happening.

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

Thank you.

Louise Bertini:

Sure. Annissa or Don, would either of you like to make any additional comments?

Donald Reid:

Can I get my ... I just had one point that I wanted to bring up which was in terms of official thinking from Nasser, the President of Egypt in the 50s and 60s who overthrew King Farouk and the monarchy, and so this was in an early stage of career, and he situated Egypt's historical mission, as he called it, in three circles, and the first one he mentioned was the Arab circle, and this was the one that eventually he moved toward and which the theme of pan-Arabism from Morocco to Iraq wanting to ... hoping to unite Arabs. That failed politically, but there's a language-based community of Egypt's Arabness, and then after him that receded somewhat, but it's still a fundamental part of

Egypt's identity, and then it's interesting that the number-two identity, which he felt was inseparable from Egypt, was the African one, and this is coming, of course, from the President of Egypt, and it's an ideological statement from the top down, but it also ... It points out that at the time this book was published, '54, '55, Egypt was one of the few countries that was practically independent from the British at that time, and most of the rest of Africa was still colonized, and he was an inspiration to black African leaders, Nelson Mandela among others, who look to Egypt as a fellow African country, and, of course, the Organisation of African Unity was set up, and Nasser was the second president of it today. So although that's somewhat in the background at times, that was an attempt from the top to keep Egypt's African identity in mind in a way that most Western European and American Egyptologists had sort of written out or pushed to one side. Then he also mentioned, of course, the Islamic circle, a fundamental part of Egypt's identity, and that stretches on across the continent all the way to Indonesia and the Philippines and beyond. So all of those are basic parts of Egypt's identity from the top, and that's just one sample of multiple identities in a way that so many Western Egyptologists seem to ... the early ones particular, seem to have tried to saw Egypt loose from Africa.

Louise Bertini:

There actually is a question that I would like to pose to everybody that came in from Joshua, "What are the two to three most important takeaways for school children to come away with surrounding this topic of the Nile Valley and race," and he puts, "As ancient civilization is usually taught at grade six or lower, which is why I'm here as a sixth-grade teacher and wouldn't be turned until university, what is possible for 11 or 12 years old to handle? Conceptions of colonialism and race, for example, are extremely taxing at that age. I'm struggling with how to package it, so they are not overwhelmed." I think this actually is a wonderful question that I'd like to pose, if anybody has thoughts to this.

Donald Reid:

Maybe Annissa could jump in on that.

Louise Bertini:

Please.

Annissa Malvoisin:

Yeah, that's a really good question. I feel as though this critical approach to understanding how Egyptology was established is something that I've kind of dealt with in my studies during my undergraduate degree, and I was ... I started when I was 18, and at that point there wasn't much critical analysis until I did my master's, which was very critical. Then I came back to do my PhD back in Egyptology, and it wasn't ... I saw what was lacking kind of in the discipline in terms of critically approaching of these sources. So I think that's a difficult question to answer in terms of teaching it to sixth

graders, but I feel like there must be some type of pedagogical strategy to incorporate that in a way that younger children can understand, maybe not at the university level but ... I'm not a ... I've never taught anybody younger than first-year students. So that's a difficult question to answer, but I definitely feel like there should be some type of work in order to include it in some type of way. I don't think it should be looked over, if that makes sense, completely. I don't know if I answered the question.

Vanessa Davies:

I think ...

Louise Bertini:

Vanessa?

Vanessa Davies:

I agree with Annissa. It should not be overlooked. Since ... As we've stated on this panel, there was no ancient Egyptian or ancient Nile Valley view of race in the way that we view it in the West. In that sense you don't have to bring it up as an ancient construct, right? You shouldn't bring it up as an ancient construct. To my mind, the easiest way to explain it to a grade-six-type audience is to start with the geography, to get a map that doesn't have modern borders on it, a kind of Google-Earth-type map where you're looking at topography, where you can look at where the rivers flowing. You can talk about how the Sahara Desert was not always a desert, right? It was a grass savanna at one time and to really just contextualize it in that geographical sense. I know in the US we don't do enough work with maps, in my opinion. I'm a huge map fan, so maybe I'm a little biased with wanting to start with a map, but I feel like that kind of visual connection with the geography would be a good way to start with a grade-six audience.

Louise Bertini:

Are there other comments? I think we have so many questions which we are clearly not going to get to in this session. I think we have ... We're getting close to time, but I think that this panel has brought up lots of points that we definitely want to explore further in either future panel discussions or future lectures, and from ARCE, we are very excited to be a platform to have these discussions take place and to continue. I want to thank you all. I want to thank all of our panelists, and I want to thank you all for joining us today, and I know we have not gotten through all the questions, but we are keeping note of them, and we are going ... We are recording this lecture, and we will post it on our ARCE YouTube page as well as we can try to compile answers to these questions to post on our website as well. So if you are interested in ARCE's efforts to research and conserve Egypt's past, I do urge you to visit our website, ARCE.org. We, of course, rely on your support to make all of our work possible. So I want to thank you all again, and I look forward to having you all join us at our next public lecture on January 23rd. Don, you want to add any other closing remarks?

Donald Reid:

Yeah, if I could just one quick one that we didn't ... that might put things in perspective is that if you think that all three of the Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, all have their home base in what we think of as Asia. Of course, these continents themselves, our continental divisions, are arbitrary constructions, but the power of those traditions plus of the Greco-Roman views of Egypt in the early history of Egyptology and up to the present bended particularly with the Western Egyptologist to belittle or ignore or cut off that Egypt also had and has connections going South and West on the African side. So that's just one additional perspective to put in ... try to put in a nutshell and then just to wrap it up, we live in troubled times in the US and around the globe, and there are good signs for hope, however, that we can change for the better in this regard, in both academia and society at large. Today we focused on critical issues of race, but I find it heartening to reflect on changes in ARCE with regard to gender since our founding back in 1948. The founding meeting in Boston was held at a Boston men's club, the Club of Odd Volumes, and all 30 attendees were men. Nowadays ARCE's president, the executive director and a majority of its board are women, and I'll conclude with thanks to our audience, to Louise, the ARCE staff and each of our panelists, and also I should mention my technical home help desk, my daughter, Jamila Reid. So thank you, everybody.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you all so much, and we look forward to continuing this discussion, and, of course, our panelists, thank you all so much.

Eve M. Troutt Powell:

Thank you all very much.

Vanessa Davies:

Thank you.

Louise Bertini:

Thank you. Bye.