Conflicted Antiquities
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Notes

Introduction

1. In Greek literature, Memnon was the king of Ethiopia who fought in the Trojan war on the side of Troy. He was killed by Achilles. In classical and pre-Egyptological modern traditions of travel writing this statue was linked to Memnon and others, such as Sesostris and Ozymandias. Growing acceptance of Champollion’s theories about the ancient hieroglyphics in the 1830s led to the statue’s being relabeled as belonging to Ramses II.

3. Ibid., 66.
4. Ibid., 69–70.
5. Ibid., 67–8.
8. On the early history of the British Museum, see Miller, That Noble Cabinet, and Ian Jenkins, Archaeologists and Aesthetes. In the House of Commons, sharp debates over public funding for the museum would continue through the 1860s.
9. British Museum trustees consistently relied upon nationalist appeals to increase state support for acquisitions. In one proposal from this period they argue, “It has often been noticed with surprize that the British government should not have availed themselves of the means they possess, through their diplomatic and other agents in different parts of the globe, towards enriching, and as far as possible completing their public collections of rare and valuable productions and thereby essentially contributing to the advancement of science and the useful arts. The Trustees of the British Museum, who preside over the only national scientific repository in the United Kingdom, aware of the justness of this observation, think it becomes them to make a representation to His Majesty’s government, requesting them to establish a correspondence with such of their representatives and agents abroad, as may have any
opportunity of contributing toward so patriotic an object.” British Museum: Central Archives: Trustees’ Manuscripts: Original Letters and Papers, 3:1450 [c. 1818]).

10. Duncan, Civilizing Rituals.
12. McClellan, Inventing the Louvre.

15. What Andrew McClellan says about the Louvre in the 1790s is also true of the British Museum in the nineteenth century: “In the late 1790s French commitment to conservation was stretched to justify the appropriation of art confiscated as the booty of war in conquered lands. Portraying itself as a politically and culturally superior nation, France claimed to be uniquely qualified to safeguard the world’s treasures for the benefit of mankind.” Inventing the Louvre, 7. On museum ethics more widely, see Embedding Ethics, eds. Meskell and Pels, and Karen J. Warren, “A Philosophical Perspective on the Ethics and Resolution of Cultural Properties Issues.”

17. Moser, Wondrous Curiosities, 43.
18. Richardson, Travels Along the Mediterranean and Parts Adjacent, 1:523.

19. A partial list of popular and scholarly histories in this vein would include: James Baikie, A Century of Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs; Fred Gladstone Bratton, A History of Egyptian Archaeology; C. W. Ceram, Gods, Graves and Scholars; Warren Dawson, Who Was Who in Egyptology; Stanley Mayes, The Great Belzoni; Barbara Mertz, Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs; John A. Wilson, Signs and Wonders Upon Pharaoh; and John David Wortham, The Genesis of British Egyptology.

20. For critical accounts of this term and its deployment in institutions of excavation, collection, and display in the wake of the French Revolution, see Dario Gamboni, The Destruction of Art; and Andrew McClellan, Inventing the Louvre.

21. For recent versions of this argument, see Deborah Manley and Peta Rée, Henry Salt; Ronald Ridley, Napoleon’s Proconsul in Egypt; Claudine Le Tourneur d’Ison, Mariette Pacha; and Maya Jasanoff, Edge of Empire.


27. A vivid example of this can be found in Philip Kuberski’s essay “Dreaming of Egypt.” At one point Kuberski notes (ostensibly as critique) that, “[The] curiosity of the imperialist is accompanied by an identification, not with colonial peoples who were thought to be unconcerned with their archaeological treasures, but with the ancient dead. . . . It is impossible . . . to appreciate what ancient Egypt is without recognizing that it has always been an artifact of Western desires.” In one sense, Kuberski is correct in noting the central imaginary role Egypt (as image) plays in European philosophy and literature. Yet Kuberski’s essay is not merely analytical. It performatively reinscribes the very problem it claims to describe in critical terms. See Kuberski, *The Persistence of Memory*, 23–24.


29. A particularly striking example of this can be found in Okasha El-Daly’s recent claim that medieval Egyptians never lost their tie to Pharaonic civilization and that Muslim scholars, working within an unbroken scholarly tradition, were the world’s first Egyptologists. See Okasha El-Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium*.

30. For example, Hawass describes modern Egyptian peasants with a paternalism reminiscent of colonial-era travel literature. Complaining about the difficulty of separating poor Egyptians from antiquities sites, he writes, “Thousands of illegal houses and farms have been built on Antiquities land. The present law is very weak and does not provide for the removal of squatters. The people who live in these villages smuggle artifacts and sell them on the black market; many have been caught stealing antiquities. In addition to the theft of artifacts, the villages pose more general dangers to the tombs by producing acid pollution, water pollution, and fire and smoke from cooking” (247).

33. See Neil Asher Silberman, *Between Past and Present*.
35. See Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*.
38. On how archaeology intervenes in the making of its objects, see Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*.
40. The work of Bruno Latour is especially germane to this subject. See *Pandora’s Hope*; and, with Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life*.
42. See Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in *Tensions of Empire*; and Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*.
43. See Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.
44. The concept that agency might be dispersed across networks or shared between human actors and prosthetic objects is not new. See Michel Callon, *The Laws of the Market*; Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *The Anti-Oedipus*; and Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions*.

1. **THE ARTIFICATION OF THE MEMNON HEAD**

8. British Museum, Standing Committees, Antiquities Department, 2691; and British Museum, Trustees’ Manuscripts, Original Letters, and Papers, 4:1431.
12. Under the pseudonym Glirastes, Shelley published his “Ozymandias” in *The Examiner*, January 11, 1817. Smith’s “Ozymandias” was published in the same venue on February 1, 1818.
13. Among others of the period, George Gliddon noted this distinction: “The firmans for antiquities, although the exportation was to the individual forbidden, were not refused to the consuls-general of powerful nations.” Gliddon, *An Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe*, 127.
14. Echoing the reports of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers to Gurna, the local acquisitions agent for French consul Drovetti remarked at the time, “The traveler who visits Thebes (and especially Gourna) in order to explore, should expect to find there a great deal of difficulty from the inhabitants. These people seem to think that they have inherited a monopoly right over ancient objects. Likewise, they never fail to look jealously at those Europeans who come to excavate the soil looking for antiquities. The Arabs of Gourna live in the tombs and it is in the nooks of their innermost chambers where their collections of antiquities are hidden. These collections are shown piece by piece to purchasing agents from Europe” (Rifaud, *Voyages en Egypte 1805–1827*, 221).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1 283
16. Salt claimed to have been principally inspired by Hamilton’s account of the piece in *Aegyptiaca*. See his letter of October 1817 to Lord Castlereagh. British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and the Sudan, Salt and Sloane Collections, Ms Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities and Various BM Correspondence.
25. Hamilton, *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey: Part 1, Aegyptiaca*, 177. Hamilton’s role in British Museum acquisitions during this period is central. In 1801, as a British officer overseeing the French evacuation from Egypt, Hamilton seized the Rosetta stone, hidden by Bonaparte’s savants, and ensured its transportation to the British Museum. Later, he served as Lord Elgin’s secretary and supervised the conveyance of the Acropolis friezes—the Elgin marbles—to London.
30. The 1810s was a decade of intense research into the nature of the hieroglyphic language. See Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*, 123–44; and discussion of Champollion in chapter 2. For a colorful example of hieroglyphic speculation applied to the Memnon head, see J. F. Lake Williams, *Letter I. of a series, on a fragment of the Plmyooymyyz* [sic].
32. Ronald T. Ridley, *Napoleon’s Proconsul in Egypt*.

284 NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

36. The contract is quoted in full in Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations*, 26–27. See also British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and the Sudan, Salt and Sloane Collections, Ms Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities and Various BM Correspondence, “Instruction, Boulak June 28, 1816.”

37. A copy of the Ottoman firman acknowledging Salt’s rights and privileges as a consul in Egypt is in the British Museum archives. Strangely, although the document describes the scope of Salt’s authority (including his unique authority over the English merchant community in Egypt and his exemption from taxation), it says nothing about antiquities collection. In this sense, there is nothing in the document that speaks to the legality of the antiquities he collected for himself or for the museum. See British Museum Department of Ancient Egypt and the Sudan, Firman of Salt (EA 74092).

38. D’Athanasi, also known as Yanni, later relocated to Luxor as Salt’s full-time agent. At the end of his career, he published his own account of travel and acquisition work in Upper Egypt: *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt*.


40. European physicians in the employment of Ottoman officials also seem to have played a leading role in the antiquities trade. Count Forbin ironically described the physician of the Bey at Assyut in the following terms: “Subsequently, I saw Italians who claimed to be doctors in Upper Egypt. They bury Agas, and disinter statues, and make out very well by the exchange.” Louis Nicolas de Forbin, *Voyage dans le Levant*, 327–28.


42. Ibid., 37.

43. See Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*; and Elliott Colla, “Hooked on Pharaonics.”


45. On these debates, see Curl, *Egyptomania*; and Humbert, *Egyptomania*.


47. Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*.


49. Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments.”


53. Ibid., 43–44.

54. Ibid., 50–51.

55. Belzoni would venture into Nubia more than once. These journeys were documented by others as well: see Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*; Robert Richardson, *Travels Along the Mediterranean and Parts Adjacent*; and the interesting account of Belzoni’s dragoman in Nubia, Giovanni Finati: *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati*.

56. The systematic, state-sponsored expulsion of peasants from temple complexes in southern Egypt would not begin until later, although decrees permitting such removals were in place by the 1860s. John Gardner Wilkinson describes Mehmed ‘Ali’s expulsion of peasants from Esna in 1842: see Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 2:267. For similar expulsions under Isma’il Pasha in the 1860s and 1870s, see Auguste Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte* (1878).


58. Ibid., 82.

59. Ibid., 119.

60. Ibid., 93.

61. Ibid., 93.

62. Ibid., 94–95.

63. Ibid., 99.

64. Ibid., 131.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 131–32.


69. Ibid.

70. See “Letter of Objects Presented to the Trustees of 1819,” British Museum, Central Archives, Ellis Scrapbook, 94.


72. In contrast, the Louvre’s directors celebrated Egyptian antiquities wholeheartedly at the time. The French abandonment of conservative attitudes to-
ward Egyptian art may have been tied to anticlerical attitudes. Whereas the art of Greece and Rome had been coopted by the Catholic church, Egypt was free from any such association. Even before the Revolution, Egypt had (among Masons and Rosicrucians, for example) come to symbolize a pre- and non-Christian source of enlightenment. This was quickly institutionalized in the early years of the Revolution. See Curl, *Egyptomania, the Egyptian Revival*; and Humbert, *Egyptomania*.

75. When Belzoni mounted his commercial exhibit (actually, simulated recreation) of the tomb of Seti I, this confusion/tension around Belzoni’s acquisitions would only increase. See Susan M. Pearce, “Giovanni Battista Belzoni’s Exhibition of the Reconstruction of Pharaoh Seti I in 1821.” See also Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 96–123.
78. The Department of Antiquities was redivided in 1860, into Oriental Antiquities, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Coins and Medals; soon after that, they were subdivided again. The Department of Egyptian Antiquities was not formed until 1955. See Miller, *That Noble Cabinet*, 364–68.
79. This innovation was part of the broader shift from the Kunstkammer of earlier times to the universal survey organization that was critical to the pedagogical design of nineteenth-century national public museums. See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, and Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.
82. Such ideas are most clearly expressed in Hegel’s *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*.


91. The word *artifact* means “anything made by human art and workmanship; an artificial product,” with the special sense in archaeology of being “applied to the rude products of aboriginal workmanship as distinguished from natural remains.” According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first English usages appear following an 1821 essay by Samuel T. Coleridge. Arguably, the substantive noun “artifact,” from the Latin words “ars” (art) and “facere” (to make), derived from the adjective “artificial,” meaning “man-made.” The transformation of what had previously been conceptualized as an attribute of objects (artificiality) now became a thing in itself.


93. It reads: “[Article] No. 11. The head and upper part of the body of a colossal statue, brought from the ruins of the Memnonium, a building dedicated to Memnon, at Thebes. This fragment is composed of one piece of granite of two colours, and the face, which is in remarkably fine preservation, is executed in a very admirable manner. Presented by Henry Salt, Esq. and the late Louis Burckhardt, Esq.” (*Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, 107).


96. Ibid., 2:9–11.


99. Ibid.

100. Vaux, *Handbook to the Antiquities in the British Museum*, 289. This is the first museum guidebook to present an extensive chart of Egyptian history into which the objects of the collection could be placed, 335–44.


102. Quoted ibid., 42.


105. 56 George, Sect. 99: “Act to Vest the Elgin Collection of Ancient Marbles and Sculpture in the Trustees of the British Museum for the Use of the
Public” (July 1, 1816), British Museum, Trustees’ Manuscripts, Original Letters, and Papers, 4:1310.

106. Miller, That Noble Cabinet, 44.
107. Ibid., 43.
108. The exclusion of the wider public was accomplished through a number of policies from the earliest days. First, the museum was open only during weekdays, during business hours. It was closed on Sundays as well as on national and religious holidays. Second, the process of applying for tickets gave ample discretion to officials wishing to facilitate the visits of certain patrons and discourage others. Third, later rules concerning “decent and orderly . . . appearance and behaviour” effectively barred those not recognized to be part of polite society. For early rules, see “Directions to Such as Apply for Tickets to See the British Museum” [January 14, 1803], British Museum, Central Archives, Trustees’ Manuscripts’ Original Letters and Papers, 2:760. Such rules were repeatedly confirmed through the 1810s, and only incrementally changed after the 1820s.

109. Miller, That Noble Cabinet, 136. See British Museum, Central Archives, British Museum Cuttings and Extracts, to c. 1862 (Ellis Scrapbook), 276.
110. British Museum, Central Archives, British Museum Cuttings and Extracts, to c. 1862 (Ellis Scrapbook), 288.
111. “House of Commons, Committee of Supply: Address by Mr. Croker,” as reported in The Times (June 21, 1823). British Museum, Central Archives, British Museum Cuttings and Extracts, to c. 1862 (Ellis Scrapbook), 106.
112. On sacralization, see Dean MacCannell, The Tourist.
113. On the ambiguities of the market and non-market value of objects, see Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things.”
114. See Latour’s discussion of the “factish” (fact/fetish) in Pandora’s Hope, 272–76.
115. See Nicholas Thomas, Entangled Objects.
117. See Lynn Meskell and Peter Pals, “Embedding Ethics.”
120. See, for instance, Edward de Montulé, Travels in Egypt; Wolfradine Von Minutoli, Recollections of Egypt; Richard Robert Madden, Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine.
121. The intermittent, modest complaints of Egyptian officials are no exception. Consider in this regard Zahi Hawass. Though a government official, Hawass speaks longingly of his wish that the head of Nefertiti (in Berlin), the Rosetta stone (in London), and the Dendara zodiac (in Paris) be repatriated. Yet he admits that this is just fanciful thinking. See Hawass, Secrets from the Sand, 251.
Dalia N. Osman, “Occupiers’ Title to Cultural Property.”

Consular reports from the early 1800s give some sense of the amount of this traffic. In terms of value, antiquities were consistently among the leading luxury exports tracked by the French consulate in Alexandria. For the year 1812, the value of mummy exports (to be used in pharmaceuticals) was equal to that of lentils shipped. Among the luxury exports recorded in the same year, the value of mummy was comparable to that of goods like gum arabic and coffee. The same is true for 1824: both the volume of antiquities and their value increased, the latter ahead of many raw and finished agricultural products such as natron, lentils, though far behind cotton and grains. See, for instance, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Quai d’Orsay), Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale, Alexandrie, 18:431 (1805–12); and Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Quai d’Orsay), Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale, Alexandrie, 22:10 (1825–27).

Thanks to Fred Cooper for this observation. See his Colonialism in Question, 158.

OZYMANDIAS

2. This point is made by Anne Janowitz in “Shelley’s Monument to Ozymandias.”
4. See, for example: H. M. Richmond, “Ozymandias and the Travelers.”
5. This concept, derived from A. J. Greimas’s work on literature, has been expanded in Actor-Network-Theory to apply not just to the semiotic relations between elements of a text, but also to those of social organizations and natural fields. See Robert Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, 103–07; and Latour, Reassembling the Social, 54–55.

2.-conflicted antiquities

3. Jabarti, Tarikh ‘aja’ib al-athar fi-l-tarajim wa-l-akhbar, 572; al-Jabarti’s History of Egypt, 399. Bosworth points out that the historian is likely conflating two events: the arrival of the Memnon head, which, being too heavy to be unloaded from the boat, was seen by visitors to the quay in
Bulaq in late 1816; and the findings of subsequent excavations undertaken by Caviglia and Belzoni at Giza, which were displayed in Salt’s residence in late 1817.

4. See Hawting, The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam, 55–66. In this regard, it is curious to note that, in addition to the term *sanam*, which carried heavy implications about paganistic worship, classical Muslim authors also sometimes employed the more neutral term *timthal* (statue, likeness) when speaking of monuments encountered in Egypt. In one lively passage the early geographer Ibn Khurradadhbih recounts breaking into a subterranean vault during the reign of Ibn Tulun. The author describes finding 360 ancient Egyptian statues (*timthal*) in a vault with frescoed walls that depicted, among others, the Prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad! See, Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, 159–60.

5. See Okasha El-Daly, Egyptology: The Missing Millennium.


7. See Mahmoud Ayoub, The Qur’an and Its Interpreters; Mustansir Mir, “The Qur’an as Literature”; Literary Structures of Religious Meaning in the Qur’an, ed. Issa Boullata; and Michael Sells, Approaching the Qur’an. There is more than one Pharaoh alluded to in the Qur’an and Prophetic traditions (*hadith*): there is the Pharaoh confronted by Moses (the same Moses discussed in chapters 1–14 of the book of Exodus), while other Pharaohs, from periods before and after Moses, are associated with the Amalekites. See A. J. Wen-sinck and G. Vajda, “Fir’awn.”

8. Respectively, Qur’an, 23: 46 and 29:39; 10: 83; 44: 31; 28: 4; 20: 24, 43; and 10: 83 and 44: 31. For a semantic analysis of these terms, see Toshihiko Izutsu, Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur’an; and also Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sayyid ‘Awad, al-Fir’awniya kama sawwarha al-Qur’an al-karim. Among Sufis, Pharaoh is understood in more figurative terms. The confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh in this reading represents a struggle, within the human spirit, between higher and lower levels of the soul. For his part, the Sufi philosopher Ibn ‘Arabi (1165–1240 CE) asserts that Pharaoh understood the truth of Moses’ words and that he was an initiate (*’arif*) of divine revelation. See Denis Gril, “Le Personnage Coranique de Pharaon d’après l’interprétation d’ibn ‘Arabi.” Likewise, there is the interpretative debate surrounding verses 10: 90–92, in which Pharaoh, on the point of drowning in the Red Sea, attests to the truth of Moses’ God. See Paret, “Le Corps de Pharaon,” 235–37; and also, Ayoub, The Qur’an and its Interpreters, 95–96.

9. Qur’an, 28: 38
10. This point is made powerfully in Sayyid Qutb’s reading of Sura 7. See Sayyid Qutb, *Fi-Zilal al-Qur’an*, vol. 6 (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1996).

11. As Tarif Khalidi puts it, “The most prominent enemies of the Prophets are the kings, who typify human pride as its peak. At their head stands Fir’awn (Pharaoh), a major Qur’anic figure. His struggle against Moses prefigures the entire history of the relationship between prophets and kings, a theme of recurring importance in Islamic historical thought and writing. Fir’awn is tyrannical, blasphemes before the ‘signs of God,’ fights divine truth with magic, and sows discord among the people. . . . Fir’awn is the Anti-Prophet” (*Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, 10–11). See also Haarman, “Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt,” 56.


14. As Khalidi notes, Islam intervened in Arabian culture by offering an understanding of history as events with “moral significance,” rather than merely as unfathomable sequences of occurrences. Not only are humans able to “read” history for its signs (*ayyat*) and lessons (*’ibar*), they have a moral duty to do so. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, 9.

15. Qur’an, 28: 51–53. *Tadhkir*, (reminding or warning) is, by any standard, one of the major themes of the Quranic message. As al-Zarkashi puts it, “The Quranic sciences are, at their source, divided into three parts: *tawhid* [the principle of God’s oneness], *tadhkir* [reminding, warning], and *ahkam* [judgments]. *Tawhid* comprises a knowledge of creations and their Creator, in all His names, attributes, and deeds. *Tadhkir* includes promises and threats, Heaven and Hell, and separating appearances from essences. *Ahkam* consists of all the kinds of behavior, and clarifying beneficial acts from harmful ones, virtuous acts from prohibited and lamentable ones” (*al-Burhan fi-’ulum al-Qur’an*, I: 17).

16. This tenet is expressed many times in the Qur’an, as in 4: 137: “Those who believe, then reject faith, then believe again, and again reject faith and go on increasing in Unbelief,—God will not forgive them nor guide them on the Way.”

17. See A. A. Vasiliev, “The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II”; Marshall G. S. Hodgson, “Islam and Image”; Oleg Grabar, “Islam and Iconoclasm.” Much of this scholarship has noted that official policies encouraging iconoclasm were the exception, not the rule, of Muslim governments. More recent scholarship stresses that, even if there were official sanctions of iconoclasm, this never meant an end to the creation of art in the Muslim world. See Finbarr Barry Flood, “Between Cult and Culture.” Finally, with regard to Muslim sanctions against pre-Islamic art in Egypt, the bulk was directed at Coptic, not Pharaonic, institutions and symbols. See G. R. D. King, “Islam, Iconoclasm, and the Declaration of Doctrine.”

292 NOTES TO CHAPTER 2
18. Compare this to Jewish and Christian attitudes toward pagan images and objects. See Moshe Halbertal, “Coexisting with the Enemy,” and Guy Stroumsa, “Tertullian on Idolatry and the Limits of Tolerance.”

19. On the fada'il literature about Egypt, see Michael Cook, “Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt”; and Haarman “Regional Sentiment,” 55–56.


21. Other works in this vein would include sections of ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abdallah ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam (d. 871 CE), Futuh Misr; Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas’udi (d. 956 CE), Muruj al-dhahab; and Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maqrizi (d. 1442 CE), Kitab al-muwa’iz wa-l-i’tibar bi-dhikr al-khitat wa-l-athar. See also the extensive bibliography in El-Daly.

22. Idrisi, Kitab Anwar, 1.

23. Quran, 6: 11.


25. This point is made by Haarman, “In Quest of the Spectacular,” 58.


28. Walter Ong, Orality and Literacy.

29. See James Monroe, “Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry.”

30. As quoted in Suyuti, “The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids,” 38; see also, Idrisi, Kitab anwar, 18.

31. This point has been made by Michael Sells: “Traces of an abandoned campsite mark the beginning of the pre-Islamic Arabian ode. They announce the loss of the beloved, the spring rains, and the flowering meadows of an idealized past. Yet they also recall what is lost—both inciting its remembrance and calling it back.” Desert Tracings, 3.

32. Idrisi, Kitab Anwar, 8. The Quranic verse is 44: 25. Other resonances of the word athar should be noted. In addition to referring to the monuments of antiquity, it is also used to refer to relics of the Islamic period and signs of the divine, as in verse 30:50 of the Qur’an: “Look, then, at the signs (athar) of God’s mercy, and how he resurrects the earth after its death. . . . ” It is also used synonymously to refer to the traditions and narrations of the sayings and deeds of the prophet Muhammad and his companions.

33. See Encyclopedia of Islam, s.v. “Adja’ib.” Syrinx von Hees notes that there is no single genre of writing called “aja’ib literature,” but rather that the writing on the exotic and the marvelous appears across a wide range of texts—from geographical treatises and writings known as “ways and kingdoms” (masalik
wa-mamalik), to travel writing and even fiction. See von Hees, “The Astonishing.” It is associated especially with cosmographical writing and the work of al-Qazwini. See Tawfiq Fahd, “Le Merveilleux dans la faune, la flore et les minéraux.” For a recent, provocative consideration of the philosophical, literary, and theological implications of the concept of wonder in Arabic and Persian literature, see Zadeh, “Translation, Language, and Identity.”

34. As one dictionary puts it, “Among the various meanings is to marvel (ta‘ajjub) at something whose cause is hidden. Wonder (‘ajab) is to look at something unfamiliar and unusual—it is a state in which a human is presented with his ignorance about the cause of a thing. . . . Such a thing is a wonder (‘ajib, ‘ajiba, and ‘ujuba),” (Mu‘jam alfaz al-Qur‘an al-karim, 410). Likewise, there is also a deep connection between wonder and the marvelous status of the Quranic ayya (sign, verse). As al-Zarkashi defines their relation in his classic work: “The ayya is a marvel (‘ajab). . . . It is as if each verse were a marvel, on account of its composition and the meanings contained within it” (al-Zarkashi, al-Burhan fi ‘ulum al-Qur‘an, 1:266). Later, al-Zarkashi elaborates on the concept of ta‘ajjub, which appears more than once in the Quranic text, “The word al-ta‘ajjub suggests the way in which God wishes for an action to be performed, as in the saying, ‘Your Lord marvels at the youth who is not driven by childish passions,’ and the saying, ‘Your Lord delights in the man who rises straight from his bed to pray.’ Likewise, the word may also suggest God’s wish for an action to be avoided, as in this verse: ‘If you marvel, then marvelous are the words of those . . . ’ [13:5] and this: ‘While you are filled with wonder, they scoff . . . ’ [37:12]” (al-Zarkashi, 2:14). Greenblatt writes that there is an “ease with which the very words marvel and wonder shift between the designation of a material object and the designation of a response to the object” (Marvelous Possessions, 22).

35. Idrisi, Kitab Anwar, 19.
38. Al-Baghdadi, The Eastern Key, 147.
39. As quoted in Idrisi, Kitab Anwar, 17.
40. Idrisi, Kitab Anwar, 21–23; Suyuti, “The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids,” 32–38. See also the discussion in El-Daly. Ibn Hawqal returned to classical claims that they were granaries. See Ibn Hawqal, Surat al-ard, paragraph 19.
41. This subject is treated at length in Cook and also in M. Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science”; Alexander Fodor, “The Metamorphosis of Imhotep”; and D. P. Walker, The Ancient Theology. See also M. Plessner, “Haram.”
42. In this respect, they have much in common with European travel accounts, from the Greeks until the eighteenth century. See Elliott Colla, “The Measure of Egypt.”


46. Ibid., 155–57.

47. Ibid., 119–21.


49. Ibid., 45–46.

50. Ibid., 46–77.


52. See Eric Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*.


54. A thorough account of this history is given in Robert Solé and Dominique Valbelle, *The Rosetta Stone*.

55. The discovery was first announced in the French journal *Courrier de l’Égypte* 37 (29, Fructidor, Year VII [1799]), 3–4. A report of the discussion of the object at the institute appeared in *La Décade égyptienne* 3 (Year VIII [1800]), 293–94.

56. The “account of pieces of ancient sculptures taken by the British forces in Egypt from the French army” and its subsequent cataloguing and display can be found in British Museum Central Archives, Original Letters and Papers, 3:752, 759, 768–70; and Trustees’ General Meetings, 1:970.


58. Ibid., 99.


60. Mariette-Bey, *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, 7–8, 75–76.


64. Jean-François Champollion, *Lettres et journaux écrits pendant le voyage d’Égypte*, 427, translation mine.

65. Ibid., 433.
66. Ibid., 433–34.
68. See Peter France, *The Rape of Egypt*.
71. Consider, for instance, the comments of Auguste Mariette writing nearly forty years later on the lax enforcement of such antiquities laws: “Despite all the prohibitions, clandestine excavations are still practiced, particularly in Thebes, where papyri are to be found, as they are among many other monuments. Travelers only have to study up and make inquiries, not only at Thebes, but also wherever their boat stops. In this way, Mr. Harris of Alexandria formed his beautiful collection, and Madame d’Orbiney purchased piecemeal the papyrus which is now in the British Museum and which has given her name such celebrity” (*Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, 79).
72. See Elliott Colla, “The Stuff of Egypt.”
73. See Carole Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*; and Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*.
74. See Elliott Colla, “Hooked on Pharaonics.”
76. Ibid., 29. The complaint is echoed in many travel accounts from this period.
77. Ibid., 61.
78. Ibid., 153.
80. Ibid., 2.
81. Such claims were repeated in the press. See *Foreign Quarterly Review* 28 (c. 1841), 286.
83. Ibid., 4.
84. Ibid., 93.
85. Ibid., 135.
86. Ibid., 138.
87. Ibid., 145.
89. Ibid., 2:457–58.
90. Ibid., 2:458–60.
91. Ibid., 2:464–65.

THE ANTIQAKHANA (1835–55)

4. On the work and life of Wilkinson, see Jason Thompson, *Sir Gardner Wilkinson and His Circle*.
6. Ibid., 264; quoted also in Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 58.

3. Pharaonic Selves

3. Ibid., 300–301.
6. Ibid., 302.
7. See Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*.
16. Ibid., 18.
17. Ibid.
20. See the expositions, “al-Umma” and “al-Watan,” by Mubarak's contemporary Husayn al-Marsafi (1815–90), in *Risalat al-kalim al-thaman*, 41–61, 62–83. As Charles D. Smith points out, in the Arab context different words for national community and territory (*umma, qawm, milla, watan*) have had
significantly different shades of meaning. See Charles Smith, “Imagined Identities, Imagined Nationalisms.” On the evolution of vocabulary on community and territory in the nineteenth century, see Ezzat Orany, “‘Nation; ‘‘patrie; ‘‘citoyen’ chez Rifa’a al-Tahtawi et Khayr al-Din al-Tounsi.”

21. As quoted in Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 79.
22. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 79.
23. Tahtawi, Anwar Tawfiq al-jalil, 66.
25. Ibid., 65.
31. Ibid., 3:988.
32. Ibid., 3:990.
33. Ibid., 3:991.
34. Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 116–18.
35. Brugsch, as quoted ibid., 118.
36. Reid notes that while only two to three books appeared per decade on the subject of ancient Egypt during the 1870s and 1880s, the number grew to ten in the 1890s and twenty-four for the period between 1900 and 1914. Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 210.
37. Al-Hilal 2:16 (April 15, 1894), 482.
41. Ibid., 605.
42. ‘Azmi, Athaf abna’ al-‘asr, 8.
43. Jabarti also uses the word when discussing the strange use of lamps and figures during public spectacles under the French occupation. See Shmuel Moreh’s note on tamathil in Al-Jabarti’s Chronicle of Napoleon in Egypt, 61, 128.
44. ‘Alam al-Din, 948, 950–51.
46. See, for example, Anwar Tawfiq al-jalil, 65.
47. See, for example, the first published guidebook for the Giza Museum, opened in 1892, al-Khalasa al-wajiza fi-bayan ahamm al-athar al-ma’ruda bi-Mathaf al-Giza; see also “Izhar al-madfun min timthal fir’awn,” al-Manar 4:7 (May 19, 1901), 225–28.
48. Ra’masis 1:1 (February, 1912), 11.
49. Ra’masis 12:2 (1923), 162.
50. See Eve M. Troutt Powell, A Different Shade of Colonialism.
52. Ibid., 13–14.
53. Ibid., 17.
56. Ibid., 17.
57. Ahmad Najib, al-Athar al-jalil, 7.
58. Ibid., 99–100.
59. Ibid., 100.
60. Ibid., 101.
62. Cook, as quoted ibid.
63. Ibrahim Mustafa, al-Qawl al-mufid fi-athar al-Sa‘id, 10.
64. Ibid., 12–13. Arguments about the patriotic duty to tour Egypt before
touring Europe would recur often in the Egyptian press during subsequent
decades. See “Fi-l-Uqsur,” al-Balagh al-Usbu’i 1:9 (January 21, 1927); and “al-
Misri yaktashif biladahu,” al-Risala 2:60 (August 27, 1934). Other arguments
included the benefits of subsidizing Egyptian domestic tourism, as in Ahmad
Lutfi al-Sayyid, “Min al-Qahira ila Asna: al-hukuma wa-l-sahafiyan, al-jinab
al-‘ali fi-l-Uqsur, Maslahat al-athar,” al-Jarida 584 (February 10, 1909). Much
later, there were also arguments in favor of nationalizing the tourist indus-
try, from hotels to transportation, see “Tashji’ al-siyaha li-Misr: ma yajib ‘ala
al-hukuma an ta’milahu,” al-Siyasa al-Usbu’iya 2:89 (November 19, 1927);
al-Usbu’i, April 15, 1927; “Mawsam al-siyaha,” al-Risala 2:68 (October 22,
1934); and “al-Siyaha fi-Misr: wa-mata taghdu mawradan qawmiyyan?” al-
Risala 4:135 (February 3, 1936).
67. The most authoritative accounts of the culture of Pharaonism are Ger-
shoni and Jankowski, “The Egyptianist Image of Egypt: III. Pharaonicism,” in
Egypt, Islam and the Arabs, 164–90; and Charles Smith, Islam and the Search
for Social Order in Modern Egypt.
68. See Vernon Eggers, A Fabian in Egypt.
69. Citations here refer to the translation of his autobiography, The Educa-
tion of Salamah Musa, 57.
70. On Misr al-Fatat, see James P. Jankowski, Egypt’s Young Rebels.
72. Ibid., 20.
73. *Majd Ra’masis*, a popular play by Mahmud Murad, was first produced in 1923.
75. Ibid., 21–22.
76. Ibid., 22–23.
77. Ibid., 23.
79. Ibid., 37–38.
80. Ibid., 40.
81. In the Pharaonic myth, Osiris, God of the underworld and illegitimate son of Nut, wife of the sun god Ra, is killed by Set. Isis, his wife, searches for his body, finds his coffin embedded in a tamarisk tree, and takes it home. Isis brings Osiris back to life momentarily and has a child by him, Horus. Set comes across Osiris’s coffin, takes out the body, and chops it into pieces, dispersing them throughout the Nile Valley. Isis then travels the length of the valley and, burying all the pieces she can find, raises a number of temples in his honor. His penis, thrown into the Nile, is never found. Horus avenges his father’s death by fighting Set a number of times. The first time he captures Set, but Isis lets him go free. Horus eventually kills his father’s murderer. Hakim’s novel seems to have little to do with the myth on the level of plot. On the level of thematics, the connection is deliberate, even clumsy. The psychological and political transformations that occur throughout the novel are described as rebirths, resurrections, and a recollection of scattered parts.
82. Hakim, *‘Awdat al-ruh*, 40–41.
83. Ibid., 58.
84. Ibid., 60.
85. Ibid., 65–67.

**TWO PHARAOHS**

2. An earlier generation of Egyptian scholarship freely acknowledged Sanu‘s central place in the era’s political and cultural arena, calling him the father of Arab theater. See Anwar Luqa, “Masrah Ya’qub Sanu‘,” *al-Majalla* (March 15, 1961). In recent years, with the intensification of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the author’s Jewishness has been the source of discomfort.
During the 1990s, Egyptian Christians and Muslims seeking to express secular solidarity with one another resurrected the ‘Urabi slogan “Misr li-l-misriyyin” (Egypt belongs to the Egyptians). Prominent in these displays were the crescent and cross: no indications were given that the author of the phrase was Jewish. A recent study notes a lack of sources corroborating Sanu’s view of himself as “the Egyptian Molière”: Sayyid ‘Ali Isma‘īl, *Mahakamat masrah Ya‘qub Sanu*. Despite the blatant anti-Semitism of the attack, the author presents a real philological problem: to date there exist no eyewitness accounts of Sanu’s plays performed on stage. Though the motivation of the critic is objectionable—to purify early Egyptian theater of possible Jewish origin—he presents a compelling possibility: that Sanu’s dialogues (*muhawarat*) were more experimentation in print fiction than in stage production.

4. Ibid., 103–04.
8. Ibid., 67, translation mine.

4. THE DISCOVERY OF TUTANKHAMEN’S TOMB

2. Ibid., 97.
3. Ibid., 98.
6. The logic of purification (and its importance to the constitution of modern fields of autonomous knowledge) is described in Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.
8. See Colla, “Hooked on Pharaonics.”
10. Mary Louise Pratt describes this as “the narrative of anti-conquest.” See *Imperial Eyes*, 38–68.
12. Ibid., 98.
13. Ibid., 99.
14. Ibid., 162.
15. Ibid., 102.
16. Ibid., 127.
17. Ibid., 127–28.
18. Ibid., 162–64.
21. Ibid., 165.
22. This point, made in Riegl and elsewhere, has most recently been elaborated by Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*.
27. Arthur Weigall, as quoted in France, *The Rape of Egypt*, 211.
28. As quoted ibid., 211–12.
30. Ibid., 147–48.
34. Ibid., 141.
38. Ibid., 200.
40. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.
41. See, for example, Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook*.
42. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist*; and *Touring Culture*, eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry.
43. Carter, *The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamen*, 149.
44. Ibid., 150.
47. The terms of the concession were far from unusual, see Law 14 of 1912 concerning antiquities in Khater, 286–91.
48. The Tomb of Tut•Ankh•Amen: Statement, with Documents, 6.
49. Quibell, “Note on Conversation with Mr. Howard Carter, October 11, 1923,” as reprinted ibid., 13.
51. The Tomb of Tut•Ankh•Amen: Statement, with Documents, 32.
52. Ibid., 34.
54. Ibid., 47.
55. Quibell, “Note on Conversation with Mr. Howard Carter, October 11, 1923,” as reprinted ibid., 49–59.
58. Ibid., 103.
59. There were also lingering feelings of resentment between the parties. Carter worked as inspector in the Antiquities Department from 1899 to 1903 but was unfairly dismissed following an altercation at Saqqara with drunken French tourists. The account appears in James, Howard Carter, 97–120.
60. Berque, Egypt, 363–402.
61. “Khutba siyasiyya kubra li-ra’is al-hukuma al-jalil,” al-Ahram (February 16, 1924).
65. Ibid., 71.
69. Ibid., 10.
70. Ibid., 11.
71. See his collection: *Watan al-Fira’ina* (1926).
72. See his play *Izis*.
73. See his play *Masra’ Kliyupatra* (1917). Shawqi is unique in that his interest predates the Tutankhamen discovery.
74. See his play *Akhnatun, fir’awn Misr* (1927).
75. See his plays *Ikhnatun wa-Nifartiti* (1940) and *al-Fir’awn al-maw’ud* (1945).
77. See his novel *Malik min shu’a* (1945).
78. To this list must be added earlier works in a more popular vein: Mikha’il Bishara Dawud, *Bani al-fira’ina* (1915); and *Ghadat al-ahram* (1905).
79. No less important was the inspiration to Egyptian cinema. One of the first feature-length films produced in Egypt, *Wadi al-Muluk* (1924), was set in the Valley of the Kings.
83. Ibid., 2:98–99.
89. The reference appears elsewhere in literature from the period, most notably in Naguib Mahfouz’s novel *Kifah Tiba* (1944). See discussion in chapter 5.
91. Ibid., 2:159.
95. For example, compare the sensationalist, supernatural tone of “Tut Ankh Amun wa-l-Lurd Karnarfun: intiqam al-arwah” with the positivist rhetoric of an earlier piece, “al-Ajsad al-Misriyya al-muhannata tataharrak wannantahad.”
99. See, for example, Melani McAlister’s account of Anwar Sadat’s use of the King Tutankhamen exhibit to transform Egypt’s image in the United States during the 1970s: “King Tut, Commodity Nationalism, and the Politics of Oil, 1973–1979,” in *Epic Encounters*, 125–54.

**NAHDAT MISR**

1. For a comprehensive catalogue of Mukhtar’s work, see Abu Ghazi, *Mukhtar*, 157–61. On Mukhtar’s life, see Ostle, “Modern Egyptian Renaissance Man”; and the definitive study by Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, in their *Commemorating the Nation*, 27–140.
6. Al-Nahhas, as quoted in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 187.

**NOTES TO NAHDAT MISR**
9. This point is made by Gershoni and Jankowski, _Commemorating the Nation_, 187.

5. PHARAOonisM AFTer PHARAOonisM

2. Ibid., 197–98.
3. Ibid., 198.
4. Ibid., 198–99.
5. Ibid., 207–08.
8. As quoted ibid., 44.
9. Mahfouz began to translate the book while in high school: ibid., 39.
13. For a complete bibliography of Mahfouz’s early publications in magazines, see Badr, _Najib Mahfuz: al-ru‘ya wa-1-adat_, 489–501.
14. Mahfuz, _Atahaddith ilaykum_, 89.
15. Ibid., 77, 79. On Misr al-Fatat, see ibid., 79.
17. _Najib Mahfuz yatadhakkir_, 43.
18. As quoted in Mitchell, _The Society of the Muslim Brothers_, 8.
20. Ibid., 230.
23. Ibid., 21, 23, 32, 95, 131, 205.
24. Ibid., 10.
25. Ibid., 42.
26. Ibid., 11.
27. Ibid., 9.
28. Ibid., 33.
29. Herodotus, *The History*, 189–90. Herodotus names Charaxus, Sappho’s brother, as the man who paid the great fee to liberate Rhodopis from slavery on her arrival in Egypt. For her part, Sappho refers to Rhodopis as Doricha (rosy-cheeked). Elsewhere, Rhodopis is connected with the sandal dropped by an eagle into the lap of King Psammetichus. See Peled, *Religion, My Own*, 42.
33. Sa’id Jawda al-Sahhar, postface to *Kifah Tiba*, A-B.
34. See Princess Kadria Hussein, “La reine Teti-Sheri et la restauration nationale.”
37. Ibid., 68–69.
38. Ibid., 5.
39. Ibid., 78.
40. Ibid., 77.
41. Ibid., 203.
42. Ibid., 178
43. Ibid., 193, 194.
44. Ibid., 161.
45. On Qutb’s early career, see Adnan A. Musallam: “Prelude to Islamic Commitment: Sayyid Qutb’s Literary and Spiritual Orientation”; and *Sayyid Qutb: The Emergence of the Islamicist 1939–1950*. See also Olivier Carré, *Mysticism and Politics*; and William Shepard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism*.
46. On this, see Euben, *Enemy in the Mirror*, 58.
47. As quoted in Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, 41.
49. The sciences of reading the Qur’an developed historically to explain just these intratextual relations. The tasks of this tradition are formidable: to establish the historical order of the revelations that were compiled into the Qur’an; to study the specific contexts in which portions of the Qur’an were revealed; to inquire into how specific revelations addressed—admonished, reminded, encouraged—the early Muslim community as it formed itself and encountered its specific trials. The understanding of the Quranic text that emerges from this tradition is one of an address that is often immediate and direct: God speaks to his believers, answers their questions, gives advice. What this
means for reading, however, is all-important: the meaning of any particular narrative is not contained within its plot but is also tied to the other versions of the same narrative. See Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, *Mahfum al-nass*.

51. Ibid., 1353.
52. Ibid., 1256.
53. Ibid., 1413.
56. One critic who did not miss this aspect, and who developed Jameson’s observations considerably is Doris Sommer in *Foundational Fictions*.
57. Mahfouz makes this point in an incident he related often in interviews: “I remember the first literary contest I entered was the Qut al-Qulub al-Damirdashiyya contest. I entered the novel *Radubis*. Apparently the committee liked the novel. But they found some historical mistakes in it. I was surprised when . . . Ahmad Amin phoned me. He asked if I would come to meet him at the committee for authorship, translation, and publication, in ‘Abdin. I went to him. He began to talk to me generally about Pharaonic civilization, while directing many questions to me about it. My answers surprised him, and he finally said to me: ‘Frankly, I asked you to come here thinking that you knew nothing about Pharaonic civilization. But I find you know as well as an Egyptologist. I read your novel, *Radubis*, as a member of the refereeing committee, and I was surprised to find—since the novel is about the sixth dynasty—a horse-drawn chariot in the procession. You know very well that these vehicles did not come into Egypt until the Hyksos. Why did you make this historical mistake?’ At the time, I gave him an aesthetic explanation. I told him that the procession, without horse-drawn chariots, would not be as beautiful and spectacular. And that the novelistic situation necessitated this embellishment. I transgressed this simple historical fact in order to realize a kind of artistic plausibility” (Naguib Mahfouz, *Atahaddith ilaykum*, 90–91).

**CONCLUSION**

1. Again, the career of Zahi Hawass is telling in this regard, since, in him, the science of Egyptology is thoroughly entangled with the popular culture of Egyptomania. As director general of the Giza Pyramids, Saqqara, Heliopolis, and the Bahariyya Oasis, Hawass has the unpleasant task of fending off requests for excavation permits by nonscholars (so-called Pyramidiots) who believe that the Pyramids are of Atlantean origin. At the same time, he has raised