

NOTES

Haunted by Egypt (Miguel John Versluys)

- 1 It is not only this reference to Semper that I owe to Caroline van Eck. Her work on art, agency, living presence and style have profoundly shaped and sharpened my ideas over the last years, as they have this essay, a first draft of which was published as ›Une géographie intérieure: The Perpetual Presence of Egypt, *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of the Reception of Ancient Egypt* 3. *Mnemohistory and Cultural Memory. Essays in Honour of Jan Assmann* (2018) pp. 159–166 (<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/aegyp/article/view/49002/42495> (accessed June 7, 2019)).
- 2 William Kentridge, *Carnets d'Égypte*, Paris: Éditions Dilecta / Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2010, p. 55: »Il y a aussi trois dessins que j'ai faits au Louvre. Deux d'entre eux représentent des babouins égyptiens en granit, le troisième un gardien du musée se reposant sur la chaise«. [...] »Après les babouins, je n'ai plus rien dessiné au Louvre«.
- 3 William Kentridge (as fn. 2), p. 56.
- 4 See also the discussion on the concept of ›mythistory‹ by Pascal Griener in his contribution to this volume, with reference to Joseph Mali, *Mythistory. The Making of a Modern Historiography*, Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- 5 For recent discussions on the ›reception‹ of Egypt see the remainder of this essay as well as the other three contributions to Part 1 of this book. The instalment, in 2017, of the online Journal *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* from Heidelberg by Florian Ebeling is very important for this development, as is the recent volume edited by Corinne Bonnet, Laurent Bricault and Carole Gomez, *Les mille et une vies d'Isis. La réception des divinités du cercle isiaque de la fin de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Toulouse: PUM, 2020. For what is often characterised as ›the material turn‹ see, e.g., Dan Hicks, The Material-Cultural Turn: event and effect, in: Dan Hicks & Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 25–98; Ian Hodder, Human-Thing Entanglement: Towards an Integrated Archaeological Perspective, in: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (2010), pp. 154–177 and Bjørnar Olsen, *In Defense of Things. Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*, Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2010 as well as the contribution

by David Fontijn to this volume. Fundamental for this approach in more general terms still Bruno Latour, *Nous n'avons jamais été modernes. Essai d'anthropologie symétrique*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1991.

6 For reception studies and Egypt see the important article by Stephanie Moser, *Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt*, in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22/4 (2015), pp. 1263–1308 and its large bibliography.

7 James Porter rightly observes: »Archaeology and material culture have reception histories of their own that deserve to be recovered«, James Porter, *Reception Studies: Future Prospects*, in: L. Hardwick, C. Stray (eds.), *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 469–481, p. 474.

8 See the recent article by Jan Assmann, *Die Aura der Dinge. Lektüren einer altägyptischen Fayence-Schale*, in: Hans Peter Hahn (ed.), *Vom Eigensinn der Dinge. Für eine neue Perspektive auf die Welt des Materiellen*. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag 2015, pp. 101–126.

9 For world history as human-thing entanglement see Caroline van Eck, Miguel John Versluys, Pieter ter Keurs, *The Biography of Cultures: Style, Objects and Agency. Proposal for an Interdisciplinary Approach*, *Cahiers de l'École du Louvre. Recherches en histoire de l'art, histoire des civilisations, archéologie, anthropologie et muséologie* [online] 7 (2015), pp. 2–22. In these discussions about what objects do – or even what objects want, see W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures »Really« Want?*, in: *October* 77 (1996), pp. 71–82, and Chris Gosden, *What Do Objects Want?*, in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12 (2005), pp. 193–211 – the difficult question of representation is often overlooked. It is clear for many and has been well explored by now that we need to move »beyond representation« to really understand what objects do and why they have an impact on humans. What place there should be for representation within the material turn, however, is less well understood. For »Aegyptiaca«, this problem has been dealt with by Eva Mol, *Egypt in Material and Mind. The Use and Perception of Aegyptiaca in Roman Domestic Contexts of Pompeii* (unpublished PhD thesis). Leiden: Leiden University, 2015 (forthcoming as a monograph from Oxford University Press in the near future).

10 Gottfried Semper developed this observation on the porphyry and granite monuments from Egypt into a more general theory on the *Eigensinn* of materials in his opus magnum *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik* (1860–1863): »[...] ist die Herrschaft über den Stoff nicht intelligenter und eben so mächtig, wenn man in ihm auch seinen Eigensinn respektiert, ihn sich seiner Natur gemäß ohne Zwang dienstbar macht?« (edition Friedrich Piel, Mittenwald: Mäander-Kunstverlag 1977, vol. II, p. 256), see, also for this idea more in general, Monika Wagner, *Vom »Eigensinn« des Materials: Edward Munchs »Holzstil«*, in: Hans Peter Hahn (ed.), *Vom Eigensinn der Dinge. Für eine neue Perspektive auf die Welt des Materiellen*. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015, pp. 81–100.

11 For how this worked in Egypt itself see now the volume edited by Tod Gillen, *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*. Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017.

12 See in particular his *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997 (*Moses der Ägypter. Entzifferung einer Gedächtnisspur*, München: Fischer, 1998); *L'Égypte ancienne entre mémoire et science*, Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2009, and *Religio Duplex, How the Enlightenment Reinvented Egyptian Religion*, New York: John Wiley, 2014. Note also Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann (eds.), *Hieroglyphen. Stationen einer anderen abendländischen Grammatologie*, München: Fink, 2003.

13 Miguel John Versluys, *Exploring Aegyptiaca and their material agency throughout global history*, in: Tamar Hodos et al. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 74–89, published online in *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* 1 (2017), pp. 122–144, <http://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/aegyp/article/viewFile/40167/33826> (accessed June 7, 2019).

14 Ronald R. Fritze, *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy*, London: Reaction Books, 2016. Books like Bob Brier's *Egyptomania. Our Three Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) fall within the same category.

15 See already the important note by Helen Whitehouse, *Egyptomanias*, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 101.1 (1997), pp. 158–161, now with the article by Moser (as fn. 6).

16 Noreen Doyle, The Earliest Known Uses of »L'Égyptomanie« / »Egyptomania« in French and English, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 8 (2016), pp. 122–125, <http://jaei.library.arizona.edu> (accessed June 7, 2019). See also the remarks by Jean-Marcel Humbert in his contribution to the present volume.

17 The thought-provoking book by Elliot Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008, for instance, has a similar intellectual agenda as the present volume although it carries »Egyptomania« in its title – and there are many more notable exceptions, like Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Ägyptomanie. Europäische Ägyptenimagination von der Antike bis heute*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2000.

18 He defines the concept well for his own field of research, that of the visual arts, as »des copies et adaptations de l'art égyptien antique dans notre monde moderne et contemporain«, see, amongst many other contributions, Jean-Marcel Humbert, *L'Égyptomanie, sources, thèmes et symboles, Étude de la réutilisation des thèmes décoratifs empruntés à l'Égypte ancienne dans l'art occidental du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*, thèse de doctorat d'État soutenue à Paris-Sorbonne en 1987, Lille: Lille 3 ANRT, 1990; Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi, Christiane Ziegler, *Egyptomania, L'Égypte dans l'art occidental, 1730–1930*, catalogue d'exposition (1994–1995), Paris-Ottawa-Vienne: RMN, 1994, and Jean-Marcel Humbert, *L'Égyptomanie dans l'art occidental*, Paris-Courbevoie: ACR, 1989, as well as his contribution to the present volume, also for the definition.

19 As also Jan Assmann and Florian Ebeling conclude in their contribution to this volume. Also here there are notable exceptions, for instance the important work by Brian Curran, see his fundamental *The Egyptian Renaissance. The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007 and Brian A. Curran, Anthony Grafton, Pamela O. Long, Benjamin Weiss, *Obelisk. A History*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009.

20 Siegfried Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1969, and Peter Ucko (ed.), *Encounters with Ancient Egypt*, London, UCL Press: 2003, 8 volumes: O'Connor, D. and Reid, A. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, Jeffreys, D. (ed.), *Views of Ancient Egypt Since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, Matthews, R. and Roemer, C. (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, MacDonald, S. and Rice, M. (eds.), *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, O'Connor, D. and Quirke, S. (eds.), *Mysterious Lands*, Ucko, P. and Champion, T. (eds.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, Humbert, J.-M. and Price, C. (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture*, Tait, J. (ed.), »Never Had the Like Occurred: Egypt's View of its Past. Both are contextualised and commented upon by Florian Ebeling in his contribution to this volume (Assmann/Ebeling).

21 See my article entitled »Exploring Aegyptiaca and their material agency throughout global history« (as fn. 13) for more (theoretical) background and an attempt to at least picture what this *longue durée* might look like (pp. 79–82) and how we should account for it (p. 84–86).

22 Note that the essay by Jean-Marcel Humbert from Part I includes a case study on the uses of Egypt in 20th century publicity while the contribution of Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt in Part III deals with an example from 2013, thus bringing the long term overview that the book as a whole provides up to the present day.

23 For this formulation see Jan Assmann, Ägypten als Argument. Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit und Religionskritik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 264 (1997), pp. 561–585.

24 For material agency see fn. 5 above as well as the contribution by David Fontijn to this volume.

- 25 For such a perspective see Caroline Vout, *Classical Art. A Life History from Antiquity to the Present*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- 26 For the concept of style, see the contribution by Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt to this volume; for the concept of materiality the essay by Stephanie Moser.
- 27 See the overview provided by part 1 (The Bronze Age, 2000–1100 BC) of the splendid exh. cat. *Beyond the Nile. Egypt and the Classical world* (J. Spier, T. Potts, S.E. Cole (eds.)), Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum 2018), pp. 8–69.
- 28 Joan Aruz et al. (eds.), *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*, New Haven & London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.
- 29 The situation was, of course, more complex and nuanced and therefore the subject needs much more attention, see already Alfred Grimm, Sylvia Schoske (eds.), *Winckelmann und Ägypten: die Wiederentdeckung der ägyptischen Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert. Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst*. Exh. cat. Winckelmann-Memorialmuseum Stendal, Stendal: Winckelmann-Ges., 2004.
- 30 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Dresden, 1764, pp. 33–34.
- 31 See Miguel John Versluys, Haunting Traditions. The (Material) Presence of Egypt in the Roman World, in: D. Boschung, A. Busch, M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Reinventing The Invention of Tradition? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*, Paderborn: Fink, 2015, pp. 127–158, and, for an overview, now the exh. cat. *Beyond the Nile* (as fn. 27).

The Mnemohistory of Egypt (Jan Assmann and Florian Ebeling)

- 1 This is a shared paper and both authors agree with the content; the first part (*History, Mnemohistory and Egypt*) is written by Jan Assmann and the second part, starting with the paragraph *Encountering Egypt: Historiography and Terminology*, by Florian Ebeling.
- 2 The hexameter goes back to Hermagoras of Temnos and it was attributed to Cicero by Thomas Aquinas and others, see D. W. Robertson, A Note on the Classical Origin of »Circumstances« in the Medieval Confessional, in: *Studies in Philology* 43.1 (1946), pp. 6–14.
- 3 Josephus Flavius, *Contra Apionem*, in: Menachem Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 78–86.
- 4 Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1997; German: Jan Assmann, *Moses der Ägypter. Entzifferung einer Gedächtnisspur*, Munich: Fischer, 1998.
- 5 Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (as fn. 4), pp. 23–54; cf. Dimitri Laboury, *Akhénaton*, Paris: Pygmalion 2010, pp. 362–364.
- 6 Aleida Assmann distinguishes in this sense between »afterlife« and »aftermath«. See Aleida Assmann, Cultural Memory and the Concept of »Afterlife«, in Marek Tamm (ed.), *Afterlife of Events. Perspectives on Mnemohistory*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 79–94. In the context of Hans Georg Gadamer's hermeneutics »Wirkungsgeschichte« is usually translated by »effective history«.
- 7 Further evidence for the presence of the Amarna experience in Late Egyptian collective memory is presented by Diodorus Siculus. In chap. 64 of the first book of his *Bibliotheca historica*, he speaks of the three great pyramids and reports two different traditions about their builders (I, 64: 13). The first ascribes them to Khufu (Cheops), Khafre (Chephren) and Menkaure (Mycerinus). But there is another tradition ascribing them to Harmaios (Horemheb), Amasis (Ahmose) and Inaros (Inaros I), respectively. That can only refer to the three most traumatic periods in Egyptian history and the pharaohs who are credited with putting them to an end: Horemheb put an end to the Amarna revolt, Ahmose drove out the Hyksos, and Inaros I heroically led the resistance against the Assyrians; cf. Kim Ryholt, *Egyptian Historical Literature from the Greco-Roman Period*, in Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Ereignis. Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*, London: Golden House Publications, 2009, pp. 709–731, esp. pp. 236f.

- 8 Hans Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 6th ed., Tübingen: Mohr, 1990, p. 295. Cf. Florian Ebeling, Hans Georg Gadamer's »history of effect« and its application to the pre-Egyptological concept of ancient Egypt, in: *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* 4 (2019), pp. 55–73 (<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/aegyp/article/view/66093/58908>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/aegyp.2019.4.66093>).
- 9 »Rezeptionsgeschichte«, »Wirkungsgeschichte« and »unmittelbare Sagkraft« are all based on Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, but the terms are stressing different aspects depending on whether the focus is on the object (a book or a work of art) of reception or on the condition of the encounter with the object as pointed out below.
- 10 »Such a phenomenon cannot be forgotten anymore«, Immanuel Kant, *Der Streit der Fakultäten*, Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1798, §7.
- 11 »[...] c'est du présent que part l'appel auquel le souvenir répond«, Henri Bergson, *Matière et Mémoire, Essai sur la relation de corps à l'esprit*, Paris: Alcan, 1939, p. 91.
- 12 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* III, 3–4, quoting Hecataeus of Abdera (c. 310 BCE) after Pierre Marestaing, *Les écritures égyptiennes et l'antiquité classique*, Paris: Geuthner, 1913, pp. 48f.
- 13 Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* III, 3–4.
- 14 Assmann, 1997 (as fn. 4), pp. 24–26.
- 15 See also Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959; Jan Assmann, *Religio Duplex, How the Enlightenment Reinvented Egyptian Religion*, New York: John Wiley, 2014.
- 16 Horapollon, *Hori Apollonis Hieroglyphica*, ed. Francesco Sbordone, Naples: Loffredo, 1940.
- 17 Hermes Trismegistus, *Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. and trans. Arthur Darby Nock and André-Jean Festugière, Paris: Collection Budé. Les Belles Lettres, 1945–1954, 4 vol. There is a more recent translation by Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica. The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation with Notes and Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. For the hermeticism as a part of the mnemohistory of ancient Egypt see: Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistos*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- 18 The most famous example is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna, first published 1499; for an English translation see: J. Godwin (ed.), Francesco Colonna: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The Strife of Love in a Dream*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- 19 For the discussion of this problem see: Martin Mulsow (ed.), *Das Ende des Hermetismus. Historische Kritik und neue Naturphilosophie in der Spätrenaissance*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.
- 20 See Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann (eds.), *Hieroglyphen. Stationen einer anderen abendländischen Grammatologie*, Munich: Fink, 2003.
- 21 Assmann 2014 (as fn. 15), pp. 114–148.
- 22 Cf. Jan Assmann, *L'Égypte ancienne entre mémoire et science*, Paris: Hazan, 2009.
- 23 Jan Assmann, Ägypten als Argument. Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit und Religionskritik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 264 (1997), pp. 561–585.
- 24 A new more documentary and real object-oriented aesthetic can be seen in the documentation of the expeditions since 18th, e.g. in Frederic Louis Norden, *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie* (1755). The exhibition took place in 1737/8. The documentation and drawings of the expedition have been published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters under order of Frederick V of Denmark 1755.
- 25 First attempts to overcome these unstructured approaches have been made by conferences in Wolfenbüttel in 2012 organized by Jan Assmann and Florian Ebeling and in Leiden organized by Caro-

line van Eck and Miguel John Versluys. Since 2017 an Online-Open Access Journal is dedicated to this topic: <http://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/aegyp> (accessed May 15, 2019), see in particular: Miguel John Versluys, Exploring Aegyptiaca and their Material Agency throughout Global History, in: *Aegyptiaca* 3 (2017), pp. 122–144.

26 A notorious example is an article by Adolf Ermann on Athanasius Kircher in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 16 (1882), pp. 1–4.

27 Karl Giehlow, *Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance*, Leipzig and Vienna: Freytag and Tempisky, 1915. Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften in der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen*, Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923.

28 Preface to the edition from 1993.

29 Siegfried Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Zurich: Artemis, 1969.

30 »Masstabgerechtes Begreifen«, *ibid.*, pp. 131–70.

31 Morenz appreciated Athanasius Kircher's achievements in Coptic studies. Otherwise he is writing about Kircher's »trübsinnige[s] Scheitern seiner ägyptologischen Studien« without discussing Kircher's theological or philosophical intentions in writing about Egypt, *ibid.*, p. 125.

32 Juris Baltrušaitis, *La Quête d'Isis: essai sur la légende d'un mythe. Introduction à l'Égyptomanie*, Paris: Perrin, 1967.

33 After the book on hieroglyphs Iversen also published *Obelisk in Exile*, vol. 1: *The Obelisks of Rome*, Gad: Copenhagen, 1968; vol. 2: *The Obelisks of Istanbul and England*, Gad: Copenhagen, 1968; *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1984.

34 Cf. Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance. The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007, pp. 10–12; Jean-Marcel Humbert, ed., *L'Égyptomanie dans l'art Occidental*, Paris: ACR Editions, 1989; Noreen Doyle, The Earliest Known Uses of 'l'égyptomanie'/'Egyptomania' in French and English, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 8 (2016), pp. 122–125.

35 Jean-Marcel Humbert, Clifford Price (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture*, London, UCL Press: 2003.

36 Nevertheless, there are some good books labelled with this term, just to name one: Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Ägyptomanie. Europäische Ägyptenimagination von der Antike bis heute*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2000.

37 Peter Ucko (ed.), *Encounters with ancient Egypt*, London, UCL Press: 2003, 8 volumes: O'Connor, D. and Reid, A. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, Jeffreys, D. (ed.), *Views of Ancient Egypt Since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, Matthews, R. and Roemer, C. (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, MacDonald, S. and Rice, M. (eds.), *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, O'Connor, D. and Quirke, S. (eds.), *Mysterious Lands*, Ucko, P. and Champion, T. (eds.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, Humbert, J.-M. and Price, C. (eds.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture*, Tait, J. (ed.), *Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of its Past*.

38 This does not mean that the authors using these terms actually working by means of the methodological implications.

39 E.g. Alan B. Lloyd, The Reception of Pharaonic Egypt in Classical Antiquity, in Alan B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp. 1067–1085; Heike Biedermann, Andreas Dehmer, Henrik Karge (eds.), *Imagination und Anschauung: Ägyptenrezeption und Ägyptenreisen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2015; Molly Youngkin, *British Woman Writers and the Reception of Ancient Egypt, 1840–1910*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

40 Morenz 1969 (as fn. 29), pp. 15–24.

41 The question of which precondition was the most dominant one is dependent on the discourse: it might be Egypt as the home of idolity, a symbolic culture, imperialistic representation, wisdom, despotism amongst others.

42 »[...] eine unaufhebbare Differenz zwischen dem Interpreten und dem Urheber, die durch den geschichtlichen Abstand gegeben ist.« Gadamer 1990 (as fn. 8), p. 301.

43 Gadamer 1990 (as fn. 8), p. 301.

44 Ibid., pp. 305–312.

45 »Ägyptenmode« seems to indicate a similar increased interest and in addition the idea that it was something ephemeral.

46 Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes. From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Okasha El Daly, *Egyptology the Missing Millennium. Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings*, London: UCL Press, 2005.

47 Nonetheless the term is perfectly suitable to describe the encounters with Egypt in the Renaissance period, cf. Curran 2007 (as fn. 34).

48 Florian Ebeling, Ägyptische Mysterien bei Max Klee und Paul Slevogt. Eine Wirkungsgeschichte jenseits von Orientalismus und Ägyptologie, in: Heike Biedermann, Andreas Dehmer, Henrik Karge (eds.), *Imagination und Anschauung: Ägyptenrezeption und Ägyptenreisen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2015, pp. 66–74.

49 Steve Vinson, Janet Gunn, The Enigmatic Friendship of Aleister Crowley and Battiscombe Gunn, in William Carruthers (ed.), *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, New York et al.: Routledge, 2015, pp. 96–112.

50 David O'Connor, Andrew Reid (eds.), *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, London: UCL Press, 2003, the first article is written by Martin Bernal.

51 Henrik Bogdan, Joannes Augustinus Maria Snoek (eds.), *Handbook of Freemasonry*, Leiden: Brill 2014, p. 424f.

52 William Hamilton in 1815 is referring to Volneys interpretation of the sphinx and Herodot II, 103–105, cf. Thomas Reinhardt, *Geschichte des Afrozentrismus. Imaginiertes Afrika und afroamerikanische Identität*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2002, pp. 184–187.

53 »[...] the book is an attempt to show that the true authors of Greek philosophy were not the Greeks; but the people of North Africa, commonly called the Egyptians; and the praise and honour falsely given to the Greeks for centuries belong to the people of North Africa, and therefore to the African continent. Consequently, this theft of the African legacy by the Greeks led to the erroneous world opinion that the African continent has made no contribution to civilization, and that its people are naturally backward. This is the misrepresentation that has become the basis of race prejudice, which has affected all people of colour.« George Granville Monah James, *Stolen Legacy*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1954, p. 7.

54 Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, 3 vol. 1987, 1991, 2006.

55 Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism. Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes*, London: Verso, 1998, pp. 66–72.

Plaidoyer pour l'Égyptomanie, ou Comment s'Approprier une Égypte Fantasmée (Jean-Marcel Humbert)

- 1 De nombreux articles touchant à tel ou tel aspect particulier de réemploi de l'art égyptien ancien, publiés dès le début du XX^e siècle, préparent à partir du milieu des années 1950 des études plus complètes: Nikolaus Pevsner, Susan Lang, *The Egyptian Revival*, in: *The Architectural Review*, CXIX (1956), et réédité in Nikolaus Pevsner, *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design*, vol. I: *From Mannerism to Romanticism*, Londres: Thames & Hudson, 1968, pp. 212–235; Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Copenhagen: G.E.C. GAI Publishers, 1961; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Essai sur la légende d'un mythe. La Quête d'Isis. Introduction à l'égyptomanie*, Paris: Olivier Perrin, 1967; Anne Rouillet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972; Richard G. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival, Its Sources, Monuments and Meaning, 1808–1858*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978; James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, Londres: George Allen & Unwin, 1982; Jean-Marcel Humbert, *L'Égyptomanie, sources, thèmes et symboles. Étude de la réutilisation des thèmes décoratifs empruntés à l'Égypte ancienne dans l'art occidental du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*, thèse de doctorat d'État soutenue à Paris-Sorbonne en 1987, Lille: Lille 3 ANRT, 1990; Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi et Christiane Ziegler, *Egyptomania, L'Égypte dans l'art occidental, 1730–1930*, catalogue d'exposition (1994–1995), Paris, Ottawa et Vienne: RMN, 1994.
- 2 Noreen Doyle, *The Earliest Known Uses of »L'Égyptomanie«/»Egyptomania« in French and English*, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 8 (2016), pp. 122–125, <http://jaei.library.arizona.edu> (accès août 31, 2017).
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Aegyptiaca (Ann C. Gunter)

- 1 I am grateful to Caroline van Eck and Miguel John Versluys for including me in the remarkable conference »A Cultural Biography of Egypt«, which they hosted in Leiden in January 2016, and to the other participants for their stimulating papers and excellent company. I owe special thanks to Miguel John Versluys for his generous and helpful comments during the revision process, which have substantially improved my contribution.
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- 30** Bumke 2012 (as fn. 28), pp. 15–18. She observes that the well-known Pedon statue found at Priene, whose inscription records a gift from an Ionian soldier in service to Psammetichus I, is a block statue in the form of a typical Egyptian dignitary.
- 31** Bumke 2012 (as fn. 28), p. 19.
- 32** Webb 2016 (as fn. 20), p. 187.
- 33** Webb 2016 (as fn. 20), p. 193.
- 34** Jeremy Tanner, Finding the Egyptian in Early Greek Art, in: R. Matthews, C. Roemer (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, London: UCL Press, 2003, p. 120, offers a related observation on the bronzes' spectacular effect among Samian votives.
- 35** Kousoulis and Morenz 2007 (as fn. 27), pp. 179–192, on the material impact of Saite dedications at Rhodian sanctuaries. Günther Hölbl, *Aegyptiaca aus Al Mina und Tarsos im Verande des Nord-syrisch-Südostanatolischen Raumes*, Archäologische Forschungen Bd. 28, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017, pp. 19–22, 31–32, on Saite activity in Cilicia and north Syria in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.
- 36** Webb 2016 (as fn. 20), pp. 186–187.
- 37** Hölbl 2014 (as fn. 24), esp. pp. 184–185. For the Artemis sanctuary at Ephesos, see Hölbl 2008 (as fn. 24).
- 38** Peter S. Wells, *How Ancient Europeans Saw the World: Vision, Pattern, and the Shaping of the Mind in Prehistorical Times*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 22–51.
- 39** Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9).
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- 42** Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), pp. 15–16; pl. 40a, b, d, for the others from Tomb II, all inscribed; p. 29; pl. 104, from Tomb III, Coffin 1, inscribed for the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu; p. 34, pls. 138–139, uninscribed, from Tomb III, Coffin 2.
- 43** J.-W. Meyer, Die Silberschale VA 14 117 – ägyptisch oder phönizisch? in: *Studia Phoenicia* 5 (1987), pp. 167–80, with previous literature; Eric Gubel, Multicultural and Multimedial Aspects of Early Phoenician Art, c. 1200–675 BCE, in: C. Uehlinger (ed.), *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium BCE)*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175, Freiburg-Göttingen: University Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, pp. 194–195.
- 44** Gubel 2000 (as fn. 43), p. 195.
- 45** Wicke with Fischer and Busch 2011 (as fn. 41), pp. 126–136.
- 46** Wicke with Fischer and Busch (as fn. 41), p. 141. See also Eckart Frahm, Family Matters: Psycho-historical Reflections on Sennacherib and His Time, in: I. Kalimi and S. Richardson (eds.), *Sennacherib at the Gates of Jerusalem: Story, History and Historiography*, Boston: Brill, 2014, pp. 179–189, with further references.
- 47** Amy Rebecca Gansell, Dressing the Neo-Assyrian Queen in Identity and Ideology: Elements and Ensembles from the Royal Tombs at Nimrud, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 122 (2018), pp. 65–100.

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- 49 Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), p. 8 (ND 1988.46a), pl. 14a.
- 50 Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), p. 5 (ND 1988.19), pl. 15b.
- 51 Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), p. 6, pl. 13a; the author suggests that the inscription perhaps names the god Horus.
- 52 Frans A. M. Wiggermann, Pazuzu, in: D. O. Edzard, M. P. Streck (eds.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 10 (2003–2005), p. 377, with further references. See also Nils Heeßel, Pazuzu, in: *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East*, 2007 http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_pazuzu.pdf, (accessed May 17, 2019). See further Oskar Kaelin, Pazuzu, Lamaschtu-Reliefs und Horus-Stelen – Ägypten als Modell im 1. Jt. v. Chr., in: S. Bickel, S. Schroer, R. Schurte, C. Uehlinger (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen/Images as Sources: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Sonderband, Fribourg-Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, pp. 365–378.
- 53 Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), pp. 15–16; pls. 40a–d, 42a. For the gold seal inscribed for Hama, recovered from Tomb III, Coffin 2, see Spurrier 2017 (as fn. 40), pp. 155–158.
- 54 Hussein with Altaweel and Gibson 2016 (as fn. 9), p. 16; pl. 43c.
- 55 Karen Radner, After Eltekeh. Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court, in: H. Baker, K. Kaniuth, A. Otto (eds.), *Stories of Long Ago. Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 397, Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2012, pp. 471–479, with further references, discusses high-level interaction between ruling Delta families and the Assyrian court in the late eighth century BCE.
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- 57 Karen Radner, The Assyrian King and His Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools, in: M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honor of Simo Parpola*, Studia Orientalis 106, Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009, pp. 223–226, with further references; van der Brugge 2017 (as fn. 56).

L'Égypte des uns n'est pas Toujours l'Égypte des Autres (Laurent Bricault)

- 1 Stratonicee (125–85 av. J.-C.): AR 12 mm; 1.45 g; cp. *BMC Caria*, 1–5.
- 2 Cos (167–88 av. J.-C.): AR 14 mm; 3.42 g; cp. *BMC Caria*, 133.
- 3 Halicarnasse (2nd cent. Av. J.-C.): AE 18 mm; 5.25 g; cp. *BMC Caria*, 20.
- 4 Myndos AR (167–88 av. J.-C.): AR 18 mm; 3,74 g; cp. *SNG vAulock* 8116.
- 5 Thessalie, Magnètes (168–140 av. J.-C.): AR 19 mm; 3,89 g; cp. *BMC Thessaly*, 1; *BCD Thessaly* II, 415.2.

- 6 Thrace, Mostis (125–86 av. J.-C.): AE 20 mm; 5.67g; cp. SNG BM 311.
- 7 Barclay V. Head, *BMC Caria*, lxxix; Andrew R. Meadows, Stratonikeia in Caria. The Hellenistic City and its Coinage, in: NC 162 (2002), pp. 79–124, part. 98; Christina Gr. Williamson, Sanctuaries as Turning Points in Territorial Formation. Lagina, Panamara and the Development of Stratonikeia, in: F. Pirson (éd.), *Manifestationen von Macht und Hierarchien in Stadtraum und Landschaft*, Byzas 13, Istanbul: Phoibos, 2012, pp. 113–150, part. 121–123.
- 8 Asklépios dont l'image, à partir de 166 av. J.-C., tend à éclipser celle d'Héraklès dans le monnayage de Cos; cf. Barclay V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.*, London: Longmans, 1897, xcv; Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders: Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 36.
- 9 Les habitants ont fait d'Anthès, un fils de Poséidon venu de Trézène, le fondateur de leur cité, comme le rapportent Strabon, *Géographie*, 8.6.14 et 14.2.16 ou encore Étienne de Byzance, s.v. Halikarnassos; cf. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, The Pride of Halicarnassus, ZPE 124 (1999), pp. 1–14, part. 8–9; Signe Isager, On a List of Priests. From the Son of Poseidon to Members of the Elite in Late Hellenistic Halikarnassos, in: J. Fejfer, M. Moltesen, A. Rathje (éd.), *Tradition. Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, Acta Hyperborea 14, København: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2014, pp. 131–148, part. 144; Fr. de Polignac, Constructions, interprétations et représentations culturelles de l'espace: les paysages religieux maritimes, in: *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 122 (2015), pp. 195–200.
- 10 Denver Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011, p. 43; Peter Thonemann, *The Hellenistic World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 71.
- 11 Evgeni Paunov, The Coinage of the Thracian King Mostis: Recent Finds, Chronology, Distribution and Localisation, in: K. Dörtlük, O. Tekin, R. Boyraz Seyhan (éd.), *First International Congress of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics, Antalya 25–28 February 2013, Proceedings*, Istanbul: Suna-İnan Kıraç, 2014, pp. 457–480, part. 459.
- 12 Si l'on considère seulement les quatre principaux trésors contenant des drachmes myndiennes dont on connaît l'existence, on obtient un total de plus de 600 monnaies. Ainsi *Coin Hoards* VIII 481, enfoui ca 150 av. J.-C. à Myndos et découvert en 1987 (aujourd'hui dispersé dans le commerce), contenait plus de 1000 monnaies d'argent dont 188 de Myndos, 3 de Iasos, 1 de Mylasa, 33 d'Halicarnasse et 23 de Bargylia (signalé par R.H.J. Ashton, NC 1992, p. 32, D). De son côté, *CH* VIII 482 (peut-être une partie ou un complément de *CH* VIII 481), enfoui également ca 150 av. J.-C. en Carie et découvert en 1989 (aujourd'hui dispersé dans le commerce), contenait plus de 30 monnaies d'argent dont 22 de Myndos et 8 d'Halicarnasse. Pour sa part, *CH* VIII 485, enfoui ca 100 av. J.-C. (en Carie ?), et découvert avant 1934 (aujourd'hui au Musée des civilisations anatoliennes d'Ankara), contenait 274 monnaies d'argent dont 170 de Myndos, 103 d'Halicarnasse et 1 de Cnide. Enfin, *CH* IX, 522, découvert en 1996, contenait environ 300 drachmes de Myndos, une dizaine de drachmes d'Halicarnasse et peut-être une soixantaine de fractions (trouaille publiée partiellement par Barbara Zabel & Andrew R. Meadows, The »Myndos« 1996 Hoard, in: *CH* IX [London, 2003], 244–252 et pl. 42–44 illustrant 144 monnaies).
- 13 Une dizaine d'inscriptions tout au plus; cf. Wolfgang Blümel, Mustafa H. Sayar, Ehrendekret von Stratonikeia in Myndos, in: *EA* 44 (2011), p. 119, qui publie la plus ancienne inscription de la cité, datée du début du II^e s. av. J.-C., découverte lors des nouvelles fouilles turques. La majorité des 39 inscriptions rangées sous le nom de Myndos par Donald F. McCabe, *Myndos inscriptions. Texts and list*, Princeton: The Institute for Advanced Study, 1991, n'ont rien à voir avec la cité elle-même.
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47 Cf. par exemple une émission de Patras au nom de Cléopâtre VII (notre fig. 5) figurant un *basileion* au revers comme type à part entière: *RPC* I 258–259, no. 1245; *SNRIS* 91–92 et 235, Patrae 1; voir aussi Emily Haug, Local Politics in the Late Republic: Antony and Cleopatra at Patras, in: *AJN* 20 (2008), pp. 405–420.

48 Arnaud Saura-Ziegelmeyer, Le sistre. Un exemple d'élément culturel polysémique, in: *SMSR* 79 (2013), pp. 379–395.

49 Laurent Bricault, *Isis, Dame des flots, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 7, Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, 2006, pp. 155–167; Malaise 2009 (as fn. 42), p. 173–193.

Aegyptiaca Romana (Molly Swetnam-Burland)

1 I offer my deep thanks to Miguel John Versluys and Caroline van Eck for bringing together an incredible group of scholars and for rich, many-layered discussions at the conference, «A Cultural Biography of Egypt», held in Leiden in January 2016. For the approach to style and agency adopted here, see the Introduction and Caroline van Eck, Miguel John Versluys, Pieter ter Keurs. The Biography of Cultures: Style, Objects and Agency, in: *Proposal for an Interdisciplinary Approach. Cahiers de l'École du Louvre: recherches en histoire de l'art, histoire des civilisations archéologie, anthropologie et museology* 7 (2015), pp. 2–22.

2 The last two decades have witnessed increased interest in the Roman reception of Egypt on many fronts, archaeological, historical, literary, and religious. The bibliography is vast. For Roman engagements with the place of Egypt as mediated by material culture, I direct the reader especially to the path-breaking work of Miguel John Versluys and to my own discussions of the phenomenon. I here cite a few works representative of our approaches, by no means exhaustive. In addition, within the last two years, new work and several doctoral theses have appeared, often exploring the use of theoret-

ical frameworks. I direct the reader to these as cited in the notes below. For Miguel John Versluys' work, see, e.g.: Miguel John Versluys. *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt*. RGRW 144. Leiden: Brill, 2002; Miguel John Versluys. The (Material) Presence of Egypt in the Roman World, in: Dietrich Boschung, Alexandra Busch, Miguel John Versluys (eds.), *Reinventing the »Invention of Tradition: Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present, Morphomata 32*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015, pp. 127–158; Miguel John Versluys. Egypt as Part of the Roman Koine: Mnemohistory and the Iseum Campense in Rome, in: S. Nagel, J. F. Quack, and C. Witschel (eds.), *Entangled Worlds. Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire The Cults of Isis, Mithras, and Jupiter Dolichenus*, Tübingen: Siebeck, 2017, pp. 274–294. For my own work, see, e.g.: Molly Swetnam-Burland, Egyptian Objects, Roman Contexts. A Taste for *Aegyptiaca* in Italy, in: M. J. Versluys, P. G. P. Meyboom, L. Bricault (eds.), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Leiden, May 11–14, 2005*, RGRW 159, 2007, pp. 113–136; Molly Swetnam-Burland, *Aegyptus Redacta. The Egyptian Obelisk in the Augustan Campus Martius*, in *Art Bulletin* xcii no. 3 (2010), pp. 135–153; Molly Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy. Visions of Egypt in Roman Imperial Culture*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

3 In so doing, I follow an approach that advocates for bringing small finds and graffiti to bear on traditional art historical questions. See especially Bettina Bergmann, *Realia*. Portable and Painted Objects from the Villa of Boscoreale, in: Alix Barbet, Annie Verbanck-Piérard (eds.), *La villa romaine de Boscoreale et ses fresques, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Arles: Errance, 2013, pp. 3–27; and Molly Swetnam-Burland, Encountering Ovid's Phaedra in Pompeii V 2, 10–11, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 119.2 (2015), pp. 217–232.

4 See Neil Harris, Period Room Architecture in American Art Museums, in: *Winterthur Portfolio* 46.2/3, (2012), pp. 117–138, for history and discussion of the period room display in American museums. For discussion of the two period rooms in the context of the renovated Roman galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2007, see John R. Clarke, Museum Review: Rethinking Space, Light, and Pedagogy, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 112.1 (2008), pp. 173–177.

5 Peter H. von Blanckenhagen, Christine Alexander. *The Augustan Villa at Boscoreale*, Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1990, pp. 5–10 and pl. 2–3.

6 See Mariette de Vos, *L'egittomania in pittura e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale*. ÉPRO 84, 1980, pp. 5–8.

7 Elfriede Knauer, Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale. Three Studies in the Relationship Between Writing and Painting, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993), pp. 13–46.

8 See Maxwell Anderson, The Portrait Medallions of the Imperial Villa at Boscoreale, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 91.1 (1987), pp. 127–135, and especially note 2, for discussion of past interpretations.

9 That there was a Roman site at Boscoreale had been known since the 18th century. Charles Greville wrote two letters to his uncle, Sir William Hamilton, asking him to acquire bronzes from the site, in 1786 and 1789 respectively. Alfred Morrison (ed.), *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison: Volume I–III, A–D, the Hamilton & Nelson Papers*, London: printed at private expense, 1893, no. 131, no. 156.

10 Matteo Della Corte, Pompei-scavi eseguiti da privati nel territorio di Pompei, in: *Notizie degli scavi di antichità XIX* (1922), pp. 459–478; von Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990 (as fn. 5), pp. 9–10; Angela Morelli, Maria Romano, Amalia Vangone, con gli alunni della Scuola Media Statale »Cardinal G. Prisco«, in: Boscoreale: Comune di Studi Archeologi di Boscoreale, Boscoreale, e Trecase, 2009, <http://centrostudiarc.altervista.org/pdf/Agrippa%20postumo.pdf> (accessed June 6, 2017).

11 See John H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples. A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970; Elaine K. Gazda, Villas on the Bay of Naples. The Ancient Setting of Oplontis, in: J. R. Clarke and N. K. Muntasser (eds.),

Oplontis. Villa A («of Poppaea») at Torre Annunziata, Italy, New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 2014, [http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.90048.0001.001 (accesses May 17, 2019)], para. 63–116.

12 Michael Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926, chap. 2, note 21, pp. 503–504; Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), p. 478; and *apparatus criticus* of CIL IV 6499. Argument reprised in full by D’Arms 1970 (as fn. 11), pp. 231–232.

13 The amphora: CIL VI 6499; the rooftiles: *Pupil(li) Agrip(pae) | Tub(erone) Fabio Co(n)s(ulibus)*, Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), pp. 478, no listing in CIL; signet rings *Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Eu(tychus)* and *Eutychus Caesaris l(ibertus)*, Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), p. 478, no listing in CIL; graffito, CIL IV 6893: *Caesaris Augusti femina mater erat*.

14 For the notion of Eutychus as working for Tiberius, see Roger C. Carrington, Campanian »Villae Rusticae«, in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 21 (1931), pp. 110–130, especially p. 112.

15 For the findspot, see *apparatus criticus* for CIL IV 6499.

16 To my knowledge, the amphorae associated with the villa are: CIL IV 6920, 6937, 6945, 6946, 6961, 6979, 6995, 7004.

17 For graffiti as a medium and mode of discourse, see Rebecca Benefiel, Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 114.1 (2010), pp. 59–101; Rebecca Benefiel, Dialogues of Graffiti in the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii (Casa dei Quattro Stili, I.8.17, 11), in: J. Baird, C. Taylor (eds.) *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, Routledge Studies in Ancient History 2. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 20–48; Peter Krushwitz, Reading and Writing in Pompeii. An Outline of the Local Discourse, in: *Studj Romanzi Nuova Serie X* (2014), pp. 246–279.

18 Note that the CIL entries for Boscotrecase provide little information on findspot. The most detailed information about their location can be found in Della Corte’s first publication, Della Corte 1922, (as fn. 10), pp. 477–478. In addition, Della Corte included several graffiti in his discussion not attributed to any particular room in the villa that the CIL lists as coming from a different site (IV 6887–6889). I have not included these in my discussion.

19 On *Receptus*, all are catalogued under CIL IV 6894: *Receptus, Actio sal(utem) | Acti, va(le) | Receptus Athicto sal(utem)* »Receptus [offers] a greeting to Actius. Be well, Actius! Receptus [offers] a greeting to Athictus.« The Actius referred to may well be the actor Actius Anicetus, popular throughout Campania. It was not uncommon for individuals to inscribe greetings or celebrations of performers in graffiti. Actius Anicetus is well attested in several informal inscriptions in Pompeii. On this man, see James L. Franklin, Jr. Pantomimists at Pompeii. Actius Anicetus and his Troupe, in: *American Journal of Philology* 108.1, (1987), pp. 95–107. On Q(uintus) Iunius, see IV 6895 *Q. Iunius*. And on Falernian wine, see IV 6896 *falerno iur. . . ati* or possibly *falerno puro*, Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), p. 477. Both seem to refer to Falernian wine, prized in the late Republic and still deemed good in the early empire, though other varieties had supplanted it. Cf. other graffiti from Pompeii, CIL IV 1679, 2565a, 2566.

20 For discussion and edition of the line, see Edward Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 305. References to the imperial family were somewhat common in Pompeian graffiti, mostly well wishes and acclamations, often found in quasi-public places. For others see, e.g., CIL IV 4089, 4090, 4466.

21 On poetry in Pompeian graffiti see Peter Kruschwitz, Carmina Latina Epigraphica Pompeiana. Ein Dossier, in: *Arctos* 38 (2004), pp. 27–58; Kristina Milnor, Literary Literacy in Roman Pompeii. the Case of Virgil’s Aeneid, in: W. Johnson, H. Parker (eds.), *Ancient Literacies. The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 288–319; Kristina Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Rudolf Wachter, Oral Poetry in ungewohntem Kontext. Hinweise auf mündliche Dichtungstechnik in den pompejanischen Wandinschriften, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 121 (1998), pp. 73–89.

22 CIL IV 6890, 6892.

23 Tiles from Pompeii and its environs have not received significant scholarly attention, but it appears that roughly two-thirds were produced in Campania. Eva M. Steinby, *La produzione laterizia*, in: F. Zevi (ed.) *Pompei 79: raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana*, Naples: G. Macchiaroli, 1979, pp. 26–57. See also J. Theodore Peña, Myles McCallum, *The Production and Distribution of Pottery at Pompeii. A Review of the Evidence. Part 2, The Material Basis for Production and Distribution* in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 113.2 (2009), pp. 165–201, p. 180.

24 The same tile was found in V 5, 3. Allison Cooley, *Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 88, n. 263.

25 John Bodell, *Roman Brickstamps in the Kelsey Museum*, *Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies* 6, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983, pp. 19–20.

26 Some tiles used in Pompeii were imported from as far away as Rome; others were likely produced at Surrentina; see Steinby 1979 (as fn. 23).

27 On dating inscriptions related to the *familia Caesaris*, P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperors Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 22–24.

28 There are 17 imperial slaves and 8 imperial freedmen documented in funerary inscriptions from Campania. Allison Emmerson, *Memoria et Monumenta. Local Identities and the Tombs of Campania*. PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2013, pp. 236–238. For the activities of slaves and freedmen of the emperor in the vicinity, see also Andrew Lintott, *Freedmen and Slaves in the Light of Legal Documents from First-Century A.D. Campania*, *Classical Quarterly* 52.2 (2002), pp. 555–565.

29 On imperial landholdings in Campania, D'Arms 1970 (as fn. 11), pp. 73–115.

30 See, e.g., Fulvio De Salvia, *Egitto faraonico e Campania pre-Romana. Gli aegyptiaca*, in: S. de Caro, (ed.), *Egittomania: Iside e il mistero*, Milan: Electa, 2006, pp. 21–58.

31 Scholarship on the cult of Isis is extensive. I direct the reader to the bibliographic resources in the series Laurent Bricault (ed.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca I–III*, Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2008–2014; and for new approaches, Valentino Gasparini, Richard Veymiers (eds.), *The Greco-Roman Cults of Isis: Agents, Images and Practices. Proceedings of the VIth Conference of Isis Studies*, RGRW (Erfurt, May 6–8 – Liège, September 23–24, 2013) Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018.

32 See, e.g., on the Greek discourse, Stanley Burstein, *Images of Egypt in Greek Historiography*, in: A. Lopreino (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms, Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden: Brill, 1996, pp. 591–604; and for new approaches, Ian Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. On the Roman discourse, Eleni Manolaraki, *Noscendi Nilum cupido. Imagining Egypt from Lucan to Philostratus*, *Trends in Classics: Supplementary Volumes*, 18, Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2013; and for new approaches Maaïke Leemreize, *The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present*, in: C. Pieper, J. Ker (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, pp. 56–82.

33 For »mnemnohistory« as applied to Roman engagement with Egypt, see Versluys 2015 (as fn. 2).

34 Cass. Dio. 51.22.4–9.

35 Vergil, *Aen.* 8. 671–731.

36 Horace 1.37.21.

37 On the Circus Maximus obelisk, see, e.g. Versluys 2015 (as fn. 2). On the Campus Martius obelisk, see, e.g. Swetnam-Burland 2010 (as fn. 2). For recent approaches, see the many essays in Lothar Haselberger, Paolo Alberi-Auber et al., *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 99. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2014; Bernard Frischer et al., *New Light on the Relationship of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis of Augustus*, in: *Studies*

in *Digital Heritage* 1.1 (2017), pp. 18–119, <https://doi.org/10.14434/sdh.v1i1.23331> (accessed July 9, 2017).

38 For the reception of Egypt in Augustan Rome, Swetnam-Burland 2015 (as fn. 2), pp. 65–97; Marike van Aerde, *Egypt and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. An Interpretative Archaeological Overview*, PhD diss. Leiden University, 2015; Stephanie Pearson, *Egyptian Aïrs. The Life of Luxury in Roman Wall Painting*, Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2015.

39 Materials from Egypt: wheat, Plin. *NH* 18.63–70; natron, *NH* 31.106–22; mustard, *NH* 20.236–40; coriander, *NH* 20.216–18; flax, *NH* 19.1–6; reed pens, *NH* 16.156–58; figs, *NH* 15.68–73; linen *NH* 19.7–15; red ochre, *NH* 35.35; on Egyptian stones: Plin. *NH* 36.29; papyrus: Plin. *NH* 13.74–77.

40 Swetnam-Burland 2015 (as fn. 2), pp. 28–40.

41 Pearson 2015 (as fn. 38), pp. 32–46.

42 Most discussion of ancient obsidian focuses on issues of prehistoric Adriatic and Aegean trade, e.g. Colin Renfrew, Johnson. R. Cann, John. E. Dixon, *Obsidian in the Aegean, The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 60, 1965, pp. 225–247; Robert H. Tykot, *Utilizzo e Commercio dell'Ossidiana in Adriatico / Obsidian Use and Trade in the Adriatic*, in: P. Visentini, E. Podrug (eds.), *Adriatico Senza Confini. Via di comunicazione e crocevia di popoli nel 6000 a.C. / The Adriatic, a Sea Without Borders. Communication Routes of Populations in 6000 BC*, Udine: Civici Musei di Udine, 2014, pp. 170–181, pp. 224–225. For discussion of spectrometry and methods of provenance identification, Sander Müskens, *Egypt Beyond Representation. Materials and Materiality of Aegyptiaca Romana. Archaeological Studies Leiden University* 25. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2017, pp. 93–95.

43 Pliny on obsidian: *NH* 36.67.196–7. Though no examples of large-scale obsidian sculptures are known, a fragment of glass (likely intended to emulate obsidian) in the British Museum, thought to be of Italian origin and dating to the early empire, preserves the foreleg of a horse that would have been roughly three-quarters life size, BM 1814,0704.1191 (c. 25 BCE – 50 CE). On the taste for the marvelous in Augustan Rome, see Verity Platt, *Where the Wild Things Are: Locating the Marvellous in Augustan Wall-Painting*, in: P. Hardie, (ed.), *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2009), pp. 41–74.

44 Plin. *NH* 36.67.196

45 Plin. *NH* 36.67.197

46 Kenneth Lapatin, *Luxus: The Sumptuous Arts of Greece and Rome*, Los Angeles: J. P. Getty Museum, 2015, pp. 123–124. Thea. E. Haevernick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Antiken Glases Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 10 (1963), pp. 118–138. For obsidian mirrors in Pompeii, Jessica Powers, *Beyond Painting in Pompeii's Houses: Wall Ornaments and their Patrons*, in: M. Flohr, K. Cole (eds.), *Pompeii: Art, Industry and Infrastructure*, Oxford/Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, pp. 10–32.

47 Olga Elia, *Le Coppe Ialine da Stabia*, in: *Bolletino d'Arte* 52 (1957), pp. 97–103. Stefano de Caro, *Egittomania: Iside e il mistero*. Milan: Electa, 2006, cat. no. II I.1; Lapatin 2015 (as fn. 46), cat. 135.

48 E.g., Elia 1957 (as fn. 47).

49 Italian examples known to me at the time of writing, in addition to the collection from Stabiae, include: a flat plaque, probably a furniture revetment, MMA 17.194.2360, possibly from Italy, with ivy and tendrils; a carved flat plaque with stalks of wheat and other tendrils from Porta d'Anzio, 1879,0408.3, possibly to be associated with other fragments from the same site, treated more as architectural moldings (1879,0408.2, 1879,0408.4, 1879,0408.1). Haevernick 1963 (as fn. 46) includes two said to be from Italy, a ring found in the Tiber (Taf. 22, 1) and a plaque from Italy (Taf. 23, 1). The technique in all is similar to the Stabian cups.

50 Lapatin 2015 (as fn. 46), p. 259.

- 51 For Roman attitudes to animal worship, K.A.D Smelik., E.A. Hemelrijk, »Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?« Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Ancient Conception of Egypt, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 17.4 (1984), pp. 1852–2337.
- 52 On the appeal of *Nilotica*, Versluys 2002 (as fn. 2); for this example, Versluys 2002 (as fn. 2), p. 166. Though it differs from the others in the collection, the type of obsidian and goldwork on this piece is attested in other examples. Particularly fascinating in this regard are two fragments of obsidian plaques found reused in a church in Kephalaria. One bears an Egyptianizing figure, and the other a vegetal scroll that may include a lotus. See Anastasios C. Antonaras. Glass and Obsidian Plaques from the Apostle Paul's Basilica at Kephalaria, Argos, in: *Journal of Glass Studies* 50 (2008), pp. 298–302.
- 53 Lapatin 2015 (as fn. 46), p. 259.
- 54 See on the site and the red sea trade routes, Stephen Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- 55 Ellen Swift, *Style and Function in Roman Decoration. Living with Objects and Interiors*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 118–123.
- 56 Marike E. J. J. van Aerde, Concepts of Egypt in Augustan Rome: Two Case Studies of Cameo Glass from The British Museum, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 20 (2013), pp. 1–23; van Aerde 2015 (as fn. 38), pp. 173–205.
- 57 On this example, Swetnam-Burland 2015 (as fn. 2), pp. 55–58; David Whitehouse. *Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass*, v. 1. Corning, New York: The Corning Museum of Glass, 1997, p. 57, no. 58; on the profile and shape, David Peacock, David Williams. *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*, London/New York: Longman, 1986, pp. 107–108.
- 58 See below, fn. 69.
- 59 Victoria Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. PhD diss. University of Princeton, 1989.
- 60 See, for an application of »thing theory« to »Aegyptiaca«, Eva Mol, The Perception of Egypt in Networks of Being and Becoming. A Thing Theory Approach to Egyptianising Objects in Roman Domestic Contexts, in: Annabel Bokern, Marion Bolder-Boos, Stefan Krmnicek, Dominik Maschek, Sven Page (eds.), *TRAC 2012: proceedings of the twenty-second annual Theoretical Roman archaeology conference: which took place at Goethe University in Frankfurt, 29 March - 1 April 2012*, Oxford/Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2013, pp. 117–133.
- 61 Whitney Davis, Scale and Pictoriality in Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture, in: *Art History* 38.2 (2015), pp. 269–285.
- 62 On the relationship between scale and material, Joan Kee, Emanuele Lugli, Size to Scale. An Introduction, in: *Art History* 38.2 (2015), pp. 251–266, and size and scale's power to convey and shape meaning, Carl Knappett, Meaning in Miniature: Semiotic Networks in Material Culture, in: Niels Johannsen, Mads D Jensen, Helle Juel Jensen (eds.), *Excavating the Mind: Cross-Sections through Culture, Cognition and Materiality*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2012, pp. 87–106.
- 63 On the Roman association of miniatures with artists' skill and their appropriateness to domestic circumstances, Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* XIX, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 169–171.
- 64 Though we know little of the organization of workshops, the medium of fresco required a group of artisans working together closely. See Roger Ling, *Roman Painting*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 198–220.
- 65 On the painter and workshop: von Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990 (as fn. 5), p. 69; Lawrence Richardson Jr., *A Catalog of Identifiable Figure Painters of Ancient Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, pp. 36–52. Richardson argues that the master,

whom he calls the »Boscotrecase painter«, was renowned locally, active until just before the eruption. If correct, this would be an astonishingly long career, and so the attribution should be considered warily. The kind of Morellian analysis that Richardson, von Blanckenhagen, and Alexander employed is open to critique on the grounds that it is subjective and difficult to prove. Nonetheless, because all three scholars agree on the attribution of the paintings at Boscotrecase, I follow their views here.

66 Though no records exist for the sale of the Boscotrecase frescos, it is likely that they were sold at auction in fragments and panels. Recently, a missing fragment with an Egyptianizing figure was donated to the Harvard University Art Museums, accessioned as the gift of Albert Gallatin (inv. no. 1921.37). I thank Elizabeth Molacek for bringing this example to my attention.

67 »Copies« of panel paintings in Pompeian frescos also feature mirror-image figure types, and details of dress and facial feature are left to the artists to create. For recent discussions of replications in fresco, see Bettina Bergmann, Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions, in: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995), pp. 79–120; I. Bragantini, Una pittura senza maestri. La produzione della pittura parietale romana, in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004), pp. 131–145; John Clarke, Model-book, Outline-book, Figure-book. New Observations on the Creation of Near-exact Copies in Romano-Campanian painting, in: I. Bragantini (ed.) *Atti del X congresso internazionale dell'AIPMA Napoli 17–21 Settembre 2007 Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 18.1, Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli »L'Orientale«, 2010, pp. 203–214.

68 On the appeal of landscape paintings, see Bettina Bergmann, Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit. Landscape as Status and Metaphor, in: Elaine Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1991, pp. 49–70; Bettina Bergmann, Exploring the Grove: Pastoral Space on Roman Walls, in: *Studies in the History of Art* 36 (1992), pp. 20–46.

69 For Roman collectors of Greek works, see, e.g., Miranda Marvin, Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series, in: *Studies in the History of Art* v.20 (1989), pp. 29–45. Horace (Carm. 4.8) includes tripods in a discussion including Greek sculptures by Scopas and paintings by Parrhasius in Roman collections. For representation in fresco at more usual scale, see, e.g. Room 15, Oplontis, c. 50 BCE.

70 Nathaniel Jones, Ancient Painted Panels: Terminology and Appearance, in: *Mnemosyne* 67 (2014) pp. 295–304. Jones has recently argued that these and other *pinakes* in Roman painting correspond well to descriptions of dedications from the Delian inventories, which often mention how paintings were framed, and sometimes give brief descriptions of the motifs or materials. One category, called ἀναθηματικός appears to have described scenes depicting veneration.

71 On representations of statues in Roman painting, see Eric M. Moorman, *La pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica*, *Scrinium*, vol. 2, Assen/Wolfeboro: Van Gorcum, 1988; Eric M. Moorman, Images of Statues in Other Media, in E. A. Friedland, M. Grunow Sobocinski, E. K. Gazda (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 638–652.

72 Van Eck, Versluys, ter Keurs 2015 (as fn. 1).

73 For the finds, Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), p. 470. Note that descriptions of the finds often reflect assumptions of their value or function made at the time of excavation, rather than their ancient uses. On this point, see Penelope Allison, *Pompeian Households. An Analysis of the Material Culture*. *UCLAMon* 42. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at University of California, 2004; Joanne Berry, Household Artefacts. Towards a Reinterpretation of Roman Domestic Space, in: R. Laurence, A. F. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.) *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Suppl. 22. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997, pp. 183–96. Joanne Berry, The Conditions of Domestic Life in Pompeii in AD 79. A Case-Study of Houses 11 and 12, Insula 9, Region I, in: *PBSR* 65 (1995), pp. 103–25. I list the contents of the room here in brief. Bronzes: a conical vase, a large pan, an oinochoe decorated with a mask on the handle, a sieve or strainer, thirteen circlets of varying size, fragments of a lantern, a candelabrum of simple form, a Republican as. Crystal:

a piece («corrente») from a necklace. Lead: a circular weight. Bone: two rods and a stud, perhaps a spindle. Terracotta: a cup, three bottles; a lamp with a motif of a lion, a lamp with a motif of a cupid, five amphorae. Plaster: a piece of plaster with charcoal inscription.

74 CIL IV 6897; for findspot Della Corte 1922 (as fn. 10), pp. 470.

75 It is difficult to date graffiti, and some of those recorded could well date to an earlier phase.

76 On the Villa as a place of meeting and greeting see CIL IV 6894, Receptus' greetings to his friends; as a place of work see CIL IV 6896, the possible reference to Falernian wine, and the many amphorae devoted to storage and shipment of agricultural products; as a place of self-expression see IV 6895 Q. Iunius. Other graffiti, not catalogued in CIL, also preserve the names of individuals, as in the case of Sabinus, from Room 16 (Della Corte 1922, as fn. 10, pp. 474); and as place of play see CIL IV 6893, CIL IV 6890, 6892.

77 See also Bergmann 2013 (as fn. 3), for similar discussion of the paintings and finds from Boscoreale.

78 This is similar to repositories of material from Pompeian homes, Lisa C. Nevett, *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge, University Press, 2010, pp. 101–105.

79 See de Vos 1980 (as fn. 6).

80 On the appeal of Nilotic landscapes, see Versluys 2002 (as fn. 2); Miguel John Versluys and Paul G.P. Meyboom, The Meaning of Dwarves in Nilotic Scenes, in: L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, P. G. P. Meyboom, (eds.), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman world, Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11–14, 2005*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 170–209. For a new approach, see Caitlín E. Barrett, Recontextualizing Nilotic Scenes: Interactive Landscapes in the Garden of the Casa dell'Efebo, Pompeii, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 121.2 (2017), pp. 293–332.

Lost in Translation? (Dimitri Laboury and Marie Lekane)

1 Charles Burnett, Images of Ancient Egypt in the Latin Middle Ages, in: Peter Ucko, Timothy Champion (eds.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: changing visions through the ages (Encounters with Ancient Egypt)*, London: UCL Press, 2003, p. 65. As expected, Burnett rightly challenges this assumption in the following pages of his article.

2 With, of course, a few exceptions for isolated travellers, often on their way to Christian holy sites, but, as Burnett perfectly underlines (*ibid.*, pp. 68–70), their interest in Pharaonic monuments was usually – at best – very superficial and so their impact equally insignificant – without mentioning their Christianity-oriented look. Moreover, as will be noted further below, not a single import of *pharaonica* from Egypt to Europe seems to be attested between the end of antiquity and Renaissance.

3 On Germanicus's journey to Egypt, see Michael A. Speidel, Germanicus' visit to Egypt, in: Roger S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, pp. 2905–2906. For the graffiti on the «colossus of Memnon», the northern one of the pair of statues actually identified with the Homeric figure, see André Bernard, Étienne Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon (BdE 21)*, Cairo: IFAO, 1960. For the biography of the statue, see Ralf Krumeich, Pharao und Sohn der Morgenröte. Zur Biographie des «Memnonkolosses» im Hunderttorigen Theben, in: Ralf von den Hoff, François Queyrel, Éric Perrin-Saminadayar (eds.), *Eikones. Portraits en contexte. Recherches nouvelles sur les portraits grecs du V^e au I^{er} s. av. J.-C.*, Venosa: Osanna Edizioni, 2016, pp. 125–146. In the perspective of the present book, it is perhaps not uninteresting to remind here that the term colossus comes from the description of the statues of ancient Egyptian temples by Herodotus as *kolossoi*. On the scholarly debate about the word *kolossos* and its meaning in ancient Greek uses, see Nathan Badoud, Les colosses de Rhodes, in: *CRAI* 1 (2011), pp. 111–152.

4 For the geographical transposition of this conception in post-Antiquity science, see Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 65–68. As we will see below, this alien aspect of Egypt, increased by the – double – reli-

gious divide (pagan polytheism vs Christianity vs Islam), is to be distinguished from the subdued, tamed and integrated otherness that ancient Egyptian culture could embody in Ptolemaic and Roman representations.

5 We use the term in the precise sense defined in Jean-Marcel Humbert et al., *Egyptomania. L'Égypte dans l'art occidental 1730–1930*, Paris: RMN, 1994, and, naturally, not in the one denounced by the present book.

6 See the list made by Anne Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (EPRO 20), Leiden: Brill, 1972, pp. 153–156.

7 Though one may wonder whether it was not easier to take away a piece from an old and abandoned site rather than from one still in activity. This might be telling about the quite imperious approach Romans could have regarding the monumental landscape and heritage of ancient and Ptolemaic Egypt.

8 This is perfectly exemplified by the diverse variations on the same theme, such as Isis or the so-called Antinoüs or standing Pharaoh type (many examples conveniently gathered in the classic work of Roulet 1972 [as fn. 6]). In this artistic creative »game« or interplay, using iconography, style and materiality as cursors of Egyptian-ness, they were preceded by and thus could get inspiration from Ptolemaic rulers and their multifaceted iconography in Egypt; for an example, see François Queyrel, *Iconographie de Ptolémée II*, in: *Alexandrina* 3 (Études alexandrines 18), Cairo: IFAO, 2009, pp. 7–61.

9 On the perception of both this contrast and the impressive oldness of the formulae and aesthetics of ancient Egyptian art in classical times, see the analysis and comments of Whitney M. Davis, *Plato on Egyptian Art*, in: *JEA* 65 (1979), pp. 121–127. Interestingly enough, in Greek and later on Roman Egypt, ancient Egyptian gods, for instance, were largely adopted through the so-called *interpretatio graeca* or *romana* even on stylistic and material levels, the ancient Egyptian style (in the broad sense) being here part of the environmental norm, hence lacking the exotic appeal of otherness. Since the Egyptian iconography of Ptolemaic royalty (previous note) was motivated by the wish to assert a political connection with past and local Pharaonic power and thus represents an ideologically driven exception, the here discussed phenomenon definitely appears very Roman, both in time and space. Near-Eastern imports or collections of genuine »Aegyptiaca« in the Bronze Age naturally bear those very same material features that attracted Romans' attention (see for instance the collection of the king of Hazor in the 13th BCE: Amnon Ben-Tor et al., *Hazor VII. The 1990–2012 excavations. The Bronze Age (The Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin)*, Jerusalem: Tsipi Kuper-Blau, 2017, pp. 574–590), but, in the context of local artistic traditions, they were not deemed so distinctly Egyptian, or, at least, less than specific iconographic markers. On those material characteristics as the core of ancient Egyptian aesthetics and aesthetic sensibility, see a contribution in preparation by D. Laboury, on the ancient Egyptian sense of beauty.

10 See comments in Dimitri Laboury, *Tradition and Creativity. Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art*, in: Todd Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th – 8th February 2013* (Aeg.Leod. 10), Liège: Presses Universitaires, 2017, pp. 229–231.

11 see Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), p. 65.

12 Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, notably p. 9. As this book perfectly highlights, the image of Egypt varies a lot according to the writing strata of the holy texts of western monotheism. Assmann's full quote here is »Egypt as the past both of Israel and of Greece and thus of Europe«; this was probably also true for medieval readers of the »Alexander Romance«, according to which the greatest conqueror of all was actually the son of the last Pharaoh of the Egyptians, »the wisest of men«, king Nectanebo, and, through him, of the god Amun; on this, see Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 78–81.

13 Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 72–74, lists the main textual sources in this respect and re-contextualizes them in their classical roots and intertext. It must also be noted that they correspond to or – at least partly – derive from a strong Coptic tradition that grew up in the conflictual context of the transi-

tion from paganism to Christianity in late antiquity Egypt and was then transmitted to Europe in medieval literature; on this Coptic tradition, see Troels Myrup Kristensen, *Making and Breaking the Gods. Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity* (ASMA 12), Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013, pp. 118–146.

14 See, notably, Troels Myrup Kristensen, *Embodied Images. Christian Response and Destruction in Late Antique Egypt*, in: *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2.2 (Fall 2009), pp. 224–250 (with extensive bibliography on the addressed subject); id. 2013 (as fn. 13), pp. 107–195; and the catalogue of the recent exhibition by Cécilia Fluck, Gisela Helmecke, Elisabeth R. O’Connell (eds.), *Egypt. Faith after the pharaohs*, exh. cat. London: British Museum Press, 2015. Those more or less conscious or repressed survivals nevertheless – and quite ironically – gave rise to the literary cliché in Arabic narratives of the old Coptic monk of Upper Egypt still capable of understanding hieroglyphs; see Stéphane Pasquali, *Les hiéroglyphes égyptiens vus par les auteurs arabes du Moyen Âge ou L’aura du passé pharaonique*, in: Laure Bazin Rizzo, Annie Gasse, Frédéric Servajean (eds.), *À l’école des scribes. Les écritures de l’Égypte ancienne. Exposition à Lattes*, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2016, pp. 219–220.

15 For a synthesis, again, see Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 74–96. For the quote from the *Asclepius* 24, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica. The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction*, Cambridge and New York: CUP, 1992, p. 81.

16 In addition to Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 83–96, Fluck et al. 2015 (as fn. 14), pp. 140–257, and Pasquali 2016 (as fn. 14), see Okasha El Daly, *Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings*, in: Ucko et al. 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 39–63; Petra M. Sijpesteijn, *Building an Egyptian Identity*, in: Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi and Michael Bonner (eds.), *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook* (Islamic History and Civilization 83), Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2011, pp. 85–105; and also, for the specific case of the great sphinx of Giza, perceived as »the terrifying idol«, »guardian and provider of treasures«, »who foretells the future« and »through which the Devil speaks«, among other epithets, see Ulrich Haarmann, *Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten*, in: *Saeculum* 24 (1978), pp. 367–384. The aura of mystery associated to the figure of the sphinx, which already appeared very clearly with the Greek sphinx of Oedipus and is at the core of this Arabic tradition, is still very productive in western contemporary culture; on this, see the enthralling contribution of Eleanor Dobson, *The Sphinx at the Séance. Literature, Spiritualism and Psycho-Archaeology*, in: Eleanor Dobson, Gemma Banks (eds.), *Excavating Modernity. Physical, Temporal and Psychological Strata in Literature, 1900–1930*, New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 83–102.

17 Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), p. 96.

18 For Egeria’s description of her travels, see Pierre Maraval, *Égérie. Journal de voyage (itinéraire)* (*Sources chrétiennes* 296), Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997. As Charles Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 69–70, underlines, Wilhelm von Boldensele, who visited Egypt and the Levant a thousand years later, between 1333 and 1336, seems to be the only medieval visitor of Giza who left a written trace in which he questioned this interpretation of the pyramids of Giza on the argument that they are mainly solid and built in a very unsuitable way to store cereals in great quantity. Exactly in the time of Egeria, Gregory Nazanzius (329–390) had already found an ingenious solution to reconcile the knowledge of the true function of Giza pyramids, as it is conveyed, for example, by Herodotus, and the Christian slant on those monuments, assuming »that the pyramids had been built as granaries and that only after the Exodus had they been transformed into tombs« (Karl Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance, with a Focus on the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I* [*Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History* 240], translated with an introduction and notes by Robin Raybould, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015, p. 37).

19 For those examples, see Dimitri Laboury, *Renaissance de l’Égypte aux Temps Modernes. De l’intérêt pour la civilisation pharaonique et ses hiéroglyphes à Liège au XVI^e siècle*, in: Eugène Warmenbol (ed.), *La Caravane du Caire. L’Égypte sur d’autres rives*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Versant Sud, 2006, pp. 44–68.

20 This loss only started to be compensated from the 16th c. onward, thanks to the development of a new more archaeological look at antiquities, as is shown by the evolution of artists' copies of »Aegyptiaca« at that time; see *ibid.*; Rouillet 1972 (as fn. 6), *passim*; Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance. The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007, p. 7 and *passim*.

21 To our knowledge, this morphological reconciliation between neo-hieroglyphs and genuine ancient Egyptian script is to be situated only in the times of Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), i.e. in the middle of the 17th c., while quite accurate epigraphic records of hieroglyphic inscriptions on Roman »Aegyptiaca« had already been produced by artists such as Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini (mid 15th c – 1492), Giuliano da Sangallo (1445–1516), Simone del Pollaiuolo, d. Il Cronaca (1457–1508) or Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1537) (*ibid.*, pp. 184–185) since the second half of the Quattrocento; see *ibid.*, pp. 89–105, 183–187, 230–231, 237–243; Rouillet 1972 (as fn. 6), pl. 58, 61, 69 (see also pl. 205 [Francesco de Holanda, c. 1538]; pl. 47, 60, 62, 152, 167, 192, 202, 206 [Codex Ursinianus, by Stephan Vinand Pighius, c. 1560–1570]; pl. 150 [Jean-Jacques Boissard, c. 1559]). This is of course to be connected with the evolution of historical methodology and its growing integration of epigraphy during the 16th c.; on this and in addition to the comments of the late Brian Curran (2007, as fn. 20) referred to above in this note, see William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions & Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (BICS suppl. 86), London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 2005. The key-study of Renaissance neo-hieroglyphs remains the one of Karl Giehlow, published posthumously in 1915 but recently re-edited and translated as Giehlow 2015 (as fn. 18), to which one has to add the brilliant synthesis of Curran 2007 (as fn. 20).

22 *Ibid.*, fig. 41–45 (pp. 112–116) and pl. 5–6.

23 See notably Rudolf Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954; *id.*, *Visual Thinking*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969; and Francis Edeline, Jean-Marie Klinkenberg and Philippe Minguet, *Traité du signe visuel. Pour une rhétorique de l'image*, Paris: Seuil, 1991.

24 On this, see a forthcoming contribution of Eric Gady, The Epigraphy of Egyptian Monuments in the *Description de l'Égypte*, to be published in Vanessa Davies and Dimitri Laboury (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, New York: Oxford University Press, in 2020.

25 Quite tellingly, less than a century later, the highly educated Pliny described the inscriptions of the obelisk of the *Circus Maximus*, i.e. the titulary and dedication text of Seti I and Ramses II, as embodying the Egyptian philosophy and its interpretation of the nature of things, in *Historia Naturalis* XXXVI, 8–9, quoted after Giehlow 2015 (as fn. 18), p. 34.

26 This concept is at the core of the book referred to in fn. 24.

27 We wish to thank here Caroline van Eck for drawing our attention to this study that provides a direct parallel and an emic explanation to what we observed in medieval depictions of events connected to ancient Egypt.

28 All quotes are from Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis. The representation of reality in western literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, p. 555.

29 See notably and most recently, with previous bibliography, Ethan Matt Kavaler, Mapping Time. The Netherlandish Carved Altarpiece in the Early Sixteenth Century, in: Ethan Matt Kavaler and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (eds.), *Netherlandish Culture of the Sixteenth Century. Urban Perspectives* (*Studies in European Urban History* 41), Turnhout: Brepols, 2017, pp. 31–63.

30 Quoted after *ibid.*, p. 57.

31 See Manuela Gianandrea, L'Egitto dei faraoni nella Roma dei papi. Riflessioni sull'Egitto nella cultura medievale tra storia, religione e mito, in: Eugenio Lo Sardo, *La Lupa e la Sfinge. Roma e l'Egitto dalla storia al mito*, Roma: Electa, 2008, p. 136; as well as Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), p. 34, fig. 12; Otto

Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. II The Thirteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, pp. 84–89, 166, pl. 290–291, pl. 295.

32 A list of documented »Aegyptiaca« still visible in medieval Rome can be found in Rouillet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 149. But as this author underlined, *Ibid.*, p. 6, we also have to take into account that »the Iseum Campense was presumably not ruined before 1084, when the Normans and Saracens invaded the city and stormed the Campus Martius. [...] There were certainly more Egyptian pieces lying among the ruins of Rome, but as there is no specific mention of them in records, and as their history is too obscure for reconstruction, they have not been mentioned here.« Plundering of the site started only in the 7th and 8th centuries and no church was built on it before the 9th; see Serena Ensoli, I santuari di Iside e Serapide a Roma e la resistenza pagana in età tardoantica, in: Serena Ensoli, Eugenio La Rocca (eds.), *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000, pp. 267–287. On the Iseum Campense, see the most recent Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (eds.), *The Iseum Campense from the Roman Empire to the Modern Age. Temple – Monument – Lieu de Mémoire (Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome 66)*, Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2019.

33 Rouillet 1972 (as fn. 6), pp. 6–7. On the broader context of this »pre-Renaissance«, among others before the *Rinascimento*, see the classical opus of Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Stockholm: Russak and Company, 1960.

34 See Edward Hutton, *The Cosmati. The Roman Marble Workers of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, London: Routledge and Pal, 1950.

35 Their bibliography includes Hans Gerhard Evers, Zum Nachleben der ägyptischen Löwen-Gestaltung, in: ZÄS 67 (1931), pp. 31–33; Hutton, 1950 (as fn. 34), pp. 7, 39, 45; Karl Noehles, Die Cosmaten und die Idee der Renavotio Romae, in Günther Fiensch and Max Imdahl (eds.), *Festschrift Werner Hager zum 65. Geburtstag*, Recklinghausen: Bonders, 1966, pp. 17–37; Rouillet 1972 (as fn. 6), pp. 7–9, pl. 1–7; Rudolf Wittkower, Hieroglyphics in the Early Renaissance, in: Bernard S. Levy (ed.), *Developments in the Early Renaissance*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, pp. 59–60 (reprinted in Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, London: Tames & Hudson, 1977, pp. 114–115); Paolo Montorsi, Su alcuni leoni di Vassalletto che derivano da un modello egiziano, in: Angiola Maria Romanini (ed.), *Roma anno 1300: Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1980, pp. 655–674; Peter C. Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi Romani. Die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters, Corpus Cosmatorum I (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 14)*, Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 112–115; Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, Note sull'interpretatio dell'Egitto nel Medioevo. Leoni e sfingi nella Roma medievale, in: Patrizia Minà (ed.), *Imagines et iura personarum. L'uomo nell'Egitto antico per i novanta anni di Sergio Donadoni. Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia, Palermo, 10–13 novembre 2004 (Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Palermo. Studi e Ricerche 48)*, Palermo: Università di Palermo, 2006, pp. 43–59, pl. 3; Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), pp. 45–47; Gianandrea 2008 (as fn. 31), pp. 137–141; Manuela Gianandrea, Creazioni à l'antique. I Vassalletto e il fascino della sfinge egizia nel medioevo romano, in: *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 16 (2010), pp. 151–160 (we wish to express our deep gratitude to this author for providing us with a copy of this article); Daniela Mondini, Les cloîtres des Cosmati à Rome: marbre, Mosaïque et parole, in: *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 46 (2015), *Le cloître roman. Actes des XLVI^{es} journées romanes de Cuxa, 7–12 juillet 2014*, p. 128. We would also like to thank here Antoine Hermary for drawing our attention to a small intriguing sculpture in white marble now kept in the Musée d'Histoire de Marseille (inv. M(usée du) V(ieux) M(arseille) no. 2324; 27 × 28,5 × 27,5 cm), that depicts a square double basis supported by a recumbent Egyptianizing lion (with a rounded mane) paired to a sphinx, in a style very reminiscent of the Cosmati lions and sphinxes discussed in the following pages. The piece, to be published in Antoine Hermary (dir.), *Recueil général des sculptures sur pierre de la Gaule. Marseille et ses environs (Nouvel Espérandieu VI)*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, p. 146, no. 187, pl. 197, is not securely dated, but it was re-carved and used as a baptismal font in Saint-Laurent in Marseille until the 18th century and, partly for this reason,

is usually considered to have been produced in Romanesque times. Due to its material and style, one cannot rule out the hypothesis that this exotic object would have been made by one of the so-called Cosmati sculptors and then taken from Italy during one of the later French incursions in Rome and its vicinity.

36 The list includes: the pair of sphinxes in the cloisters of San Giovanni in Laterano, made by »Vassalletus« father (Pietro) and son (so-called Vassalletto III), between 1215 and 1232 (fig. 3); the one supporting the Paschal candelabrum of the cathedral at Anagni, signed »Vassalletto« (c. 1250); the recumbent lion now in the entrance of Santi Apostoli in Rome, signed »Bassalletus« (c. 1220) (fig. 2); the lion and the sphinx of the now lost *schola cantorum* of the Collegiate di Lanuvio, at the entrance of Rome (c. 1240); see Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), p. 155. On the issue of which members of the Vassalletti dynasty or *bottega vassallettiana* is to be identified under these signatures, see most recently Ibid., pp. 155–157. According to Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi 2004 (as fn. 35), p. 56, »the adhesion of sculptors of the Vassalletto family to aspects of the Egyptian culture in Rome of the 13th century« could be interpreted not so much as »an isolated case, but maybe one of the best understandable episodes in the light of the wealth of Egyptian finds from the ground of the City.«

37 See Denis Jalabert, *De l'art oriental antique à l'art roman. Recherches sur la faune et la flore romanes* I Le sphinx, in: *Bulletin monumental* 94 (1935), pp. 71–104; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien I Introduction générale*, Paris: PUF, 1955, p. 120.

38 Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 9. See the comparison in Noehles 1966 (as fn. 35), fig. 18–24 and 27.

39 Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 9, nos. 268–276, pl. 184–197.

40 On those very famous statues and their posterity, see Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 7–8, 32, 131–132; Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), pp. 43, 99–102, 181, 185, 195–196, 238–239, 240–242, and pl. 4. Note that the Iseum Campense seems to have only been ruined less than a century before those lions were mentioned as standing in front of the Pantheon; see Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), pp. 6–8; and above, n. 33. This rare iconographic type was apparently invented in the reign of pharaoh Amenhotep III, particularly prolific for innovations in animal statuary (see Betsy M. Bryan, *Rois et dieux sous forme animale*, in: Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan, Lawrence M. Berman, Elisabeth Delange [eds], *Aménophis III, le Pharaon-Soleil*, Paris: RMN, 1993, pp. 178–193); the oldest preserved examples are the famous »lions of Soleb«, reinscribed by Amenhotep IV, Tutankhamun and Ay, and now kept in the British Museum (EA 1 and 2). After the 18th dynasty, it seems to be only attested in late period sculpture, of the 30th dynasty or the Greco-Roman times.

41 See Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), pp. 8–9. Note that the sculpture now lies at the entrance of the Church but it does not seem possible to secure its initial position during the 13th century.

42 See *ibid.*, pl. 5, and Noehles 1966 (as fn. 35), fig. 27–28. Something was also represented between the forepaws of the lion now at the entrance of Santi Apostoli (Roulet 1972 [as fn. 6], pl. 4, fig. 8), but the bad state of preservation of the sculpture at this precise location does not allow to conclude that it was of the same type of protective statues, though this is very likely.

43 Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), p. 45.

44 Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 7. A good example of this »enigmatic smile characteristic of« Roman imitations of Late Period Pharaonic heads can be found in *ibid.*, pl. 128.

45 Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), pp. 154–155. Probably due to its original setting in Roman times, the sphinx of the river Nile statue, now on the Campodoglio, has no real hindquarters and virtually appears as a protome of sphinx. This might account for the fact that most of the so-called Cosmati sphinxes and lions are depicted as protomes; good pictures in Noehles 1966 (as fn. 35), fig. 14–17, 19, 21, 24–28 and 35; or fig. 2 and 4–5 of this article.

46 Roulet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 8. The gender of the eastern sphinx of San Giovanni in Laterano has actually been the subject of much debate. Whatever it was initially meant to be, the suggestion of Anne

Roullet is very interesting with respect to the success of the theme of the male-female couple of sphinxes in early Modern Times. So, this is probably how they were interpreted later on. Furthermore, it's worthwhile quoting here Brian Curran about this motif in the paintings of Raphael and Giovanni da Udine: »The male-female pair of winged sphinxes with *ankh*-shaped *uraei* that appear in the frescoes of the Loggetta of Leo's advisor Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican palace (circa 1516) are close copies of a type that appears in ancient wall paintings and terra-cotta reliefs of the sort that Raphael and his associates knew from the Roman *grotte* and other ruins.« (Curran 2007 [as fn. 20], p. 196, and fig. 68, p. 197). Therefore, the hypothesis of Anne Roullet seems definitely plausible, and in this perspective, the more unconventional *nemes* of the sphinx under discussion could have been intended to look more feminine, with lappets treated like pendants separated from the rest of the headdress. Finally, it is important to remind here that, even if they are rarer, female sphinxes exist in ancient Egyptian art; ex. of the reign of Thutmose III in Roullet 1972 (as fn. 6), pl. 198, fig. 290.

47 Hutton, 1950 (as fn. 34), pp. 40–41, 60; Roullet 1972 (as fn. 6), p. 8, pl. 3, fig. 6; Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), pp. 45–47; Gianandrea 2008 (as fn. 31), pp. 137, 139; Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), pp. 152, 154.

48 As is suggested by other occurrences of this detail on some productions of *arte cosmatesca* without any reference to ancient Egypt nor Antiquity; see, for instance, Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), p. 156, fig. 15.

49 It must also be reminded here that, a century after the creation of this sphinx, the cunning Annius of Viterbo tried to demonstrate that Osiris ruled in his home town of Viterbo for ten years, educating mankind, before getting back to Egypt and being murdered by his jealous brother Typhon alias Seth; on this fantasy, see Curran 2007 (as fn. 20), pp. 121–131.

50 Ibid., p. 45.

51 Capriotti Vittozzi 2006 (as fn. 35). In the same vein, one may also mention the contribution of Martin Bommas, *The Legacy of Egypt in Early Christian Thought according to the Epitaph of Alcuin of York*, in: Corrado Bologna, Mira Mocan, Paolo Vaciago (eds.), *Percepta rependere dona. Studi di filologia per Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2010, pp. 69–83.

52 See Roullet 1972 (as fn. 6), pl. 7, fig. 13; Noehles 1966 (as fn. 35), figs. 17, 19, 21. On the iconography of thrones in ancient Egypt, see Martin Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron. Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und im Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 15)*, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon und Bercker – Neu-Kirchener Verlag, 1985.

53 On the meaning of signatures in an artistic context where it is not the rule, and actually in any artistic context, see the comments of Dimitri Laboury, *Le scribe et le peintre. À propos d'un scribe qui ne voulait pas être pris pour un peintre*, in: Philippe Collombert, Dominique Lefèvre, Stéphane Polis, Jean Winand (eds.), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus (OLA 242)*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters, 2016, pp. 371–396, and esp. pp. 389–390.

54 See Claussen 1987 (as fn. 35).

55 Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), pp. 156–157. For a view of the modern general setting of the statue since the time of the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, i.e. the end of the 15th century, see William Stenhouse, *From Spolia to Collections in the Roman renaissance*, in: Stefan Altekamp, Carmen Marcks-Jacobs, Peter Seiler (eds.), *Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 2. Zentren und Konjunkturen der Spolierung. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 40*, Berlin, 2017, p. 395, fig. 2.

56 Expression quite frequently used both in classical and Arabic sources to designate the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing; see Jean Winand, *Les auteurs classiques et les écritures égyptiennes: quelques questions de terminologie*, in: *Acta Orientalia Belgica 18 – Michel Malaise in honorem. La langue dans tous ses états* (2005), pp. 79–104, and esp. pp. 93–94; and Pasquali 2016 (as fn. 14),

p. 213. On the sources and conceptions about ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs in medieval times, see Burnett 2003 (as fn. 1), pp. 77–78.

57 Gianandrea 2010 (as fn. 35), pp. 154–155.

58 See above, fn. 42.

59 See Troels Myrup Kristensen, Using and abusing images in late antiquity (and beyond): column monuments as topoi of idolatry, in: Stine Birk, Troels Myrup Kristensen, Birte Poulsen (eds), *Using images in late antiquity*, Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow books, 2014, pp. 268–282.

60 Without mentioning other iconographic traditions connected with *aegyptiaca cosmatesca*, such as the pair of male and female sphinxes; see above, fn. 46. For a medieval forerunner of obelisks supported by »Aegyptiaca«, see the one re-erected on the Campodoglio by so-called Cosmati sculptors, dismantled in 1542, and studied by Noehles 1966 (as fn. 35).

Periculosae Plenum Opus Aleae (Peter Mason)

1 For obelisks in South America see Peter Mason, *The Colossal. From Ancient Greece to Giacometti*, London: Reaktion Books, 2013, pp. 74–76.

2 On Lafitau see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, Paris: Maspero, 1981, pp. 177–207; Marcel Detienne, *L'Invention de la mythologie*, Paris: Gallimard, 1981, pp. 19–25; Alfonso M. Iacono, The American Indians and the Ancients of Europe: The Idea of Comparison and the Construction of Historical Time in the 18th Century, in: Wolfgang Haase, Meyer Reinhold (eds.), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. I: *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, part 1, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994, pp. 658–681; Peter Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, pp. 98–104.

3 »De ellos han llegado a mis manos y he reconocido voces muy impropias en la explicación de algunos misterios, que he encargado no usen de ellas, en especial del Asno de Oro de Apuleyo, que, fuera de sus supersticiones prohibidas, era brindar a los indios con sus fábulas y calificar las que soñaron sus mayores«, cited in Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen, Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *La lengua señorial de Nuu Dzaui. Cultura literaria de los antiguos reinos y transformación colonial*, Mexico D.F.: Colegio Superior para la Educación Integral Intercultural de Oaxaca (CSEIIO), 2009, pp. 143–144.

4 Gerdt Kutscher, Gordon Brotherston and Günter Vollmer, *Aesop in Mexico. A 16th Century Aztec Version of Aesop's Fables*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987.

5 Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari. Cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento*, Rome: De Luca, 2012, p. 196. On Francesco Gualdi see Claudio Franzoni, Alessandra Tempesta, Il museo di Francesco Gualdi nella Roma del Seicento tra raccolta privata ed esibizione pubblica, in: *Bollettino d'arte* 77 (1992), pp. 1–42.

6 On collectors in Padua, Verona and Venice in this period, see Cristina De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano. Fonti e documenti*, Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1991, pp. 67–78.

7 Claudio Franzoni, Roberto Marcuccio, Un taccuino con disegni (Biblioteca Panizzi, Mss. Vari D 153) e il collezionismo di antichità nel Seicento, in: *Taccuini d'Arte. Rivista di Arte e Storia del territorio de Modena e Reggio Emilia* (2012), pp. 6–25.

8 Jacobo Filippo Tomasini, *V.C. Laurentii Pignorii Pat. Canonici Taruisini historici, & philologi eruditissimi Bibliotheca et Museum*, Venice: P. Pinelli, 1632.

9 Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris, Venise: XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle*, Paris: Gallimard, 1988, p. 98.

10 Claudio Franzoni, Dai libri alle cose e ritorno: il musaeum di Lorenzo Pignoria. Dal libro di natura al teatro del mondo, in: Vera Fortunati, Paolo Granata (eds.), *Studi in onore di Adalgisa Lugli*, Bologna: Fausto Lupetti, 2011, pp. 31–50.

- 11 Cf. Sonia Maffei, Cartari e gli dei del Nuovo Mondo. Il trattatello sulle immagini de gli dei indiani di Lorenzo Pignoria, in: Sonia Maffei (ed.), *Vincenzo Cartari e le direzioni del mito del Cinquecento*, Rome: GB editoria, 2013, pp. 61–119, p. 65.
- 12 Enrichetta Leospo, La collezione egizia del Museo Kircheriano, in: Eugenio Lo Sardo (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher. Il museo del mondo*, exh. cat. Palazzo di Venezia Rome, Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 2001, pp. 125–130, p. 129.
- 13 See Clara Bargellini, Athanasius Kircher e la Nuova Spagna, in: *ibid.*, pp. 86–91. Kircher also corresponded with a former student, Francisco Ximénez, who was rector of the Colegio del Espiritu Santo in Puebla before moving to occupy a succession of positions in Mexico City, but this exchange does not appear to have resulted in a flow of objects.
- 14 Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, El obelisco de Carlos III en la Plaza Mayor de Puebla, in: Herón Pérez Martínez, Bárbara Skinfill Nogal (eds.), *Esplendor y ocaso de la cultura simbólica*, Michoacán: Zamora, 2002, pp. 97–110; Elvia Cristina Sánchez de la Barquera Arroyo, Agua, piedra y espacio: usos y recursos escultóricos de la fuente pública, in: *Ensayos de escultura virreinal en Puebla de los Ángeles*, Puebla: Fundación Amparo, 2012, pp. 129–171, p. 159.
- 15 On the large-scale fabrication of featherwork mosaics with Christian iconography soon after the fall of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan in August 1521, see Alessandra Russo, *L'immagine intraducibile. Une histoire métisse des arts en Nouvelle-Espagne (1500–1600)*, Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2012, pp. 139–179.
- 16 Hole Rössler, Kircher und das Gürteltier. Empirisches Wissen in der zoologischen Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Tina Asmussen, Lucas Burkart, Hole Rössler, *Theatrum Kircherianum. Wissenskulturen und Bücherwelten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2013, pp. 227–277, p. 230. On the influence of Kircher in America, see Constanza Acuña (ed.), *La curiosidad infinita de Athanasius Kircher. Una lectura a sus libros encontrados en la Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*, Santiago de Chile: Ocho Libros, 2012.
- 17 Walter Hanisch, *El historiador Alonso de Ovalle*, Caracas: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1976.
- 18 Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus*, Amsterdam: Joannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1678, vol. I, lib. II, p. 120b. See Sandra Accatino, Una maravillosa imagen pintada en Chile. Ciencias, milagros, maravillas y artificios en el ARS MAGNA LUCIS ET UMBRAE de Athanasius Kircher, in: Acuña 2012 (as fn. 16), pp. 87–107, p. 92.
- 19 As suggested by Sandra Accatino, Una piedra, un árbol, un negro. Retóricas de la transmutación en la *Histórica Relación del Reyno de Chile* de Alonso de Ovalle, in: *Anales de Literatura Chilena* 17.26 (2016), pp. 171–191, p. 174. For the bezoar see Alonso de Ovalle, *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile*, Rome, Francisco Caballo, 1646, p. 54.
- 20 Lorenzo Pignoria, *Vetustissimæ Tabulae Aeneae...*, Venice: Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto, 1605, p. 6v: »Ea Romae incidit in manus magni Viri PETRI BEMBI Cardinalis, seu ex PAULI III. Pontificis Maximi munere, seu quod aliis placet et Orci faucibus, e manibus videlicet Fabri ferrarii, qui illam in Borboniana Urbis direptione comparaverat, precio extorta.«
- 21 Sabine Eiche, On the dispersal of Cardinal Bembo's collections, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXVII (1983), pp. 353–359.
- 22 For discussion of this episode see Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance. The Afterlife of Egypt in Early Modern Italy*, Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2007, pp. 231–237, who calls the identification »almost certain«. The meeting at which it was discussed is mentioned by Pierio Valeriano in the introduction to Book XXXIII of his *Hieroglyphica*.
- 23 Anna Maria Riccomini in: *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*, exh. cat. Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, Padua, Venice: Marsilio, 2013, cat. no. 5.31.

- 24** The death of the Pope put an end to the conclusion of this project, though the idea of the tortoises was taken up in the base of the Medici obelisk that found its way to Florence (Boboli). The obelisk itself ended up outside the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore; see Curran 2007 (as fn. 22), pp. 213–215 and Brian A. Curran, Anthony Grafton, Pamela O. Long, Benjamin Weiss, *Obelisk. A history*, Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2009, pp. 93–95.
- 25** M. Azzi Visentini, *L'orto botanico di Padova e il giardino del Rinascimento*, Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1984, pp. 160 and 169 n. 49.
- 26** Letter of 8 June 1546, published by Arantxa Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia humanista en tiempos de Felipe II: la biblioteca de Juan Páez de Castro*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2011, pp. 339–340.
- 27** Dirk Syndram, Das Erbe der Pharaonen. Zur Ikonographie Ägyptens in Europa, in: Gereon Sieverich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, exh. cat. Berliner Festspiele, Gütersloh and Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989, pp. 18–57, esp. p. 29; Curran 2007 (as fn. 22), p. 252. If Syndram is right in also deriving an Egyptian figure in the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican from the Mensa Isiaca, it must have been discovered prior to 1515–1517.
- 28** The Mensa Isiaca continued to exert its fascination in later centuries. It is reflected in the Altar of Apis which entered the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden in 1738. The last work made by the goldsmith Johann Melchior Dinglinger before his death in 1731, it draws on the Mensa Isiaca in reproducing the winged figures that flank the goddess Isis and many other elements from the same work; it also incorporates a small-scale (75 cm) copy of the obelisk that stands today in front of the Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano. See Dirk Syndram, *Die Ägyptenrezeption unter August dem Starken. Der »Apis-Altar« Johann Melchior Dinglingers*, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999, pp. 30–34. Enrichetta Leospo, *La Mensa Isiaca di Torino*, Leiden: Brill, 1978, pp. 27–28 also mentions this work, as well as the 19th century decorations in the antichamber of the residence of the Castello di Masino, Piemonte, to the north of Turin.
- 29** Paula Findlen, Ereditare un museo: collezionismo, strategie familiari e pratiche culturali nell'Italia del XVI secolo, in: *Quaderni storici* 115, anno XXXIX, no. 1 (2004), pp. 45–81.
- 30** Eiche 1983 (as fn. 21).
- 31** Clifford M. Brown, Leandro Ventura, Le raccolte di antichità dei duchi di Mantova e dei rami cadetti di Guastalla e Sabbioneta, in Raffaella Morselli (ed.), *Gonzaga. La Celeste Galeria. L'esercizio del collezionismo*, Milan: Skira, 2002, pp. 53–65, p. 55. For the chronology of the Duke's acquisitions, see Roberta Piccinelli, Le facies del collezionismo artistico di Vincenzo Gonzaga, in: *ibid.*, pp. 341–347.
- 32** Bertrand Jestaz, Bronzo e bronzetti nella collezione Gonzaga, in: Raffaella Morselli (ed.), *Gonzaga. La Celeste Galeria. Le raccolte*, Milan: Skira, 2002, pp. 313–329, p. 321.
- 33** The Mensa Isiaca was one of the most illustrious of the 270 or so objects from the Collezione Savoia to enter the Gabinetto delle Curiosità in Turin in 1720, before passing into the Regio Museo dell'Università di Torino founded by Vittorio Amedeo II, Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia, in 1723. See Silvio Curto, *Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino*, Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 3rd revised ed., 1990, p. 42.
- 34** Angela S. Morecroft, *The Enlightenment rediscovery of Egyptology. Vitaliano Donati's Egyptian expedition, 1759–62*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.
- 35** Bernd Roeck, Geschichte, Finsternis und Unkultur. Zu Leben und Werk des Marcus Welser (1558–1614), in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990), pp. 115–142.
- 36** Pignoria mentions Welser's publication of this *Tabula Itineraria* in 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 24r and in his appendix to Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Vere e Nove Imagini De gli Dei de gli Antichi* . . . , Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1615, p. iii. For a list of Welser's publications and manuscripts see Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Contributi alla storia della Accademia dei Lincei*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1989, pp. 999–1003.

37 Ibid., p. 997.

38 A second edition was published as *Characteres Aegyptii, hoc est sacrorum, quibus Aegyptii utuntur simulacrorum delineatio et explicatio*, Frankfurt: Matthias Becker, 1608; and a third as *Mensa Isiaca*, Amsterdam: Andrea Frisius, 1669. All references below are to the first edition.

39 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 5r.

40 »[...] partim figuris cuiusce modi animalium concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes, partim nodosis et in modum rotae tortuosis capreolatimque condensis apicibus a curiositate profanorum lectione munita«, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI.22.

41 »Periculosae plenum opus aleae, / tractas et incedis per ignis / suppositos cineri doloso«, Horace *Carmina* II.1.6–8.

42 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 1r; *ibid.*, p. 7r: »artificem Tabulae non valde doctum sapit Aegyptium videlicet, factumve ad Aegyptiorum normam.«

43 E. Leospo, 1978 (as fn. 28), p. 96.

44 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20); translation from Curran, 2007 (as fn. 22), p. 278. A more or less contemporary instance of such an allegorical interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics to defend the scientific theory of Copernicus is provided by Paolo Antonio Foscarini in a letter to Galileo Galilei from late 1615 or early 1616, Antonio Favaro (ed.), *Le opere di Galileo Galilei: Edizione Nazionale sotto gli auspicii di Sua Maestà il Re d'Italia*, Florence, Barbèra, 1890–1909, vol. XII, p. 215.

45 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 14r: »Ita conjicio ego præiudicio non obfuturus siquis meliora in medium attulerit.« Cf. *ibid.* 25v: »an ego meliora in medium attulerim, eruditi Lectoris haec erit cognitio.« The same show of modesty can be seen in the 9-page treatise on the *Nozze Aldobrandini* (see below, fn. 54), where the author declares that »although I am no fortune-teller, I could not refrain from noting down what came to mind at the first sight of the picture« (»Ego sane licet me ariolum non profitear, abstinere non potui ab iis exarandis, quae occurrerunt in ipso primo Tabulae conspectu«).

46 The other was Benedetto Ceruti. See Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 1994, pp. 37–44.

47 Benedetto Ceruti and Andrea Chiocco (eds), *Musaeum Franc[isci] Calceolari Iun[ioris] Veronensis*, Verona, 1622, pp. 292–298. Pignoria's letter is dated 5 April 1620.

48 Gaetano Cozzi, Federico Contarini: un antiquario veneziano tra Rinascimento e Controriforma, in: *Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della società e dello Stato veneziano* III (1961), pp. 190–220; Maria Teresa Cipollato, »L'eredità di F. Contarini«, *ibid.*, pp. 221–279.

49 Irene Baldiga, *L'occhio della lince. I primi lincei tra arte, scienza e collezionismo (1603–1630)*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2002, pp. 181–182. On his *studiolo* see Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20) p. 8r. The praise of his *studiolo* can be found in Franciscus Schottus, *Parte seconda dell'Itinerario d'Italia...*, Venice: Giovanni Pietro Brignonci, 1673, p. 415. On Pasqualini, his collection, writings and relations with other scholars and antiquarians, see A. Herz, Lelio Pasqualini, a late sixteenth-century antiquarian, in: Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (ed.), *IL60. Essays honoring Irving Lavin on his sixtieth birthday*, New York: Ithaca Press, 1990, pp. 191–206. The work of Pasqualini is perhaps best summed up in his epitaph in the basilica of which he was canon in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore: »Dom. Laelio Pasqualino huius basilicae canonico religionis cultu et morum elegantia praesentibus colendo antiquitatis notitia cum antiquis comparando.« For the Peiresc-Pasqualini correspondence see David Jaffé, Aspects of gem collecting in the early seventeenth century, Nicolas-Claude Peiresc and Lelio Pasqualini, in: *Burlington Magazine* vol. 135, no. 1079 (1993), pp. 103–120, and Veronica Carpita and Elena Vaiani, *La corrispondance de Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc avec Lelio Pasqualini et son neveu Pompeo*, Paris: Alain Baudry, 2012.

50 Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc à sa famille et principalement à son frère, 1602–1637, Tome Sixième*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1896, p. 395.

- 51 Transcription and translation in Henrietta McBurney, Ian Rolfe, Caterina Napoleone and Paula Findlen, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series B. Natural History. Parts IV and V. Birds, other animals and natural curiosities*, London: Harvey Miller, 2017, vol. II, pp. 812–817.
- 52 Jean-François Lhote and Danielle Joyal (eds.), *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Lettres à Cassiano dal Pozzo (1626–1637)*, Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1989, p. 59. Pignoria 1605 (as in fn. 20), p. 20 discusses the flamingo and includes the image of an amulet featuring a flamingo-looking bird labelled »amuletum Ibis contra morbos capitis« in Tabula I.
- 53 McBurney et al. 2017 (as in fn. 51), Vol. I, pp. 316–319 (where, however, the translation of Peiresc's letter of 1629 is incomplete).
- 54 *Antiquissimae picturae quae Romae visitur typus. A Lavrentio Pignorio accuratè explicatus*, Padua: Donato Pasquardi, 1630. Cassiano also asked Girolamo Aleandro for the same favour; in a letter to Cassiano of 17 May 1629, Peiresc complained that the commentary had not been found among the papers of Aleandro, who died in that year, see Lhote and Joyal 1989 (as in fn. 52), p. 63. In turn, Dal Pozzo wrote a commentary on the »bellissimo libro« De Servis by Pignoria, transcribed in Herklotz 2012 (as in fn. 5), pp. 95–100.
- 55 Peter Mason, *Before disenchantment. Images of exotic animals and plants in the early modern world*, London: Reaktion Books, 2009; Florike Egmond, *Eye for detail. Images of plants and animals in art and science, 1500–1630*, London: Reaktion Books, 2017; Paula Findlen, Cassiano dal Pozzo: a Roman virtuoso in search of nature, in: McBurney et al. 2017 (as in fn. 51), Vol. I, pp. 18–42.
- 56 Marjon van der Meulen, *Copies After the Antique, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XXIII*, London: Harvey Miller, 1994, vol. I, p. 29 n. 12; Kristin Lohse Belkin, Fiona Healy (eds.), *A House of Art. Rubens as Collector*, exh. cat. Rubenshuis Antwerp, Schoten: BAI, 2004, pp. 296–297. One of the statuettes was of the god Ptah.
- 57 For instance, Tomasini 1632 (as fn. 8) obligingly gives the page reference to Pignoria's treatise, as in the case of an »amuletum ut in Mensa Isiaca p. 17«. For other examples see Franzoni 2011 (as fn. 10). Pignoria followed the same strategy in his commentary on the *Nozze Aldrobrandini*, referring to coins and to a »very old ivory plaque« (*in eburnea tabella pervetere*).
- 58 I. Rossi, Pietro Stefanoni, a Ulisse Aldrovandi: relazioni erudite tra Bologna e Napoli, *Studi di Memofonte* 8 (2012), p. 3–30.
- 59 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 9r. For the six obelisks erected in Rome in the 16th century see Mason 2013 (as fn. 1), pp. 46–55.
- 60 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 26v.
- 61 Ibid., p. 33r. On Aleandro see Léon Pélissier, Les amis d'Holstenius, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* VIII (1888), pp. 323–402. Both Aleandro, a member of the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi, several of whose manuscripts on the interpretation of Roman antiquities remain unpublished, and Dal Pozzo, a member of the Roman Accademia dei Lincei, were in the retinue of Cardinal Francesco Barberini during his mission to France in 1625; see Sabine du Crest, Girolamo Aleandro, Cassiano dal Pozzo e gli eruditi della corte borghesiana, in Francesco Solinas (ed.), *I segreti di un collezionista. Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo 1588–1657*, exh. cat. Museo del Territorio Biellese, Biella, Rome: De Luca, 2001, pp. 53–56.
- 62 Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 25r: »Interpretationem proximæ Iconis cogitavi sæpe sæpius an attingere expediret, tantam inquirenti difficultatem obtrudere visa est.«
- 63 Leospo 1978 (as fn. 28) p. 61.
- 64 Ian Shaw, Paul Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum Press, 1995, pp. 86, p. 304 resp.
- 65 According to Leospo 1978 (as fn. 28), the artist has confused the attributes of Ptah with those of another lunar deity, the moon god Khons.

- 66 Ibid., p. 91. Other examples of such incomprehension are the artist's failure to distinguish between the flowers of Upper and Lower Egypt (p. 49) and the single instead of double wings of the figures flanking Isis in the central panel (p. 45). The latter are faithfully copied on Dinglinger's Apis Altar, see Syndram 1999 (as fn. 28), Abb. 3 and p. 32.
- 67 *Seconda parte delle immagini de gli dei indiani. Aggiunta al Cartari da Lorenzo Pignoria*, Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1615, p. xxiv.
- 68 For Cartari's images of figures taken from Greco-Roman mythology, see Caterina Volpi, *Le immagini degli dèi di Vincenzo Cartari*, Rome: De Luca, 1996.
- 69 Jean Seznec, *The survival of the pagan gods. The mythological tradition and its place in renaissance humanism and art*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 256.
- 70 Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, Through the Eyes of Idolatry. Lorenzo Pignoria's argument on the conformité of ethnographic objects from the West and East Indies with Egyptian idols, in: Giovanni Taran-tino, Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (eds), *Through Your Eyes: Religions and Beliefs as Intercultural Mirror (16th–18th centuries)*, Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).
- 71 Partha Mitter, *Much maligned monsters. A history of European reactions to Indian art*, Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 1977, p. 28; Christian F. Feest, ZEMES IDOLUM DIABOLICUM. Surprise and success in ethnographic Kunstkammer research, in: *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 40 (1986) pp. 181–198. Further material deriving from Peiresc in the 1624 edition of Pignoria/Cartari included a bronze hand found in Tournai, which Peiresc interpreted as an object carried in the ceremonies of Isis, taking the strange symbols on its surface as references to various deities. Others saw in it evidence of the implantation of the cult of Isis in France, and even derived the name of Paris from the cult of the Egyptian goddess; see Alain Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, la tulipe. Collections françaises au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Flammarion, 1988, pp. 174–175.
- 72 If, as Pignoria asserts, the images first published in the 1615 edition of Cartari were copied from originals belonging to Cardinal Amulio, librarian of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana from 1565 to 1566, this would be compatible with the arrival of the *Codex Vaticanus* 3738 in the hands of the Dominican Fray Juan de Córdova, *definidor* of Santiago de México, who travelled twice from New Spain to Rome between 1561 and 1564; see Davide Domenici, Nuovi dati per una storia dei codici messicani della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* XXII (2016) pp. 342–362, p. 351.
- 73 Since the fullest edition incorporating Pignoria's various later additions to his appendices is *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi*, Venice: Tomasini, 1647, references from this point on are to that edition, which also has the convenience of being available in facsimile, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1963. The woodcut of Homoyoca appears there on p. 363. For detailed discussion of the derivation from the Mexican *Codex Vaticanus* 3738, also known as the *Codex Vaticanus A* or *Codex Rios*, see Peter Mason, The Purloined Codex, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 9:1 (1997), pp. 1–30; Edgar Lein, *Imagini degli dei indiani. La representación de las divinidades indianas por Vincenzo Cartari*, in: Helga von Kügelgen (ed.), *Herencias indígenas, tradiciones europeas y la mirada europea / Indigenes Erbe, europäische Traditionen und der europäische Blick*, Madrid and Frankfurt: Vervuert/Iberoamericana, 2002, pp. 225–258; Maffei 2013 (as fn. 11), pp. 61–119.
- 74 Joanna Ostapkowicz and Lee Newson, »Gods... adorned with the embroiderer's needle«: the materials, making and meaning of a Taino cotton reliquary, in: *Latin American Antiquity* 23: 3 (2012), pp. 300–326, p. 302.
- 75 Feest 1986 (as fn. 71) largely followed by Elke Bujok in Dorothea Diemer et al. (eds.), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer. Band 1. Katalog Teil 1*, Munich: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, pp. 534–535. Herwarth reproduced the Mensa Isiaca with a short explanatory commentary in his *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum*, probably published in Munich after 1607.
- 76 It recurs holding a beaker in the border decoration of the Mensa Isiaca.

- 77** Jean Seznec, *Un essai de mythologie comparée au début du XVII^e siècle*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie* (1931), pp. 268–281.
- 78** Pignoria 1605 (as fn. 20), p. 12r; Peter Mason, *Seduction from Afar. Europe's Inner Indians*, in: *Anthropos* 82 (1987), pp. 581–601; Aby M. Warburg, *Images from the region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*, translated and with an introductory essay by Michael P. Steinberg, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- 79** Domenici 2016 (as fn. 72), p. 350; further examples in idem, *Códices mesoamericanos en la Italia de la primera edad moderna: historia y recepción*, in: Juan José Batalla Rosado, José Luis de Rojas, Lisardo Pérez Lugones (eds.), *Códices y cultura indígena en México. Homenaje a Alfonso Lacadena García-Gallo*, Madrid: Distinta Tinta, 2018, pp. 351–375.
- 80** Ole Worm, *Museum Wormianum*, Amsterdam: Lodewijk and Daniel Elzevir, 1655, p. 383.
- 81** Peter Diemer, Elke Bujok, Dorothea Diemer (eds.), *Johann Baptist Fickler. Das Inventar der Münchner herzoglichen Kunstkammer von 1598. Editionsband. Transkription der Inventarhandschrift cgm 2133*, Munich: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, inv. no. 1709.
- 82** As noted above, Pignoria had »chartae et sericum ex regione Sinarum« in his collection.
- 83** Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi et orandi usum accommodata, utriusque facultatis exemplis suo loco insertis, quae quidem, ex indorum maxime deprompta sunt historiis, unde praeter doctrinam, summa quoque delectatio comparabitur*, Perugia: Pietro Giacomo Petrucci, 1579, p. 93. On Valadés see especially Boris Jeanne, *Mexico-Madrid-Rome. Sur les pas de Diego Valadés, une étude des milieux romains tournés vers le Nouveau Monde à l'époque de la Contre-Réforme (1568–1594)*, diss. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2011.
- 84** M. Morán Turina, J. Portús Pérez, *El arte de mirar. La pintura y su público en la España de Velázquez*, Madrid: Istmo, 1997, p. 264. The work, which has not been preserved, is mentioned by Fray Juan in his *Sermonario* of 1606.
- 85** John Turberville Needham, *De inscriptione quadam Aegyptiaca Taurini inventa et characteribus Aegyptiis olim et Sinis communibus exarata idolo cuidam antiquo in Regia Universitate servato ad utrasque Academias Londinensem et Parisiensem rerum antiquarum investigatione et studio praepositas data epistola*, Rome: Nicolai, 1761, p. 40, p. 57. The antiquity of the black marble statue was already called into question at the time, and its 17th century origin was confirmed by Champollion. See Enrichetta Leospo, Athanasius Kircher und das Museo Kircheriano, in: Gereon Sievernich, Hendrik Budde (eds.), *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, exh. cat. Berliner Festspiele, Gütersloh and Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989, pp. 58–71.
- 86** Fickler. *Das Inventar*, 2004 (as fn. 81), inv. no. 1721: »Ein hülzener kopf aines Abgotts aus Florida«.
- 87** Kim Sloan (ed.), *A New World. England's first view of America*, London: British Museum Press, 2007.
- 88** Paul Hulton, *America 1585. The Complete Drawings of John White*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and British Museum Publications, 1984, p. 191. On the transformation of White's paintings into copperplate images in the Frankfurt workshop of Theodor de Bry, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Roanoake's achievement, in: Kim Sloan (ed.), *European Visions: American Voices*, British Museum Research Publication 172, London: British Museum Press, 2009, pp. 3–12.
- 89** Feest 1986 (as fn. 71), p. 194, n. 10, discusses the example of the survey of American objects in Italian collections by Detlef Heikamp, *American Objects in Italian Collections of the Renaissance and Baroque: A Survey*, in: Fredi Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, vol. I, pp. 455–482.
- 90** That the drawings are copies from the printed engravings and not preliminary drawings for them is suggested by the fact that they are on transparent paper and demonstrated, inter alia, by the artist's

misunderstanding of the rings that cover the body of the Taino zemi, as argued by Maffei 2013 (as fn. 11).

91 MS 1551, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, f. 4v: »Idolo di Egipto adorato de los Mexicanos a quien llamaron Mahez«. The Aztecs did have a god of maize, Centeotl, but that is not the figure represented here.

92 Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings vol. II, 1927–1930*, Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland and Gary Smith (eds.), Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 1999, p. 668.

93 Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings vol. IV, 1938–1940*, Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (eds.), Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 2003, p. 381.

94 Not even a museum label: Peter Mason, Una cuestión de etiqueta, in: *Éndoxa*, Series Filosóficas no. 33 (2014), pp. 165–180.

95 Alois Riegl, *Die spätromische Kunst-Industrie*, Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901, Table XXIII, 1 ad 2.

96 Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, Vienna and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1903, p. 5, emphasis added.

97 Riegl 1901 (as fn. 95), fig. 52.

98 Benjamin 1999 (as fn. 92), p. 668.

99 Peter Burke, Images as evidence in 17th century Europe, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 64, no. 2 (2003), pp. 273–296, pp. 291–292; see too Sergio Botta, Il corpo universale degli dèi americani. Per una teoria visuale del politeismo nell'opera di Lorenzo Pignoria, *Civiltà e Religioni* no. 3 (2017), pp. 39–69. The correct date of 1601 for the discovery of the Aldobrandini Wedding was established by Carla Benocci, *Villa Aldobrandini a Roma*, Rome: Argos, 1992, and by Francesca Cappelletti and Caterina Volpi, New documents concerning the discovery and early history of the Nozze Aldobrandini, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 56 (1993), pp. 274–280.

100 Ian Jenkins, »Contemporary minds«. Sir William Hamilton's affair with antiquity, in: Ian Jenkins, Kim Sloan (eds.), *Vases and Volcanoes. Sir William Hamilton and his collection*, exh. cat. British Museum, London: British Museum Press, 1996, pp. 40–64, p. 50. On the first publication of the Hamilton vase collection, see Pascal Griener, *Le Antichità Etrusche, Greche e Romane 1766–1776 di Pierre Hugues d'Hancarville. La pubblicazione delle ceramiche antiche della prima collezione Hamilton*, Rome: Edizione dell'Elefante, 1992.

101 It is therefore not surprising that Pignoria is mentioned neither in Erwin Panofsky's *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970 nor in his *Studies in Iconology*, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962.

102 See Peter Mason, *The Ways of the World. European representations of other cultures from Homer to Sade*, Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston, 2015.

103 Alexander von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères, et monumens des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, Paris: J. Smith, 1810–1813, plates I, II.

104 John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, New York: Dover 1969 [1841: Harper & Brothers], 2 vols., II, pp. 439–442, a point to which he returned in his *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, New York: Dover, 1963 [1843: Harper & Brothers] pp. 306–313.

105 The volume of Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* on »La religion des Égyptiens, des Arabes, des Syriens, des Perses, des Scythes, des Germains, des Gaulois, des Espagnols, & des Carthaginois« includes the central figure of Isis from the Mensa Isiaca (*L'Antiquité expliquée* . . . Tome second, Seconde partie, Paris: F. Delaune, 1719, p. 105), as well as a copy of the whole Mensa (ibid., between pp. 340 and 341).

A Food Chain of Objects (Anne Haslund Hansen)

- 1 For a detailed overview of the sources used by Piranesi in *Diverse maniere*, see Roberta Battaglia, *Le «Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini...» di Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Gusto e cultura antiquaria*, Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1994. I am grateful to the editors of the present volume for sharing with me a manuscript version of their discussion on Piranesi and *Diverse maniere*, now published as: Caroline van Eck, Miguel John Versluys, *The Hôtel Beauharnais in Paris. Egypt, Greece, Rome, and the dynamics of stylistic transformation*, in: K. T. von Stackelberg, E. Macaulay-Lewis (eds.), *Housing the new Romans. Architectural reception and classical style in the modern world*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 54–91.
- 2 This formed the subject of my PhD dissertation: Anne Haslund Hansen, *Ordering the ancient World. Egyptian Antiquities in 18th Century Visual Culture*, Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2012.
- 3 Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, vols. 1–15, Paris, 1719–1724 and Anne Claude de Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques et Romaines*, I–VII, Paris, 1752–1767.
- 4 Nikolaus Pevsner (with S. Lang), *The Egyptian Revival*, in: *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design I*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1968, pp. 213–235. Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1993 (first published in 1961), pp. 112–113. James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania. The Egyptian Revival: A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994, pp. 87–97. Dirk Syndram, *Ägypten Faszinationen. Untersuchungen zum Ägyptenbild im europäischen Klassizismus bis 1800*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990, pp. 184–197. Norbert Miller, ... E di mezzo alla tema esce il diletto. Ägyptische Träume und Alpträume bei Jean-Laurent Le Geay und Giovanni Battista Piranesi, in: W. Seipel (ed.), *Ägyptomanie. Europäische Ägypten-imagination von der Antike bis heute*, Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien/Milano: Skira, 2000, pp. 213–287, pp. 250–271.
- 5 Giambattista Piranesi, *Diverse maniere d'ardnare i cammini*, Roma, 1769, p.1.
- 6 John Wilton-Ely, *The Polemical Works. Rome, 1757, 1761, 1765, 1769*, Westmead: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972.
- 7 Heather Hyde Minor, *Piranesi's Lost Words*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015, p. 158. In chap. 5, Hyde Minor offers an in-depth discussion of the impetus and scope of *Diverse maniere*.
- 8 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), pp. 32–33.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 10 For a recent discussion on the Graeco-Roman controversy see Sigrid de Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture. Paestum in the Eighteenth-Century. Architectural Experience and Theory*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 173–227. For Piranesi see also Rudolf Wittkower, Piranesi's »Parere su L'Architettura«, in: *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2.2 (1938), pp. 147–158, John Wilton-Ely, Vision and design: Piranesi's »fantasia« and the Greco-Roman controversy, in: G. Brunel (ed.), *Piranèse et les français* (Academie de France a Rome), Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1978, pp. 529–552, Susan M. Dixon, Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini* and Chimneypiece Design as a Vehicle for Polemic, in: *Studies in the Decorative Arts* vol. I.1 (1993), pp. 76–98, Lola Kantor-Kazovsky, Pierre Jean Mariette and Piranesi. The Controversy reconsidered, in: M. Bevilacqua, H. Hyde Minor, F. Barry (eds.), *The Serpent and the Stylus. Essays on G. B. Piranesi*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, pp. 149–168, and Hyde Minor 2015 (as fn. 7), pp. 117–156.

- 11 The copies consulted here are: 1.) Bodleian Library, shelf mark Mason Z 60, printed in Rome, 1769, and 2.) Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Rare Books, accession no. 3117 (digitalized), printed in Rome, 1769. A few differences can be observed in the numbering but the Egyptian plates and their location within the sequence are consistent in both copies.
- 12 The exact years in which the Egyptian interior was in existence are unclear, but c. 1765–1778. Syndram 1990 (as fn. 4), pp. 194–196.
- 13 The work concludes with a satirical tailpiece, a reply to Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy, an antiquarian who had criticised Piranesi. Hyde Minor 2015 (as fn. 7), pp. 176–177.
- 14 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 8.
- 15 In Wilton-Ely 1972 (as fn. 6) and Luigi Ficacci, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi. The Complete Etchings*, Köln: Taschen, 2000, the Egyptian plates are grouped together as nos. 863–875 and nos. 675–687, respectively.
- 16 John Wilton-Ely in the »Introduction« to Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*, Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002, p. 51.
- 17 Caylus 1752, vol. I, p. ix.
- 18 Caylus 1764 (as fn. 3), vol. VI, p. viii.
- 19 James Tassie, *Descriptive Catalogue of a general Collection of Ancient and Modern engraved Gems*, 1791, pp. lxxi–lxxv.
- 20 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Dresden, 1764, p. 3.
- 21 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 15.
- 22 Ibid., p. 15.
- 23 Ibid., p. 22.
- 24 Ibid., p. 20.
- 25 Ibid., p. 18. Two plates (nos. I–II) in the essay are dedicated to this subject, showing, amongst others, shells taken from Niccolò Gualtieri's *Index Testarum Conchyliorum* (1742) in direct juxtaposition with depictions of »Etruscan vases«. See also Heather Hyde Minor, G.B. Piranesi's »Diverse maniere« and the Natural History of Ancient Art, in: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 56/57 (2011/2012), pp. 323–351.
- 26 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 11.
- 27 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 10.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 8–9.
- 29 Identified by Battaglia 1994 (as fn. 1), p. 204, fig. 12.
- 30 Frederic Louis [Frederik Ludvig] Norden, *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, Copenhagen, 1755, vol. II, pl. CXII, XCIX and CXV.
- 31 Norden 1755 (as fn. 30), vol. I, p. 170.
- 32 The majority of Norden's sketches are held by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. For these sketches, see Marie-Louise Buhl, *Les dessins archéologiques et topographiques de l'Egypte ancienne faits par F.L. Norden 1737–1738, et conservés à l'Académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark*, København: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1993. The simple sketch of the Ramesseum is in Buhl, 1993, pl. 72r and p. 115. A folder of drawings are in the Royal Danish Library, shelfmark G.k.S. 447,2, II. The redrawn version of the Ramesseum is on leaf 57. For the preparation of the volumes of Norden, see Torben Holck Colding, Marcus Tuscher's Etchings, in: M.-L. Buhl, E. Dal, T. Holck Colding, *The Danish Naval Officer Frederik Ludvig Norden*, Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1986, pp. 49–64.

- 33 Quoted from John A. Pinto, *Speaking Ruins. Piranesi, architects, and antiquity in eighteenth-century Rome*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012, p. 99.
- 34 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 9.
- 35 Inv. no. 7155, Museo Egizio, Torino. Anne Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972, pp. 43–44. Montfaucon has an extensive discussion of the piece. Montfaucon 1722 (as fn. 3), vol. II, pp. 210–217.
- 36 These Egyptianizing sculptures, produced in Italy, may not originally be depictions of Antinous but a more generic representation of an »Egyptian-styled king«. See Caroline Vout, Antinous, Archaeology and History, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* (2005), pp. 80–96, pp. 89–90. See also Miguel John Versluys, Making meaning with Egypt: Hadrian, Antinous and Rome's cultural renaissance, in: L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Egyptian gods in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean: Image and reality between local and global*, Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia Editore, pp. 25–39.
- 37 Syndram 1990 (as fn. 4), p. 192.
- 38 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), pp. 8–9.
- 39 See also Miller 2000 (as fn. 4), p. 252 and Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence. From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object*, Boston-Berlin-Munich: De Gruyter, and Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015, pp. 147–157.
- 40 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), pp. 9–10.
- 41 Winckelmann 1764 (as fn. 20), pp. 33–34.
- 42 Battaglia 1994 (as fn. 1), p. 218. See also Syndram 1990 (as fn. 4), pp. 192–193.
- 43 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 9.
- 44 Miller 2000 (as fn. 4), p. 259.
- 45 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), pl. 36. Caylus 1762, vol. V, p. 68, pl. XXII.iv.
- 46 Caylus 1762 (as fn. 3), vol. V, p. 59, pl. XX. The statue is in the Bibliothèque nationale, inv. no. 5. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne*, Paris, 1958, vol. III, pl. XXX.4.
- 47 Battaglia 1994 (as fn. 1), p. 215, fig. 36 and 43.
- 48 In 1809, Jean-François Champollion did a reassessment of Caylus' Egyptian pieces with the title: *Monuments faux, basiliens ou d'imitation publiés par Caylus sous le nom d'égyptiens*. (See: Manuscrits occidentaux, NAF 20362. Reference via the website: <http://caylus-recueil.huma-num.fr>)
- 49 Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. 53.1672. Height 3,9 cm. Online access: <http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue>
- 50 The pieces incorporated in the plate are identified in Battaglia 1994 (as fn. 1), pp. 202–208.
- 51 Norden 1755, vol. II, pl. CX and CXI.
- 52 The panel on the right retains many features of the actual inscription, while the one to the left draws on the names of Psamtik II (most likely from the obelisk of Montecitorio).
- 53 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), pl. 32. Caylus 1752 (as fn. 3), vol. I, pl. XII.
- 54 Ibid., pl. 14. See also pl. 21. Caylus 1764 (as fn. 3), vol. VI, pl. III.ii.
- 55 Caylus 1764 (as fn. 3), vol. VI, pl. III.ii.
- 56 Steffi Roettgen, Das Papyruskabinett von Mengs in der Biblioteca Vaticana. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Idee des Museo Pio-Clementino, in: *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3. Folge, Bd. 31 (1980), pp. 189–246, p. 221.

- 57 Iversen 1993 (as fn. 4), p. 110.
- 58 Ibid., p. 99.
- 59 Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, London, 1728, «Hieroglyphics», p. 249. See also Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, for similar perceptions on the hieroglyphs.
- 60 See for instance Christian J. Emden, Kulturwissenschaft as Entzifferungsunternehmen. Hieroglyphik, Emblematisierung und historische Einbildungskraft bei Walter Benjamin, in: A. Assmann, J. Assmann (eds.), *Hieroglyphen. Stationen einer anderen abendländischen Grammatologie*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003, pp. 297–326.
- 61 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 8, p. 10.
- 62 This piece, now in Copenhagen, was much appraised by Winckelmann. See Mette Moltesen, Rebecca Hast, The Antinous Casali in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, in: *Analecta Romana XXX* (2004), pp. 101–117.
- 63 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 8.
- 64 See Hyde Minor 2015 (as fn. 7), p. 172 for a discussion of pl. 49.
- 65 Winckelmann 1764 (as fn. 20), pp. 56–62.
- 66 See also van Eck and Versluys 2017, pp. 83–84.
- 67 Caylus 1759 (as fn. 3), p. xxix.
- 68 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 9.
- 69 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 2.
- 70 [anonymous], *Monumens Egyptiens consistant en obelisques, pyramides, chambres sepulcrales, statues d'idoles et de pretres, en momies, en grand nombre de divinités de cette nation, en bas-reliefs, en sacrifices, en animaux qu'elle adorait & c. Le tout gravé sur deux cens planches avec leurs explications historiques*, I–II, Rome, 1791. For the present study, I have used the Sackler Library copy. Shelf mark: SAC Rare books, Mon 333. Sackler Library, University of Oxford.
- 71 See *Piranèse et les Français 1740–1790*, Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976, cat. 3 (p. 36) and Andrew Wilton, Ilaria Bignami (eds.), *Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery, 1996, p. 118, cat. no. 75: oil painting of the interior of the Bouchard et Gravier shop (private collection, Rome). See also Hyde Minor 2015 (as fn. 7), pp. 48–49.
- 72 *Monumens Egyptiens* 1791, vol. I, pl. 21, 29 and vol. II, pl. 8, 34, 35, 53, 57, 72, 93 and 96.
- 73 Ibid., vol. II, pl. 3 and pl. 8.
- 74 For the collections of Caylus, see <http://caylus-recueil.huma-num.fr/>.
- 75 For some interesting remarks regarding these selection processes, see Stephen Quirke, Modern Mummies and ancient Scarabs. The Egyptian collection of Sir William Hamilton, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 9.2 (1997), pp. 253–262.
- 76 See Anne Haslund Hansen, *Niebuhr's Museum. Artefacts and Souvenirs from the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761–1767*, Copenhagen: Forlaget Vandkunsten, 2016.
- 77 Norden 1755 (as fn. 30), pl. LV, inv. no. AA c 18.
- 78 Richard Pococke, *A description of the East, and some other Countries*, London, 1743, vol. 1, p. 211, p. 213.
- 79 Piranesi 1769 (as fn. 5), p. 10.

The Egyptian Centrepiece of the Sèvres Manufactory (Odile Nouvel-Kammerer)

- 1 I would like to thank Caroline van Eck, Professor of Architectural History at Cambridge University, Miguel John Versluys, Professor of Classical Archaeology at Leiden University, Jean-Marcel Humbert, ancien conservateur général du Patrimoine, Tamara Préaud, Honorary Archivist at the Sèvres manufactory for her expert advice, Olga Jegorova, Curator at the State Museum of Ceramics and the Kuskovo 18th century collections in Moscow. I am indebted to them for their useful suggestions, which have greatly contributed to improve this paper. I would also like to thank Camille Joseph for her excellent translation.
- 2 Both centrepieces are currently held at the State Museum of Ceramics and the Kuskovo 18th century collections in Moscow.
- 3 See the entry about the *surtout* in *Vocabulaire typologique. Objets civils et domestiques*, Paris, 2002, p. 234.
- 4 On architectural models, see Werner Szambien, *Le Musée d'architecture*, Paris: Picard, 1988.
- 5 Luigi Valadier au Louvre ou *L'Antiquité exaltée*, exh. cat. Musée du Louvre, 17 November 1994 – 13 February 1995, Les Dossiers du Louvre, Paris : Réunion des Musées Nationaux. Alvar Gonzales-Palacios, *I Valadier : l'Album dei disegni del Museo Napoleonico*, Rome: Palombi, 2015.
- 6 Pierre Enès, Le surtout de mariage en porcelaine de Sèvres du Dauphin, 1769–1770, in: *Revue de l'art* 76, 1987, pp. 63–73.
- 7 Frederike Werner, *Ägyptomanie in Preussen. Die Tafelskulptur zur Hochzeit im Königshaus 1804*, Weimar: VDG, 2016. Although Bonaparte had been invited to attend the wedding, he did not go and simply sent a message of congratulations. But news of the existence of the centrepiece probably reached Paris.
- 8 The Egyptian centrepiece has been studied extensively: Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Les surtouts impériaux en porcelaine de Sèvres, in: *Keramik Freunde der Schweiz, Mitteilungsblatt* 88, 1976; Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Le surtout en biscuit du service égyptien, in: *Versailles et les Tables royales en Europe*, exh. cat. Versailles, 3 November 1993–27 February 1994, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1993, pp. 362–364; *Egyptomania*, exh. cat. Musée du Louvre, January–April 1994, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994, pp. 220–243.
- 9 Cf. Correspondance, no. AN2, in: Marie-Anne Dupuy, Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont, Elaine Williamson (eds.), *Vivant Denon, directeur des musées sous le Consulat et l'Empire, correspondance (1802–1815)*, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999, quoted in Tamara Préaud, Denon et la Manufacture impériale de Sèvres, in: *Vivant Denon, L'œil de Napoléon*, exh. cat. Paris, 20 October 1999–17 January 2000, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999, p. 294.
- 10 Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*, Paris; Didot, 1802; The text was published in English in 1803: Vivant Denon, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, vol. 1 & 2, New York, 1803. *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée française*, Paris: Imprimerie impériale (later Imprimerie royale), 1809–1828. Even though the *Description* was published after the manufacturing of the Egyptian centrepiece, it can still be used as a valuable source for this study since the information contained in the book was known to Denon and other learned people such as Brongniart as soon as the end of the Egypt expedition.
- 11 Brongniart himself evaluated the total cost after the whole service and the *surtout* were delivered on 2 October 1808. Sèvres Cité de la Céramique. Archives of the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (hereafter »SCC MNS«), Pb1 L1, October 1808.
- 12 SCC MNS, T1 L6 D2, letter of 15 February 1805.
- 13 SCC MNS, T4 L2 D4, letter of 10 March 1808.
- 14 SCC MNS, M1 D7, report by Salmon, cashier, to Brongniart, 7 May 1808.

- 15 SCC MNS, T4 L1 D4, letter of 5 August 1808 from Daru to Brongniart.
- 16 Denis Roche, *Mobilier français en Russie*, Paris: Levy, 1913, pp. 10–12.
- 17 *Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8), p. 220–243. *Description de l'Égypte* (as fn. 10) *Antiquité*, vol. I, II, III and IV.
- 18 *Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8).
- 19 *Description*... (as fn. 10), vol. I, chap. 1, p. 7 and pl. 28 »Vue perspective de l'édifice est«.
- 20 Brongniart and Denon adopted the name »great temple of Philae.«
- 21 Vivant Denon 1803 (as fn. 10), vol. 2, p. 96. [French reference: Vivant Denon 1802 (as fn. 10), t. I, p. 140.]
- 22 *Description*... (as fn. 10) vol. IV, pl. 29 »Façade du portique du temple de Denderah«.
- 23 *Description*... (as fn. 10), 1821, vol. I, chap. V, p. 318–319 and 1809, vol. I, pl. 53 »Elévation du portique du grand temple d'Edfou«.
- 24 Respectively *Description*... (as fn. 10) 1809, vol. I, pl. 51 and vol. II, pl. 21 and vol. III, pl. 29.
- 25 SCC MNS, L6 D2, letter of 15 February 1805. The Egyptians are a direct copy of the line drawings in the Denon, *Voyage*... 1802 (as fn. 10), vol. II, pl. 135. See *Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8), p. 226.
- 26 The table top arrived in Saint Petersburg after the centrepiece. Because it was impossible to have the stairs made in porcelain, which Brongniart realised at the last minute, he eventually went for a stand in painted metal imitating granite, the Egyptian stone *par excellence*, ordered from the manufacture de vernis sur métal et laque français, 10 rue Martel in Paris. SCC MNS, T4 L2 D4.
- 27 Tamara Préaud, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847*, exh. cat. Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, October 1997 – February 1998, New York: Publ. for the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1997, pp. 179.
- 28 *Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8). Olga Jegerova, Das Ägyptische Service von Sèvres. Porzellan als Mittel der Diplomatie, in: K. Weber, K. Klemp, *Fragile. Die Tafel der Zaren und das Porzellan der Revolutionäre. Porzellan als Kunst und Instrument in Diplomatie, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, exh. cat. Kunstgewerbe Museum, Frankfurt, Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2008.
- 29 My gratitude goes to Jean Marcel Humbert for clarifying this point. Brongniart always speaks of a »frieze of hieroglyphs« without mentioning that they are in fact imaginary.
- 30 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), pp. 24–28. The Victoria and Albert Museum bought the Egyptian service in 1979 (see Charles Truman, *The Sèvres Egyptian Service 1810–1812*, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1982).
- 31 *Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8), p. 225.
- 32 In 1802, two years after the nomination of Alexandre Brongniart at Sèvres, Bonaparte appointed Denon director of the Central Museum for the Arts (*Museum central des arts*), then Director of the Arts, hence keeping under his control the State manufactories, among which Sèvres.
- 33 SCC MNS, Pb1 L1: »The *service égyptien* may be considered to be completed, only the *surtout* will prevent it from being exposed.« See Helmina von Chézy. *Leben und Kunst in Paris seit Napoleon I*, hg. v. Bénédicte Savoy, Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2009, p. 386, p. 684. Tamara Préaud, Le Service égyptien offert par Napoléon Ier au tsar Alexandre Ier de Russie en 1808, in: *Versailles*... 1993 (as fn. 8), p. 359, n. 8.
- 34 SCC MNS, T2 L2 D5.
- 35 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 9 and 10.

36 SCC MNS, Pb1 L1.

37 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 12. Tamara Préaud, Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart à la Manufacture de Sèvres, in: *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart 1739–1813. Architecture et décor*. Exh. cat. Musée Carnavalet, 22 Avril – 13 Juillet 1986, Paris: Les Musées de la Ville de Paris, 1986, pp. 239–261.

38 Sculpture by Charles-Auguste Taunay, SCC MNS, Pb1 L1. Cf Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 10, pp. 13–14.

39 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 14.

40 Apollo and Diana were made by Louis-Simon Boizot. Clodion is responsible for the bas-reliefs of figures at the base of the columns (ibid., p. 13).

41 The Sèvres papers mention a »flower basin« whereas Brongniart actually drew a fruit bowl (ibid., p. 13 and p. 51).

42 Brongniart junior is careful to note that »they are placed in between the large pieces, never in front of them; they should all contain three or four flowers of medium size.«

43 The group of three Graces was sculpted by Antoine-Denis Chaudet. SCC MNS, Pb1 L1 and Vj 13 fol.20 vo, 105 vo and 112. Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 14.

44 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 12.

45 SCC MNS, T3 L1 D2. Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 11. Tamara Préaud, Denon et la Manufacture impériale de Sèvres, in: Vivant Denon, *Ceil de Napoléon* 1999 (as fn. 9), pp. 295–316.

46 About the Sèvres manufactory, Daru wrote Brongniart junior: »It ought to be the first and not the second-best.« Letter of 11 September 1807.

47 Napoleon Bonaparte, *Correspondance générale, t.V, Boulogne, Trafalgar, Austerlitz, 1805*, Paris: Fayard, 2008, p. 543, lettre 10517. Napoleon's correspondence, 6 August 1805 (18th day of Thermidor, year XIII). The order putting Denon in charge of illustrating the campaigns of Italy and Germany was issued on 28 February 1806. The drawings of the Italian and German campaigns were made under Denon's supervision at Napoleon's request.

48 See above, fn. 7.

49 Egypt was not mentioned in the treaty of Tilsit, but in May 1808, Napoleon asked his Ministry of the Navy, Decrès, to prepare an expedition to India and a landing in Egypt as part of the war against Britain. On the topic, see: Maurice Dupont, *L'Amiral Decrès et Napoléon, ou la fidélité orangeuse d'un ministre*, Paris: Economica, 2015; Caroline Gaultier-Kurhan, *Méhémet Ali et la France 1805–1849. Histoire singulière du Napoléon de l'Orient*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005; Marie-Pierre Rey, *Alexandre Ier. Le tsar qui vainquit Napoléon*, Paris: Flammarion, 2009; Edouard Driaault, *Mohamed Aly et Napoléon (1807–1814)*, Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie, 1925; Mireille Musso, Caulincourt, ambassadeur en Russie, et la réalité de l'alliance franco-russe, in: *Napoleonica. La Revue* 3.18 (2013), pp. 4–21.

50 Exh. cat. *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart 1739–1813. Architecture et décor*. Musée Carnavalet, 22 Avril – 13 Juillet 1986, Paris: Les Musées de la Ville de Paris, 1986, p. 221f.

51 See Odile Nouvel-Kammerer, *L'Aigle et le Papillon. Symboles des pouvoirs sous Napoléon 1800–1815*, exh. cat. Paris: Les Arts décoratifs, 2008 and Odile Nouvel-Kammerer, *Symbols of Power, Napoleon and the Arts of the Empire Style*, New York; American Federation of Arts, 2007.

52 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi disegnati ed incisi*, vol.1, Rome, 1778–1780. The plates were not originally numbered and thus present different numbers in the various copies. According to Corinna Höper (*Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Die poetische Wahrheit. Radierungen*, Stuttgart: Verlag Hatje, 1999, p. 233), Giovanni's son, Franco Piranesi, added eight more plates between 1778 and 1791, including the one mentioned here.

53 Arizzoli-Clémentel 1976 (as fn. 8), p. 50, fn. 86.

54 »Pianta Geometrica di una Marmorea antiqua Tavola delle sorti Circensi, ritrovata presso le rovine d'un antico Circo a Boville, luogo in oggi detto le Frattocchie di Albano. Essa rappresenta un Circo in cui scorreva un Fonte agguisa del Meandro Fiume della Frigia. A Tubo donde veniva l'Acqua che spingeva le Tessere nel Canale inclinato B C Carceri, Ossian posti, da cui crano lanciate le Tessere. D Infimo foro, o Emissario dell'Acqua.«

55 Tacitus, *Annales*, XV, 23. See Girolamo Torquati, *Studi storico-archeologici sulla città e sul territorio di Marino*, Marino: Tipografica Renze Palozzi, 1878.

56 The circus's vestiges were excavated in 1823 only after Brongniart had designed the Olympic centrepiece.

57 Antoine-Augustin de Bruzen de La Martinière, *Grand dictionnaire géographique et critique*, t. V, The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, 1835, p. 228.

58 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, »cinquième promenade«, (1776–1778), Lausanne, 1782: »De toutes les habitations où j'ai demeuré (et j'en ai eu de charmantes), aucune ne m'a rendu si véritablement heureux et ne m'a laissé de si tendres regrets que l'île Saint-Pierre [...] m'eût suffi durant toute mon existence sans laisser naître un seul instant dans mon âme le désir d'un autre état.« »Of all the places where I have lived (and I have lived in some charming ones) none has made me so truly happy or left me such tender regrets as the Island of Saint-Pierre. [...] [It] would have been enough to have lived like that for the whole of my life, without ever feeling in my soul the desire to live in another state.« Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Fifth Walk, in: *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, trans. Russell Goulbourne, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 49–50.]

59 Monique Moser and Henri Lavagne (ed.), *Hadrien empereur et architecte. La villa d'Hadrien*, Geneva: Vogele, 2002; Franceschini, *Villa Adriana*, Rome: L'Erma, di Brestchneider, 1991. In the second half of the 18th century, plans of Hadrian's villa were made, in particular by Piranesi in collaboration with Clérissseau, as well as by Adrien Pâris.

60 The most advanced examples of such panoramic landscapes, in which city buildings are artificially put in a row along a riverbank, are the *Rives du Bosphore* and the *Monuments de Paris*, both printed by the Dufour manufactory around 1810 and 1814 respectively. Cf. Odile Nouvel-Kammerer, *Papiers panoramiques*, Paris; Union des arts décoratifs/Flammarion, 1990.

61 »[The island of Chemmis] is situated in a deep and broad lake by the side of the temple at Buto, and it is said by the Egyptians that this island is a floating island. I myself did not see it either floating about or moved from its place, and I feel surprise at hearing of it, wondering if it be indeed a floating island. [...] And the Egyptians, when they say that it is floating, add this story, namely that in this island, which formerly was not floating, Leto, being one of the eight gods who came into existence first, and dwelling in the city of Buto where she has this Oracle, received Apollo from Isis as a charge and preserved him, concealing him in the island which is said now to be a floating, at that time when Typhon came after him seeking everywhere and desiring to find the son of Osiris. Now they say that Apollo and Artemis are children of Dionysos and of Isis, and that Leto became their nurse and preserver; and in the Egyptian tongue Apollo is Oros, Demeter is Isis, and Artemis is Bubastis.« (Herodotus, *Histoires*, trad. G. C Macaulay, vol. I, London: Macmillan & Co, 1890, p. 135). The French translation by Larcher (1802) reads: »L'île de Chemmis [...] est dans un lac profond et spacieux, près du temple de Latone à Buto. Les Egyptien assurent que cette île est flottante ; pour moi, je ne l'ai vue ni flotter, ni remuer, et je fus fort surpris d'entendre dire qu'il y eut réellement des îles flottantes. [...] Latone, l'une de huit plus ancienne Divinités demeurait à Buto, où est maintenant son Oracle. Isis lui ayant remis Apollon en dépôt, elle le cacha dans cette île, qu'on appelle aujourd'hui île flottante, et qui autrefois étoit fixe et immobile ; elle le sauva dans le temps même qu'arrivoit Typhon qui cherchoit par-tout le fils d'Osiris ; car, ils disent qu'Apollon et Diane sont nés de Bacchus et d'Isis, et que Latone fut leur nourrice et leur conservatrice. Apollon s'appelle Orus en Egyptien, Cérès, Isis, et Diane, Bubastis. « (Hérodote, *Histoire*, trad. Larcher, Paris, 1802, chap. CLVI, p. 130–132) Larcher adds a footnote: »J'ignore si l'île de Chem-

mis a jamais été flottante. On peut en douter, surtout après ce qu'en dit notre Historien. Les Grecs prétendaient que l'île de Delos avoit été flottante. Je suis persuadé qu'ils n'ont imaginé cette fable, que sur le récit des Egyptiens qui s'étoient établis chez eux, et qu'ils ont attribué à l'île de Délos, lieu de naissance d'Apollon, ce que les Egyptiens leur racontaient de celle de Chemmis, qui avoit servi d'asyle à leur Apollon. Un rocher de deux mille toises de longueur ne peut nager sur les eaux ; mais les Grecs, grands amateurs de merveilleux, n'y regardoient pas de si près.» (ibid., fn. 536, p. 513–514) [«I don't know if the island of Chemmis ever floated. One may doubt it, especially after hearing from our Historian. The Greeks pretended that the island of Delos had floated. I am quite convinced that they imagined this fable only because of the tale told by the Egyptians who settled in their homeland, and that they attributed to the island of Delos, birthplace of Apollo, what the Egyptians told them about Chemmis, which had served as asylum to their Apollo. A twelve thousand feet-long rock cannot float on water; but the Greeks, who were keen on wonders, looked at things from a distance.»] Many ancient writers compared the island of Chemmis to Delos as a floating island. See Dugas Montbel, *Observations sur l'Odyssée d'Homère*, Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1833, p. 159.

62 Denon, *Travels*... 1803 (as fn. 10), p. 83 (French ref.: Denon, *Voyage*... 1802 [as fn. 10], vol. I, p. 134.).

63 Szambien 1988 (as fn. 4).

64 Quatremère de Quincy, *De l'architecture égyptienne considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son goût, et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l'architecture grecque*, Paris, 1803. See Vassili Petridou, «A. C. Quatremère de Quincy et son mémoire sur l'architecture égyptienne», in Chantal Grell (éd.), *L'Égypte imaginaire de la Renaissance à Champollion. Colloque en Sorbonne*, Paris, 2001, p. 173–186. Caroline van Eck, «Antoine-Christophe Quatremère de Quincy, De l'Architecture Égyptienne, considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son goût, et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l'Architecture Grecque», M. Burioni (ed.), *Weltgeschichten der Architektur. Ursprünge, Narrative, Bilder 1700–2016*, exh. cat. Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte/Dietmar Klinger Verlag, December 2016 – March 2017, pp. 97–114.

65 Denon, *Travels*... 1803 (as fn. 10), vol. 1, p. 203. (French ref.: Denon, *Voyage*... [as fn. 10] p. 93).

66 Denon, *Travels*... 1803 (as fn. 10), vol. 2, p. 40 (French ref.: Denon, *Voyage*... [as fn. 10] p. 113).

67 See Pascal Griener's contribution in this volume.

68 *Description*... 1821 (as fn. 10), vol. 2, p. 4. Denon adds: «Au travers de cette porte on découvre le grand temple qui forme le plus magnifique tableau. Il serait difficile d'exprimer tout ce que fait éprouver de sensations diverses l'aspect de ces figures colossales d'Isis qui portent l'entablement du portique. Il semble que l'on ait été tout à coup transporté dans un lieu de féerie et d'enchantement : on est tout à la fois saisi d'étonnement et d'admiration.» («Through the door one discovers the great temple displaying the most wonderful picture. It would be difficult to express all the various feelings inspired by the appearance of those colossal statues of Isis carrying the entablature of the portico. It feels as if one was suddenly transported to a magical and enchanted place, standing in wonder and awe at the same time.»)

69 See above, fn. 23.

70 Denon, *Travels*... 1803 (as fn. 10), vol. 2, p. 96 (French ref.: Denon, *Voyage*... 1802 [as fn. 10], t. I, p. 140). In *Description*... 1821 (as fn. 10), vol. I, chap. V, p. 318–319, he adds: «Le petit temple n'est pas moins riche de sculpture que le temple d'Osiris: les figures qu'on y a le plus fréquemment représentées sont celle d'Isis et de son fils Horus. La tête d'Isis est aussi sculptée en relief sur les quatre faces des dés qui surmontent les chapiteaux ; et l'on ne saurait douter que ce temple n'ait été consacré à Isis ou à Horus et peut-être les deux à la fois.» («The small temple is no less sculpted than the temple of Osiris. Frequent figures are that of Isis and of her son Horus. The head of Isis is sculpted in relief on the four sides of the dice on top of the capital. There is no doubt the temple was dedicated to Isis or to Horus, or even to both at the same time.»)

71 See above, fn. 3.

72 Panoramic papers also presented antique themes that allowed those living in those rooms and looking at the walls to be »transported«, namely to identify with mythological characters. See Nouvel-Kammerer 1990 (as fn. 60).

73 On the symbols of ornaments during the Empire and the influence of images in homes and daily life, see *ibid.*

74 As Jean-Marcel Humbert has shown, the temple in the middle of the Egyptian centrepiece actually represents Philae's kiosk (*Egyptomania* 1994 (as fn. 8), pp. 220–221). The temple of Denderah is described as follows: »In all scenes, the goddess Isis stands at the front, and it is to her in particular that offerings are made. As we will soon see, its statue is prominent in all the visible sides of the temple being described, and where there is hardly any doubt she was being worshipped.« (»dans toutes ces scènes, la déesse Isis est en première ligne, et que c'est à elle que l'on adresse particulièrement les offrandes. Nous verrons d'ailleurs bientôt que son image se trouve en évidence dans tous les lieux apparents du temple que nous décrivons, et où l'on ne peut douter qu'elle fut honorée d'un culte particulier.«) *Description de l'Égypte*, Panckoucke, Paris, 1821, tome III, chap. X, p. 315. Also: »Isis symbole de la terre féconde et image de l'astre des nuits, sœur d'Apollon chez les Grecs, et chez les Égyptiens, femme et sœur d'Osiris. [...] Le nom d'Apollinopolis, que les Grecs ont donné à l'ancienne ville d'Edfou, porterait à croire que ce temple était principalement consacré à Horus, dont les Grecs ont fait leur Apollon, comme le témoignent Hérodote, Diodore et Plutarque. Apollon s'appelait Horus en langue égyptienne et les Grecs traduisaient Horus par Apollon. Celui-ci avait tué le serpent Python, celui-là était le vainqueur de Typhon.« (*Description de l'Égypte*, ed. Panckoucke, Paris, 1821, tome I, chap. V, p. 318). (Isis, symbol of fertility and image of the nightly star, sister to Apollo for the Greeks and, for the Egyptians, wife and sister to Osiris. [...] The name Apollinopolis which the Greeks gave to the ancient city of Edfou would lead us to think that the temple was mainly dedicated to Horus, which the Greeks took as their Apollo, as testified by Herodotus, Diodorus and Plutarch. Apollo was called Horus in the Egyptian language, and the Greeks called Horus Apollo. The latter was the slayer of the Python, the former vanquished Typhon.«) See also Pierre-Nicolas Rolfe, *Recherches sur le culte de Bacchus, symbole de la force reproductive de la nature*, Paris: Merlin, 1824, t. II, pp. 113–127.

75 On Isis worship, see Laurent Bricault, *Les Cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain*, Paris: Belles lettres, 2013. On the Roman Iseum, see Miguel John Verluys, Isis Capitolina and Egyptian cults in late Republican Rome, in: Laurent Bricault (ed.), *Isis en Occident. Actes du IIe colloque international sur les études isiaques*, RGRW 151, Leiden, Brill, 2004, pp. 421–448. Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, t. II, part II, Paris, 1722, p. 275.

76 It is interesting to note that there is no obelisk on the engraving of the kiosk. However, in his *Description of Egypt* (as fn. 10, p. 7), Denon specifies that at the entrance of the temple »were two small sandstone obelisks. Only one is still standing, and all is left of the other is the space it used to occupy.«

77 Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Essai sur la légende d'un mythe. La quête d'Isis. Introduction à l'Égyptomanie*, Paris: Perrin, 1967; Mona Ozouf, *La Fête révolutionnaire*, Paris: Gallimard, 1976.

78 See in particular: Court de Gébelin, *Le Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne*, Paris, 1773 and Charles Dupuis, *L'Origine de tous les cultes*, Paris, 1794.

79 »At the front of the ancient vessel, the prow loaded with a statue of Isis, seated, in silver on a sea of the same, and dexterated with a star also in silver.« Respectively, memoir of 12 April 1810 and decree of 20 January 1811. In Baltrusaitis 1967 (as fn. 77), p. 67. See also A. de Coëtlogon, L. M. Tisserand, *Les Armoiries de la ville de Paris*, t. II, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875, pp. 179–180 and appendix XXXVII.

80 Pierre Mollier (ed.), *La Franc-maçonnerie sous l'Empire: un âge d'or?*, Paris: Dervy, 2007. I would like to thank Pierre Mollier for helpful research tips. See also Jan Assmann, *Das verschleierte Bild zu Saïs. Schillers Ballade und ihre griechischen und Ägyptischen Hintergründe*, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999, and id., *Religio Duplex*, Paris: Aubier Flammarion, 2010. J. Assmann, F. Ebeling, *Ägyptische Mysterien. Reisen in die Unterwelt*, in: *Aufklärung und Romantik, Eine kommentierte Anthologie* (2014).

81 Rey 2009 (as fn. 49).

82 Charles Dupuis, like Alexandre Lenoir, did not believe that pyramids were tombs but rather »monuments erected in honour of the sun.« (quoted in Dominique Poulot, *Musée, nation, patrimoine (1789–1815)*, Paris: Gallimard, 1997, p. 140) However, this point of view was quite uncommon at the time.

83 I would like to thank Antoine d’Albis, former laboratory director at the Sèvres manufactory and Honorary President of the Friends of the Sèvres Museum, for offering valuable insight into the context in which the *Ruines d’Égypte* were created. *Edouard et Cléopâtre. Egyptomanies depuis le XIXe siècle*, exh. cat. Villa Empain, 20 September 2012 – 10 February 2013, Brussels: Fondation Boghossian, 2012. Paul-Louis Rinuy, Anne (1941–) et Patrick (1942–) Poirier, in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, online, 2017. Jérôme Sans, Les Ruines du présent, in: *Anne et Patrick Poirier*, exh. cat. Museum für Moderne Kunst, Vienna: Stiftung Ludwig, 1994 / Fréjus: Le Capiton, Centre d’art, 1994, pp. 57–65.

Pharaohs, Papyri and Hookahs (Cecilia Hurley)

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2010 (as fn. 101), pp. 34–35; Renato Lefevre, Antonio Canova e il Museo Egizio del Vaticano, in: *Le Vie d'Italia* 53 (1947), pp. 849–852.

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- 122** *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition*, Karl Richard Lepsius (ed.), 12 vols., Berlin: Nicolai, 1849–1859.
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- 127** Moser 2006 (as fn. 9), passim.
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- 130** *The Times*, 12.6.1854, p. 9; see Grazia Zaffuto, 'Visual education' as the alternative mode of learning at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, in: *Victorian Network* 5/1 (2013), pp. 9–27, p. 10.
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Ancient Egypt: Do Things Matter? (David Fontijn)

1 I wish to thank the editor to invite me to write this. I am thankful for his comments as well as those from an anonymous reviewer on a previous draft of this text. Many thanks are also due to dr Eva Mol (Brown University), dr Marike van Aerde and PhD candidate Suzan van de Velde (Leiden University) for comments and practical help.

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8 Igor Kopytoff, The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditisation as Process, in: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social life of Things*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 64–91.

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13 Florian Göttsche, *Toppled*, Rotterdam: Post Editions, 2010.

14 See the contribution of Hurley in this volume.

15 See also the contribution of Quirke in this volume.

16 Kopytoff 1986 (as fn. 8).

17 Malafouris 2013 (as fn. 6).

18 See Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973, as quoted in Malafouris 2013 (as fn. 6), p. 4–7.

- 19 Colin Renfrew, Commodification and Institution in Group-Oriented and Individualizing Societies, in: W.G. Runciman (ed.), *The Origin of Human Social Institutions*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 93–117, p. 95, pp. 97–99.
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- 35 Fontijn 2019 (as fn. 20).
- 36 Susanne Küchler, Sacrificial economy and its objects, in: *Journal of Material Culture* 2 (1997), pp. 39–60.
- 37 Cf. the overview in Malafouris 2013 (as fn. 6).
- 38 Cf. Malafouris 2013 (as fn. 6), p. 77.
- 39 As illustrated in the contributions by Gunter, Swetnam-Burland, Nouvel-Kammerer and Hurley in this volume.
- 40 The role played by the ancient (Classical) authors on the one hand and the Bible on the other has shown to be crucial in this respect, as Assmann and Ebeling in this volume rightly underline.

- 41 As Assmann and Ebeling in this volume quoting Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1990, pp. 295.
- 42 Sensus Giddens 1984 (as fn. 4).
- 43 As for example done by Mol 2015 for Egyptian and Egyptianizing things in Roman context (as fn. 2).
- 44 »Average behaviour«, cf. Philip Ball, *Critical Mass. How One thing Leads to Another*, London: Arrow Books, 2005.
- 45 Cf. Marian H. Feldman, *Communities of Style. Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- 46 Such as the critique on the idea that things may be considered to have had a biography; cf. contributions in Boschung et al. 2015 (as fn. 6); for a critique against treating humans and things on equal terms: Hodder 2011 (as fn. 24), p. 179.

Egypt and/as Style (Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt)

- 1 E.g. the work of Ernest Gombrich on style, such as his *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance. 1. Norm and Form: Symbolic Images*, London: Phaidon, 1966; his lemma on style in: David Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, 1968; and his *Ideals and Idols: Essays on Values in History and in Art*, London: Phaidon, 1979. See also Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004, Meyer Schapiro, *Selected Papers IV: Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society*, New York: George Braziller, 1994, and Richard Wollheim, *Painting as an Art*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
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- 5 E.g. Caroline van Eck, Miguel John Versluys, Pieter ter Keurs, The Biography of Cultures: Style, Objects and Agency. Proposal for an Interdisciplinary Approach, *Cahiers de l'École du Louvre. Recherches en histoire de l'art, histoire des civilisations, archéologie, anthropologie et muséologie* [en ligne] 7 (2015), pp. 2–22. Cf. Christopher Carr, Jill Neitzel (eds.), *Style, Society, and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, New York: Springer, 1995; Marian Feldman, *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014; Teresa Hurt, Gordon Rakita (eds.), *Style and Function: Conceptual Issues in Evolutionary Archaeology*, Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 2001; Richard Lesure, Linking Theory and Evidence in an Archaeology of Human Agency: Iconography, Style and Theories of Embodiment, in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12/3 (2005), pp. 237–55; Miguel John Versluys, Roman Visual Material Culture as Globalising koine, in: Martin Pitts, Miguel John Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 141–74.
- 6 E.g. Kevin Mattson, Did Punk Matter? Analyzing the Practices of a Youth Subculture During the 1980, in: *American Studies* 42/1 (2001), pp. 69–97.

The Magic of the Material (Stephanie Moser)

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- 2 For an outline of this growing research tradition, see Stephanie Moser, *Reconstructing Ancient Worlds. Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt*, in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22/4 (2015), pp. 1263–1308.
- 3 See e.g., John Robb, Marcia-Anne Dobres (eds.), *Agency in Archaeology*, London: Routledge, 2000; Carl Knappett, Lambros Malafouris (eds.), *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, New York: Springer, 2008; Robin Osborne, Jeremy Tanner (eds.), *Art's Agency and Art History*, Oxford: Wiley, 2008; Tim Ingold, *Being Alive. Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, London: Routledge, 2011; id., *Making. Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, London: Routledge, 2013; Andrew M. Jones, *Prehistoric Materialities. Becoming Material in Prehistoric Britain and Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; Andrew M. Jones, Andrew Cochrane, *The Archaeology of Art. Materials, Practices, Affects*, London: Routledge, 2018.
- 4 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency Art: An anthropological theory*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
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- 9 Ibid.
- 10 *Photographs from the Egyptian Collection 1872*. The series of photographs of the Egyptian collection were taken by Stephen Thompson for the British Museum and published by Mansell and Co. *Catalogue of a Series of Photographs, (By S. Thompson) from the Collections in the British Museum*, London: W. A. Mansell and Co, 1872.
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- 12 Herman de Meulenaere (and compiled by Patrick and Viviane Berko), *Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth Century Painting* [English translation of *L'Égypte ancienne dans la peinture du XIX siècle*], Belgium: Knokke-Zoute, 1992, p. 94.

Object – Subject – Egypt (Stephen Quirke)

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- 2 Versluys 2017 (as fn. 1), p. 129 (emphasis in original).
- 3 Alan Mikhail, *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
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- 5 Aleksei Leontiev, *Activity, Consciousness, and Personality*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978 (Деятельность. Сознание. Личность. Politizdat: Moscow, 1977). For varied adaptations of activity theory, see: Victor Kaptelinin, Bonnie Nardi, *Acting with Technology: Activity Theory and Interaction Design*, New York: Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2006; Andy Blunden, *An Interdisciplinary Theory of Activity*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, and the review by Michael Cole, in: *Outlines – Critical Practice Studies* 1 (2011), pp. 46–52 highlighting productive misreadings.
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- 9 Christian Leblanc, Piliers et colosses de type «osirique» dans le contexte des temples de culte royal, in: *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 80 (1980), pp. 69–89.
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- 13 See fn. 12.
- 14 Maurice Bloch, *How We Think They Think. Anthropological Approaches to Cognition, Memory, and Literacy*, Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1998.
- 15 Manfred Bietak, The Present State of Egyptian Archaeology, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65 (1979), pp. 156–160; Lisa Giddy, The Present State of Egyptian Archaeology: 1997 update, in: Anthony Leahy, John Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, pp. 109–113; Willeke Wendrich, Egyptian Archaeology: From Text to Context, in: ead. (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–14.
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- 17 Recent studies on the discipline and its history include: Alexandra Verbovsek, Burkhard Backes, Catherine Jones (eds.), *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2011; William Carruthers (ed.), *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary Measures*, New York: Routledge, 2014; Thomas Gertzen, *Einführung in die Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Ägyptologie*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2017.
- 18 As examples of interdisciplinary volumes with substantial impact in Egyptology, I would note: Kent Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1979; Judith Lustig (ed.), *Anthropology and Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue*, Sheffield: Shef-

field Academic Press; Sonia Zakrzewski, Andrew Shortland, Joanne Rowland (eds.), *Science in the Study of Ancient Egypt*, New York: Routledge, 2015. Other openings from the discipline include Kathryn Howley, Rune Nyord (eds.), *Egyptology and Anthropology: Historiography, Theoretical Exchange, and Conceptual Development*, Tucson: University of Arizona, 2018 (Special issue of the *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17). The *Encounters with ancient Egypt* series edited by Peter Ucko (London: UCL Press, 2003) represents an initiative from the discipline of archaeology in the same direction of expanding access to material traditionally considered Egyptological, cf. in this volume Versluys (chap. 1), Assmann and Ebeling (chap. 2).

19 Among the intellectual associates of the philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, the first to engage with linguistics was Valentin Voloshinov, according to Ken Hirschkop, *Mikhail Bakhtin: an aesthetic for democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 164–167.

20 Frederic Schwartz, Walter Benjamin's Essay on Eduard Fuchs: An Art-Historical Perspective, in: A. Hemingway (ed.), *Marxism and the History of Art: from William Morris to the New Left*, London: Pluto, 2006, pp. 106–122.

21 Representative examples may be found in the broader survey by James Putnam, *Art and Artifact: The Museum as Medium Time Machine*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2001, including exhibitions in galleries of ancient Egyptian monumental sculpture and architecture at the British Museum and Turin; for the former see James Putnam, Vivian Davies, *Time Machine: Ancient Egypt and Contemporary Art*, London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 1994.

22 Stephanie Moser, *Designing Antiquity: Owen Jones, Ancient Egypt and the Crystal Palace*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

23 Amarna Letter 10 = British Museum E29786: William Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, p. 19.

24 Marian Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an »International Style« in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

25 Daphna Ben-Tor, Chronological and Historical Implications of the Early Egyptian Scarabs on Crete, in: Ernst Czerný et al. (eds.), *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak II*, Leuven: Peeters, 2006, pp. 77–86.

26 Khaled Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali. From Ottoman Governor to Ruler of Egypt*, Oxford: One World, 2008.

27 Jean-Jacques Fiechter, *La moisson des dieux*, Paris: Julliard, 1994.

28 Vassilis Chrysikopoulos, À l'aube de l'égyptologie hellénique et de la constitution des collections égyptiennes: des nouvelles découvertes sur Giovanni d'Anastasi et Tassos Néroutsos, in: Panagiotis Kousoulis, Nikolaos Lazaridis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Leuven: Peeters, 2015, pp. 2147–2162.

29 Peter Gran, Upper Egypt in Modern History: A »Southern Question«, in: Nicholas Hopkins, Reem Saad (eds.), *Upper Egypt: identity and change*, Cairo: AUC Press, 2004, pp. 79–96, see p. 85 on the 1998 edition by Asyut historian Ahmad Husayn al-Namki of the history of Ottoman Girga in Upper Egypt by Muhammad al-Maraghi (1865–1942).

30 Cited by Christiane Yandé Diop, Foreword, in: V. Mudimbe (ed.), *The Surreptitious Speech: Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947–1987*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp. xv–xvi.

31 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, London and New York: Verso, 1993.

32 Hosam Aboul-Ela, The specifics of Arab Thought: Morocco Since the Liberal Age, in: Jens Hanssen, Max Weiss (eds.), *Arabic Thought Against the Authoritarian Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Present*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 143–162, citations at p. 156.

- 33** Maghan Keita, Africa and the Construction of a Grand Narrative in History, in: Eckhardt Fuchs, Benedikt Stuchtey (eds.), *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp. 285–308, see the comment and list of authors at p. 297.
- 34** Against Golden Age versions, see Mohammed Ennaji, *Le sujet et le mamelouk*, Paris: Fayard, 2007.
- 35** Alain Schnap (ed.), *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007.