

‘THE USE OF OLD OBJECTS’:
ANCIENT EGYPT AND ENGLISH WRITERS AROUND 1920¹

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O fantastic and extraordinary land,
where art thou, where art thou?

E. M. Forster, *The Egyptian Mail*, 13 January 1918.²

Pharaonic Egypt was notably influential for modernist visual art, as with Jacob Epstein (1880–1959) and Paul Nash (1889–1946),³ but is not so evident in the contemporaneous modernist literary tradition. Here I suggest some issues of politics, literary style, and genre that might help contextualise this absence through a reading of E. M. Forster’s essay ‘For the Museum’s Sake’.⁴ Gender and sexuality are also relevant: ancient Egypt was often regarded in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe as an over-sensuous culture, a troubling ‘realm of unrestrained voluptuous excess’, and responses reveal conflicting attitudes towards Egyptian masculinity, ranging from the oriental effeminate to the Arab stud.⁵ A persistent sense of Egyptological unease about sexuality and gender can be traced back to early travellers. For example, James Burton (1788–1862) was intrigued to measure an intact ancient penis, his curiosity perhaps having been inspired by the sight of ancient ithyphallic deities: ‘Some mummies or bodies of poorer orders only salted. I saw one of which penis remained of original length probably for it could not well be longer. It was full 6½ long in a depondant (*sic*, i.e. dependent, flaccid?) state, & had lost only its grossezza for its diam^r. flattened remained about 1½ inch’.⁶ This essay outlines the context for English authors who chose to write about ancient Egypt around the year 1920, and the associations between ancient Egypt, decadence and sexuality that existed in the preceding decades. I focus on the work of E. M. Forster (1879–1970) who engaged with Egypt more deeply than many modernists. His responses to the country shunned ‘popular’ notions of pharaonic culture, and were shaped not only by his anti-imperialist attitudes, but by his sexuality and personal relationships.

Exoticism and decadence

One late nineteenth-century instance of orientalist attitudes to ancient Egypt is Oscar Wilde's *The Sphinx* (1894), published with illustrations by Charles Ricketts (1866–1931).⁷ Ricketts collected Egyptian art and also wrote perceptively about it,⁸ but the printed illustrations are not exclusively Egyptian (though a second series of illustration commissioned in 1923 are more extensively Egyptian).⁹ Both poem and illustrations create a generalised oriental exoticism, by merging Egyptian and un-Egyptian details. Unmanly sensuality is suggested through the sphinx, which is significantly female, rather than a positive male embodiment of royal might as in ancient Egyptian iconography.¹⁰ This sphinx is aligned with sexual deviancy at odds with Christian norms in a way that contrasts with more culturally acceptable classical forms of homoeroticism:

Get hence, you loathsome mystery! Hideous animal, get hence!
 You wake in me each bestial sense, you make me what I would not be.
 You make my creed a barren sham, you wake foul dreams of sensual life,
 And Atys with his blood-stained knife were better than the thing I am.¹¹

Similar perceptions of ancient Egypt are embodied in popular narratives.¹² *She: A History of Adventure* by H. Rider Haggard (1856–1925) was serialised in *The Graphic* magazine in 1886–7.¹³ The immortal 'She' is oriental, politically dangerous and seductive, the servant and embodiment of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Haggard's novels drew on his experiences as an administrator in Africa, and from a post-colonial perspective they include some rather troubling images and phrases, such as one illustration to *She* by Charles Kerr (1858–1907) where the blond hero battles a mass of Africans, captioned 'Up above them towered his beautiful pale face'.¹⁴ Haggard also collected antiquities, and after the first magazine publication of *She*, he had the inscribed 'sherd of Amenartas', which is central to the novel's plot, manufactured by Agnes Barber, and drawings of it featured as the frontispiece in the book.¹⁵ This artefact, which is now in the Norwich Castle Museum,¹⁶ (Fig. 1) is a striking fusion of colonialism, artefact, the occult, and popular literature. Popular literature provided an interpretative framework which even supposedly objective academic approaches and translations could not easily avoid. It is unsurprising that the Australian writer Guy Boothby (1867–1905) reshaped the Ancient Egyptian poem *The Tale of Sinuhe* into a sensationalist tale of reincarnation, 'A Professor of Egyptology' (1904),¹⁷ but one reviewer in 1895 of Flinders Petrie's *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri* considered that 'The Adventures of Sanehat [Sinuhe]' was 'the best tale in the collection [...] and, indeed, the story reminds the reader somewhat of Mr. Rider Haggard's

ingenious African romances'.¹⁸ Readers' responses to such fictional evocations of ancient Egypt, however, were varied. A review of his Second Intermediate Period romance *Queen of the Dawn: A Love Tale of Old Egypt* (1925)¹⁹ is revealing of contemporaneous attitudes to such 'yarns':

A love tale of old Egypt and its Shepherd King. The daughter of the real king is compelled to run away from the palace owing to the tyranny of the People of the Dawn [...]. There is vitality in this last yarn of ancient Egypt and of Babylon: also a plot of spirit, easy to follow. There are no eternal disquisitions, such as spoiled some few of the last books and made them heavy; nor is the heroine supernatural in any way; indeed, she is a modern flapper unmistakably, for all her queendom and her destiny. There is a supernatural element, but it does not overshadow all the story, which is of human people, acting humanly, and entirely easy and entertaining reading.²⁰

From a later generation of writers, Sax Rohmer (1883–1959) is best known for his novels of Dr Fu-Manchu, an evil oriental enemy of the British Empire.²¹ His *Brood of The Witch-Queen* of 1918 suggests how highly gendered and heteronormative such Egyptian tropes were.²² In this 'standard pulp fare' tale of Oxford Egyptological student life,²³ the hero is the masculine Robert Cairn, 'a tall, thin Scotsman, clean-shaven, square jawed, and with the crisp light hair and grey eyes which often bespeak unusual virility'.²⁴ The villain is Antony Ferrara, the re-born child of Egypt's ancient Witch-queen, who is first introduced as the hero and his friend talk:

'What is the matter with Ferrara?'

'Well,' replied Cairn, 'he's queer'.²⁵

Ferrara is a well-attested orientalist stereotype: 'the almond-shaped eyes, black as night, gleamed strangely beneath the low, smooth brow. The lank black hair appeared lustreless by comparison. His lips were very red. In his whole appearance there was something repellently effeminate';²⁶ 'there was something revoltingly effeminate; a sort of cat-like grace which had been noticeable in a woman, but which in a man was unnatural, and for some obscure reason, sinister'.²⁷ The contrast between modern manhood and the ancient east is strongly binary: 'No more singular anomaly could well be

pictured than that afforded by the lean, neatly-groomed Scotsman, with his fresh, clean-shaven face and typically British air, in this setting of Eastern voluptuousness'.²⁸ The novel draws on Ancient Egyptian literary and funerary texts: the *Book of Thoth* is taken from the ancient Demotic magical tale of *Setne Khamwas and Naneferkaptah (Setne I)*,²⁹ and the priest Hortotef is based on Prince Hordjedef who features in *The Tale of Kheops' Court* and *Book of the Dead*.³⁰ Despite such historical details, the novel is full of sinister orientalism: lotuses that sap the virgin heroine's life as they flower; human sacrifice inside a secret chamber in the Maidum pyramid, and even an elemental Thing (consistently capitalised). The modern masculine hero destroys both the occult book and the queer Ferrara, ensuring (as in *She*) that the sensuous dangers of the ancient East are rendered, in the book's final word, 'extinct'.³¹ The choice of word affirms the triumphant incompatibility of the modern and ancient cultures.

The occult permeated the reception of ancient Egypt to the extent that a British Museum stela with a relatively conventional solar hymn could be rewritten as a vision of incestuous occult lust. The commemorative stela EA 826 was erected by twin officials Hor and Suty,³² but these men were presented as also being lovers in 'The Twins' (1910), by the occultist Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). The poem opens with an allusion to the destruction of Sodom before turning to the text on the stela:

Look! In the polished granite,
 Black as thy cartouche is with sins,
 I read the searing sentence
 That blasts the eyes that scan it:
 'HOOR AND SET [Hor and Suty] BE TWINS.' [...]

Wherefore I solemnly affirm
 This twofold Oneness at the term.
 Asar on Asi [Osiris and Isis] did beget
 Horus twin brother unto Set.
 Now Set and Horus kiss, to call
 The Soul of the Unnatural

Forth from the dusk; then nature slain
 Lets the Beyond be born again.³³

Crowley was prominent in the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, an occult organisation which was well established in Britain by the 1890s, although it fragmented at the turn of the century. The Order had links to professional Egyptology, and the Oxford Professor Battiscombe Gunn (1883–1950) was involved, acting as a consultant for Crowley in his youth.³⁴ Gunn had turned his back on the occult by the 1930s when he was elected to the chair, and he was cursed by an ancient princess for having doubted in 1937 the accuracy of her grammar. A lecture by ‘Dr. F. H. Wood (Blackpool)’ at the Oxford Psychic Centre, 13 April 1944 discussed Ancient Egyptian utterances by ‘Telika-Ventiu (the Lady Nona)’, spoken through a young medium from Blackpool named Rosemary. On a flyer all her utterances were translated, except one:

1217–1222 Aroma-arooma di Gunn oo-e-ga! Asa! Asa fon toot a(r) feren deen istia
 Gunn!

N.B. 1217 – 1222 contain a forecast relating to our Oxford critic, Professor Gunn.
 Out of consideration for him, the translation must be withheld until it has been
 fulfilled.³⁵

As Steve Vinson and Janet Gunn have remarked, ‘in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, the various scholarly disciplines that had emerged to study the past, and the systematic pursuit of occult knowledge, were flip sides of one coin’; Battiscombe Gunn’s personal progress parallels a general movement towards greater scientificity, as the academic subject in part tried to differentiate itself from popular culture, as ‘a project of demystification’.³⁶

Egypt and Bloomsbury

The ancient past’s possibilities of an alternative reality in terms of knowledge, sexuality and spirituality were not embraced by modernist writers, and there are comparatively few direct echoes of ancient Egypt in the secular Bloomsbury circle.³⁷ The motif representing a life’s achievements in Virginia Woolf’s *Jacob’s Room* (1922) is characteristically a vision of the Athenian acropolis.³⁸ One

allusion to Egypt in her *To the Lighthouse* (1927) is significantly covert and inexplicit. Lily Briscoe imagines

how in the chambers of the mind and heart of the woman [...] were stood, like treasures in the tombs of kings, tablets bearing sacred inscriptions, which if one could spell them out, would teach one everything, but they would never be offered openly, never made public.³⁹

This discreetly alludes to the supposed curse of Tutankhamun: the death of Lord Carnarvon in April 1923 was claimed to be the fulfilment of a curse written on ‘an ordinary clay tablet’ over the entrance to the tomb; the tablet was supposedly removed by Howard Carter who denied its existence in order not to hinder the excavation schedule.⁴⁰ The story was apparently current when Woolf was writing: already in 1923, Arthur Weigall had written ‘the story has been spread that there was a specific curse written upon a wall of the royal sepulchre’,⁴¹ and by 1930, the existence of the tablet with the curse was so well established that

Dr. H. R. H. Hall, keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the [British] museum, authorised ‘The Daily Telegraph’ to publish the following statement:
[...] As to the so-called inscription, ‘Death shall come on swift wings to him that toucheth the tomb of a Pharaoh’ no such inscription on the Royal or other tombs is known to me or to any Egyptologists.⁴²

The subsequent popularity of Egypt is perhaps alluded to in Woolf’s *The Waves* (1931), where the insecure Australian Louis relates that ‘as a boy I dreamt of the Nile’. In his speeches Egypt is presented un-mystically as an image of ‘the long, long history that began in Egypt, in the time of the Pharaohs, when women carried red pitchers to the Nile’.⁴³ While Woolf avoided any mentions of esoteric Egypt, Egyptian occultism was referred to in T. S. Eliot’s *Waste Land* (1922), and this allusion is revealingly satiric and indirect:

Madame Sosostriis, famous clairvoyante,
Had a bad cold, nevertheless
Is known to be the wisest woman in Europe.⁴⁴

Woolf's and Eliot's restraint contrasts with the tendency to melodramatic mysticism in the works of their popular contemporaries. The sheer popularity of ancient Egypt in fantastic fiction and the occult may have been a factor in the avoidance of that culture among many self-consciously literary stylists.

E. M. Forster (1879–1970) wrote extensively about Egypt, but largely about Hellenistic Egypt and the Greco-Roman Alexandria of the ancient poets and the modern Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933),⁴⁵ culminating in *Alexandria, A History and A Guide* (1922) and associated essays including *Pharos and Pharillon* (1923).⁴⁶ Forster worked as a Red Cross volunteer in Alexandria during World War I (November 1915–January 1919), and on 29 December 1915, he wrote that Egypt was ‘flat, unromantic, unmysterious, and godless—the soil is mud, the inhabitants are of mud moving, and exasperating in the extreme’.⁴⁷ His initial un-empathetic response echoes the famous opening paragraph of *A Passage to India*—‘the very wood seems made of mud, the inhabitants of mud moving’.⁴⁸ In 1917, however, Forster fell in love with a young Egyptian man, Mohammed el-Adl, who worked as a tram conductor in Alexandria.⁴⁹ This modified his reactions to the country, and in one article on ‘photographic Egypt’ he expressed his rejection of the romance of Egypt as ‘a sumptuous and exotic country’—about which he stated ‘it is doubtful whether such an Egypt ever existed’—in favour of the ‘the little muddles and messes of the modern street’; in another article he referred to ‘the Egypt of the Pharaohs which still moves tourists and *popular novelists*, but which means nothing to the resident’ (my italics).⁵⁰ Forster’s experiences in Egypt shaped *A Passage to India*, and famously, he marked the fact that he had completed it with his dead Egyptian lover’s pencil.⁵¹ Egypt is, however, only explicit in the novel in its references to the Suez Canal through which Adela Quested and Fielding return to the Mediterranean, and where Forster met Mohamed as he travelled to and from India.⁵² Fielding has a ‘charming’ impression of the country,⁵³ and Forster also used ‘charming’ of Egypt in his 1927 Cambridge lectures on the English novel, in which Henry James’ characters are compared to ‘the exquisite deformities who haunted Egyptian art in the time of Akhnaton—huge heads and tiny legs, but nevertheless charming. In the following reign they disappear’.⁵⁴ Like several of Henry James’ characters, Akhenaten was a figure of some sexual ambiguity;⁵⁵ this mention suggests that Forster was aware of the sexual ambivalence of Pharaonic as

well as Hellenistic Egypt, which makes his avoidance of it in his writings all the more notable, given his love for Mohammed el-Adl.

Forster and Budge

On 7 May 1920, Forster published an essay about Egyptian artefacts entitled ‘The Objects’ in *The Athenaeum*.⁵⁶ This review of the memoirs of the newly knighted Wallis Budge (1857–1934) was later republished as ‘For the Museum’s Sake’ in *Abinger Harvest* (1936).⁵⁷ Budge expanded and curated the Egyptian and Assyrian collections of the British Museum, and his multitudinous guides and books on religious and funerary texts were influential for Egypt’s public reception. (Fig. 2) They were much used by fiction writers and occultists: he is the dedicatee of E. Nesbit’s *The Story of the Amulet* (1906), in which an artefact acts as a gateway to ancient worlds,⁵⁸ and also of Haggard’s *Morning Star* (1910).⁵⁹ Present day academics, however, regard Budge as a controversial figure, largely due to the haste and inaccuracies of his scholarship, which disregarded contemporaneous advances in the subject, along with his discredited methods of collecting.⁶⁰

Forster’s review opens with an overview of the history of Egyptian collecting, from the objects’ source communities to their modern locations: ‘The objects lay quiet for thousands of years, many of them in tombs where love or superstition had placed them’.⁶¹ In Forster’s account, the Renaissance’s imaginative engagement with the past gives way to the interest of ‘a new purchaser [...] the modern European nation’.⁶² Here Forsterian irony kicks in: “‘national possessions’ they were now called, and it was important that they should outnumber the objects possessed by other nations, and should be genuine old objects, and not imitations, which looked the same, but were said to be discreditable’.⁶³ This passage recalls the scene in his 1914 novel *Maurice*, where Maurice Hall dismissively describes the contents of the British Museum to his gamekeeper lover as ‘old things belonging to the Nation’.⁶⁴

The review centres on the acquisition in 1888 of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470), one of Budge’s most spectacular purchases.⁶⁵ (Fig. 3) The reliability of Budge’s own account of finding the papyrus ‘in a rectangular niche in the north wall of the sarcophagus chamber, among a few hard stone amulets’, has been questioned by modern Egyptologists, and there is little evidence that his claims to have entered an intact tomb are plausible.⁶⁶ Forster, although unaware of these issues,

describes Budge's ostensibly non-fictionalised account as a 'yarn', allying it with the fiction that was so influenced by Budge's publications. Forster's retelling of the episode significantly starts with an evocation of Ani's life, transforming the yarn into the life-story of the artefact.⁶⁷ Ani's ancient beliefs are affectionately mocked (as 'superstition'), but without any sense of the occult: the mythological location 'Re-stau' is misspelled 'Restan' in all editions, suggesting that Forster paid no more attention to any occult names than to the name of the Cairo director Eugène Grébaut (1846–1915), which he consistently misspelled as Grébaud.⁶⁸

The museum artefact here is not a magical gateway like Nesbit's amulet, or a revelation like Haggard's sherd, but an expression of an entirely human (and un-occult) history: Forster claims that Ani acquired it because 'his memory was but human; so, buying a strip of papyrus eighty feet long, he had it inscribed with all he would have to say' in the otherworld.⁶⁹ Modern communication with the ancient past was not the result of any mystic ability but of humanistic imaginative empathy. This anti-fantastic preference is not unique to him at this period: the 1925 review quoted above distinguished the supernatural from the human aspects of Haggard's novels, and preferred 'human people, acting humanly'.⁷⁰ The same humanistic sensibility is found in Forster's essay 'Malconia Shops' of 1903, in which the author's own thematic analysis of the decoration on the fourth century BCE Cista Ficorini from Praeneste is dismissed by the shade of its ancient owner Dindia Malconia with the angry comment 'I bought the thing because it was pretty, and stood nicely on the chest of drawers'.⁷¹ From a modern academic perspective, this emphasis on a common humanity underplays cultural difference, but the anachronism of 'the chest of drawers' suggests that this is a self-conscious strategy to produce a shock of recognition in the reader.

Forster criticises not Ani's religious beliefs, but the colonialist attitudes evident in the acquisition of the papyrus for the British Museum. The papyrus was taken from an Egypt which was itself 'a nation, and had so far advanced as to have a museum at Cairo and a Director, M. Grébaud',⁷² who had died a few years earlier in 1915. Budge claimed he had removed the papyrus from the intact tomb, 'and from that moment Ani was dumb. His voice, his "Book of the Dead" was taken and he can no longer reply to questions in the Under World'.⁷³ Budge removed it with military assistance as 'property of the British Government' to England, 'where he gave it to the British Museum. It may

not be on display, but we have it, which is what matters. It would be humiliating to think it was on exhibit in Cairo'.⁷⁴ This attitude is very distinct from that of Haggard who, in the view of Roger Luckhurst, 'clearly had no conception of Egyptian ownership or wider cultural rights'.⁷⁵ Forster's anti-colonialist stance is more explicitly stated here than in *Alexandria*, which he was working on as he wrote the review.⁷⁶ Forster states that Budge

has written a most delightful book, and yet he leaves an impression of vulgarity at the close. The vulgarity is not personal. It emanates from the system that he so ably serves. The dreariness and snobbery of the Museum business come out strongly beneath this tale of derring-do [...]. It is fine if you think the modern nation is, without qualification, fine; but if you have the least doubts of your colossus, a disgust will creep over you and you will wish that the elderly gentlemen [like Budge] were employed more honestly.⁷⁷

The mention of 'colossus' in this context perhaps evokes the tyranny of Shelley's *Ozymandias* (1818), inspired by another artefact in the British Museum.⁷⁸

After all what is the use of old objects? They breathe their dead words into too dead an ear. It was different in the Renaissance, which did get some stimulus. It was important that the Laocoon should be found [...] [but] our age is industrial, its interest in the past is mainly faked.⁷⁹

One can compare Forster's attitude to the Demeter of Cnidos, another nineteenth-century discovery. This statue was a personal icon for him: it features as a symbolic motif in *The Longest Journey* (1907) and is, in many ways, a mythic archetype for his mature female characters who embody an instinctive wisdom that sees beyond gender conventions.⁸⁰ The Demeter is also in the collections of the British Museum where—as he noted in another essay (1904)—she is 'dusted twice a week', but although she was removed from Cnidos, she 'must know that she has come among people who love her'.⁸¹ Budge's papyrus, in contrast, is simply masculine nationalist plunder and unloved. Although he praises Budge's 'sense of fun and [...] of beauty',⁸² he notes that there is 'something of the Renaissance desperado about him', like the archaeology heroes of popular 'derring-do' fiction. The review concludes scathingly:

we part from him with admiration, but without tenderness, and with an increased determination to rob the British Museum. 'The Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities is understood to be entirely prostrated as a consequence of the daring theft of the celebrated Papyrus of Ani.' Would that one was in a position to write such a sentence and to post it to M. Grébaud for his use in the Under World!⁸³

No mention is made of returning the papyrus to Egypt or Ani's tomb, but the modern Franco-Egyptian opponents of Budge are implicitly allied with Ani in the underworld. Budge is presented as a male, 'swagger'ing 'filibuster' who is determined to acquire 'national possessions'.⁸⁴ Despising 'honesty and simplicity',⁸⁵ he acts so as to make antiquity the 'property of the British Government'.⁸⁶

Personal responses to Egypt

Forster's dislike of Budge's celebration of his own 'unending triumph' had an additional personal reason, which had to remain unspoken.⁸⁷ In the essay he noted that the 'natives' who found the papyrus turn to Budge 'because he paid more than M. Grébaud, although they risked imprisonment and torture'.⁸⁸ Significantly, Mohammed el-Adl had himself been imprisoned by the authorities in May 1919, news of this reaching Forster by August.⁸⁹ Before this, in March, Forster had already written to the *Manchester Guardian* with a growing sense of personal involvement in Egyptian political affairs, noting that

we can never replace the fellahin whom we have so needlessly destroyed, but we can perhaps enter into the feelings of the survivors and realize why the present disturbances have occurred.⁹⁰

He continued in 1920 to write the political 'Notes on Egypt' for *The Government of Egypt: Recommendations by a Committee of the International Section of the Labour Research Department*, which are as critical of British attitudes as his review.⁹¹

At that time, pharaonic culture was featuring in Egyptian national consciousness,⁹² but it appears remarkably little in Forster's unpublished accounts of his love-affair or his published work. The 'writing out of El-Adl' is understandable given social attitudes to sexuality at the period,⁹³ but it is paralleled by a writing out of pharaonic Egypt. One mention, however, is resonant. In the memoir that he wrote after Mohammed's death in 1922, he recounted a trip apparently made in 1918 when he stayed with him in Mansourah:

you called out my name at Bebbit el-Haga station after we had seen that ruined temple about ten miles from it that no one else seems to have seen. It was dark and I hear an Egyptian shouting who had lost his friend: Margan, Margan — you calling me and I felt we belonged to each other, you had made me an Egyptian.⁹⁴

The unvisited temple (Behbeit el-Hagar) was a famous temple of Isis, surely known to Forster from guidebooks, and mentioned as such in Haggard's *Ayesha: The Return of She* (1905).⁹⁵ There are several parallels with *A Passage to India*: the incident of calling for an absent friend recalls the motif of Professor Godbole's song, and the homoerotic implications of the word 'friend' are explicit in *Maurice*.⁹⁶ The phrase 'you had made me an Egyptian' parallels the first meeting of Aziz and Mrs Moore when he remarks 'then you are an oriental', and again to Ralph Moore at the emotional climax of Chapter 36.⁹⁷ Here, the unvisited ruin features in a highly evocative passage, suggesting that, in different cultural circumstances, pharaonic culture might have featured in Forster's imaginative word as the highly valorised Italian and Indian culture did. However, when Mohammed features (posthumously and discreetly) in Forster's published writings, it is in the dedication to *Pharos and Pharillon* (1923) as the Greek 'Hermes psychopompos',⁹⁸ uniting the ancient Hellenistic past of his country with modern humanity. He is not evoked as any *Egyptian* deity, as if this would have contaminated him with the homophobic nationalistic 'vulgarity' of Egyptology; in a letter Forster had described him as 'a person uncontaminated by Nile mud'.⁹⁹ To my knowledge, Pharaonic Egypt only re-surfaces in Forster's work in his unpublished short story 'The Obelisk' of 1939, involving a closeted school teacher, a provocatively vulgar sailor and an extremely large obelisk.¹⁰⁰

In 1920, for Forster, it seems that any possibilities of such cross-cultural empathy with Egypt being expressed in terms of the pharaonic past were negated by English cultural attitudes towards ancient

Egypt, like Budge's. Ancient Egypt was, like the museum artefacts that represented it to the public, irrevocably entangled with colonialist politics, occultism, and (in terms of literary genres) heteronormative adventure 'yarns' and 'tales of derring-do'. The queer Forster sided with the Egyptian—with all the sexual ambiguity that could imply—and with the subaltern, but he did this through the Hellenistic past and modern village life, and not through the 'vulgarity' of popular and/or academic Egyptology.

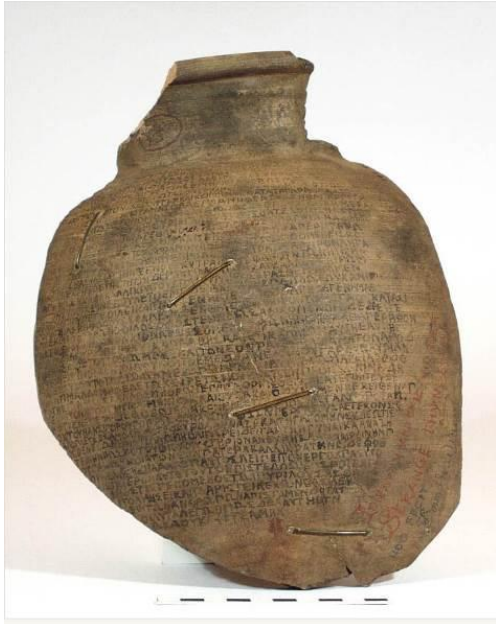
Two years after 'The Objects', the tomb of Tutankhamun was discovered, which increased the popularity of ancient Egypt phenomenally through the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰¹ *Brood of the Witch-Queen* was republished in 1923 with a more obviously Egyptian title, *It Came Out of Egypt*, presumably in order to cash in on this phenomenon.¹⁰² In Forster's subsequent discussion of the Amarna Period in *Aspects of the Novel*, there is no mention of the tomb or its art-works, apart from the telling remark 'I do not want the art of Akhnaton to extend into the reign of Tutankhamen'.¹⁰³ In the following decades popularised treatments of ancient Egypt often became the dominant forms of cultural representation, and this popularisation can perhaps be sensed in two buildings in Oregon, from the pre- and post-Tutankhamun eras: the austere elegant masonic Abbey Hope Mausoleum (1914) was designed by Ellis F. Lawrence, the first Dean of the University of Oregon's School of Architecture and Allied Arts, echoing the Enlightenment vision of Egypt; in 1929 a pharaonic Balsinger Ford car showroom was built in nearby Klamath Falls in a style more reminiscent of contemporaneous cinema architecture.¹⁰⁴

Popular literature provided an interpretative frame for the meticulous and highly scientific clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun, with the invention of the story of the curse (although Haggard denounced this as 'superstition').¹⁰⁵ The front page of the *Sunday Times* (Sydney) read: "THE CURSE OF OSIRIS": Superstitious Legend round Lord Carnarvon's Death. MARIE CORELLI'S POISON THEORY. Conan Doyle Puts Suspicion on 'Tut-ankh-Amen'.¹⁰⁶ As other newspapers article noted, 'it is only a novelist's fancy';¹⁰⁷ 'there is fine material for a romancer of the type the late Guy Boothby or Sir Rider Haggard in the record of death which has pursued the participators in the opening and exploration of Tut-Ankh-Amen's tomb'.¹⁰⁸ Such narratives have nevertheless provided an academic and aesthetic paradigm that can still remain influential, as seen in the tendency for

academics to wear ‘Indiana Jones’ hats in both media documentaries and faculty webpages.¹⁰⁹ New power-inequalities and concerns with scientificity have since developed in the academic world that can further hinder the empathetic response, so advocated by Forster.¹¹⁰ Only occasionally has western modernism engaged with ancient Egyptian culture; one example is the minimalist setting of the *Great Hymn to the Sundisk* from c.1350 BCE by Philip Glass in his opera *Akhnaten* (1984), which inspired a highly engaged and engaging performance by Anthony Roth Costanzo in 2016.¹¹¹ (Fig. 4) In the face of Budge’s persistent legacy, such ‘human’ works are a welcome reminder that these ‘old objects’ do not have to speak only to ears that are dead. As Forster’s essay implies by challenging the reader’s own response to Budge’s yarns, how such objects are ‘used’ remains a political, ethical and individual choice.

Figures:

1.



H. Rider Haggard's 'Sherd of Amenartas' (front; Norwich Castle Museum 1917.68.7.1). © Norfolk Museums Service.

2.



Sir Wallis Budge, by 'Quiz' (Powys Evans; 1899–1981), from *The Saturday Review*, 24 February 1923, p. 251.

3.



The beginning of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.1), showing Ani and his wife worshipping the Sun god, with Budge's name above the museum registration number. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

4.



Anthony Roth Costanzo as Akhnaten, at the English National Opera, 2016. © Richard Hubert Smith.

Notes

¹ For Lisa Montagno Leahy, with fond memories of the Oxford of the Witch-queen, and for my father, a boyhood reader of H. Rider Haggard and Sax Rohmer. Versions of this paper were given at the conference ‘Modernity and the Shock of the Ancient: The Reception of Antiquity in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century’, Oxford, 10 June 2016, and at the Queen’s College Seminar, 24 October 2016. My thanks are due to Ellie Dobson, Chris Hollings, Jennifer Ingleheart, James Ivory, Clare Lewis, Eva Miller, Emily Taylor and Helen Whitehouse. I write as a former curator in the British Museum, and as a former holder of the Lady Wallis Budge Junior Research Fellowship at University College, Oxford.

² E. M. Forster (eds Hilda D. Spear and Abdel Moneim Aly), *The Uncollected Egyptian Essays of E. M. Forster* ([Dundee]: Blackness Press 1988), p. 52.

³ For example, Evelyn Silber, *The Sculpture of Epstein: with a Complete Catalogue* (Oxford: Phaidon 1986), pp. 20–3; Emma Chambers, *Paul Nash* (London: Tate Publishing 2016), p. 26.

⁴ E. M. Forster (ed. E. Heine), *Abinger Harvest and England’s Pleasant Land* (Abinger Edition 10; London: André Deutsch 1996), pp. 280–6.

⁵ Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press 2015), p. 164.

⁶ British Library Burton Add mss 25639 f. 88 (44 vso) (unpublished).

⁷ *The Sphinx by Oscar Wilde, with Decorations by Charles Ricketts* (London and Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press 1894); online: http://cnx.org/contents/TuaO_Mx2@2/The-Sphinx-by-Oscar-Wilde-with. Some are included in Stephen Calloway, *Charles Ricketts, Subtle and Fantastic Decorator* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 44–9. On the style of the illustrations in general see, for example, Jeremiah Romano Mercurio, ‘Faithful Infidelity: Charles Ricketts’ Illustrations for Two of Oscar Wilde’s Poems in Prose’, *Victorian Network* 3.1 (2011), pp. 3–21, esp. 4–5.

⁸ Charles Ricketts, ‘Head in Serpentine of Amenemmes III in the Possession of Oscar Raphael, Esq.’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917), pp. 211–12; Charles Ricketts, ‘Head of Amenemmes III in Obsidian: From the Collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor, Tamworth’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917), pp. 71–3; Charles Ricketts, ‘Bas-relief Figure of a King of the Ptolemaic Period in Blue Faience’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918), pp. 77–8; Charles Ricketts, ‘Two Faience Chalices at Eton College from the Collection of the Late Major W. J. Myers’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918), pp. 145–7. On his collecting, see Joseph Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts* (London: Methuen 1980), p. 117.

⁹ Online: <https://cnx.org/contents/0nqwZZGI@1/Second-Series-of-Sphinx-Illust>. Some are illustrated in Calloway, *Charles Ricketts, Subtle and Fantastic Decorator*, pp. 86–91.

¹⁰ See, for example, Eugène Warmenbol (ed.), *Sphinx: Les gardiens de l’Égypte* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2006).

¹¹ Oscar Wilde, *The Sphinx*, ll. 171–4; Bobby Fong and Karl Beckson (eds), *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, I: Poems and Poems in Prose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 194.

¹² See, for example, Maria Fleischhack, *Narrating Ancient Egypt: The Representation of Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth-century and Early-Twentieth-century Fantastic Fiction* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016).

¹³ H. Rider Haggard (ed. Daniel Karlin), *She* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991). See Fleischhack, *Narrating Ancient Egypt*, pp. 89–92, 168–73; Lynn Parramore, *Reading the Sphinx: Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth-century Literary Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 103–9.

¹⁴ Illustration in *She: A History of Adventure*, New Impression (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1912), p. 103: <http://www.visualhaggard.org/illustrations/526>. For Haggard's encounters with Egypt see, for example, Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 190–9.

¹⁵ Haggard, *She*, pp. 23, 277–9 n. 32, 41. See Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, pp. 202–4; Shirley M. Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt* (Accrington, Kessingland: A.L. Publications, 1998).

¹⁶ Norwich Castle Museum 1917.68.7.1; length: 25 cm, width: 19.5 cm.

¹⁷ G. Boothby, 'A Professor of Egyptology', *The Graphic: An Illustrated Weekly Magazine*, 10 December 1904, pp. 773–5; see R. B. Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories* (Chichester; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 248–9; Fleischhack, *Narrating Ancient Egypt*, pp. 107–8.

¹⁸ William M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri* First series: *IVth to XIIth Dynasty* (London: Methuen and Co 1895); W. L. Alden, 'The Hunter', *The Idler: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 7 July 1895, pp. 424–5; Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, pp. 231–3.

¹⁹ London: Hutchinson and Co. 1925. Two cartouches with epithets of the heroine in Middle Egyptian featured on the title page.

²⁰ *The World's News* (Sydney) 13 June 1925, p. 12; online: <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/130620902>.

²¹ Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, pp. 168–71.

²² Sax Rohmer, *The Brood of the Witch-Queen* London, C. Arthur Pearson 1918; online: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19706/19706-h/19706-h.htm>. On Rohmer's Egyptian fiction see, for example, Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, pp. 168–71.

²³ Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, p. 169.

²⁴ Rohmer, *The Brood of the Witch-Queen*, p. 1.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 2. 'Queer' meaning 'homosexual' is listed with attestations before 1918 in the OED, as both adjective and noun: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/156236> and 156235.

²⁶ Rohmer, *Brood of the Witch-Queen*, p. 8.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 200. The term 'unnatural' recurs on pp. 94, 98, 204.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 28–9.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 22, 196–7, 180, 210–12; see Francis Llewellyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and The Demotic Tales of Khamuas I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

³⁰ Rohmer, *Brood of the Witch-Queen*, pp. 188–98; see, for example, R. B. Parkinson, 'Hordjedef', in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001), vol. 2, p. 114.

³¹ Rohmer, *Brood of the Witch-Queen*, p. 212.

³² J. Baines and L. McNamara, 'The Twin Stelae of Suty and Hor', in Z. Hawass and J. E. Richards (eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2007) vol. 1, pp. 63–79. For an Egyptological suggestion that they were lovers, see Steven Blake Shubert, 'Double Entendre in

the Stela of Suty and Hor', in Gary N. Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch (eds), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 143–65.

³³ Aleister Crowley, 'The Twins', in *The Winged Beetle* (Privately printed, 1910), pp. 99–101, ll. 25–9, 55–62. I am grateful to Emily Taylor for drawing this poem to my attention.

³⁴ Steve Vinson and Janet Gunn, 'Studies in Esoteric Syntax: The Enigmatic Friendship of Aleister Crowley and Battiscombe Gunn', in William Carruthers (ed.), *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures* (New York; London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 96–112; Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead*, pp. 262–9. On Gunn, see Morris L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012), pp. 232–3.

³⁵ J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Some Claims of Xenoglossy in the Ancient Languages', in *Atlantis & Egypt with Other Selected Essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 266–90 (p. 277); also cited in Christopher Frayling, *The Face of Tutankhamun* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), pp. 255–8.

³⁶ Vinson and Gunn, 'Studies in Esoteric Syntax', p. 100; J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 22. See Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead*, pp. 215–19, 268–9.

³⁷ For example, Heidi Stalla, 'William Banks: Echoes of Egypt in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*', *Woolf Studies Annual*, 14 (2008), pp. 21–34.

³⁸ Virginia Woolf (ed. Kate Flint), *Jacob's Room* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 224.

³⁹ Virginia Woolf (ed. Stella McNichol), *To the Lighthouse* (London; New York: Penguin 2000), p. 57. I am grateful to Ellie Dobson for drawing this passage to my attention.

⁴⁰ According to a newspaper story, cited (without reference or date) in Frayling, *The Face of Tutankhamun*, pp. 49–50. See also Jasmine Day, *The Mummy's Curse: Mummymania in the English-speaking World* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 50–1. The specific curse on the tablet is surprisingly elusive in accessible newspapers: the earliest citation I know of is the *Dundee Courier*, 31 December 1929, p. 5.

⁴¹ Arthur Weigall, *Tutankhamen and Other Essays* (London: Butterworth, 1923), p. 110.

⁴² *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 10 April 1930, p. 4.

⁴³ Virginia Woolf (eds Michael Herbert and Susan Sellers), *The Waves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011), pp. 161, 51 (with note on pp. 291–2). The motif recurs throughout the novel: pp. 7, 51, 75, 100, 133, 161, 180; it is taken up by Bernard on p. 227.

⁴⁴ 'The Burial of the Dead', ll. 43–5: Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (ed.), *The Poems of T.S. Eliot I: Collected and Uncollected Poems* (London: Faber & Faber 2015), p. 56; on the sources for the name Sosostris, see pp. 610–11. Egypt had also featured in Ezra Pound's early work before his interest turned to China: see, for example, Angus Fletcher, 'Ezra Pound's Egypt and the Origin of the "Cantos"', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 48.1 (2002), pp. 1–21.

⁴⁵ See Peter Jeffreys (ed.), *The Forster-Cavafy Letters: Friends at a Slight Angle* (Cairo, Egypt; New York, N.Y.: American University in Cairo Press, 2009). On the limited role of pharaonic history in Forster's guide see Hala Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism: An Archive* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), pp. 131–2, 137–8, 161, 163.

⁴⁶ E. M. Forster (ed. Miriam Allott), *Alexandria: A History and a Guide; and, Pharos and Pharillon* (Abinger Edition 16; London: Andre Deutsch, 2004). On other material, see Spear and Aly, *Uncollected Egyptian Essays*; Spear, 'E. M. Forster's Alexandrian Essays', in Norman Page and Peter Preston (eds), *The Literature of Place* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp.

122–31; Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 120–78; Muhammad A. Deeb, ‘Alexandria as E.M. Forster’s Rainbow Bridge to the Middle East & India: A Comparative Inquiry’, *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 37 (2010), pp. 10–23.

⁴⁷ Mary Lago and P. N. Furbank (eds), *Selected letters of E.M. Forster I: 1879–1920* (London: Collins 1983), p. 233; quoted in, for example, *Alexandria*, p. xxiii. In general, see P. N. Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978) II, pp. 18–63.

⁴⁸ E. M. Forster (ed. Oliver Stallybrass), *A Passage to India* (Abinger Edition 6; London: E. Arnold 1978), p. 2. This passage was written before the letter: Forster, *Alexandria*, p. xxiii.

⁴⁹ Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* II, pp. 59–63; see also *Alexandria*, pp. 322–46.

⁵⁰ In *The Egyptian Mail*, 13 January 1918 and 21 October 1917: Spear and Aly, *Uncollected Egyptian Essays*, pp. 52, 53, 37.

⁵¹ Forster, *A Passage to India*, p. xv. See, for example, Donald Watt, ‘Mohammed el Adl and *A Passage to India*’, *Journal of Modern Literature*, 10.2 (1983), pp. 311–26; Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 177–8.

⁵² *A Passage to India*, pp. 17, 253, 270; see Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* II, pp. 70, 103–4; Forster, *Alexandria*, pp. 323–4.

⁵³ Forster, *A Passage to India*, p. 270.

⁵⁴ E. M. Forster (ed. Oliver Stallybrass), *Aspects of the Novel, and Related Writings* (Abinger Edition 12; London: Edward Arnold, 1974), pp. 110, 131.

⁵⁵ For example, Dominic Montserrat, *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 168–70.

⁵⁶ Forster, ‘The Objects’, *The Athenaeum*, 4697, 7 May 1920, pp. 599–600.

⁵⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1920); E. M. Forster, *Abinger Harvest* (London: E. Arnold, 1936), pp. 280–6.

⁵⁸ Fleischhack, *Narrating Ancient Egypt*, pp. 110–13. See Joanna Paul, “‘Time is Only a Mode of Thought, You Know’”: Ancient History, Empire, and Imagination in E. Nesbit’s Stories for Children’, in Lisa Maurice (ed.), *The Reception of Ancient Greece and Rome in Children’s Literature: Eagles and Heroes* (Metaforms 6; Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 30–55; Ruth Hoberma, ‘In Quest of a Museal Aura: Turn of the Century Narratives about Museum-displayed Objects’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 31 (2003), pp. 467–82.

⁵⁹ Luckhurst, *The Mummy’s Curse*, p. 195.

⁶⁰ Mark Smith, ‘Budge, Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis (1857–1934)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32161>. Recent biography: Matthew Ismail, *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo* (Kilkerran: Hardinge Simpole, 2011).

⁶¹ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 280.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ E. M. Forster (ed. P. Gardner), *Maurice* (Abinger Edition 5; London: André Deutsch 1999), p. 191. For Forster’s attitude to museums see, for example, Jennifer Ingleheart, ‘Responding to Ovid’s Pygmalion Episode and Receptions of

Same-sex Love in Classical Antiquity: Art, Homosexuality, and the Curatorship of Classical Culture in E. M. Forster's "The Classical Annex", *Classical Receptions Journal*, 7 (2014), pp. 141–58.

⁶⁵ For the papyrus see, for example, John H. Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: British Museum Press, 2010).

⁶⁶ Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* I, p. 136. See, for example, Carol A. R. Andrews, 'Pharaoh Trampler of Egypt's Enemies: A New Amuletic Form', in Jacke Phillips (ed.), *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Roods Bell* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1997) I, p. 41; nothing connects the supposed cosmetic box of Ani's wife Tutu with the supposed tomb (EA 24708: PM I.22, 838). For Another example of Budge's unsubstantiated claims of provenance, see R. B. Parkinson, 'Two or Three Literary Artefacts: EA 41650/47896, and 22878–9', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T. G. H. James* (British Museum Occasional Paper 123; London: British Museum Press, 1999), pp. 49–57, esp. 52.

⁶⁷ This must have been drawn in part from other sources, since Budge's account simply listed some of Ani's titles: Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* I, p. 137.

⁶⁸ Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, p. 223. On Forster's mis-spelling, see Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 438.

⁶⁹ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 280.

⁷⁰ *The World's News* (Sydney) 13 June 1925, p. 12;.

⁷¹ *The Independent Review*, November 1903; reprinted in Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, pp. 163–5 (p. 165).

⁷² Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, pp. 281–2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, p. 197.

⁷⁶ For example, p. 77 on Henry Salt; see Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, p. 163.

⁷⁷ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 283.

⁷⁸ British Museum EA 19; for example, John Rodenbeck, 'Travelers from an Antique Land: Shelley's Inspiration for "Ozymandias"', in *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, 24 (2004), pp. 121–48.

⁷⁹ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 283.

⁸⁰ British Museum GR 1859,1226.26; see Andrew D. Radford, *The Lost Girls: Demeter-Persephone and the Literary Imagination, 1850–1930* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 172–223.

⁸¹ 'Cnidus' in the *Independent Review*, March 1904; reprinted in *Abinger Harvest*, pp. 166–70 (pp. 167, 168).

⁸² Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 284.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 286. A parallel distrust of museums was voiced by D. H. Lawrence in 'Volterra' (1932): *Etruscan Places: Travels through Forgotten Italy* (London; New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2011), pp. 197–8.

⁸⁴ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, pp. 283–4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284. See Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 167–9 on specifically local social pressures.

⁸⁸ Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 282.

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- ⁸⁹ Forster, *Alexandria*, pp. 340–1.
- ⁹⁰ Letter of 29 March 1919: Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* II, pp. 57–8; Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 172–4.
- ⁹¹ *The Government of Egypt: Recommendations by a Committee of the International Section of the Labour Research Department* ([London]: The Labour Research Department 1920), pp. 3–12; summary in *Alexandria*, pp. 360–71; Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 174–6.
- ⁹² Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 205–12.
- ⁹³ See Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*, p. 167.
- ⁹⁴ Forster, *Alexandria*, p. 331.
- ⁹⁵ For example, *A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt: Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile through Egypt and Nubia, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, Thebes, the First and Second Cataracts, the Suez Canal ...* (8th ed.; London: John Murray, 1891), 308–9; H. Rider Haggard, *Ayesha: The Return of She* (London: Hesperus Press, 2013), p. 211.
- ⁹⁶ Forster (ed. Oliver Stallybrass), *A Passage to India* (Abinger Edition 6; London: E. Arnold, 1978), p. 72. In Forster's *Goldsworthy Loves Dickinson*, the Maharajah asks 'Oh, when will Krishna come and be my friend?' (Abinger edition 13; London: Edward Arnold, 1973) p. 115. On 'friend' see *Maurice*, p. 171.
- ⁹⁷ Forster, *A Passage to India*, pp. 17, 301.
- ⁹⁸ Forster, *Alexandria*, p. 190.
- ⁹⁹ Letter of 4 July 1917: Lago and Furbank, *Selected Letters* I, p. 261.
- ¹⁰⁰ Forster's is not a genuine Egyptian obelisk, though Cleopatra's Needle is mentioned. E. M. Forster (ed. Oliver Stallybrass), *The Life to Come, and Other Stories* (Abinger Edition 8; London: Edward Arnold, 1972), pp. 113–29; Cleopatra's Needle: pp. 127, 128.
- ¹⁰¹ For example, Paul Collins and Liam McNamara, *Discovering Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2014), pp. 62–87.
- ¹⁰² Carter Lupton, "Mummymania" for the Masses: Is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy's Curse?, in Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice (eds), *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003), pp. 35–6.
- ¹⁰³ Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, p. 112.
- ¹⁰⁴ <http://www.eugenemasoniccemetery.org/mausoleum.html>. The showroom was demolished in 2016: <https://oregondigital.org/catalog/oregondigital:df67qh08t>; <http://klamathwritersguild.org/gpage3.html>. I am grateful to James Ivory for making me aware of these buildings.
- ¹⁰⁵ Frayling, *The Face of Tutankhamun*, pp. 47–8; Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, p. 186. Budge likewise said it was 'bunkum': *The Western Daily Press*, 6 April 1923, p. 10.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Sunday Times* (Sydney) 20 May 1923, p. 1. Collins and McNamara, *Discovering Tutankhamun*, p. 83. On Conan Doyle and the mummy's curse see Frayling, *The Face of Tutankhamun*, pp. 46–8.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, 6 April 1923, p. 8.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Dundee Chronicle*, 31 December 1929, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ On the hat see, for example, Kate Thomas, ‘Using History to Sell Clothes? Don’t Try it with the Pharaohs’ (2011): <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/19/arts/design/egyptian-antiquities-official-defends-fashion-line.html>. Recent images of Egyptologists in a hat include: <http://cmes.macmillan.yale.edu/people/john-darnell>.

¹¹⁰ On the potential role of empathy in Egyptology see Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, pp. 270–8.

¹¹¹ Anthony Roth Costanzo, ‘Becoming Akhenaten’, LA Opera: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U0mjrcrXmp4>.

For an Egyptological perspective on the opera, see Paul John Frandsen, ‘Philip Glass’s “Akhnaten”’, *The Musical Quarterly* 77.2 (Summer 1993), pp. 241–67.