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BUILDING THE EGYPTIAN CANON IN EARLY 20TH-CENTURY GERMANY:
THE CASE STUDY OF GEORG STEINDORFF'S EXCAVATIONS

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BUILDING THE EGYPTIAN CANON IN EARLY 20TH-CENTURY GERMANY:
THE CASE STUDY OF GEORG STEINDORFF'S EXCAVATIONS

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the

Meadows School of the Arts

Southern Methodist University

In

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the degree of

Master of Arts

with a

Major in Art History

by

Darby Linn

B.A., History of Art, University of Colorado, Boulder

May 5, 2023

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My sincerest thanks go out to my advisor, Dr. Stephanie Langin-Hooper, to my committee members, Dr. Adam Herring and Dr. Abbey Stockstill, as well as to the entire faculty and staff within the department of Art History and the libraries at Southern Methodist University. I extend my gratitude to Kerstin Seidel at the Ägyptisches Museum for her extensive help with accessing materials that proved indispensable to my research. I also express a special thanks to my family and loved ones who have supported me throughout this project. To my father, thank you for enthusiastically serving as my trusted travel companion over the course of our unforgettable Egypt adventure. This thesis is also dedicated to my beloved grandfather who passed during the duration of this project. I thank him for always being willing to share his wisdom, humor, and encouragement with me. May he rest in peace.

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Building the Egyptian Canon in Early 20th-Century Germany:
The Case Study of Georg Steindorff's Excavations

Advisor: Dr. Stephanie Langin-Hooper

Master of Arts conferred: May 13, 2023

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This thesis is a historiographic study of Germany Egyptology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with particular focus on how the different stakeholders involved in that academic environment – scholars, curators, donors and financiers, the German museum-going public, as well as Egyptian people who worked on archaeological excavations – influenced the development of the scholarly canon of ancient Egyptian art. The “canon” is an art historical concept from designating certain objects, styles, and forms as representative of a culture, time period, or artistic movement. Consequently, the canon establishes an artistic hierarchy according to European aesthetic standards that excludes types falling outside of its criteria.¹ The major case study of this thesis involves the career of German Egyptologist Georg Steindorff, who worked as a museum curator at the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig as well as a field archaeologist in Egypt from the years 1903-1931. Three ancient Egyptian objects in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig will be analyzed in depth: a miniature wooden boat model, a

¹ Cunningham, Colin and Gill Perry. 1999. *Academies, Museums, and Canons of Art*. United Kingdom: Yale University Press, 12.; Mansfield, Elizabeth. 2014. *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and Its Institutions*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.

diadem, and a block statue. All of these objects were excavated or curated by Steindorff at different pivotal moments of his career; thus, they reflect the shifting priorities of this prominent Egyptologist as he responded to broader trends and pressures in assessing the types of objects considered most important in the canon of ancient Egyptian art.

This thesis builds on existing scholarship by providing a new and enriching perspective to Steindorff's life and legacy. Each object case study reveals Steindorff's major contributions to his field and the importance of challenging Eurocentric readings of objects while also accurately documenting and addressing the perspectives present within modern Europe during Steindorff's era. The primary argument of this thesis is that scholars like Steindorff were conducting excavations and making key curatorial and display decisions in response to a growing scholarly understanding of what constituted the core importance of ancient Egyptian artifacts. Amidst German Egyptologists shaping the canon of Egyptian art, Steindorff indecisively judged rare ancient objects that both aligned with and defied canonical standards. His uncertainty reflected his internal conflicts as a developing excavator and the underlying problems of the canon when applied to ancient Egyptian art. The decisions that Steindorff eventually made regarding the found objects reflected the complexities of the canon and ultimately helped dictate how ancient Egypt was portrayed to the modern museum-going public in Germany. Museums with Egyptian collections that are founded on such decisions must now reflect on what messages and agendas they project onto museum goers and require new solutions to address the longstanding issue of the canon.

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Georg Steindorff



INTRODUCTION

The historic canon of Egyptian art impacts all representations and discussions of ancient Egypt today. Within art historical scholarship, the “canon” signifies an established hierarchy of artworks measured according to European aesthetic standards.² In textbooks, the beautiful, the elite, the precious, and the narrative objects were placed in opposition and in superiority to what was judged by European artistic standards as less aesthetically pleasing, less materially valuable, the non-elite, and the non-iconographic. The canon began with foundational German textbooks that offered the first global art history surveys.³ Central texts like Franz Kugler’s *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842) and Carl Schnaase’s *Geschichte der bildenen Künste* (1866) reiterated Eurocentrism by presenting objects in relation to Western art and architecture. Common highlights included figural and narrative works because they could be associated with Classical counterparts as well as portable objects from excavation sites, while poorly preserved works remained left out given their lack of a visual appeal to Western audiences.⁴ The canon presented separate and uncomplicated classification categories that made sense on paper but did not always translate well in excavation settings. In museums, the canon prompts curatorial decisions regarding which objects are put on display and which remain stored away from public view, thereby shaping the viewer’s interaction with Egyptian culture. The canon’s presence in

² Cunningham and Perry, *Academies, Museums, and Canons of Art*, 12.; Mansfield, *Making Art History*.

³ Gansell, Amy Rebecca, and Ann Shafer. 2020. *Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 11.

⁴ Ibid, 12.

academia prompts art historians, Egyptologists, and archaeologists to reflect on their fields and continue the debate as to whether the canon should be defended or dismissed moving forward. The canon also impacts pedagogy, which pertains especially to art historical survey courses since teachers must arrange and group artworks of different cultures according to certain themes and styles. In order to effectively evaluate the future use of the canon, we must first retrace its history to its origins as the canon was formed in the “Golden Age” of archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A historiographic approach to the Egyptian canon provides greater context behind its purpose and applications, and it sheds light on which, if any, of the canon’s criteria prove useful and which require reform. I take a narrow approach to analyzing the complexities of the canon by studying how the German Egyptologist Georg Steindorff individually applied the canon throughout his excavational career. The primary argument of this thesis is that scholars like Steindorff were conducting excavations and making key curatorial and display decisions in response to a growing scholarly understanding of what constituted the core importance of ancient Egyptian artifacts. Amidst German Egyptologists shaping the canon of Egyptian art, Steindorff indecisively judged rare ancient objects that both aligned with and defied canonical standards. His uncertainty reflected his internal conflicts as a developing excavator and the underlying problems of the canon when applied to ancient Egyptian art.

Authoritative Egyptological figures like Steindorff historically shaped and refined the canon of Egyptian art through their personal tastes, classifications of objects, and attentiveness to their patrons’ demands. The primary subject of my research, Georg Steindorff (1861-1951) stood out as a leading German Egyptologist of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. He grew up in a Jewish family in Dessau, Germany and studied Egyptology and Oriental language in

Berlin at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität beginning in 1881.⁵ In 1882, Steindorff transferred to the University of Göttingen where he earned his doctorate with *summa cum laude* in Egyptology and Coptology.⁶ His contributions to Coptology, a discipline concerning the Coptic language and culture of ancient Egypt, received extensive recognition around the world and continue to be applied within scholarship today.⁷ He was appointed as a museum assistant at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin in 1885. In 1893, Steindorff accepted the positions as an associate professor of Egyptology and as the head of the Department of Philosophy's "Egyptological Collection" at the University of Leipzig. Amidst his excavations that spanned from 1903-1931, Steindorff held several prestigious academic positions, including briefly serving as rector of the University of Leipzig from 1923-1924. The increasing political tensions in Germany as the Nazi Party rose to power in 1933 included persecution against Steindorff for his Jewish heritage. New regulations under the Nazis resulted in Steindorff's forced retirement (emeritation) in 1934 followed by the withdrawal of his right to teach (*venia legendi*) in 1935 due to the Nuremberg Laws.⁸ In the following year, he was forced to sell his home under duress and then emigrated to the United States near Los Angeles in 1939. He continued to write and contribute to American scholarly and museum publications up until his death in 1951.⁹

⁵ The Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität was the name used for Humboldt University of Berlin from 1828-1946. Marksches, Christoph. 2009. "Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität und Humboldt-Universität: Zur Neubenennung der Berliner Universität vor 60 Jahren." Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. https://www.hu-berlin.de/de/ueberblick/geschichte/rektoren/marksches/rede/gruss_fwu.

⁶ Blumenthal, Elke. 2017. *Georg Steindorff: Stationen eines Lebens*. Germany: Manetho Verlag, 62.

⁷ For example, see Uljas, Sami. 2009. "The Forms of the Coptic 2nd Person Feminine Singular Pronouns" *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 136, no. 2: 173-188. <https://doi.org/10.1524/zaes.2009.0020>; *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies*. ed. by Franziska Naether (Germany: De Gruyter, 2019).

⁸ Blumenthal, 64.

⁹ For examples of Steindorff's English publications, see Steindorff, Georg. 1951. *A royal head from ancient Egypt*. Vol.1 no.5. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/royalheadfroman151951steif>; Steindorff, Georg. 1947. *Bulletin of the Art Division of the Los Angeles County Museum [microform]*. vol. 1. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, Art Division.

While Steindorff's impact within Coptology has been the subject of several scholarly publications, much of his excavation career and the objects he discovered remain significantly understudied. Steindorff led several excavations in Egypt and Nubia and used his findings to build up the largest university collection of Egyptian objects in Germany. His substantial impact on the university collection inspired the later naming of the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig in his honor. While his contributions to expanding the collection greatly benefitted his own, the university's, and Leipzig's reputations, they must also be examined critically. The process of using excavation finds for the growth of collections can be problematic especially when considered from a modern postcolonial viewpoint. Excavations at this time not only catered to a new Western interest in studying and collecting ancient Egyptian culture but also to communicating the wealth and globality of the collectors and for elevating their social position in Western Europe. Scholars have often focused on the figures who directly shaped the canon but ignored the influential circumstances and people shaping them, including patrons, politics, and mentors. My thesis rectifies this prevalent gap in contemporary scholarship regarding the canon of Egyptian art by utilizing a historiographical lens for examining the underlying factors of Steindorff's excavations. Such factors impressed specific standards on Steindorff, which manifested in his handling of extraordinary ancient objects. This focus creates a better understanding as to how the underlying frameworks of the excavations, such as education, sponsors, national agendas, and personal ambitions, influenced Steindorff's perceptions of ancient Egyptian culture. Modern excavations were a complex system of co-dependency between people of different social classes and with varying degrees of expertise. These influential factors

combined with Steindorff's own expertise led him to make significant decisions about ancient objects that enhanced his career and made him an important voice in his field.

My thesis will rectify the gap in scholarship by utilizing the rich materials available at Southern Methodist University's Bridwell Library. Many of Georg Steindorff's personal papers and original excavation journals, including his 1912 to 1914 journals from Aniba, reside undigitized within the library's special collections. The journals serve as especially invaluable resources for addressing Steindorff's contributions to canon formation in that they double as research reports and personal diaries, allowing exclusive access into Steindorff's mindset during his digs. Three object case studies widely ranging in material, age, and location effectively demonstrate how outside opinions impacted Steindorff's interactions with new finds. These reveal Steindorff's major contributions to his field and the importance of challenging Eurocentric readings of objects while also accurately documenting and addressing the perspectives present within modern Europe during Steindorff's era. This thesis builds on existing scholarship by providing a new and enriching perspective to Steindorff's life and legacy.

The thesis centers on three chapters, each of which is dedicated to a particular object case study. The first case study aligned with the Western canon of Egyptian art and contributed to the standard against which Steindorff measured his other finds. The objects in the second and third case studies include complicated narratives that simultaneously align with and conflict with the canon, thus leaving Steindorff with mixed feelings on how to handle said objects. The ancient objects highlighted in the case studies are also emblematic of important stages in Steindorff's excavation career. The first chapter represents the earliest stage of his career at the turn of the twentieth century while he was in charge of the University of Leipzig's Antiquities Collection

and was planning to excavate in Egypt to grow the collection. The case study concerns a miniature wooden boat model dating to the Middle Kingdom that originates from the tomb of the funerary priest Herischef-hotep in Abusir. The boat model in Leipzig is crucial to studying Steindorff because it shaped his early career by impressing on him what types of objects were worth bringing back to Germany for provincial Egyptian collections. Boat models frequently appear in Egyptian art collections even today, and this example offers insight as to why and how such objects were accepted into the canon. I provide a visual analysis of the boat model and analyze the ancient context of such models within Egyptian tombs. Then, I transition to a historic overview of the state of German Egyptology during Steindorff's era in order to determine what nationalistic and professional pressures Steindorff faced by the time he began his first excavation. Finally, I discuss the financial sponsor behind the Abusir excavation, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG), and the results presented to the DOG in the final excavation report. Each topic speaks to the crucial roles of elite social organizations, funding, university pedagogy, and politics in shaping the purpose and procedures behind excavations in Egypt.

The second chapter centers around the second stage of Steindorff's excavation career, specifically during his first excavation seasons in Egypt between 1903-1906. The object case study focuses on a diadem from Giza dating to the Old Kingdom. Not only does the diadem prove significant as one of three known diadem examples dating to the Old Kingdom, but it also signifies Steindorff's internal struggle when faced with evaluating a non-canonical ancient object. On the one hand the diadem was canonical as an Old Kingdom object from an elite Egyptian tomb, but it also was treated as non-canonical because of its poor condition and rarity. I argue that although the diadem met the standards for the types of objects Steindorff pursued

during his excavations, it did not receive greater attention because of its irregularity from the canon. The chapter begins with addressing the diadem's current display at the Ägyptisches Museum as a reflection of Steindorff's uncertainty towards the headpiece. In addition to a visual analysis and discussion of the role of diadems in ancient Egypt, I analyze Steindorff's journal entry regarding the diadem alongside the specific political and financial circumstances pertaining to its excavation. Steindorff's first few excavations were crucial for enabling his future digs and advancing his own career, and they also paved the future for German archaeology because they demonstrated that German collections, both public and private, could rapidly expand through sufficiently funded digs. Modern publications in addition to Steindorff's personal notes and letters provide a unique glimpse into his internal conflicts out of a need to please sponsors, ensure the success of his excavation, build the museum collection, and advance his career. Steindorff's wavering relationship with the diadem influenced how objects that did not fit ideas of ancient Egypt, regardless of their rarity, were treated within German museums.

The third and final chapter concerns one of Steindorff's later digs and represents the end of his excavation career. The case study prioritizes the funerary block statue dedicated to Ruju, dating to the New Kingdom, discovered in Aniba. Steindorff deemed the statue significant due to its findspot in Nubia. Similar to the case of the diadem, Steindorff's relationship with the block statue fluctuated as his opinions towards it changed. The block statue serves as a suitable case study because it represents the oldest Nubian example of this sculptural type, and Steindorff interpreted the block statue's discovery in Aniba as evidence for canonical ancient Egyptian art being imported to cultures outside of Egypt. Like the boat model, block statues frequently appear in Egyptian art collections and thus reinforce the canon through their prevalence and Egyptian

appearance. On the other hand, the block statue's findspot in Nubia fell outside of the canon's criteria of a purely Egyptian narrative and it presented as a challenge to Steindorff's preconceived ideas of acceptable art forms. I argue that the Egyptian workers' enthusiasm to the block statue caught Steindorff's attention and conditioned his own reaction to the object. I begin with analyzing Steindorff's journal entry for the block statue and how his perceptions were impacted by the workers. In addition to a visual analysis and the role of block statues in ancient Egypt, I discuss how the voices of patrons and workers in the Aniba excavation were both present and silenced. This leads into a discussion of the excavation and the transporting of the block statue to Leipzig. I conclude with the Ägyptisches Museum's impact on modern German society based on reviews contemporary to the museum's opening.

I apply two main theoretical frameworks to my readings of primary and secondary sources. The first lens that I utilize is that of Orientalism, a postcolonial theory developed by Edward Said in 1978 that was inspired by the work of Anwar Abdel Malek and Abdul Tibawi in the 1960s. Orientalism combats the Eurocentric readings of ancient Egyptian culture that Western European Egyptologists like Steindorff practiced. The Orient, according to Said, is a Western conception distinguishing the East as "Other" to the West ("Occident").¹⁰ He further points out that Orientalism functions as a framework concerned with judging, ruling over, and classifying the "Orient." Shehla Burney summarizes Said's Orientalism as:

a built-in system or method by which the West not only socially constructed and actually produced the Orient, but controlled and managed it through a hegemony of power relations, working through the tropes, images, and representations of literature, art, visual media, film, and travel writing, among other aspects of cultural and political appropriation.¹¹

¹⁰ Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 13.

¹¹ Burney, Shehla. 2012. "Chapter One: Orientalism: The Making of the Other." *Counterpoints*, 417, 23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981698>.

examine the Western approach towards Egypt and its impact on excavations and to study its applications to the canon of Egyptian art.

Said is often credited as the founder of postcolonial studies because his work caused a monumental shift within academia.¹² In the following decades, his book prompted scholars within the United States and Europe to incorporate postcolonial perspectives and reevaluate and restructure their approaches to numerous fields in the humanities, including cultural studies, anthropology, comparative literature, and political science.¹³ Said accomplished what few scholars could by releasing a book that transcended the academic realm and also reached a non-scholarly audience. Since the book's publication, several scholars incorporated and built on Said's work with new theoretical approaches. Gayatri Spivak applied Said's theory to her own writings in which she argued that English literary and cultural texts "served the interests of colonial power by representing English national culture as inherently more civilized than non-European nations, and therefore provided the cultural justification for colonialism."¹⁴ Said's emphasis on the existing binary between self and Other led Spivak to engage with postcolonial subaltern theory. She argued that the "subaltern," or someone of lower social, political, or economic stature, cannot be ethically represented.¹⁵ Homi Bhabha reevaluated Said's account of the colonizer's agency and that of the colonized, emphasizing that the relationships are more

¹² Vandeviver, Nicolas. 2019. *Edward un and the Authority of Literary Criticism*. Germany: Springer International Publishing, 2.; Ernst, Carl W., and Richard C. Martin. 2012. *Rethinking Islamic Studies: From Orientalism to Cosmopolitanism*. United States: University of South Carolina Press, 5.

¹³ The Press Trust of India, Ltd. 2023. "Why Edward Said's Seminal Work 'Orientalism' Remains Relevant Even Today." *The Economic Times*. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/magazines/panache/why-edward-said-seminal-work-orientalism-remains-relevant-even-today/articleshow/97881164.cms?from=mdr>.

¹⁴ Morton, Stephen. 2007. *Gayatri Spivak: Ethics, Subalternity and the Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. United Kingdom: Wiley, 16.

¹⁵ See Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

complex than what Said proposed.¹⁶ Like Said, both Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha became foundational postcolonial critics. Additional approaches included Richard White's middle ground theory in which people appeal to others considered different from themselves by using values and practices perceived as belonging to the other people, thereby adjusting cultural differences.¹⁷ Today, Said's *Orientalism* continues to make a large impact with its translation into thirty-six languages, and it remains a classic staple within bookstores worldwide.¹⁸ I make particular use of Said's theory in my final chapter when discussing how colonial powers perceived their knowledge and conquering of Oriental lands as being for the good of the colonized as well as for Europe.

In the 1980s and 1990s, many scholars attempted to apply Said's proposition of "colonial discourse" and rewrite postcolonial histories. However, these efforts were not without their own challenges. Only a few years after Said published his book, David Kopf and Bernard Lewis decried Said and anti-Orientalists for supposedly leading a campaign against Western Orientalists studying the Islamic world and belittled Said as ignorant of the area he criticized. Other critics like John Plumb, Aijaz Ahmad, and Maxime Rodinson recognized the importance of Said's work but found fault in his application of Foucaultian theory, discussions of Orientalist scholarship, and his stated generalizations.¹⁹ Feminist scholars such as Joanna De Groot and Rana Kabani engaged with Orientalism's emphasis on patriarchy and asserted that the

¹⁶ Schwarz, Henry and Sangeeta Ray. 2003. *Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Wiley. ProQuest Ebook Central, 457.

¹⁷ Deloria, Philip J. 2006. "What Is the Middle Ground, Anyway?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1, 16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3491723>.

¹⁸ Iskandar, Adel and Hakem Rustom. 2010. *Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation*. United Kingdom: University of California Press, 414.

¹⁹ Teo, Hsu-Ming. 2013. "Orientalism: An Overview." *Australian Humanities Review* (54) (05): 8. <http://proxy.libraries.smu.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/orientalism-overview/docview/1415613311/se-2>.

overlooked Oriental woman was associated with the oppressed East.²⁰ Others like Gyan Prakash critiqued the idea of people from Oriental regions (Africa, the Middle East, and Asia) authoring their own separate histories because it reinforced the opposition between the Orient and the West.²¹ These criticisms reflected the weight of Said's work and initiated new conversations regarding how to challenge the longstanding Eurocentric perspective.

Moving into the twenty-first century, several major scholars have analyzed how postcolonialism and Orientalist scholarship have shaped the fields of Egyptology and archaeology. Christina Riggs argues for challenging the 'great man' mythologies by instead examining the impact of bottom-up operations within archaeology, meaning to see the overlooked figures in excavations who contribute to colonial knowledge structures.²² Peter Gran argues that the colonial paradigm known as Oriental despotism has continued to linger in studies of modern Egypt, centering Cairo as a higher power while reducing all other provinces as having little distinction.²³ Though postcolonialism overlaps with many key areas within archaeology, specifically regarding interpretation, the construction of discourses, and contemporary ethical practices, Matthew Liebmann calls attention to the field of archaeology for not efficiently engaging with postcolonialism.²⁴ Claus Jurman acknowledges that while Egyptology has attempted to address its problematic histories, the field continues to utilize traditional practices

²⁰ Kabbani, Rana. 1994. *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, 2nd ed. London: HarperCollins.; De Groot, Joanna. 1989. "'Sex' and 'Race': The Construction of Language in Image in the Nineteenth Century." In *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, eds. London: Routledge.

²¹ Prakash, Gyan. 1990. "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 2. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/178920>.

²² Riggs. 2020. *Photographing Tutankhamun: Archaeology, Ancient Egypt, and the Archive*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 3.; Riggs, Christina. 2013. "Colonial Visions." *Museum Worlds* 1 (1): 65-84.

²³ Gran, Peter. 2020. "Introduction." In *The Persistence of Orientalism: Anglo-American Historians and Modern Egypt*, 1–34. Syracuse University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvz938dx.5>.

²⁴ Liebmann, Matthew. 2008. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. United States: AltaMira Press, 4.

that reinforce colonial structures and jeopardize its future development.²⁵ Chris Gosden discusses a postcolonial refocus in archaeology in studying culture rather than exclusively extracting visual material.²⁶ Continuing these advances in scholarship, I apply Riggs' theory on the ordering of knowledge to my concluding discussion on how the efforts of Egyptologists like Steindorff resulted in selective displays of ancient Egyptian objects.

The second theoretical framework concerns canon formation to annotate how the canon of Egyptian art evolved from initial Western perceptions of Egypt to ideas selectively supported by visual evidence from excavations to museum practice. Throughout my chapters, I use the term "Western" as synonymous to the "Occident," or modern Western Europe and the United States. While "Western" is vague and has become an outdated term in contemporary scholarship, I incorporate it as it was used during Steindorff's era to reflect on the values of German scholars in modern Europe. Western Europe, according to a Eurocentric definition, entailed the major colonial powers, specifically France, Britain, and Germany. Christina Riggs' discussion "Egyptian...or is it?", which pertains to canon formation, applies to my analysis on how Steindorff assessed the block statue based on its canonical Egyptian attributes and non-canonical Nubian origins.²⁷ A critical analysis of this mindset reveals how narrower scrutiny has been placed on Egyptian objects and collections themselves rather than in conjunction with how the objects are being presented through certain methodological lenses. These objects and collections,

²⁵ Jurman, Claus. 2022. "Pharaoh's New Clothes. On (Post)Colonial Egyptology, Hypocrisy, and the Elephant in the Room." Germany: Propylaeum Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.
<https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00005396>.

²⁶ Gosden, Chris. 2001. "Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge." In *Archaeological Theory Today*. ed. by Ian Hodder, 248-249.

²⁷ See Riggs, Christina. 2014. *Ancient Egyptian Art and Architecture: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

in turn, become teaching mechanisms for educating the public that reinforce the canon.

Especially in my final chapter, I also will use the recently published book *Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology* by Amy Gansell and Ann Shafer to examine how established canons have misrepresented Egyptian objects and caused misunderstandings of ancient Egyptian culture as well as how museums display objects with complex histories. The authors note that museums have communicated a narrative in which Egyptian art is considered exceptional to overlapping canons, in other words “that Egyptian art has been presented as solely belonging to the ancient Egyptian canon.”²⁸

The art historical canon was and continues to be a Western-based concept. The term “canon” derives from the ancient Greek word *kanon*, meaning a measuring rod, which first referenced measuring the perfect proportions of Polykleitos’ *Doryphoros*.²⁹ Measuring the perfection of “man,” both in the sense of evaluating the artist’s skills in achieving perfection and the sculpted *Doryphoros*’ appeared perfection, created a system of comparative standards that promoted exclusivity and the perceived highest levels of artistic skill. In the fourth century BCE, early Christians reinterpreted the idea of the canon within a religious context regarding which texts to include in the Bible.³⁰ The Bible-building process helped create the canon’s emphasis on inclusion and exclusion.³¹ Throughout the following centuries, the spread of Christianity across Europe and the controlled territories widely circulated the canon and prompted Europeans to

²⁸ Gansell and Schaeffer, 254.

²⁹ Harris, Jonathan. 2006. “Canon/Canonical.” In *Art History: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge, 45-46.; Lorenz, Thuri. 2007. “Polykleit: Die Geschichte vom ‘Kanon.’” In *Festschrift für Götz Pochat zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. By Johann Konrad Eberlein. Vienna: LIT, 11-19.

³⁰ *Canon and Canonicity: The Formation and Use of Scripture*. Einar Thomassen, ed. (Denmark: Museum Tusulanum, 2010), 9.

³¹ Gansell and Schaeffer, 2.

apply it to various fields. Sub-canons dedicated to specialized topics within academia and the arts also emerged, but the Western canon, in which select objects stand in for entire technical practices and cultures regardless of ancient values, remained popular and was exercised by European scholars like Steindorff. Hubert Locher effectively summarizes the canon as:

...a group of works, objects or, more often, texts, recognized within a defined social group as being exemplary and thus embodying a set of binding provisions. Undeniably, some of the religious connotations remain present in the modern use of the term; as the Egyptologist Jan Assmann has pointed out, this is evident when we still understand a canon not only, as in antiquity, as the correct measure made to the right proportion, but also as the right thing according to a higher authority.³²

The final few words of Locher's definition prove the most important especially throughout the next three chapters. The canon's strength stems from a higher power dictating and enforcing personal tastes on an outside culture. This prompted my initial guiding questions throughout the project: who or what were the higher powers guiding Georg Steindorff's decisions in relation to the canon and how did Steindorff reinforce and challenge the canon?

This thesis ultimately contributes to ongoing debates about the relevancy of the canon and how the field of art history must reconcile with it moving forward. It raises new points on how the canon's formation and continuation are not exclusive to the decisions of individuals but rather also remain tied to groups of peoples, fields of study, markets, cultures, countries, and shifting borders. The project centralizes but also looks beyond the important question of who is forming the canon by also exploring who and what are building up the mindsets of the people forming the canon. Steindorff thus simultaneously sits at the center and on the outskirts of this research. The study of Steindorff's excavation career, while unique to a particular person during

³² Locher, Hubert. 2012. "The Idea of the Canon and Canon Formation in Art History." In *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, 212/4:29–40. United States: BRILL, 31. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004231702_004.

the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, also functions as a timeless example more generally representing scholars across time and space who must similarly navigate through difficult questions concerning value, exclusivity, and superiority within Egyptology and archaeology. Although primarily focus is placed on German Egyptology of the early twentieth century, such histories speak volumes about how ancient Egyptian objects are regarded today. To best understand the canon's impact on the public consumption of ancient Egyptian objects, we must first look to the past and understand the contentious nature rooted within the excavation of the object.

Chapter I:

THE BOAT MODEL

On the second floor of the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig, an entire room is dedicated to the excavated contents of a single ancient tomb in Abusir. On the left side of the room, two glass vitrines stand against a wall a few feet apart, each containing two small wooden boats that closely resemble one another. The two boats in each case are oriented in the opposite direction of the boats in the opposite vitrine as if they are sailing away from one another. The only boat of the group with a collapsed sail mast (Inv. Nr. 0038) serves as the focus of this first chapter. Though boat models are typically included in European and American museum collections on ancient Egypt, I argue that the boat model in Leipzig is crucial to studying Steindorff because it shaped his early career by impressing on him what types of objects were worth bringing back to Germany for provincial Egyptian collections.

In this first chapter, I analyze how ancient meanings and modern agendas converged through the boat model and how this created an implicit standard for Steindorff's own excavations. I begin with a visual analysis of the model and then transition into the role of boat models in ancient Egypt. Then I delve into an overview of German Egyptology throughout the nineteenth century and discuss some of the most important Egyptological societies at the time as Germany established its new national identity. Included in this discussion are the political and

financial circumstances behind the excavation of the boat model in Abusir as well as details of the excavation. The initial report made by German Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt (1863-1938) to the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft also offers insight as to how the boat model was interpreted by the excavators and allows connections to be drawn back to Steindorff.

The boat model (Fig. 1) dates between the 11th and 12th Dynasties (ca. 2046-1976 BCE) during the Middle Kingdom and was originally excavated from Herishef-hotep's tomb (mR6), located at the funerary temple in Abusir. The miniaturized funerary rowing ship was carved from a single block of wood and measures approximately 11.2 inches in height, 7.9 inches in width, and 24.6 inches in length.³³ The model resembles the life-sized Egyptian rowing ships made from wooden planks, and the shape of the vessel includes a deeply curved hull with a flat bottom, a recessed deck, and a flat, raised bow. American Egyptologist George Reisner (1867-1942), one of Steindorff's close colleagues, remarked on the depth of the hulls on such model boats:

The flat bottom presented by all these models of boats is, of course, merely a device for making the models stand upright in the proper position relative to the water line when afloat. It seems, in fact, to mark the water-line, although the stability of the boat would appear to require that the hull should lie much deeper in the water than this line usually indicates. However a comparison with the boats represented on the reliefs shows that the proportions of the hull above the water-line, its relative length and depth, are in most of the models the same as on the reliefs, and therefore probably not essentially different from the proportions of boats in actual use.³⁴

Each of the four model boats at the Ägyptisches Museum likewise stand upright on their own due to their hulls with flat edges on the bottom. Reisner's commentary suggests that the miniature boats were designed for upright display within their designated tombs, and the artist(s)

³³ Tietze, Oliver, Sandra Böhme, and Alexander Gatzsche. 2010. Rep. *Dokumentation Zur Restaurierung Von Holzobjekten Des Ägyptischen Museums Der Universität Leipzig*. Diplom-Restaurato.

³⁴ Reisner, G. 1913. *Models of Ships and Boats*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, LeCaire: l'Institut Français D'archéologie Orientale, ix-x.
<https://archive.org/details/modelsofshipsboa00reis/page/50>.

rendered the boat models according to how boats were depicted in other mediums. In other words, boat models were formed based on a shared artistic style intended for resembling full-scale boats and for wide distribution. The crossbeams are painted a reddish-brown color. A lever for controlling the model rudder would have originally been connected to the steering wheel, but it is now missing.³⁵ The rudder is connected to a vertical post, and the mast, almost as long as the entire boat, lays at a slight angle with one end on top of a wooden forked post. Remnants of paint also have been preserved in patches on the boat, suggesting the entire vessel was once fully colored.

The boat also includes a miniature crew with a total of eleven figures. Eight figures in the center of the boat sit divided into two groups, four figures on either side with each group arranged in a single line (Fig. 2). Several of the figures' faces appear rough, potentially from damage, in comparison to the few that still have distinguishable features. Traces of colored paint on each figure distinguish the toned skin, the dark hair, and the *schenti* garments.³⁶ At the stern of the boat, a helmsman figure appears seated beside a long wooden rudder angled downward into the imagined water. Each of the oarsmen hold small wooden oars and face towards the back of the boat. The oars rest parallel above the imagined water's surface, leaving the boat eternally motionless. A separate figure, presumably Herischef-hotep, faces towards the front of the boat while seated beneath the canopy. The roof of the wooden canopy exhibits faint black spots, representing an animal skin. One figure looks straight ahead, acting as lookout at the bow of the boat. It is the only figure with moveable limbs, which are attached to the torso with metal pins.

³⁵ Based on a description card for the funerary boat (Inv. Nr. 0038) archived at the Ägyptisches Museum

³⁶ "Schenti." September 20, 2017. *Fashion History Timeline*. State University of New York. <https://fashionhistory.fitnyc.edu/schenti/>.

The right arm, now broken off, would have been originally raised and holding a weighted line to measure water depth. A combination of these visual elements creates an illusion of a miniaturized world and a visual snapshot of ancient Egyptian religious beliefs.

Boat Models in Ancient Egypt

Actual boat transportation, which held special significance in ancient Egypt, likely inspired the creation of a scaled-down boat model. The close relationship between the Nile, the gods, and the Egyptians was as equally prevalent in death as in life. The Egyptians who were so dependent on the Nile waters for everyday needs believed that they needed to undergo a spiritual nautical journey to reach their final destinations in the afterlife. In fact, the majority of ancient iconography featuring boats depict ceremonial processions.³⁷ A funerary boat, for example, would have carried a shrine which housed “an image of the deity or the mummy of the deceased, which [was] taken either along a ritual circuit (in the case of a god) or from the embalming station to the tomb (in the case of a mummy).”³⁸ Not only did boats enable maximum efficiency for transporting a body and numerous tomb contents, but they created access to distant religious sites. Boats, and implicitly boat models, thus performed as a medium for bringing together the earthly and divine realms. Abydos, located over three hundred miles south of Cairo along the Nile, became a main cult site to Osiris by the end of the Old Kingdom (circa 2200 BCE).³⁹

According to the Ägyptisches Museum:

³⁷ See Naville, Édouard 1971. *Funerary procession, Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie I*, Taf. III.D.a.; Creasman, Pearce, & Noreen Doyle. 2010. “Overland Boat Transportation During the Pharaonic Period: Archaeology and Iconography.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 2(3), 16.
<https://journals.uair.arizona.edu/index.php/jaei/article/view/66/70>.

³⁸ Creasman, Pearce, & Noreen Doyle, 16.

³⁹ Wegner, Josef. 2006. “Abydos And The Cult Of Osiris.” *Expedition Magazine* 48 (2), Penn Museum, 8.
<http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=10782>.

The deceased needed [boats] for the crossing to the ‘beautiful West,’ the realm of the dead, and for pilgrimages to the cult sites of the god of the dead Osiris in Abydos and Busiris. In addition, owning ships ensured mobility, quick execution of orders, comfortable travel, and reputation. The deceased also wanted to enjoy these privileges in the afterlife.⁴⁰

The Egyptians regarded the funerary god Osiris as one of their most important deities, and the belief that Osiris was buried in Abydos prompted the annual religious procession there beginning in the Middle Kingdom.⁴¹ The long distance to Abydos by land, the belief that the pharaohs sailed the Nile towards their final resting place, and the ceremonial boats excavated in Abydos each emphasize the importance that ancient Egyptians attributed to boats to preserve their piety to Osiris. Between the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Egyptian beliefs regarding the afterlife underwent a significant shift. More specifically, the privilege of enjoying life beyond death was no longer reserved exclusively for the pharaohs and suddenly became accessible to elite non-royals.⁴² The boat model of the elite priest Herishef-hotep was a symbol of the old and the new, representing both the pre-established religious traditions of pharaonic burial and the sudden change in social practice for elaborately burying a select class of non-royals.

The end goal was to enjoy a comfortable afterlife, and so boat models, like other tomb offerings, were intended “to provide the spirit of the dead owner with a spirit world in essentials like the world of the living.”⁴³ Tomb offerings ranged in size from full-scale practical objects like furniture or pots to miniature models and statuettes. Models were substituted for their life-size

⁴⁰ Boat model of Herishef-hotep description card. Courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum.

⁴¹ Wegner, 8.; “Model Sailboat.” 2000. *Metmuseum.org*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/577298>.

⁴² Snape, Steven. 2011. *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. ProQuest Ebook Central, 117.; Stevenson, Alice. February 2011. “Egyptian Boat – Pitt Rivers Museum.” *Rethinking Pitt-Rivers: Analysing the Activities of a Nineteenth-Century Collector*. University of Oxford, <https://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/object-biography-index/19-prmcollection/322-egyptian-boat/index.html>.

⁴³ Reisner, i.

counterparts that would not have fit well in a tomb. Subjects included animals, servants preparing meals, and wooden boats. Until the 5th Dynasty, full-scale boats were buried beside the tombs of the pharaohs, but archaeological evidence confirms that this practice decreased and was replaced by boat models inside tombs beginning in the 6th Dynasty.⁴⁴ These boat models were most commonly made from wood but were also known to be made from materials such as stone, ivory, metal, and pottery.⁴⁵ The earliest known boat models were formed from clay and originate to the Predynastic Period (ca. 5000-3000 BCE) throughout the Middle East and Mesopotamia, artistic practices that were most likely borrowed through trade.⁴⁶ The hull of the wooden boats were often carved from a single block of wood, which were then plastered and painted. The figures and other additional details were either pegged on or fastened into small holes. Similar to actual boats and mummified bodies, boat models were typically buried facing north. Scholars argue that the specific north-south orientation linked to the flow of the Nile, an explanation which I find most convincing for the boat models, but other theories of cosmic directions and stellar connotations have also been considered.⁴⁷ The large crews depicted on the boats, as well as other types of models featuring servants, attest both to the deceased's social importance and to

⁴⁴ "In the mastaba of Ptahshepses, the son-in-law of King Ni-user-Re, a huge open space was found, clearly reserved for a boat."

Grajetski, Wolfram. 2003. *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 28.; Davis-Marks, Isis. August 12, 2021. "Why King Khufu's Solar Boat Is on the Move After 4,600 Years." *Smithsonian Magazine*, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/egypts-ancient-king-khufus-boat-moved-pyramids-giza-new-grand-egyptian-museum-180978413/>.

⁴⁵ Reisner, iv.

⁴⁶ For an example of a Predynastic clay boat model, see *model; boat*, Early Dynastic III (2500 BCE). Excavated from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, Iraq. Fired clay. (H) 4.15 cm. x (L) 9.60 cm. x (W) 5.10 cm. The British Museum (123731). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-722.

⁴⁷ Raven, Maarten J. 2005. "Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91, no. 1: 38-39. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/030751330509100103?casa_token=CHrhFELdDr0AAAAA:EhBS2AuMuex7Mp1LWjcWJoWcIN_WZYV-5tq2BDh1UzWYhiLqnbX2Bya8bDehaPk1t9B7obP7RTmI.

the manpower necessary for maintaining such a luxurious lifestyle in life and in death. These models, though miniature in scale, held a massive responsibility of transporting the spirit (*ka*) to the land of eternal rest and helping to justify the deceased, especially in the case of non-royals like Herischef-hotep, as worthy of entering into the afterlife.

German Egyptology in the Nineteenth Century

I define the state of German Egyptology in the nineteenth century primarily to provide political context to the Abusir excavation and to effectively determine the circumstances that molded Steindorff's approaches to individual Egyptian objects, to building museum collections, and to leading operations in the early stages of his excavation career. Germany, then a group of individual states ruled by Prussian monarchs, shared the same fascination for ancient Egyptian culture as the rest of Western Europe following Napoleon's campaign. Ongoing political tensions between the British, French, and Germans that persisted until the early twentieth century furthered the emerging field of Egyptology and fueled international competition amongst scholars. While the French consistently dominated in terms of excavations and collecting Egyptian artifacts for most of the 1800s, Germany shined in academia within university settings.⁴⁸ Nineteenth-century German universities originally followed the French models of "Oriental" studies because France was considered in Europe as a "pioneer nation" in the field.⁴⁹ Adopting these models, German scholars planned to not only stand equal to but also to surpass

⁴⁸ I clarify here that academia was not exclusively philology. It also included fields like archaeology and art history. While German scholars dominated philology, they did also excavate in the mid- and late-nineteenth century. See Dyson, Stephen L. 2008. *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. United States: Yale University Press.; Gansell and Shafer, 11.

⁴⁹ Gertzen, Thomas L., Susanne Voss, and Maximilian Georg. 2021. "Ch. 8: Prussia and Germany." In *A History of World Egyptology*. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson, and Salima Ikram, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 211. doi:10.1017/9781107477360.010.; Said, 17.

the French and dominate the field. Although earlier travel to Egypt and attempts to decipher hieroglyphs occurred, Germany did not seriously enter the field of Egyptology until the 1830s through the efforts of Richard Lepsius (1810-1884).⁵⁰ German and French Egyptologists feuded over one another's publications concerning philology, the study of language, with German accusations of the French providing dissatisfactory copies of Egyptian texts and the French accusations of the Germans overcomplicating Egyptian grammar.⁵¹ The rivalry further fueled German Egyptologists to publish reference materials, ranging from journals to museum catalogs, that would help classify ancient Egyptian culture into clearly-defined categories for the Western mind to understand. In fact, the first journal dedicated to Egyptology was established in 1864 in Germany, the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (ZÄS). German Egyptologists took on two main ambitions at this time, specifically securing the country a dominant position in the field on an international scale and solidifying Egyptology as a field within German scholarship.⁵² The field was thus not only founded on an interest in ancient Egyptian culture but also on political pressures. As a newly formed country, Germany needed to establish its national identity in every way possible, and the international interest in ancient Egypt justified a national investment in Egyptological endeavors.

German Egyptology in the nineteenth century mostly invested in pedagogy and academics. In terms of scholarship, German universities received global attention for their progressive teaching methods in higher education. However, traditional ideas were not entirely

⁵⁰ Reid, Donald Malcolm. 2002. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 44-45.

⁵¹ Voss, S., & Gertzen, T. 2020. German Egyptology (1882-1914). *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1(1), 3. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6np9x3sq>.

⁵² Wokoeck, Ursula. 2009. *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 89.

abandoned. In line with late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century Neoclassicism, in which studying the Classical Greek and Roman civilizations was believed to impart moral values, German scholarship and pedagogy strongly emphasized ancient Greek and Roman-based curriculum to promote ideas of individual self-cultivation and to gain “knowledge of human nature as a whole.”⁵³ Egyptians, alongside Jews, Persians, and other peoples from the Near East, were largely excluded from the ancient world given that major German Classicists like Friedrich Wolf (1759-1824) dismissed these cultures as incapable of having a higher intellectual culture of their own.⁵⁴ Thus German scholars embraced the idea that for the nation to achieve intellectual superiority, universities needed to study and teach superior civilizations like the Greeks and Romans. Professors of Steindorff’s era drew connections between academics and morality in their curriculum to shape students into well-rounded individuals:

The philologists, probably the driving force of the new nineteenth-century university, justified their teaching with the argument that study of classical culture exerted a desirable influence on character through examples of the great men of antiquity, and provided the best kind of general mental training through study of the formal structure of language...⁵⁵

Germany was especially renowned for its advancements in language, and the belief that studying ancient Classical languages and texts created direct access to the antique past granted Germany a sense of prestige.⁵⁶ Philologists also held a unique authority in the academic world for instilling

⁵³ Marchand, Suzanne L. 1996. “The Making of a Cultural Obsession.” In *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, 3–35. Princeton University Press, 26. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv10qqzn1.7>.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 21.

⁵⁵ Sheehan, James J.. 2000. *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*. Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated. ProQuest Ebook Central, 10.; Bietoletti, Silvestra. 2009. *Neoclassicism and Romanticism*. United Kingdom: Sterling Publishing., 1505.; O’Boyle, Lenore. 1983. “Learning for Its Own Sake: The German University as Nineteenth-Century Model.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, no. 1, 4. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/178570>.

⁵⁶ Marchand, Suzanne L. 2022. “The ‘Orient’ and ‘Us’: Making Ancient Oriental Studies Relevant during the Nazi Regime.” In *The Betrayal of the Humanities: The University during the Third Reich*, Bernard M. Levinson and Robert P. Ericksen, eds.. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 68-69. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2gix1bm.9>.

an appreciation for the Classics as guiding principles for helping Germany achieve the greatness of ancient empires.⁵⁷ The capital of Berlin, a “mecca for scholars and scientists,” became a figural center point for German universities, museums, and art rooted in Neoclassical values.⁵⁸ Neoclassicism, traditionally restricted to imitating Greek and Roman styles, also evolved in Germany in that it began grouping ancient Egypt with what were considered the superior societies of the Classical world. However, this was not an immediate acceptance among scholars. For example, the Prussian art historian Franz Theodor Kugler (1808-1858) expressed his reservations about ancient Egyptian art in 1842 as:

The Egyptian monuments are the books of their history written in giant stride, and we have begun to read this writing anew. But it is only an external action that this writing tells us about; and the Greek, who sought the expression of an inner life of soul in the works of art, was probably right when he described the most significant part of these monuments as the work of a ‘vain striving’. And so it remained, like the whole life of the Egyptian people, even their art rigid and part of no true inner development.⁵⁹

Kugler drew a direct comparison between Greek and Egyptian monuments, using Greek condescension of Egyptian works to justify his own disapproval of it for its supposed shallowness and “underdevelopment.” Greek art was contrastingly presented as holding deeper meaning in that it made connections to the inner soul that ultimately gave it a moralistic quality, an aspect Kugler ruled out as a possibility behind ancient Egyptian art. Despite such extreme views by authorities in the field, German museums continued to incorporate ancient Egypt into references to Classical Greece and Rome.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ For more on German admiration of Greek civilization, see Marchand, “The Making of a Cultural Obsession.”

⁵⁸ At this time, nine thousand Americans studied at German universities in the nineteenth century. Kirby, William C. 2022. *Empires of Ideas: Creating the Modern University from Germany to America to China*. United Kingdom: Harvard University Press, 40.

⁵⁹ Author’s translation of Kugler, Franz. 1842. *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. Germany: Stuttgart. Heidelberg historische Bestände – digital, 40. doi:10.11588/diglit.1230.

⁶⁰ Riggs, Christina. 2014. *Ancient Egyptian Art and Architecture: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 111.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Neoclassicism became evident even in the geographical layout of museums in Berlin.⁶¹ The cluster of Royal Museums in the heart of the city, a concept initiated by Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm IV that was coined *Museuminsel Berlin* (“Museum Island, Berlin”), each hold collections of varying cultures and time periods, yet their close proximity to one another visually unite them.⁶² As a manifestation of Kaiser Wilhelm’s envisioned “sanctuary for art and learning,” the *Museuminsel* stood across from the Berlin Palace to pay homage to the emperor and to emphasize that art and learning were at the core of Imperial Germany.⁶³ The Altes Museum and Pergamon Museum, both primarily holding objects of Classical Greek and Roman antiquity, stand directly beside the Neues Museum, which is dedicated to ancient Egyptian objects as well as to European and Asian objects dating to as early as the Paleolithic Period (Fig. 3). The early museums like the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin and the Altes Museum were believed to “have a moral impact on the city of Berlin comparable to that of religious piety, and could work against debilitating ‘luxury.’”⁶⁴ Morality, religious piety, and the secular went hand-in-hand with the location of these museums given that construction began in 1894 for a monumental Protestant cathedral, the *Berliner Dom*, a few feet away. The sense of sacredness evoked by the church and the secular by the museum created an unusual

⁶¹ For more on German urbanism and Neoclassicism during the nineteenth century, see Fögen, Thorsten, and Richard Warren. 2016. *Graeco-Roman Antiquity and the Idea of Nationalism in the 19th Century: Case Studies*. Germany: Berlin. De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110473490>.

For more on urbanism and the Islamic city, see Falahat, Somaiyeh. 2018. “Introduction: Diversifying Global Urban Vocabulary,” *Cities and Metaphors: Beyond Imaginaries of Islamic Urban Space*. London: Routledge, 1-15.; Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1987. “The Islamic City—Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (2), 155-176.

⁶² The museums included in the *Museuminsel* are the Alte Nationalgalerie, the Altes Museum, the Bodemuseum, the Neues Museum, the Pergamon Museum.

⁶³ Jefferies, Matthew. 2020. *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871-1918*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing, 81.

⁶⁴ Crane, Susan A. 2000. *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 141.

relationship that created both tension and harmony between these institutions.⁶⁵ Scholars today recognize that this clash between sacred and secular mirrored the historic contest between religion and the Enlightenment of the preceding centuries. Yet the closeness of the church and museum also reflect a unity between church and state. Here, a canon of values that Germany wanted to instill within its people was created: faith, education, and loyalty. To have a museum dedicated to ancient Egyptian objects placed within this hub elevated its importance and equated understanding its culture with being an enlightened, well-rounded individual. The Berlin museums served as academic and moral models for both German collections and for the German people, and it was around these institutions and values that regional museums like the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig revolved.

Several new areas of study emerged in Germany around this time and further reiterated the national importance given to learning. Art History became an academic discipline in Imperial Germany and was suddenly taught at the universities. Some scholars have credited Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842) and Carl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenen Künste* (1866) as the first art history surveys with a more global focus.⁶⁶ Others have claimed that an art historical reading of ancient Egyptian objects was only first applied under the fourth director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, Heinrich Schäfer (1868-1957) in the early twentieth century.⁶⁷ Early publications like that of Krugel and Schnaase applied a Eurocentric perspective that viewed a global focus as a mere mention of other visual cultures alongside generalizing

⁶⁵ For more on the sacred and secular within institutions, see Duncan, Carol. 1995. "The Art Museum as Ritual." *The Art Bulletin (New York, N.Y.)* 77, no. 1.

⁶⁶ Gansell and Shafer, 11.

⁶⁷ Fay, Biri. 1986. *Egyptian Museum, Berlin*. 3rd ed. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum, Der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ix.

statements, and they fueled a shared hunger for discovery to fill in the gaps where information about other cultures was still unknown. Near Eastern studies became another new academic interest that was taught towards the end of the nineteenth century. Several departments dedicated to the study of Near Eastern culture were funded, such as the department of Oriental languages at the Friedrich-Wilhelm-University of Berlin. Wealthy industrialists, whom I will later discuss at greater length, also formed social organizations dedicated to Near Eastern archaeology and excavation. For example, the Orient-Comité was co-founded in Berlin in 1887 and was approved by the Royal Museums and King Friedrich III.⁶⁸ Funding for the Orient-Comité's excavations primarily came from selling their excavation finds to museums at high prices.⁶⁹ These types of organizations depended on state sponsorship, and German archaeologists served as agents for public museums. In order to repay loaned funds, these excavators needed to ensure that their finds were to the satisfaction of the museums, that would, in turn, cover their season expenses. The Orient-Comité's excavations primarily took place in Turkey between 1888 and 1894. The dissatisfaction of museums having to pay significant sums for finds greatly contributed to the drying up of the group's operational fund.⁷⁰ In 1895, patron James Simon (1851–1932) resigned from the Orient-Comité and founded the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) in 1898. Unlike the Orient-Comité, the DOG internally financed excavations from its own resources and on a

⁶⁸ The official name was *Comité behufs Erforschung der Trummerstätten des Alten Orients* (Committee for the Study of the Ruins of the Ancient Orient).

⁶⁹ Marchand, Suzanne L. 1996. "The Peculiarities of German Orientalism." In *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*. Princeton University Press, 193.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv10qqzn1.12>.

⁷⁰ Reimers, Yvonne. November 2020. "Orient-Comité Findbuch". Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Germany: Berlin, 3.
https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Zentralarchiv/Bestaende/Dokumente/ZA_Findbuch_Orient_Comite.pdf.

larger scale. New disciplines and social organizations that focused on ancient Egypt promoted Berlin, and more broadly Germany, as powerful beacons of knowledge and research.

Complimenting the expansion within academia, museums in Prussian-ruled Germany rapidly grew their Egyptian collections. The first major public museum projects occurred in the 1820s prior to Germany's unification. These included the aforementioned Altes Museum in Berlin as well as the Glyptothek in Munich, the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn, and "many smaller, *Verein*-associated museums housed in local universities and rented rooms."⁷¹ The oldest German public museum dedicated to ancient Egyptian objects was the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, which began as one of the original departments within the royal art collections there. The collection first formed when Emperor Friedrich III (1770-1840) acquired ancient objects from the Prussian general and archaeologist Heinrich von Minutoli (1772-1846), who collected them on his Egyptian study tour and shipped them back to Berlin in 1823.⁷² The Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin once again received a major influx of objects a few years later when the Italian horse-trader and amateur Egyptian tomb excavator Giuseppe Passalacqua (1794-1849) convinced Emperor Friedrich III to purchase approximately 1,600 objects from him while in Paris in 1826.⁷³ Passalacqua had assembled the collection while excavating the Theban necropolis where he essentially left tombs completely emptied of their contents. In addition to selling his collection, Passalacqua simultaneously secured a prominent position when appointed

⁷¹ Crane's use of *Verein* is an abbreviation for *Kunstverein*, which translates to "art association." These groups, many of which still exist, were based in various cities throughout Germany and promoted the arts through public exhibitions.

Crane, 137.

⁷² Fay, vii-viii.; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 2023. "History of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung." *Ägyptisches Museum Und Papyrussammlung*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. <https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/aegyptisches-museum-und-papyrussammlung/collection-research/the-collection/>.

⁷³ Pain, Stephanie. June 3, 2006. "Fruits of the tomb." *New Scientist*, 54+. *Gale Academic OneFile*. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A146789747/AONE?u=txshracd2548&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=d8063fd0>.

director of the Egyptian section of the royal collection on July 1, 1828. This date also officially commemorated the opening of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.⁷⁴ This museum experienced a second influx in its collection, this time between 1842 and 1845 when Lepsius' excavation in Egypt resulted in the addition of 1,500 new objects.⁷⁵ The king was strengthening his relations with the people by sharing his personal collection with the public, and by doing so, he also was presenting a form of “moral enlightenment” for appreciating Prussian cultural heritage.⁷⁶ The philanthropic model of sharing personal collections with the public was also adopted by later industrialists like Ernst von Sieglin, who will be addressed in later chapters. The museums further promoted a sense of opulent wealth through the vast size and high quality of the royal collections that would make the country, and Berlin specifically, a cultural hub comparable with other major cities across Europe.

The rapid growth of earlier museums sparked a surge in new museums throughout Europe beginning in the 1870s. In Germany, at least fifty new public museums opened in the second half of the century, but very few held collections with ancient Egyptian art.⁷⁷ This reserved group included: the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin (1828), the Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim (1844), the Neues Museum in Berlin (1855), the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig (1874), the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg in

⁷⁴ Fay, viii.

⁷⁵ In the 1850s, Lepsius was appointed as the first professor of Egyptology in Germany while working at the university in Berlin and became vice-director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin in 1855. Cypriot-German Cultural Association. 2013. *Cypriote Antiquities in Berlin in the Focus of New Research*. Conference, Berlin, 8 May 2013. Germany: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 32.

⁷⁶ Crane, 141.

⁷⁷ Simmons, John E. 2014. Latham, Kiersten F.. *Foundations of Museum Studies: Evolving Systems of Knowledge*. United Kingdom: ABC-CLIO, 32.

Hamburg (1877), and the Kestner-Museum in Hannover (1889).⁷⁸ Steindorff connects to at least three of these museums during his academic and professional careers, specifically the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin through his assistant position, the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig when serving as director, and the Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum when helping to expand its collection through his later excavations.⁷⁹ He was appointed as a museum assistant to then-director Adolf Erman (1854-1937) at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin in 1885. In 1893, Steindorff accepted the positions as an associate professor of Egyptology and as the head of the Department of Philosophy's "Egyptological Collection" at the University of Leipzig. This decision to move to Leipzig marked a pivotal moment in Steindorff's career which would help initiate his future excavations.

While Steindorff presided over the Department of Philosophy's "Egyptological Collection," which was later renamed as the "Egyptological Institute" in 1907, the collection was initially very small in size and consisted of both museum objects and books.⁸⁰ Each piece of said collection would have been used as aids for teaching ancient Egyptian culture to university students. Herischef-hotep's tomb contents were among the first objects added to the collection since Steindorff's arrival at the University of Leipzig. The new additions included objects such as sandals, weapons, a mummy mask, sarcophagi, and wooden boat models. However, Herischef-hotep's tomb contents were not excavated by Steindorff. This raised the questions of

⁷⁸ For clarification, the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin und Papyrussammlung merged with that of the Neues Museum in 1855.

⁷⁹ I address the later two connections at greater length in the following chapters.

⁸⁰ The Egyptological Institute expanded into the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig following Steindorff's excavations when his numerous finds required more space.

Blumenthal, Elke. 2017. *Georg Steindorff: Stationen eines Lebens*. Germany: Manetho Verlag, 11.

how and why the boat model ended up in Germany, and more specifically, in Leipzig. In the next section I begin to unpack these areas further.

Introducing the DOG

The first important point about the boat model in Leipzig is that the DOG gifted it, along with the other funerary contents of Herischef-hotep's tomb, to the Ägyptisches Museum following the organization's 1902 excavation in Abusir. Wealthy and well-established German industrialists formed the major society of the DOG. Membership was not exclusive to Egyptologists. In fact, the occupations of members included German Orientalists, classicists, politicians, bankers, professors, and dilettanti.⁸¹ Though it remains unclear as to how the DOG obtained its initial operational funding, it can be argued that James Simon's personal connections with German elites and his prior experience in establishing other organizations contributed in some way.⁸²

Within the first year, the DOG gained over five hundred members, and the expensive 10 RM membership fee not only provided steady income for operations but also made the society exclusive to wealthier individuals.⁸³ By 1903, the membership count climbed to 1,044 members. While a financial record could not be accessed for 1899, one dated to 1903 provides insight into the abundant financial resources available to the society. The German Emperor personally gifted

⁸¹ Christensen, Peter H. 2017. *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*. United States: Yale University Press, 68.

⁸² James Simon founded organizations like Protection Agency against Child Abuse and Exploitation (Verein zum Schutz der Kinder Mißhandlung und Ausnutzung), the Society for Public Entertainment (Verein für Volksunterhaltungen), and the Aid Association of German Jews (Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden). Twardowski, Kristen. 2015. *Excavating Imperial Fantasies: The German Oriental Society, 1898-1914*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Graduate School, 18. <https://doi.org/10.17615/70j0-ks86>.

⁸³ DOG. 1904. "Sechster Jahresbericht der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft," *Jahresbericht*, vol. 6. Internet Archive, 12–20. https://archive.org/details/MN40057ucmf_0/page/n13/mode/2up.

30,000 RM while the Royal Prussian State Government contributed 88,600 RM.⁸⁴ Additionally, James Simon paid 1,000 RM while regular membership fees rose to 20 RM. I argue that as the society enabled more excavations that ended with favorable results, the DOG became even more exclusive to elite members of society, and the considerably large donations by certain individuals created an understood patronage relationship in which authority and agendas were quite literally purchased. The society held such prominence and influence within the field that people like Steindorff, even if not members themselves, acknowledged its authority and looked to conform their own excavations to the society's standards.

The ceremony held at the Neues Museum in Berlin in honor of the DOG's official launch in January 1898 was indicative that the society was not only socially respectable but also tied to the state.⁸⁵ Sixty "gentlemen" attended and Prince Heinrich von Schoenaich-Carolath (1852–1920) provided opening remarks, quoting Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's line "The Orient is of God, the Occident is of God."⁸⁶ Goethe's words notably proclaimed that God created and cared for both people of Oriental lands and Westerners, an appealing message of peaceful coexistence and unity among these two worlds to a predominantly Christian Germany. Two important motivations can be deduced from the prince's intentional use of the statement. First, Prince Heinrich asserted that as Germany continued to carry out excavations and fill its museums with ancient Egyptian objects, Germans needed to embrace and celebrate Near Eastern cultures because they shared divine origin, inspiration, and blessing. Second, he emphasized his

⁸⁴ Ibid, 7-8.

⁸⁵ Peiser, F.E. February 15, 1898. "Die Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft." *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1, no. 2. Internet Archive. Germany: Berlin, 33. <https://archive.org/details/orientalistische01deutuoft>.

⁸⁶ Author's translation, *ibid*. For more on Goethe's discussion of the Orient, see Goethe, Wolfgang. 1914. *West-eastern divan: in twelve books*. Translated by Edward Dowden. Reprint, London, Toronto: J.M. Dent.

perception of mutual divine care over both civilizations as the primary link between Western Europe and the Near East. He further argued that Egyptology implicitly helped maintain unity between the two worlds through careful study and appreciation of ancient Near Eastern material culture. Just as Goethe drew connections between these two spheres, the German state was also making these references to promote this agenda through a proposed railroad between Berlin and Baghdad.⁸⁷

The inspiration behind several of the society's excavations, including that at Abusir, can be partially traced back to Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941), who advocated for archeology not only because he had gained an appreciation for it when he was educated by a classical scholar but also because he viewed archaeology as an expansionist policy for matching French and British achievements in Egyptology.⁸⁸ He further recognized the need for strong relations between the Ottoman Empire and Germany as it continued to develop, which inspired several personal visits to the Near East in 1889, 1898, 1903, and later again in 1917.⁸⁹ The intentions behind the DOG ranged between its members and involved parties. Some took interest in the excavations as a means for expanding museum collections, others viewed its sponsored excavations as an opportunity to promote their archaeological and academic careers, and the German state regarded it as a medium for maintaining colonial control.

⁸⁷ The construction for the railroad began in 1903 but would not be completed until 1940. For more information, see Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways*.

⁸⁸ Loeben, Christian E. 2010. "6 Object Entries: Sahure. Tod Und Leben Eines Großen Pharao." *Sahure. Tod Und Leben Eines Großen Pharao*, 11.

https://www.academia.edu/47729393/6_object_entries_Sahure_Tod_und_Leben_eines_gro%C3%9Fen_Pharao.

⁸⁹ Ediger, Volkan Ş. & John V. Bowlus. 2020. "Greasing the wheels: the Berlin-Baghdad railway and Ottoman oil, 1888–1907," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 56, 2, 193. DOI: [10.1080/00263206.2019.1667775](https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2019.1667775).

Excavating the Boat Model under DOG Patronage

The personal interests in excavations and the wealth of the DOG members enabled the excavation of the boat model at Leipzig.⁹⁰ I reiterate that the boat model in Leipzig is crucial to studying Steindorff because it impressed on him prior to his excavation career what types of objects were worth bringing back to Germany for provincial Egyptian collections. The pyramid complex of Niuserre at Abusir (Fig. 4), south of Giza, would have appealed to the DOG as a potential site because the pyramids there remained largely unexplored. British Egyptologist John Perring (1813-1869) carried out some preliminary efforts in the early half of the nineteenth century, specifically documenting the internal spaces of the three main pyramids in 1838, but he had not performed any excavation work beyond opening the tomb.⁹¹ In conjunction with his Prussian expedition in Giza, Lepsius explored Abusir in the 1840s, producing an accurate topographical map of the area and of Abu Ghurab.⁹² Primary interests in Abusir partially stemmed from finding the largest and one of the oldest papyrus findings, dating to the Old Kingdom, in 1893 at Abu Ghurab. With Germany's strength in analyzing ancient Egyptian texts, such a find indicated the possibility of more nearby. Borchardt, who had previously visited the site in the 1890s, led the expedition primarily due to the project's systematic architectural

⁹⁰ For a brief overview of the excavation, see Brinkmann, Vinzenz. 2010. *Sahure: Tod und Leben eines großen Pharaos, Katalog zur Ausstellung in Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, 24.06.2010-28.11.2010*. Germany: Liebieghaus Skulpturen Sammlung, 109-112.

⁹¹ Bárta, Miroslav, Vladimír Brůna, Ladislav Bareš, Jaromír Krejčí, Veronika Dulíková, Martin Odler, Hana Vymazalová. 2020. "Map of archaeological features in Abusir." *Prague Egyptological Studies*, XXV. Charles University, Faculty of the Arts, 7.; Borchardt, Ludwig. September 1903. "Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1902/3." *Der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*. vol. 18, 10. http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/opendigi/MDOG_1903_018.

⁹² The area of Abu Ghurab has been identified as the northernmost foothill of the Abusir plateau. Nuzzolo, Massimiliano, Patrizia Zanfagna. 2017. "Glossing the past: the Fifth Dynasty sun temples, Abu Ghurab and the satellite imagery." *Prague Egyptological Studies*, XIX, 112. https://sites.ff.cuni.cz/pes/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2018/01/Massimiliano_Nuzzolo-%E2%80%93-Patrizia_Zanfagna_110-123.pdf.

focus.⁹³ Though the rich results of the digs could not have been predetermined, the excavation arguably held significant importance from the beginning since the DOG “provided financial resources at a level that no German excavations in Egypt had previously enjoyed.”⁹⁴ The DOG transferred to Borchardt a small initial sum of 2,000 RM, equivalent to approximately \$477, which helped him hire four hundred local workers for the operation.⁹⁵ The excavation in Abusir lasted from 1902 until 1908, during which Borchardt prioritized the main pyramid complexes, Niuserre, Sahure, and Neferirkare, and categorized the architectural features of numerous nearby tombs based on the names of the tomb owners.⁹⁶ The work dedicated to Niuserre’s complex took place in the earlier years of the project from 1902 to 1904.

Borchardt presented official reports to the DOG at the end of each excavation season that today serve as invaluable primary sources for understanding the innerworkings of the society and more generally of German Egyptology at this time. He also included initial drawings in the reports (Fig. 5). When summarizing the excavation of the priest tombs associated with the temple of Niuserre, Borchardt commented on the boat models for Herischef-hotep as follows:

When we pulled out the coffin, a special surprise awaited us. In the small room behind the coffin all the accessories that had been given to the dead were still there. They may have fallen into confusion, but chaos soon unraveled. At the top right on a small ledge stood model ships, some with erected masts, sailing upstream with the north wind, the

⁹³ Shortly prior to his work in Abusir, Borchardt assisted Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (1873-1956) in the 1901 excavation of the mortuary sun temple of Ni-user-Re in Abu Ghurab.

Voss, Susanne. 2010. “Draussen im Zeltlager: Ludwig Borchardts Grabungsalltag in Abusir”. In *Sahure: Tod und Leben eines großen Pharaos*, ed. Vinzenz Brinkmann, 109-121. Frankfurt am Main: Hirmer.

⁹⁴ Verner, Miroslav. 2002. *Abusir: Realm of Osiris*. Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 228; Borchardt, “Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin,” 2.

⁹⁵ The pre-WWI conversion rate between RM and the US dollar is projected as 4.1918 RM = \$1 USD. Brinkmann, 110.

⁹⁶ A few years later, “Steindorff and [Uvo] Hölscher, who studied the Early Dynastic cemetery in the area of the Lake of Abusir, used a square grid to identify and set the location of the individual tombs and burials.”

Bárta, Brůna, Bareš, Krejčí, Dulíková, Odler, and Vymazalová, “Map of archaeological features in Abusir,” 7.

others, with their masts down, rowing with the current, just as the Nile boats do today; the deceased was therefore provided for his travels.⁹⁷

This limited description indicates some of Borchardt's excitement when calling the funerary contents a "special surprise." The excerpt and the staged photographs (Figs. 6 & 7) in Borchardt's report to the DOG repeatedly showcased the rowing ship model highlighted in this chapter. Borchardt also noted that when the work finished, many of the workers from his team transferred to Steindorff's excavation simultaneously taking place in Giza. He further specified that Steindorff's excavation was intended "to provide material to smaller German collections in particular, [and it] supported the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft also insofar as it temporarily let [Borchardt] have Mr. [Otto] Völz to help with the management of the excavation."⁹⁸ This excerpt reaffirms the likelihood that Steindorff was not a member of the DOG because Borchardt referred to Steindorff's excavation in the sense that Steindorff was an outside party offering support to the DOG. I believe Borchardt would have otherwise specified in his report that Steindorff was a DOG member. Borchardt also noted that Steindorff's excavation finds were intended for smaller German collections. The DOG chose to gift their excavation finds, including

⁹⁷ "Als wir den Sarg herausgezogen hatten, wartete unser noch eine besondere Ueberraschung. In dem kleinen Raume hinter dem Sarge waren noch alle Beigaben vorhanden, die dem Toten mitgegeben waren. Sie waren zwar durcheinander gefallen, aber das Chaos entwirrte sich bald. Rechts oben auf einem kleinen Absatz standen Schiffsmodelle, die einen mit aufgestelltem Mastbaum, mit dem Nordwind stromaufwärts segelnd, die andern mit hingeleghen Mast, vor dem Strom rudern, ganz wie heute die Nilboote; für seine Reisen war der Tote also versehen."

Author's translation. Borchardt, Ludwig. 1902. "Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin," 40. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Mitteilungen_der_Deutschen_Orient_Gesell/avoqAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbp v=0.

⁹⁸ "An diesem Tage wurden die Arbeiten eigentlich schon eingestellt und ein großer Teil der Arbeiter an die von Herrn Prof. Steindorff geleiteten deutschen Ausgrabungen in Giza, die dann einsetzten, abkommandiert. Dieses Unternehmen, das namentlich kleineren deutschen Sammlungen Material bringen soll, unterstützte die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft auch noch insofern, als sie ihm Herrn Völz zur Hülfeleistung bei der Leitung der Grabung zeitweise überließ."

Borchardt, "Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin," 32.

the boat model, to the Egyptological Collection in Leipzig instead of adding it to the larger collection at the Neues Museum. The question remains as to what prompted this decision.

Even prior to the DOG's excavations, a common practice within the museum world that is still used today was that the most impressive and expensive collections of objects were reserved for larger museums while duplicates or objects of lesser economic value were shipped to smaller regional museums.⁹⁹ The Neues Museum was considered the main priority regarding Egyptian collections that needed to be developed first and foremost in Germany because it was located at the core of the country's academic and museum hubs in Berlin. The Neues Museum not only represented the city it was physically located in but also the entire country as a national collection. Smaller museums with Egyptian collections like that in Leipzig were too far removed from the political, cultural, and academic center in Berlin and were instead treated as extensions of the Neues Museum. The Neues Museum remained at the center, setting the canonical standards for the smaller satellite institutions to adopt.

The mention of the boat model in Borchardt's reports confirms that he and the DOG deemed the boat worthy of transporting back to Germany. The labor and cost of shipping finds out of Egypt was no small feat, and so the excavators needed to be sure of what they wanted sent to Germany. The boat model along with the rest of Herischef-hotep's tomb contents would have been first sent to Berlin to be evaluated for the Neues Museum collection. Any objects that did not fill in collection gaps at the Neues Museum then would have been considered for transferring or donating to regional museums that were looking to expand. I argue that the DOG donated

⁹⁹ For similar instances, see Alexandridis, Annetta, Lorenz Winkler-Horaček. 2022. *Destroy the Copy – Plaster Cast Collections in the 19th–20th Centuries: Demolition, Defacement, Disposal in Europe and Beyond*. Germany: De Gruyter, 8.; Nichols, Catherine A. 2021. *Exchanging Objects: Nineteenth-Century Museum Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution*. Germany: Berghahn Books, 169.

Herischef-hotep's tomb contents to the Egyptological Collection in Leipzig for several reasons. One was that Steindorff was definitively looking to acquire more objects in order to expand the Egyptological Collection. His interest in excavating to acquire more objects for the teaching collection supports this. Additionally, boat models were commonly found in multiples in tombs and would have required a large amount of storage for preservation. Herischef-hotep's tomb alone held four boat models. The boat models of the Middle Kingdom generally resembled one another in appearance, and so the Neues Museum would have only wanted to keep a few to represent all Egyptian boat models and to conserve space for other types of objects. The final reason was that the Neues Museum needed to maintain a healthy relationship with the small museums that functioned as extensions of the central institution. The Neues Museum established an implicit canon for what types of objects every Egyptian collection *needed* to sufficiently, by which I mean according to German Egyptological standards, represent the ancient culture. They determined the criteria for the types of objects fit for smaller, less-important museums. After all, "[t]o control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths."¹⁰⁰ The gifting of all four of Herischef-hotep's boat models suggest that boat models were included in the canonical criteria. These necessary objects that were duplicates within the Neues Museum's inventory but were absent from regional collections would have been arranged, likely through networking of the DOG, to be shipped out and fill the needs of smaller museums, to cater to local populations outside of Berlin, and to reinforce the canonical standards of the Neues Museum through imitation. Labeling the transfer process as a "donation" or "gift" further strengthened the ties between large and small museums, between

¹⁰⁰ Duncan, 474-475.

museums and Egyptological societies, between institutions and the public, and between German cities to create a more unified national identity.

Conclusion

The 1902 arrival of the boat model and the remainder of Herischef-hotep's tomb contents in Leipzig marked a significant development in Steindorff's career because he not only accepted new objects for the Egyptological Collection under his authority but also accepted the Neues Museum and DOG's canonical standards that were underlying the donation. Steindorff's training in philology meant that he did not have the field expertise in archaeological work for leading excavations. Aside from his previous position at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, he presumably did not have the trained eye for judging archaeological finds and would have looked to the standards of the DOG and the larger museums as a model. Gifts like the boat model specified the types of objects appropriate for smaller museum collections as well as which objects fit in with German canonical standards for representing ancient Egypt through material culture. Boat models visually fit in with the idea of ancient Egypt and its burial practices that people pictured in their minds. Steindorff's inexperience in the field combined with his professional aspirations to lead excavations would have molded his judgments according to what was deemed acceptable by his peers. Although he was unsure in his own opinions on objects, as the next chapter demonstrates, he quickly learned what works were celebrated in the field. I argue that this approach served as Steindorff's guiding principle during his excavations and influenced his judgments towards his finds. Certain ancient objects did not conform to canonical criteria, which left Steindorff unsure and wavering in his opinions. This was the case of the diadem.

Chapter II: THE DIADEM

A metal diadem (Fig. 8) dating to the early Fifth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom (2445-2347 BCE), displayed among several ancient Egyptian artifacts on the first floor of the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig, presents a dichotomy between the views of scholars and those of the modern museum visitor.¹⁰¹ Scholars acknowledge that the diadem holds importance as an object of study due to its rarity, and its deteriorated condition reveals layers of ancient production processes by exposing underlying elements that would have been disguised at the time of its creation.¹⁰² Simultaneously, the diadem's imperfect condition negatively impacts the museum visitor's perception of the headpiece. The areas of prior damage and disintegration throughout the diadem visually communicate that it was not a piece crafted from pure gold, and thus, based on aesthetics and monetary value, the museum visitor mentally classifies the diadem as less significant. The apparent conflict in views is also confirmed through the diadem's display (Fig. 9). The original diadem and its modern reconstruction reside together in their own vitrine, thereby attributing a sense of importance through isolation.¹⁰³ Instead of having to compete for

¹⁰¹ Diadem description card. Courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff.

¹⁰² For publications that recognize the diadem's rarity, see Janák, Jiří. 2013. "Extinction of Gods: Impact of climate change on religious concepts." *Visualizing knowledge and creating meaning in ancient writing systems, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient* 23, 126.

¹⁰³ See Pegler, Martin M., Kong, Anne. 2018. *Visual Merchandising and Display: Studio Instant Access*. India: Bloomsbury Academic, 308.; Sieg, Katrin. 2021. *Decolonizing German and European History at the Museum*. United States: University of Michigan Press, 214.

the viewer's attention alongside other objects in a crowded display case, the diadem receives its own spotlight. However, the diadem's vestibule also remains somewhat hidden away in a far back corner of the room. In other words, the piece is simultaneously presented as important but also as ordinary among other funerary objects. The diadem's placement within the museum must be considered a product of opposing viewpoints, and it prompts further questioning as to how Steindorff's opinions of the diadem contributed to this end.¹⁰⁴

In this chapter, I attempt to unpack how Steindorff shaped modern perceptions of the diadem through focus on its original context, specifically its role in ancient Egypt and in Steindorff's excavations in Giza. A visual analysis of the diadem precedes Steindorff's initial perceptions within the larger narrative of the Giza excavations. This reveals how the underlying political and financial pressures between 1903 and 1906 influenced his opinions and activities while growing the museum collection. A combination of Steindorff's daily logs, letters, and publications pertaining to the Giza excavations pinpoint which elements of his finds captured his attention and constructed his definition of "good" Egyptian art. Identifying and contextualizing these views and influences creates an understanding of the German practice of collecting and studying Egyptian art. I argue that although the diadem met the standards for the types of objects Steindorff pursued during his excavations, it did not receive greater attention because of its irregularity from the Western canon.

¹⁰⁴ "...for poststructuralist-inspired museologists to argue that the meanings of objects are inseparable from the context of their display and interpretation is not the same as saying that they are meaningless. Nor does this theoretical direction necessarily lead to a rejection of history. On the contrary, it emphasizes the importance of historical context while drawing attention to the constructed and plural nature of 'histories.'"

I draw from Macdonald in support of my point in that the plural nature of "histories" behind display practices can, in this case, be understood as the intersecting views of scholars, museum visitors, and Steindorff.

Macdonald, Sharon, ed. 2010. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. ProQuest Ebook Central, 22.

I must first address that the diadem is an object involving both human and historical points of focus. Although both lenses deserve careful study, for the sake of my argument I maintain a historical focus on Steindorff and his impact on the diadem as a museum piece. While the accompanying model of the diadem provides a useful visual for how the headpiece formerly appeared in its full glory, the details of the original continue to captivate museum audiences today. Three round wooden rosettes face outwards towards the viewer, each rosette attached with copper bars to the gilded copper headband. Most of the copper headband currently appears as a texturized green color due to heavy oxidation, but the surviving patches of gold leaf and the diadem model help the viewer imagine the headband when it was fully gilded. In the Old Kingdom, gilding techniques varied based on the material. For wooden surfaces like that of the diadem's three rosettes, sheet gold would have been used, and depending on the surface's thickness, the sheet would have been glued or crimped.¹⁰⁵ The gold used since the Predynastic Period was more commonly alloyed with other metals like silver or copper than it was used in its purest form. Across the ancient world until the Byzantine control of Egypt, gold alloys always contained a lower amount of copper than silver.¹⁰⁶ Ancient Egypt held an abundant supply of gold, especially through its control over Nubia, and the Egyptians were able to access the metal more easily than silver through mining just below the earth's surface.¹⁰⁷ Comparatively, the rarity and necessary labor for extracting silver ultimately caused silver to hold a greater value than

¹⁰⁵ Serpico, Margaret, Raymond White, E.J. Peltenburg, Julian Henderson, Robert Morkot, John Tait, Stephen Quirke. 2000. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 164.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 163.

¹⁰⁷ The Egyptians assigned the word *nbw*, meaning "gold," as the ancient name for Nubia. Rilly, Claude. 2008. "Enemy brothers: Kinship and relationship between Meroites and Nubians (Noba)." In *Between the Cataracts: proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, 217.

gold. At this time, gold was a resource predominantly controlled by the pharaoh, but it was not exclusively reserved for royalty. In fact, as I will later discuss in greater detail, the owner of the tomb from which the diadem was excavated was not royal but of the elite class. I argue that through material and iconography, the diadem performed as a symbolic connection between the pharaoh, his subjects, and the gods.

This ancient valuing of silver is important to keep in mind in the context of Egyptologists like Steindorff who were excavating and evaluating objects containing precious metals. Shortly prior to Steindorff's endeavors in Giza, a newly unified Germany adopted the gold standard for its currency in 1871, thereby replacing all silver-based currencies and causing the value of silver to decrease.¹⁰⁸ Other countries, including France, Britain, and eventually the United States, likewise shifted from using a mixture of gold and silver-based currencies to exclusively gold-based ones in the 1870s.¹⁰⁹ This not only highlights the difference between ancient and modern perceptions of precious metals, but it also offers insight into how Steindorff attributed importance to excavated objects based on the German, and more generally European, high monetary valuing of gold. Though most of the gold leaf was presumably absent at the time of the diadem's excavation, its surviving remnants likely caused Steindorff to determine the diadem as holding a certain degree of value given that only a few Old Kingdom gold pieces were known to exist. One would assume this would earn the diadem the status as a main attraction in the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig. However, despite the German value of gold and the diadem's rarity as an Old Kingdom object containing gold leaf, the diadem remains in the corner of the

¹⁰⁸ Wiegand, Johannes. 2019. "Destabilizing the Global Monetary System: Germany's Adoption of the Gold Standard in the Early 1870s." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3367417, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

museum. The argument could be made that the diadem's display in the museum has little to do with how valuable Steindorff considered the headpiece. Even if this were to be the case, as I discuss later in this chapter, the excavation documents, Steindorff's journals, and his letters reveal that he gave the diadem minimal attention.

The Role of the Diadem in Ancient Egypt

The deeper meaning of the diadem in its ancient context can be determined from the three attached wooden rosettes. While the middle rosette tested as original to the diadem, the two outside rosettes have been determined by the museum as modern restorations.¹¹⁰ Although Steindorff's early drawings of the diadem only depict one rosette, the restorers identified that there originally were three rosettes based on the three surviving copper bars attached to the headband. Although the presumably modern rosettes appear identical to the ancient one, scholars must also consider the possibility that the two side rosettes were originally rendered with different iconography. Based on the museum's reconstruction, each rosette depicts three papyrus umbels, representing prosperity and new life, forming a crossed X-shape.¹¹¹ At the top of the rosette, two carved crested ibises, representations of the *akh* that signifies transfiguration, flank the "key of life" symbol known as the *ankh*.¹¹² A combination of these three motifs would have been considered important for helping the deceased to enjoy a pleasant afterlife. Based on the accompanying model (Fig. 10), the rosettes would have originally been painted with vibrant

¹¹⁰ "After the two missing rosettes were renewed in an initial restoration, the object was extensively restored and stabilized in 1993." The Ägyptisches Museum notes in its description for the diadem that it is not possible to determine when the first restoration took place.

Phönix Warenhandelsgesellschaft m.b.H. 2022. "Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig 3D." Matterport Discover. <https://matterport.com/discover/space/CpqEUiBdRtU>.

¹¹¹ "Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig 3D.," Andrews, Carol. 1994. *Amulets of ancient Egypt*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 81.

¹¹² "Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig 3D."

blue, red, and green and some details were gilded with gold leaf. Small piercings on each open end of the headband indicate that the diadem fastened around the head of the owner with a ribbon.¹¹³ The diameter of the entire diadem measures approximately eight inches while each of the rosettes measures approximately three inches in diameter. The delicacy of the materials suggest that this particular diadem was not worn on a daily basis but instead served as a funerary model. Diadems were exclusively found in private tombs and therefore only represented the small portion of ancient Egyptian society made up by royalty and nobility.¹¹⁴ Most importantly, the diadem at the Ägyptisches Museum proves as one of the oldest examples of diadems from ancient Egyptian tombs since their inclusion in burials presumably started in the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁵

Diadems likely took on an elite connotation because they were worn and made by the Egyptian deities. While the Ägyptisches Museum asserts that diadems were believed to have been worn by high-ranking priestesses connected to the goddess Hathor, they were not exclusively worn by women. Written documentation of diadems exists within Old Kingdom funerary texts.¹¹⁶ According to the ancient *Pyramid Texts*, children of the goddess Nut wore wreath diadems, and the goddess Isis secured a diadem on the head of the god Hathor in preparation for appearing before his father Osiris.¹¹⁷ In spell 19 of the *Book of the Dead*, the god

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Wilde, Heike. 2013. "Grabbeigaben und ihre symbolische Bedeutung anhand eines Konvolutes aus Giza (Mastaba D 208): Überlegungen zum privaten Jenseitsglauben im Alten Reich." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 140, no. 2, 177. <https://doi.org/10.1524/zaes.2013.0017>.

¹¹⁵ This conclusion is based on one of the earliest known examples of buried diadems being dated to the Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom (c. 2575–2465 BCE). *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Jewelry," <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.libraries.smu.edu/levels/collegiate/article/jewelry/106186#14079.toc>.

¹¹⁶ Wilde, 177.

¹¹⁷ The goddess Nut has historically been assigned similar attributes to the goddess Hathor, and both deities were substituted for one another.; For the original text concerning the ancient Egyptian deities, see *Pyramid Texts* 519, §1213-1215 and Wilde, 178.

Atum braids a diadem, or a “wreath of vindication,” and places it on the recipient’s forehead.¹¹⁸

Atum was believed to have awarded this floral headpiece to the recipient upon passing the “Weighing of the Heart” trial.¹¹⁹ Such examples indicate that diadems were not only considered markers of status but also emblems of morality and divinity.

Excavating in Giza

The diadem was uncovered during the first excavation season under Steindorff’s direction in 1903, and the success of the excavation proved crucial to winning over sponsors and enabling his future digs. Before analyzing the excavation finds, it is crucial to understand the circumstances that enabled and dictated the project. Although Germany unified in 1871, it remained a loose coalition of individually-governed territories, city-states, and kingdoms.¹²⁰ At this time, each constituent sought ways to maintain its independence through ‘cultural power,’ and the strong Western interest in Oriental Studies and Egyptology made this approach seemingly effective.¹²¹ Along with its sudden wealth from French wartime reparations and its newly defined borders, Imperial Germany needed to secure its position as a major political power while still coming across as a unified, civilized society in light of recent war.¹²² Political dominance was thought best accomplished via globally-recognized contributions to academia, or “soft power,” through largescale national projects and endeavors.¹²³ Impressive excavation finds

¹¹⁸ Wilde, 178.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, John H. 2010. *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Journey through the Afterlife*. British Museum Press, London, 215.

¹²⁰ Voss and Gertzen, 42.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²² *Ibid.*; Conrad, Sebastian. 2010. *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 43-44.

¹²³ *Ibid.*; Navratilova, Hana, Thomas L. Gertzen, Aidan Dodson, and Andrew Bednarski. 2018. “Towards a History of Egyptology: Proceedings of the Egyptological Section of the 8th ESHS Conference in London, 2018 (Investigatio Orientis).” Munster: Zaphon, 219.

benefitted both home institutions and the national reputation. They were understood to “raise the public’s awareness of Germany’s achievement and to boost German prestige internationally, thereby providing the incentive for German political as well as economical elites to further support Egyptological research.”¹²⁴ While several German Egyptologists, including Steindorff, made great strides in Egyptian and Coptic philology throughout the nineteenth century, limited German archaeological work in Egypt was executed prior to Steindorff’s first excavation in Giza. I argue that not only were Steindorff’s first excavations crucial for enabling his future digs and advancing his own career, but they also paved the future for German archaeology because they demonstrated that German collections, both public and private, could rapidly expand through sufficiently funded digs.

Equally influential to the politics of the excavation were the financial pressures. Securing funding for the Giza project proved as an immense challenge. Once permission for the excavation was finally granted in 1902, Steindorff budgeted the need for 20,000 RM to carry out the operations. This was a hefty expense, equivalent to approximately \$4,700 at the time, especially when compared with other excavations at the beginning of the century. For example, when Reisner requested sponsorship in 1899, he projected the total cost of his excavation season as ranging between \$1,500 and \$2,500.¹²⁵ It remains unclear as to how Steindorff justified the total cost, but it must be considered that he at least partially marketed the excavation as entailing impressive results. To accommodate the large expenses, Steindorff intended to subdivide the costs among the main sponsors at 5,000 RM each.¹²⁶ Until 1903, Steindorff had only traveled to

¹²⁴ Voss & Gertzen, 2.

¹²⁵ Der Manuelian, *Walking among Pharaohs: George Reisner and the Dawn of Modern Egyptology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated. ProQuest Ebook Central, 70.

¹²⁶ The pre-WWI conversion rate between RM and the US dollar is projected as 4.1918 RM = \$1 USD.

Egypt once while still a student in 1895.¹²⁷ His lack of experience in a leadership role out in the field left the odds stacked against him in terms of finding sponsors. Steindorff began his search by requesting sponsorship from the Museum für Länder- und Volkskunde in Stuttgart, the Königliche Skulpturensammlung in Dresden, the Konservatorium des Königlichen Antiquariums in Munich, and the Badischen Sammlungen für Altertums & Völkerkunde in Karlsruhe, but these inquiries were all promptly dismissed with firm rejections.¹²⁸

Steindorff's bleak circumstances took a significant turn for the better when he searched for private third-party patrons. The social practice of bourgeoisie patronage was evident at this time, first evolving from princely patronage exercised in the mid-nineteenth century. The German bourgeoisie, a label recognized and used at the time for the wealthy businessmen who formed the upper middle class, resembled its counterparts in France and England.¹²⁹ These patrons had been "mainly recruited from the class of wealthy businesspeople – merchants, bankers and entrepreneurs who, especially in the phases of economic upswing after the founding of the German Empire in 1871, had achieved immense individual fortunes in some cases".¹³⁰

See Bidwell, R.L. 1970. *Currency Conversion Tables: A Hundred Years of Change*. London: Rex Collings, 22-23.; Jan T. Klovland. 2004. "Chapter 7: Historical exchange rate data 1819-2003," In *Historical Monetary Statistics for Norway 1819-2003*, 295.; For reference to Steindorff's search for sponsors, see Spiekermann, Antje and Friederike Kampp-Seyfried. 2003. *Giza. Ausgrabungen im Friedhof der Cheopspyramide von Georg Steindorff*. Ägyptisches Museum, Kleine Schriften des Ägyptischen Museums der Universität Leipzig, Band 6. Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum, 9.

¹²⁷ He also took part in an expedition in Nubia in 1900 along with Ludwig Borchardt (1863-1938), Ludwig Keimer (1892-1957) Hermann Thiersch (1874-1939), and Curt von Grünau (1871-1939). Blumenthal, 63.

¹²⁸ Spiekermann, 9.

¹²⁹ For further analysis of the German bourgeoisie, see Augustine-Perez, Dolores L. 1988. "Very Wealthy Businessmen in Imperial Germany." *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 2, 299–321. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3788223>.

¹³⁰ Cappel, Alexandra. 2016. "Adolf Erman und Georg Steindorff: zur Dynamik eines Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnisses." In *Georg Steindorff und Die Deutsche Ägyptologie Im 20. Jahrhundert: Wissenshintergründe und Forschungstransfer*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 91.

However, as Germany experienced industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century, the wealth of said businessmen did not grant them the social superiority enjoyed by the pre-industrialists. They therefore “needed social norms and social values which gave them a sense of moral superiority which compensated for their social inferiority”.¹³¹ This need created social change as princely patronage shifted into bourgeoisie patronage. While princely patronage “mainly served to increase the prestige of a single ruler,” bourgeoisie patronage entailed “selfless” benefactors who financed projects for the common good, including institutions and other public works.¹³² Such individuals were not necessarily experts in the areas which they funded, but their abundant wealth essentially bought their authority in decision-making processes. Despite the Good-Samaritan intentions of these sponsors, I argue that at least some did so for personal gain.

Based in Cairo at the time of Steindorff’s request, the Hildesheimer merchant Wilhelm Pelizaeus (1851-1930) certainly fit the description of a bourgeoisie patron when he offered enough money to become the main sponsor behind the Giza excavation.¹³³ In the mid-1890s, Pelizaeus gained considerable economic wealth through his many businesses and government contracts, including that for the expansion of the railways in the Eastern Delta, and his position as the co-director of the Egyptian National Bank.¹³⁴ Pelizaeus’ preexisting interest in ancient Egypt only grew when he first met Steindorff in Berlin in 1903. His interest was more deeply rooted in a Western fascination with collecting ancient artifacts, and “[t]his was the main focus of the sponsors, such as Pelizaeus, who wanted to expand his then private collection with *‘fine*

¹³¹ Augustine-Perez, 301.

¹³² Spiekermann, 9.

¹³³ Other private sponsors were not named but are mentioned as contributing between 200–1000 RM each. Ibid.

¹³⁴ “Wilhelm Pelizaeus (1851-1930).” 2023. *Digital Giza*. The Giza Project at Harvard University. <http://www.giza-projekt.org/Einleitung/Pelizaeus.html>.

pieces”¹³⁵ He predominantly collected Old Kingdom objects and therefore made his tastes in artifacts explicitly clear to Steindorff to find in order to continue their partnership.¹³⁶ His collection eventually expanded to such a degree thanks to Steindorff that years later he opened it up to the public as the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim in 1911. Patron involvement was certainly not exclusive to Steindorff’s excavations, and Steindorff’s relationship with sponsors like Pelizaeus reveal an underlying web of influence prevalent in other funded excavations at this time. In other words, excavators founded the collections of royal patrons, and the royal patrons influenced the tastes of wealthy businessmen. In turn, the wealthy businessmen acted as patrons and influenced the operations of the excavators. However, given that the wealthy patrons were not necessarily experts in the material they collected, they also simultaneously relied on the knowledge of the excavators to help build up their collections with valuable objects. I address this further when discussing the division of excavations finds. All in all, excavations like those that Steindorff participated in were a complex system of co-dependency between people of different social classes and with varying degrees of expertise.

With the funding secured, the German excavation team could finally move forward in the planning process. Given the money, time, and labor necessary for digging, determining where to begin needed to be carefully considered. The German Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt had been tasked ahead of time with scouting out the area of the Giza necropolis assigned to the Germans.¹³⁷ During the previous year, Gaston Maspero (1846-1916), then Director of Antiquities Services, permitted the Western Cemetery mastaba field to be divided among foreign excavation

¹³⁵ Spiekermann, 11.

¹³⁶ “Hildesheim.” *The Global Egyptian Museum | Hildesheim*. <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/glossary.aspx?id=189>.

¹³⁷ “Prof Ludwig Borchardt.” *The British Museum*. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG1820>.

teams. Maspero, Reisner, Borchardt, and Ernesto Schiaparelli (1856-1928) gathered near the Great Pyramid at the Mena House Hotel, drawing lots from a hat accordingly: the southern section to the Italians under Schiaparelli, the central section to the Germans under Borchardt, and part of the northern section to the Americans under Reisner.¹³⁸ Steindorff was preoccupied with teaching at the University of Leipzig, and aside from his periodic on-site work, he often directed German excavation operations from afar through his letters to his project managers, the architect Otto Völz and Borchardt. Work officially launched on March 10, 1903, and with it came personal, professional, and national demands for Steindorff to make monumental discoveries.

In the same 1903 letter to Borchardt, Steindorff explained that while excavating, he was on a mission to locate “samples of the art of the Old Kingdom for our museums”.¹³⁹ One can interpret “museums” as not only referencing museums across Germany, but also the personal museums, or collections, of Steindorff himself and of the sponsors. This begs the questions as to why there was a focus on collecting Old Kingdom pieces. As previously stated, Pelizaeus preferred and collected Old Kingdom artifacts, so I assert that Steindorff was at least partially conforming his tastes to that of his benefactor. The Old Kingdom also was and continues to be considered the great age of the pyramids and the “heyday of high culture” in Egypt.¹⁴⁰ This period included the development of monuments and practices into the pharaonic forms and elite

¹³⁸ The Italian expedition suddenly withdrew from Giza in 1905 as Schiaparelli’s services were needed elsewhere, leading to the central section of the Western Cemetery being reassigned to Reisner.

See Reisner, Georg. 1942. *History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 422.

¹³⁹ Spiekermann, 11.

¹⁴⁰ “Das Alte Reich.” 2010. *Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum-Hildesheim*.

<https://www.rpmuseum.de/ausstellungen/dauerausstellungen/aegypten.html>.

I cite the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum-Hildesheim here because I believe their description of the Old Kingdom as the peak of high Egyptian culture is closely tied to the opinions that Pelizaeus held about this time period.

culture that is still recognized today.¹⁴¹ The popularity of the Old Kingdom and its pharaonic imagery among Westerners predated Steindorff and Pelizaeus to the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the French military invasion of Egypt, Napoleon and his *savants* were captivated by the numerous monuments and massive sculptures produced during the Old Kingdom, fueling Napoleon's romantic ideas of empire, power, and French legacy. Though Napoleon's campaign falls outside the scope of this chapter, it is worth acknowledging that both the French multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte* and the thousands of ancient artifacts extracted from Egypt and shipped to Britain and France arguably initiated the Western fascination with collecting Egyptian antiquities. I argue that major European powers celebrating Old Kingdom elite objects and pharaonic imagery in their national museums would have created a standard of taste to which many wealthy individuals would have tailored their own collections, including Pelizaeus. Old Kingdom artifacts were thus not merely collected out of appreciation for ancient Egyptian culture but rather for communicating the wealth and globality of the collectors and for elevating their social position in Western Europe.

To Steindorff's good fortune, the mastabas assigned to his team in the Western Cemetery contained several new finds, including the diadem. He did not have a clearly established system for logging the mastabas he excavated, and exclusively in the 1903 season he paired the letter "D" for "Deutschland" with numeric labels.¹⁴² This form of labeling not only clearly distinguished the German excavation area from among those assigned to the teams of other countries, but it also symbolized Western claiming and controlling of Egyptian artistic culture.

¹⁴¹ Hartwig, Melinda K., and Hartwig, Melinda, eds. 2014. *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*. Chicester: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. ProQuest Ebook Central, 129-131.

¹⁴² In the next excavation season (1905), Steindorff's labeling system would convert to exclusively using numbers.

The diadem was uncovered among several other finds from the double-mastaba D 207/208 (Fig. 11), which “with forecourt and vestibule, with two cult chambers and serdab, is considered outstanding in terms of its size and decoration...”¹⁴³ The size of the tomb speaks to the importance of the individual to whom it was dedicated. Steindorff’s team decoded the hieroglyphs on a drum lintel above the tomb’s chapel entrance to determine that the deceased was originally named Nefer-ihy (*rx nswt jmj-r jr w js*). Nefer-ihy was identified as a royal acquaintance and overseer of tomb makers, which offers insight into his life and the meaning of the diadem.¹⁴⁴ Though he was not a royal himself, Nefer-ihy was credited for his close connection to royals and for his authoritative position in the construction of royal tombs, which likely earned him the privilege of receiving a royal-like burial. His family would have been considered elite given that his son Kai (*x nswt sHD Hmw-nTr wab nswt*) served as a royal *wab*-priest and that Nefer-ihy’s tomb was approximately three hundred meters from the Great Pyramid (Fig. 12 & 13).¹⁴⁵ Placement of the diadem, a token of morality, wealth, and spirituality, within the tomb therefore likely indicated that the Nefer-ihy was considered worthy of an elite burial and a pleasant afterlife.

Similar to the diadem, other contents of the tomb symbolized an intersection between ancient Egyptian and Western views. In chamber 7 of shaft 4 (mastaba N), Steindorff’s team

¹⁴³ Wilde continues, “The inner walls were decorated in relief as pompous false doors. From the cult chamber of the Mastaba D 208 there were seven shafts, three more were located in the core of the mastaba and one in the vestibule. Two of the shafts were unfinished, four were empty, three contained only skeletal remains and probably also ceramics... In the serdab were two statues of Nefer-ihy made of rose granite: On the east wall of the Serdab, facing south, the figure of the “scribe” was found (Leipzig, ÄMUL 2687¹⁴³) and leaning against the north wall, also with a view to the south, the seated figure (Hildesheim, PM 13). The discovery of two rose granite statues in just one serdab or private grave is remarkable...”

Wilde, 173.

¹⁴⁴ “Neferihy (D 208).” *Digital Giza*. The Giza Project at Harvard University. <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/280/full/>.

¹⁴⁵ “D 208.” *Digital Giza*. The Giza Project at Harvard University. <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/69/full/>.

discovered a coffin carved into the bedrock covered with stone slabs. The coffin revealed signs of an ancient tomb robbery given that one slab appeared to have been moved.¹⁴⁶ The looters left the skeleton inside the coffin as well as a decorative collar necklace (Fig. 14 & 15) made of blue or turquoise faience beads and faience-beaded bracelets and ankle bracelets. Today, these objects are displayed adjacent to the diadem in the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig. Steindorff's daily log included a referential sketch of the shape of the individual beads and preserved rows of the collar necklace.¹⁴⁷ A clay seal, its current location unknown, was also originally found beside the coffin.¹⁴⁸ Attributing gender to the skeleton and classifying the objects proves difficult because Steindorff did not record these finds in great detail or make any anthropological observations.

The recorded entry merely stated:

The coffin intended for the mummy was carved out of the rock. The grave was not yet broken; after opening the lid [single blocks of limestone] we find a poorly preserved skeleton with completely rotted bandages and the [...] head lies on the north side and faces east. The knees are slightly bent, "x" and "y" well-preserved clay vessels of this form. Picking up the rotten bones isn't worth it.¹⁴⁹

Determining the skeleton's sex was further complicated by the beaded collar necklace and bracelets found together. While some scholars argue that collar necklaces were traditionally

¹⁴⁶ Wilde, 174.

¹⁴⁷ Steindorff, 1903 Tagebuch, 205.

To access the digitized journal, see "Diadem, Leipzig, ÄMUL 2500." *Digital Giza*. The Giza Project at Harvard University. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Funde/UL_2500/UL_2500.html.

¹⁴⁸ Wilde, 174.

¹⁴⁹ "Der für Aufnahmen der Mumie bestimmte Sarg aus dem Felsen gehauen. Das Grab war noch nicht erbrochen; nach Öffnung des Deckels [einzelne Kalksteinblöcke] finden wir ein schlecht erhaltenes Skelett mit gänzlich vermorschten Binden und der [...] Kopf liegt auf der Nordseite und sieht mit dem Gesicht nach Osten. Die Knie sind etwas angezogen, "x" and "y" gut erhaltene Tongefäße dieser Form. Die morschen Knochen aufzuheben lohnt sich nicht."

Author's translation of Steindorff, 1903 Tagebuch, 164.;

The bones were notably "rotten" partially because of the poor preservation practices used when Steindorff's team was packing them. This meant that the bones were intended to be brought back to Germany but then were ultimately left behind due to error.

See "Diadem, Leipzig, ÄMUL 2500." *Digital Giza*.

indicative of a male body while bracelets were usually buried with females, others claim that such jewelry would have been worn by men and women.¹⁵⁰ The bones and jewelry could not concretely determine that the skeleton was female, and I assert that scholars must therefore avoid this assumption and also consider the possibility of the skeleton belonging to Nefer-ih. I further point out that these finds, like the diadem, did not receive much attention from Steindorff after their initial entry in his daily log. Given that Steindorff's career was hanging in the balance based on the outcomes of his excavations, he may have initially forgotten about these types of unusual, non-canonical cases and metaphorically swept them under the rug. Here, I emphasize the unusualness of this situation and the impact of patronage on ancient objects. Untraditional, non-canonical cases would have excelled Steindorff's career because such artifacts typically prompted scholars to reevaluate their understanding of ancient Egypt. However, because they fell outside the scope of Pelizaeus' taste, these cases received little attention.

Steindorff's reactions to the diadem when first found inside the coffin must be carefully analyzed because his opinions predominantly determined how certain objects were represented, discussed, and perceived by others. At the end of the season on May 13, 1903, Steindorff recorded:

...Shortly before the end of the work, I let Senussi push the lid of the coffin a little to the side and see the well-preserved skeleton of a woman, a metal belt covered with gold leaf at the level of the pelvis, and a stone headrest that has been preserved in 3 parts. Head lay to the [north], face looks to the [east]. Senussi takes over the watch at the top of the Bir for the night...the whole belt was originally made of iron and covered with gold leaf, now considerable parts of this are still preserved on the belt itself, the gold leaf partly

¹⁵⁰ Scholars like Wilde assert that beaded collars were only worn by Egyptian men. For example, see Wilde, 175.; Other scholars address beaded collars as unisex. For example, see Condra, Jill. 2013. *Encyclopedia of National Dress: Traditional Clothing Around the World*, vol. 1. United States: ABC-CLIO, 185.; Houston, Mary Galway. 2002. *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian & Persian Costume*. United Kingdom: Dover Publications, 122.

lying in small pieces in the limestone dust on the floor of the coffin. The rosette is made of fine wood, which is still very solid.¹⁵¹

One might not find anything unusual about Steindorff's remark at first glance. However, the sketches of the "metal belt" accompanying said remark (Fig. 16 & 17) reveal Steindorff initially mistook the diadem for a belt.¹⁵² Two possibilities must be considered: First, at the time of burial, the deceased wore the diadem while their head was propped up on a limestone headrest. Over time, the body decomposed and shrunk, likely causing the head to slip from the headrest.¹⁵³ The impact of falling from the head hitting the hard wooden surface of the coffin would have broken the then-heavily oxidized diadem into multiple pieces that fell near the pelvis. Second, given the distance between the head and the pelvis, as well as Steindorff's note that the head was facing north as expected, the diadem was deliberately placed near the pelvis at the time of burial. Steindorff had instead assumed that because the headpiece was at the same level as the deceased's pelvis that it must have been a belt. He recognized his error shortly thereafter and then began referencing to the object as a diadem.

¹⁵¹ "...Mohamed Ahmed, called al-Senusi...During 1899-1900, Steindorff took him on his expedition to Siwa Oasis. In 1901, the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin, which was sponsoring German archaeology along the Nile, concluded a permanent contract with the foreman. After that, he was engaged on almost every German-led excavation campaign in Egypt until he retired after Steindorff's 1930-31 campaign at Aniba. Steindorff considered Senussi to be a 'born archaeologist'."

See Gertzen, Voss, and Georg. "Chapter 8: Prussia and Germany," 245.

"Kurz vor Schluß der Arbeit lasse ich von Senussi den Deckel der Sarges etwas zur Seite schieben und sehen das gut erhaltene Skelett einer Frau, in der Höhe des Beckens ein Metallgürtel mit Goldblatt belegt, und eine in 3 Teile erhaltene steinerne Kopfstütze. Kopf lag nach N, Gesicht schaut nach O. Für die Nacht übernimmt Senussi oben am Bir die Wache...der ganze Gürtel war ursprünglich aus Eisen mit Blattgold belegt, jetzt am Gürtel selbst noch erhebliche Teile dieser erhalten, teilweise lag das Blattgold in kleinen Stückchen im Kalksteinstaub am Boden des Sarges. Diese Rosette aus feinem Holz gearbeitet, das noch ganz fest ist."

Author's translation of Steindorff, Georg. 1903. *Tagebuch 1903*, 177-180. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1903/Tgb_03.pdf.

¹⁵² Steindorff, *Tagebuch 1903*, 180-181.

¹⁵³ This theory is suggested by "Diadem, Leipzig, ÄMUL 2500." *Digital Giza*.

The overall tone of Steindorff's recorded entry comes across as formal. He omitted any explicit signs of enthusiasm or other emotion to instead focus on visual observations. The diadem entry is significant when compared to his entries for other objects in which he definitively expressed excitement. Only a month prior, Steindorff's team unearthed a statue of a man and woman, which he not only described in great detail but also classified as a "[g]ood work of the 4th [Dynasty]...Great joy!".¹⁵⁴ The entry concerning the man and woman statue serves as one of several examples in which Steindorff subtly injected his personal opinions. In other instances, he compared the aesthetics of pieces, including describing one sculpture as less beautiful than another.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, he expressed his frustration in the first few months of the excavation season for "the lack of museum pieces" amidst his numerous finds.¹⁵⁶ The daily logs thus acted as both Steindorff's personal diary and as a professional report, and only when these two classifications are considered inseparable can one truly determine Steindorff's influence on objects like the diadem.

Division of Finds

To conclude each of the Giza seasons, Steindorff's finds were divided up among the involved parties in the excavations. Excavation laws at this time were much more open in which "half of excavated treasures were turned over to the Egyptian state, and the rest were dispatched abroad".¹⁵⁷ The surviving division of finds lists, found both in Steindorff's daily logbooks and in

¹⁵⁴ "Gut Arbeit der 4. Dyn. — Grosse Freude!"
Author's translation of Steindorff, *Tagebuch 1903*, 91.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 123.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 85.

¹⁵⁷ The Cairo Museum "sold genuine antiquities from its gift shop" until 1947, speaking to how many Egyptian antiquities were quickly exiting the country.

his personal papers, shed light on how the excavation results were interpreted and handled between the Egyptian Antiquities Service, Steindorff and the Ägyptisches Museum, and Steindorff's sponsors. Of the three lists dated 1903, 1905, and 1927 respectively, I address the first two as they prove the most relevant to my discussion of the diadem. In the complete list documenting the division process on May 4, 1903, the major finds assigned to Steindorff and to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo were named and described (Fig. 18).¹⁵⁸ Steindorff received approximately two dozen objects, including two limestone statues of a man and a woman (one in “good” and one in “fair” condition), three wooden statuettes in “bad” condition, an Old Kingdom wooden coffin, a false door attributed to Iri, a square top of a stela, two lintels (one in “bad” condition), and “a few pots, beads, etc.”¹⁵⁹ The Cairo Museum, represented by the Egyptian Antiquities Service, received a similar number of objects as Steindorff. These items included a memorial stone with a false door, a wooden statue of a woman in “bad condition”, two wooden coffins, a limestone statue of a man and a woman, five lintels, one relief, and samples of beads. The list thus created an informal hierarchy of objects that reflected what artifacts were deemed worth highlighting. For example, the limestone statue that Steindorff received of a man and woman with detached heads was classified as “good”. No further clarification was provided as to why the statue was considered “good.” The statue’s inclusion on the list despite its evident

See Schwartzstein, Peter. December 11, 2017. “The Greatest Clash in Egyptian Archaeology May Be Fading, But Anger Lives On,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (The Smithsonian Institution).

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/greatest-clash-egyptian-archaeology-fading-anger-lives-on-180967452/>.

¹⁵⁸ Represented by British Egyptologist James Edward Quibell (1867-1935); For a more detailed list of items packed to be transported to Germany see Steindorff, 1903 Tagebuch, 200-203.

¹⁵⁹ “Excavations of Gizeh of Prof. Steindorff: Division made May 4th, 1903”. See Spiekermann, *Giza Ausgrabungen im Friedhof der Cheopsyramide von Georg Steindorff*, 11.

damage suggests that it was considered a worthy museum piece. Steindorff's daily log entry for Monday, May 4, 1903 expands on the division list in greater detail (Fig. 9):

...[James] Quibell comes at 6 for the division...[Quibell] gives in to my urgent request that I have the two complete groups of statues. For the museum he takes the memorial stone of Vesj, the group without heads, the double wooden coffin, the large wooden figure of a woman from the grave of Hetpi and 7 of the stones with inscriptions and reliefs (No. 1.9.10.14.15.17.13 of the find journal). The rest is up to us. We will record a protocol to be signed in front of both of us...In the afternoon Pelizaeus arrives, and an internal division is now carried out with him, which runs very smoothly. Pelizaeus received the main pieces: the limestone group (without paint), the two stone wooden figures, the false door of Iri and the lintel of Nofret (see journal 12). My portion is a beautiful group, the larger wooden figure of the man, a false door panel with bas-relief, the small wooden coffin and the small limestone figure of the 5th Dynasty. Pelizaeus is satisfied and does not seem averse to continuing the excavation in the next year...¹⁶⁰

Steindorff's commentary deserves further analysis. First, he "urgently requested" to keep the groups of statues. While he did not personally specify why he needed them, he did later mention that Pelizaeus received one of the two statues without paint. The sense of urgency was therefore likely linked to Pelizaeus pressuring Steindorff to secure the statues at the risk of otherwise losing future financial support. Another important point is that a second internal division of finds took place after the initial division with the Egyptian Museum. Though Pelizaeus having first pick of Steindorff's share was a common practice for excavation sponsors, it is worth noting that the secondary division of finds did not include an official signed contract like the division with

¹⁶⁰ "...um 6 kommt Quibell zur Teilung...Meiner dringenden Bitte nach, dass ich die beiden vollständigen Statuengruppen haben müsse gibt Q. nach. Er nimmt dafür für das Museum den Denkstein von Vesj, die Gruppe ohne Köpfe, den doppelten Holzсар, die große Holzfigur einer Frau aus d. Grab des Hetpi und 7 von den Steinen mit Inschriften u. Reliefs (Nr. 1.9.10.14. 15.17.13 des Fundjournals). Der Rest berbleibt uns. Wir nehmen ein Protokoll auf, das vor uns beiden unterzeichnet wird...Nachmittag kommt Pelizaeus und mit ihm wird nun die interne Teilung vorgenommen, die ganz glatt verläuft. Pelizaeus erhält die Hauptstücke: die Kalksteingruppe (ohne Farben), die beiden steinernen Holzfiguren, die Scheintür des Iri und den Türsturz der Nofret (Fundj. 12). Auf mein Teil kommt die schöne Gruppe, die grössere Holzfigur des Mannes, eine Scheintürfüllung mit Flachrelief, der kleine Holzсар u. die kleine Kalksteinfigur der 5. Dyn. ist Pelizaeus zufrieden u. scheint nicht abgeneigt. Er erklärt sich bereit, die Grabung im nächsten Jahre vorzusetzen..."

Author's translation of Steindorff, *Tagebuch 1903*, 160-162.

the Egyptian Museum. The entry also does not mention how each object of Steindorff's share was divided between Pelizaeus and him. The finds not mentioned were possibly given to Steindorff's other third-party sponsors, like the city of Leipzig, for that season.¹⁶¹ However, had Steindorff not made note of the division in his daily logbook, then Pelizaeus' fifty percent share would have been left unrecorded entirely, reflecting the informal dealing of ancient artifacts during the early twentieth century as well as the control that Pelizaeus had over Steindorff's career.

Equally important to analyzing the division of finds is recognizing what was missing from the list. In contrast to the significant finds that were mentioned, the specific quantities and detailed descriptions of more common objects, like headrests and pots, were left out. Instead, Steindorff placed them in a vague "et cetera" group in which they remained improperly documented. Although such items were not necessarily the most significant finds, the fact that they were left unrecorded implied that they held little to no value in the eyes of the excavators and sponsors. I argue not only that these kinds of practices encouraged illicit trafficking of artifacts, but also that the omission of some objects and the inclusion of others informally created a canonical hierarchy.¹⁶² One must also keep in mind that the diadem was not included on the 1903 list because the division of finds took place just over a week prior to the diadem's discovery. Given that the 1903 list is not comprehensive in including all the excavation finds from that season, it must be interpreted with reservation. While it is not possible to concretely

¹⁶¹ I point out that Pelizaeus actively visited the site throughout the excavation season and remained well-informed on all finds. In Steindorff's *1903 Tagebuch*, Pelizaeus is documented as visiting on March: 11, 13, 23, 26; April 13, 15, 17, 30; May 2, 4.

¹⁶² For further analysis on the illicit antiquities trafficking during Steindorff's time in Egypt, see Hagen, Fredrik and Kim Ryholt. 2016. *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H.O. Lange Papers*. Copenhagen Denmark: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.

determine how finds from the end of the season would have been divided in the first list had they been found earlier, the 1905 list does fill in some gaps.

Unlike the 1903 list, an official document with the division of finds list could not be located for 1905. However, Steindorff's daily entry for April 24, 1905 provided an informal record of the artifacts that were shipped to Germany as well as which were distributed to Pelizaeus (Fig. 19 & 20).¹⁶³ For that season, the first formal division was once again organized between Steindorff and the Egyptian Antiquities Service, headed by Maspero. This time, the Cairo Museum received nineteen objects, including some from the end of the 1903 season: two statues of a seated figure named Zaša, one limestone statue of the wife of Zaša, a group statue attributed to Zezemonch, a statue of a baker, a statue of the butcher of Zaša, a statue of a "goose roaster," a detached limestone head, one relief, one figure carving, four canopic jars, one obelisk, one washing vessel, two pitchers with handles, one additional vessel, and samples of pearls. Most striking is how many objects Steindorff took back to Leipzig following the internal division with Pelizaeus. Pelizaeus' share increased in size from the previous season given that the second time he was awarded approximately eighty percent of Steindorff's share. These were as follows: one seated granite figure (found in 1904), one standing limestone statue of Mimi, one fine limestone statue of Zezemonch, two statues of millers, one statue of a beer brewer of Zaša, two group statues, one doorstep with an inscription, the middle section of a false door attributed to Chenu, two sets of canopic jars, one alabaster headrest, one offering trough with an inscription, and "half of the alabaster things" from 1903. The only objects that Steindorff mentioned he was

¹⁶³ Steindorff, Georg. 1905. *Tagebuch 1905*. The Giza Project at Harvard University. *Digital Giza*.146-149. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1905/Tgb_1905.pdf.

permitted to bring back to Leipzig were six broken statues, two granite statues excavated in 1904, and the diadem. He made a special note that he conversed with Maspero about the diadem, saying that it had not been claimed at that point.¹⁶⁴ Of course, the diadem's current location in Leipzig proves that it would return with Steindorff.

The period between the 1903 and 1905 seasons, though Steindorff did not discuss it, must be briefly addressed to provide clarification. While Steindorff's lack of acknowledgement of the diadem at the end of the first season does raise suspicion, caution must be taken in concluding that Steindorff was definitively attempting to smuggle the diadem out of Egypt. Although illicit trafficking of artifacts did occur at the hands of archaeologists, including in the case of Borchardt intentionally hiding the bust of Nefertiti immediately after his 1912 excavation in Amarna, Steindorff was not rushed to bring the diadem to Germany.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the diadem was left behind in Egypt for two years before Steindorff considered asking about its whereabouts. Furthermore, Steindorff openly asks Maspero about the whereabouts of the diadem, and Maspero informed him that the diadem had not been claimed. This implies that the Egyptian Antiquities Service had been made aware of the diadem and likely maintained possession of it until later transferred to Steindorff.

The 1905 list supports several conclusions: First, Pelizaeus received more than half of Steindorff's shares with his cut increasing each season. This pattern would be more firmly

¹⁶⁴ Steindorff, *Tagebuch 1903*, 147.

¹⁶⁵ "Borchardt deceptively hid the head in a crate beneath layers of sherds for export to Berlin, subverting the legal division regulations for excavated artifacts. The Nefertiti head was kidnapped and smuggled into Germany: an act accomplished by an archaeologist." See Muscarella, Oscar White. 2013. "The Antiquities Trade and the Destruction of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures". In *Archaeology, Artifacts and Antiquities of the Ancient Near East*, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 844-845. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004236691_032.

proven if a 1906 division of finds list existed. Regardless, both lists highlight that Steindorff was controlled by his sponsor's personal agenda, which ultimately impacted the types of objects that were later made available to the German public at the Ägyptisches Museum and the narratives that were communicated through said objects. Second, the diadem was treated with limited attention when initially excavated, yet Steindorff made sure to specifically secure it in 1905, suggesting that he began to recognize its value between these two seasons. Third, the lists suggest an underlying hierarchy of objects, predominantly based on materials and aesthetics, in which objects considered of greatest value were listed individually while those of lesser value were thrown into an anonymous group. Finally, Steindorff does seemingly make greater effort in the 1905 season to document a few objects like pottery that were previously excluded. I argue that this subtle change in protocol reflects his growing confidence in excavation work and in understanding what was expected of him professionally while operating in the field.

Discussing the Diadem

Steindorff's interest in the diadem once again arguably regressed once it journeyed to Leipzig. He did not publish material on the headpiece, and any known mention of it was restricted to personal letters with a colleague in the 1940s. The first letter dated to October 23, 1945 included Steindorff's most lengthy remarks about the diadem although he confused several of the details. The inaccuracy of his commentary was potentially due to the eventful time lapse between the diadem's original excavation and his letter, a span which included Steindorff's other excavations, the Second World War, and his forced emigration to the United States in 1939. He wrote to American Egyptologist Dows Dunham:

First, I want to answer your question about the diadem I found in Giza in 1923. From here I can't say much more than what Schäfer said about it.¹⁶⁶ It is unpublished except by Schäfer, since (unfortunately!) I have not published anything at all about the Mastaba funerary objects from 1903-05. The copper circlet is covered with a very thin layer of gold. Only 2 of the charming wooden rosettes have survived, the third one has been added. Schäfer's statement 'gilded wood' is incorrect. The rosettes are colored, 'painted stucco,' like yours; If my memory serves me correctly, it didn't use gold. Apart from the 3 diadems you know, I don't know of any other; only the richly ornamented Princess Nofret on the statue in Cairo could be mentioned as a parallel. I cannot give exact dates of the Leipzig copy, since my notes were confiscated by Wolf; 4th [Dynasty] (or beginning of 5th) is certainly correct. The diadems are of the beautiful simplicity that is characteristic of the cabaret of the first half of the Old Kingdom... That's all I can say, most of it you already know.¹⁶⁷

Steindorff began by writing that the diadem was found in 1923, yet he also corrected himself a few lines later when noting that he did not discuss any of the finds between 1903 and 1905. He also remarked that two of the rosettes were original with one being a modern restoration, but the Ägyptisches Museum continues to communicate in the diadem's description card that the replicas of the two side rosettes took place during an initial restoration that cannot be dated. He likewise mentioned that the rosettes were not gilded wood, yet the 1993 restoration report identified them as so.¹⁶⁸ The main argument for the two side rosettes being modern additions,

¹⁶⁶ German Egyptologist Heinrich Schäfer (1868-1957)

¹⁶⁷ "Zuerst will ich Deine Frage wegen des Diadems, das ich 1923 [*sic- Anm. Verf.*] in Giza gefunden habe, beantworten. Vielmehr als das was Schäfer darüber gesagt hat, kann auch ich von hier aus nicht sagen. Es ist außer bei Schäfer unpubliziert, da ich (leider!) überhaupt über die Mastaba-Grabungen 1903-05 nichts veröffentlicht habe. Der Kupferreif ist mit einem sehr dünnen Goldbelag überzogen. Von den reizenden Holzrosetten sind nur 2 erhalten, die dritte ist ergänzt. Schäfers Angabe „vergoldetes Holz“ ist unrichtig. Die Rosetten sind farbig, „painted stucco“, wie die Eurige; wenn mich mein Gedächtnis nicht täuscht, ist Gold bei Ihnen nicht verwendet. Außer der 3, Dir bekannten Diademen kenne ich kein anderes; als Parallele wäre nur das reicher ornamentierte der Prinzessin Nofret, auf der Statue in Kairo, zu nennen. Genaueres über die Datierung des Leipziger Exemplars kann ich nicht angeben, da meine Notizen von Wolf beschlagnahmt worden sind; 4. Dyn. (oder Anfang der 5.ten) ist gewiß richtig. Die Diademe sind von der schönen Einfachheit, die für die Kleinkunst der ersten Hälfte des A. Reichs charakteristisch ist. Die Vögel in den Rosetten sind der #X-Vogel, crested ibis, Gardiners sign list p. 460, No. 25. Das ist alles, was ich sagen kann, das Meiste davon wirst Du schon wissen."

Author's translation of Steindorff, Georg. Letter to Dows Dunham. October 23, 1945. *Digital Giza*, http://www.giza-projekt.org/Funde/UL_2500/UL_2500.html.

¹⁶⁸ Fischer, Andrea. 1993. Rep. *Restaurierung Von Kunst- Und Kulturgeschichtlichen Objekten Der Bereiche Der Archäologie, Kunsthandwerk Volks-, Und Völkerkunde*. Staatliche Akademie der Bildene Künste Stuttgart. Stuttgart, Germany.

according to the 1993 restoration report, is that UV light testing revealed the word “restoration” written on the back of the two side rosettes. Furthermore, the side rosettes were crafted from hardwood while the center rosette was made of coniferous wood.¹⁶⁹ The report does prompt further questioning of this conclusion given that the right rosette was suggested in the restorer’s initial notes as possibly original before the UV light detection revealed the writing, and it still remains unclear who would have first determined them as restorations and when. Until that point, only German Egyptologist Heinrich Schäfer (1868-1957) had published material on the diadem. The letter did not specify the publication’s title, but the original object inventory card for the headpiece at the Ägyptisches Museum noted that the diadem was referenced in his book *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (1925).¹⁷⁰ However, a separate remark was also made on the inventory card stating that no mention of the diadem in Schäfer’s book was found. Steindorff’s inaccurate recollections about the diadem cannot be held too greatly against him given that his original notes were confiscated when the German Egyptologist Walther Wolf (1900-1973), a known supporter of the Nazi Party, took over his position at the University of Leipzig in the mid-1930s after Steindorff was forced to resign.¹⁷¹

Since no literature from Schäfer or Steindorff appears to exist to offer further insight as to how the diadem was discussed around the time of its excavation, I instead draw a brief comparison to discussions of the diadem in a 1946 publication by one of Steindorff’s colleagues,

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ The object inventory card listed the reference as “H. Schäfer, in: Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, s. 260.” Propyläen has been identified as the publisher Propyläen-Verlag for *Die Kunst des alten Orients*.

¹⁷¹ Wolf even described in his publications that the ancient Egyptians were an “Aryan people”. See Gertzen, Voss, and Georg. “Chapter 8: Prussia and Germany”, 238.

¹⁷¹ “Diadem, Leipzig, ÄMUL 2500.”

Dows Dunham.¹⁷² Not only was this the oldest found publication to address the diadem in Leipzig, but it also introduced the only other two diadems from the Old Kingdom, residing in Cairo (Fig. 21) and Boston (Fig. 22) event today.¹⁷³ The article proves particularly relevant to my discussion in that Steindorff wrote Dunham with high praise shortly after reading it. On November 14, 1945, Steindorff responded to Dunham:

It was with great pleasure that I read your essay on the diadem. I find it excellent, both in the art-historical appraisal of an important piece and in the technical description. I have searched in vain for a mistake that I would have to point out to you. You are in understanding that I keep your manuscript. Hopefully the printing will follow soon.¹⁷⁴

Steindorff's enthusiasm and his point that he could not find any mistakes in Dunham's article supports my use of Dunham's analysis on the diadem as a substitution for Steindorff's lack thereof. In the article, Dunham limited his discussion on the diadem in Leipzig to a single paragraph mostly dedicated to its description. The Leipzig diadem is instead primarily used as a parallel for comparing to the diadem in Boston, the article's main focus. It is most important to understand that all three diadems were dated to circa the Fifth Dynasty, they each originated from tombs in Giza, and they all are relatively similar in appearance with metal headbands and attached rosettes. Only in the last few lines of the article did Dunham offer any acknowledgement of the rarity of the three diadems, arguably underselling their importance and

¹⁷² Dunham, Dows. February 1946. "An Egyptian Diadem of the Old Kingdom." *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 44, no. 255, 23-29. https://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/images/MFA-images/Giza/GizaImage/full/library/bmfa_pdfs/bmfa44_1946_23to29.pdf

¹⁷³ These additional diadems were not from Steindorff's excavations. The diadem in Boston was excavated by Reisner in 1937 while the diadem in Cairo was excavated by Selim Bey Hassan in 1930.

¹⁷⁴ "Mit großer Freude habe ich Deinen Aufsatz über das Diadem gelesen. Ich finde ihn ausgezeichnet, sowohl in der kunsthistorischen Würdigung eines wichtigen Stückes, als auch in der technischen Beschreibung. Vergeblich habe ich nach eine Fehler gesucht, den ich Dir anzumerken hätte. Du bist doch einverstanden, daß ich dein Manuskript behalte. Hoffentlich folgt bald der Druck."

Author's translation of Steindorff, Georg. Letter to Dows Dunham. November 11, 1945. *Digital Giza*, http://www.giza-projekt.org/Funde/UL_2500/UL_2500.html.

calling into question whether the rarity of Egyptian objects was valued as much as their aesthetics were.

I now draw attention to how the three diadems were discussed in the article since Steindorff praised Dunham's scholarly analysis, and it is therefore likely that Steindorff would have presented his own opinions in a similar manner had he published material on the Leipzig diadem. Regarding the Boston diadem, Dunham offered a mostly objective description, but there were moments where his personal opinion was subtly injected. For example, when mentioning the diadem's colors, he described that there were many points of "careless" execution such as where the gold leaf overfilled the patterning.¹⁷⁵ Instead of considering the possibility that the gold leaf was intentionally rendered in such a way by the artist, Dunham dismissed it as one of its "accidental irregularities".¹⁷⁶ Dunham was not alone with this viewpoint, and he made note that the Museum of Fine Art's replica of the diadem intentionally omitted the overflow of gold leaf. However, other ancient Egyptian objects similarly demonstrate an "overflow" of paint or gilding in their designs. I compare the diadem to a gilded and painted wooden figurine of a Ba-bird from the Late Period at The British Museum (Fig. 23).¹⁷⁷ Closer examination of the figure's outstretched wings reveals that the painted lines were made with varied thicknesses at irregular intervals with colors and lines bleeding into one another. The gold leaf similarly transcends the painted borders and creates an overlapping effect, possibly to create the effect of layered feathers on the bird-like body. Though an object of much later dating than the diadem, the Ba figurine

¹⁷⁵ Dunham, 26.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Gilded and painted wooden figure of a Ba-bird with outstretched wings. Late Period. Wood & gold. 10.30 cm. x 21.60 cm. x 11.70 cm. British Museum (EA29597). Purchased from R.J. Moss & Co. in 1898. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA29597.

suggests that the “overflow” of color and material was intentional and exercised by more than one Egyptian artist. I therefore argue that the model not only provided museum visitors with a visual of its original state, but it also romanticized the ancient object by blurring out what was deemed to be an impurity through the imposition of Western standards of artistic beauty.

Dunham’s article noticeably lacked any connections between the diadems and the ancient deities, and he instead referenced a similar looking diadem depicted in a single wall painting from the tomb of Mereruka to make a general conclusion that the diadems were exclusively worn by women.¹⁷⁸ Such remarks reflect the clearly separate compartmentalizing of concepts and objects that earlier Western Egyptologists practiced when analyzing ancient Egyptian culture.

Instead of dismissing the content of Dunham’s article in its entirety, I make several points that justify its relevancy. First, Dunham, and implicitly Steindorff, was a product of his time. Only recently has scholarship begun to reevaluate and uproot the Eurocentric practices that have historically dictated academia. Publications like Dunham’s can instead be effectively used today to understand the shared views of a particular point in time and encourage new discussions and changes in modern society. Second, Dunham’s article is the only literature that Steindorff expressed his full approval of regarding the diadem and seemingly aligned most closely with his own views. In the absence of Steindorff’s own writings on the diadem, attention must be directed to what Steindorff wrote to Dunham. Finally, the cosmetic adjustments made to the Boston diadem model require reflection as to how ancient objects are represented to the public through modern models. While these models were not necessarily intended to be exact reconstructions of their originals, I question whether the erasure of certain details in the effort of creating a general

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 27.

model harmfully misrepresents ancient Egyptian artistic production.¹⁷⁹ Seemingly small corrections to “touch up” the original appearance in a model reinforces canonical standards by showcasing ancient Egyptian art as “flawless” and naturally aligning with Western aesthetics. While a valuable educational tool, the model displayed beside the original does not avoid consequences. The model can figuratively, and perhaps literally, outshine the original and demand the entirety of the viewer’s attention. When the models are not exact reconstructions, they do not necessarily challenge the museum visitor’s preconceived ideas about ancient Egypt and instead encourage the traditional practice of cultural stereotyping and oversimplification.

Conclusion

Although Steindorff did not extensively express his opinions about the diadem he excavated, conclusions can be drawn based on the piecing together of his daily journals, letters, and other contemporary publications. His journals revealed an initial satisfaction yet also simultaneous indifference to its discovery. Steindorff seemingly was more captivated by objects like limestone sculptures and lintels with inscriptions than the diadem, which was only later recognized as an actual headpiece. Documentation of the division of finds process in 1905 demonstrates that Steindorff had a sudden renewed interest in securing the diadem when inquiring if it had already been claimed. I suspect that at this time, Steindorff was reevaluating his share of the finds from the first excavation season and realized that most of the high-value items were given to Pelizaeus. The anxiety he had communicated in his 1903 letter to Borchardt about going home empty-handed, I believe, was in direct relation to not only Pelizaeus’ high expectations but also to that of the University of Leipzig. I suggest that Steindorff, not wanting to

¹⁷⁹ See Clarke, David L. 2014. *Models in Archaeology*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2-4.

disappoint the university at the risk of his career, possibly reevaluated the diadem between the 1903 and 1905 seasons in order to make his share of finds seem more impressive and museum-worthy. However, as Steindorff managed more excavations and found substantially more objects of value to take home to Germany, the diadem was no longer at the forefront of his mind partially because his employment and reputation were secured. Hence, the headpiece never received recognition in Steindorff's later writings. The diadem, a rare Old Kingdom symbol of social status, ancient religion, and Egyptian craft, arguably represented a point of tension in Steindorff's career as his future excavations hung in the balance and ultimately helped tip the scales in his favor.

Chapter III:

THE BLOCK STATUE

Wednesday, January 14, 1912:

[...] About five minutes before work ends, Senussi comes and tells Steindorff that there is something excellent; when asked what, he says he will take it to the Da-habij (ship) and show the find there. Finally, he reveals that there are two very good statues, kept completely intact. They are still in the shaft, and he doesn't want to pick them up until the people are gone. This prevents too much excitement. Around 6, Senussi comes in a mysterious procession with his people and brings the treasures. There are 2 limestone figures; one almost still in the style of the Old Kingdom, with a short-haired wig; the one depicted sitting on a square block. The other shows a man squatting on the floor, with raised knees, completely wrapped in his robe, from which only the hands stick out. Both figures carry inscriptions, and the person depicted is an official of the Viceroy of Nubia, named Ruju, i.e. the owner of Tomb 66, whose name is also on the door posts. The statues are in the shaft in the southern entrance... The joy about these first sculptures is very great, although one has to say that they are not artworks in their own right, but handicraft works, which are important because of their place of discovery in Nubia.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ The original text of the journal entry is as follows: “Mittwoch, 14. Januar 1912: [...] Etwa fünf Minuten vor Arbeitsschluß kommt Senussi zu Steindorff und teilt mit, es sei etwas ausgezeichnetes da; auf die Frage was? sagt er, er werde es auf die Da-habij (Schiff) bringen und dort den Fund zeigen. Schließlich verrät er, dass es zwei sehr gute Statuen seien, ganz intakt erhalten. Sie seien noch im Schacht, und er wolle sie erst herausholen, wenn die Leute fort seien. Das mache wenig Aufsehen...Gegen 6 kommt Senussi in geheimnisvollen Zuge mit seinen Leuten und bringt die Schätze. Es sind 2 Kalksteinfiguren, die eine fast noch im Stile des alten Reichs, mit kurzer Löckchenperücke; der Dargestellte auf einem viereckigen Klotz sitzend. Die andere zeigt einen auf dem Boden hockenden Mann, mit hochgezogenen Knien, ganz in sein Gewand gehüllt, aus dem nur die Hände hervorsehen. Beide Figuren tragen Inschriften, und danach ist der Dargestellte ein Beamter des Vizekönigs von Nubien, Namens Ruju, also der Inhaber von Grab 66, dessen Name auch an den Eingangspforten steht. Die Statuen sind in dem Schacht im südl. Umgang gefunden...Die Freude über diese ersten Skulpturen ist sehr gross, obwohl man sagen muss, dass er keine Kunstwerke im eigenstlichen eigenstlichen Stime, sondern handwerksmässigen Dertzarbeiten sind, die aber wegen ihres Fundesortes im Nubien ihre Bedeutung haben.”

As a point of clarification, the original month and day of the week for this entry are incorrect. In the 1912 Tagebuch, this entry immediately follows that of Tuesday, February 13, 1912, yet it is labeled January. The subsequent entry is dated Thursday, February 15, 1912. The date January 14, 1912 also was a Sunday instead of a Wednesday, confirming that Steindorff added the date to the entry in question out of error. Author's translation. Steindorff, Georg. 1912. *Anibe 1912*, 115-117. Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library (Box 1562 A, file 1).

In this early journal entry from his 1912 Tagebuch, Steindorff captured the excitement and grave importance of some of his excavation finds from Aniba. The Egyptian workers determined the two statues as being so valuable that Steindorff's site manager, Senussi, and other higher-ranking workers would only reveal the objects to Steindorff in private. Steindorff recorded these as the only finds, not only out of those he excavated from Aniba but also out of all his Egyptian and Nubian excavations, as receiving such a secretive unveiling. The final sentence in the journal entry is the most striking part because Steindorff specified that the finds were not artworks but merely handicraft works. Yet, he states that these objects were important because they originated from a particular place in Nubia. This prompted the question as to why Steindorff had such a mixed reaction to objects that received such enthusiasm and secrecy. Throughout this final chapter, I address this question and discuss how Steindorff's excavation methodologies and reactions compared with those from his earlier digs in Giza, demonstrating his professional development in the field. Furthermore, I mainly examine where Nubia fit into the canon of ancient Egyptian art, then and now, and how this influenced how Steindorff and non-Westerners interpreted the artworks discovered there.

I primarily focus on the block statue of Ruju (*Rwjw*) (Fig. 24) because it received mixed reactions of praise and dismissal from Steindorff. He determined the statue's aesthetic qualities as a lesser "handicraft work" yet also attributed high value to it based on its place of discovery in Nubia, demonstrating that his professional judgments of ancient objects had grown more conflicted. This opens the discussion regarding where Nubia fit into the canon of ancient Egyptian art. The block statue deserves further study not only because it remains the oldest example of this sculptural type originating from Nubia but also because Steindorff interpreted its

finding in Aniba as evidence for canonical ancient Egyptian art being imported to cultures outside of Egypt. I assert that the block statue testified to the reach of ancient Egypt's political power and cultural influence, and it supported American and European perceptions of its superiority in the Near East. My main argument concerns that the Egyptian workers' reaction to the block statue caught Steindorff's attention and conditioned his own reaction to the object. I further emphasize that European scholars and excavators perceived Egypt as a powerhouse of the ancient world with a rich visual culture for the taking. Said draws attention to how Europe viewed ancient Egypt as superior through the example of Lord Arthur James Balfour's 1910 speech to the House of Commons. Said emphasized modern European views towards Egypt through Balfour's point that Egypt's "great moments were in the past" and that Egypt was intentionally studied and "known" by Britain better than any other African and Near Eastern countries.¹⁸¹ Ancient Egypt became the prime model that Britain and other European nations accepted and aspired to because of its conquest over Nubia while modern Egypt was made into an example for Europe to avoid and to "save" from itself. The block statue embodied the colonial ambitions of both ancient Egypt and of modern Europe in forcing their practices on what were deemed lesser cultures in order to civilize foreignness and increase their own power.

The chapter begins with a visual analysis of the block statue followed by a study of the interpretation and role of block statues within ancient Egypt. This transitions into an overview of the Aniba excavation with scrutiny given to the financial circumstances and new patrons behind the project. As with the Giza excavations, Steindorff recorded his observations in daily journals, which serve as key sources for pinpointing the trends and irregularities in his reactions to

¹⁸¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 40-42.

excavation finds. I then analyze Steindorff's discussion of the block statue in personal letters and his later publications. This serves as a framework for leading into the concluding points regarding the ongoing debate surrounding Nubia in the canon. I argue that the Egyptian workers' high regard of the block statue, combined with German views towards Nubia at the time, convinced Steindorff of its importance.

The Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig dates the block statue to the 18th Dynasty of the New Kingdom (1479-1457 BCE). It was excavated by Steindorff from the Southern Cemetery (Grave S 66) in the Nubian village of Aniba. Such forms drastically ranged in size from small at just over one foot in height to monumental around five feet in height.¹⁸² This particular statue appears as a smaller example, measuring approximately 19.7 inches in height, 9.2 inches in width, and 9.3 inches in depth. The male figure has an oval-shaped head and wears a shoulder-length wig and a faux trapezoidal beard on his chin known as a postiche. The facial expression appears relaxed yet serious with a closed mouth with full lips. The eyes are wide and almond-shaped, which contrast the small slender nose. Thinly incised arches over the eyes give the impression of eyebrows. Elongated ears protrude forward from being pushed against the front of the wig. A carved hieroglyphic inscription details offerings for Ruju, "the deputy of the king's son" and presumably the name of the tomb owner.¹⁸³ As a deputy of the viceroy, Ruju remains one of the highest positioned individuals ever identified at Aniba. The block statue features a crouched figure wearing a cloak tightly fitted around his knees, creating the illusion of a self-

¹⁸² A monumental example is the 18th-Dynasty block statue of Amenhotep from Karnak. It is currently held at the Luxor Museum. Exact measurements and object number were not provided on-site at the museum. A larger example is the basalt block statue of Ry at the British Museum (EA81), measuring approximately 3.7 feet in height. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA81.

¹⁸³ Deputy of the viceroy

contained cube shape. This distinctive shape caused Egyptologists to refer to such sculptures as block statues. The figure's bare feet noticeably protrude forward from the bottom of the cube. Closer examination reveals faint outlines of the figure's flat crossed arms that rest on the top face of the cube. The head of the statue appears unnaturally pushed away from the front of the body and is slightly tilted upward as if looking to the sky. The imagined knees are drawn up to the level of the figure's chin. The illusion of the cloak tightly fitted over the figure's knees provides a flat surface, similar to a sarcophagus, for the carved inscription. Four columns of hieroglyphs connect the top of the figure's knees to the visible feet. There are no evident traces of paint to indicate if it was originally colored, though some other block statues were painted.¹⁸⁴ The entire body sits on top of a quadrilateral base of limestone. Each of these features aligns with those exhibited in traditional Egyptian block statues.

The Function of Block Statues in Ancient Egypt

Block statues were consistently depicted in the form of seated figures with long-haired wigs, but other details could vary, presumably depending on the preferences of the person who commissioned the statue and the artist. For example, some block statues include a second smaller figure, usually representing a wife or a child. Other additions in front of the legs include a stela or a hieroglyph known as *naos* in relief. This statuary form first emerged in Saqqara in the early 12th Dynasty, and between the New Kingdom to the Late Period, block statues were the most common statue type for non-royal persons in Egyptian temples.¹⁸⁵ Excavations confirm that

¹⁸⁴ For example, see "Block Statue of Ankhwenefert." 2000. Metmuseum.org. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549533>.

¹⁸⁵ Schulz, Regine. 2011. "Block Statue." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Willeke Wendrich, ed. Los Angeles: California. University of California, Los Angeles, 1. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002b24rf>.

several block statues depicting Egyptian royalty or elite figures were found in prominent places inside these temples, but it remains unclear as to where the smaller block statues of lower-ranking officials were originally placed.¹⁸⁶ Although temples were a more common findspot, block statues were also known to have been originally placed inside elite tombs like that belonging to Ruju. They tended to be composed of different materials, predominantly soft or hard stone, wood, or bronze. The depicted figures with visible postiches were usually representative of important deceased officials.¹⁸⁷ In different time periods, block statues represented people of different social ranks. While lower- and middle-ranking priests and officials were more commonly rendered during the Middle Kingdom, higher-ranking officials, like viziers and high priests, appear in block statues in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁸⁸ The inscriptions on the block statue and the seated figure (Fig. 25) at the Ägyptisches Museum are remarkable in that they are the only objects to mention Ruju's name in conjunction with his titles as a member of the administrative elite.¹⁸⁹ Any other mention of Ruju's name elsewhere in the tomb omitted reference to his title, so the decision to include the title on the two limestone statues was noteworthy.

The cubic form was popular among Egyptian sculptors for its compact durability and relative ease for sculpting, and though limited within the Ägyptisches Museum collection, block statues appear frequently within Egyptian museum collections.¹⁹⁰ The block shape remains

¹⁸⁶ Fazzini, Richard A. 2008. *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*. Netherlands: Brill, 219.

¹⁸⁷ An Old Kingdom example of an elite non-royal Egyptian official who rendered himself wearing a postiche was the palace administrator Perneb. His mastaba tomb is currently on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (13.183.3).

¹⁸⁸ Schulz, 5.

¹⁸⁹ The inscription reads as *jdnw n z' nsw* and *tpi n z' nsw*.

¹⁹⁰ The "Karnak Cachette," which was excavated in 1903 by the French Egyptologist Georges Legrain, included approximately three hundred and fifty block statues.

constant in these statues, but some versions include fully visible crouched legs or a small stool on which the figure sits. In the 12th Dynasty, a new development emerged in which block statue figures seated in carrying chairs transitioned into ones with a robe wrapped around the body and legs like the statue Steindorff excavated. The block statue's distinct pose held particular social meaning. The crossed arms gesture showed respect and obedience to superiors while the gesture of sitting on the ground was a sign of humility that could be performed for long periods of time.¹⁹¹ While the hands of the block statue at the Ägyptisches Museum are empty and lay flat against the robe, block statues occasionally held attributes. These included the menat, the sistrum, the *ankh*, *maat*, *djed*, and *tit* signs. Lettuce, a symbol of renewal and fertility, became the most important of these attributes.¹⁹² The block statues vary in interpretations from mere depictions of a reposed state to holding a mystical power in that they were believed to be inhabitable by the deceased who would rise out of their crouched position to wander the earth.¹⁹³ In this sense, the block statue was both eternally still like the deceased's entombed body and yet also always holding the potential to reawaken like the Egyptian *ka*, or spirit, in the afterlife.

Excavation Sponsors

I call attention to two important figure types operating on either side of Steindorff. One was the sponsor who provided the financial means for excavations and demanded certain kinds of finds according to personal taste. The second type was the laborer who

Freed, Rita E. 2022. "Chapter 5 New Kingdom or Kushite? An Inscribed Head from a Block Statue in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston". In *In the House of Heqanakht*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004459533_006.

¹⁹¹ Russmann, Edna R., Thomas James, and Henry Garnet. 2001. *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. London: University of California Press, 96.; Fazzini, 216.

¹⁹² Schulz, 4.

¹⁹³ Hagen, Rainer and Rose-Marie Hagen. 2005. *Egypt: People, Gods, Pharaohs*. Germany: Taschen, 100.

was often left unaccredited and whose opinions were frequently disregarded by the excavators. A discussion of both types demonstrates the complex innerworkings of excavation operations, recognizes the equally important contributions of the laborers, and sheds light on how Steindorff was caught in the crossfire of different influential voices as he came across new finds. To understand how Steindorff's sponsor became involved in the Aniba excavation, I first introduce Aniba's history and the circumstances under which Steindorff first arrived there. The block statue of Rujū originated from a tomb in the ancient Nubian capital of Aniba.¹⁹⁴ Since the 1960s, the site is no longer accessible because of Lake Nasser flooding the area. Located approximately 140 miles south of the modern city of Aswan on the west bank of the Nile (Fig. 26), Aniba's climate produced abundant agriculture that supported a large population. Although concrete dates prompt ongoing debate, scholars previously suggested that important Egyptian enterprises were abandoned at the end of the 20th Dynasty, prompting Egyptians to move out of Lower Nubia back into Egypt.¹⁹⁵ This thereby left ancient Nubia vulnerable to attack, which could explain when and why people abandoned Aniba.¹⁹⁶ While scholars do not currently have a good estimate for the size of Aniba, Nubia's total population was estimated at approximately between 200,000 and 250,000 people.¹⁹⁷ In fact, it was "the most important site of Lower Nubia

¹⁹⁴ In the Middle Kingdom, Aniba was known as *Miam*.

Lobban, Richard A. 2003. *Historical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval Nubia*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 33. ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁹⁵ Muslim conquest impacted the relationship between Nubia and Egypt. Following the 641 BCE conquest of Alexandria, Arab armies based in Egypt invaded and looted Nubia. Rouighi, Ramzi. 2019. *Inventing the Berbers: History and Ideology in the Maghrib*. United States: University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 21.

¹⁹⁶ Trigger, Bruce G. 1968. "New Light on the History of Lower Nubia." *Anthropologica* 10, no. 1, 94. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25604760>.

¹⁹⁷ Buzon, Michele R. 2006. "Biological and Ethnic Identity in New Kingdom Nubia: A Case Study from Tombos." *Current Anthropology* 47 (4), 686. <https://doi.org/10.1086/506288>; Smith, Stuart Tyson. 2003. *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 195.

and its Nubian culture in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, continuing into the Second Intermediate Period.”¹⁹⁸ As the capital, Aniba operated as the center of Egyptian power and gold mining in Lower Nubia.¹⁹⁹ The wealth of the area and its people funded the tombs from which approximately three thousand objects were excavated there between 1910 and 1914.²⁰⁰ American excavators began work in Aniba in 1910 during the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition, but Steindorff would not arrive to the scene until 1912 through his own operation funded by Ernst von Sieglin.

The Ernst von Sieglin Expedition began in 1912 with funding from the wealthy Stuttgart-born soap manufacturer and entrepreneur Ernst von Sieglin (1848-1927), claimed by scholars as the greatest patron of the arts of his time.²⁰¹ He sponsored several earlier excavations at Kos and Alexandria between 1898 and 1902 and donated objects from his personal collection to the universities of Tübingen and Leipzig.²⁰² Sieglin rapidly expanded his personal collection of Greco-Roman antiquities when he began collecting ancient Egyptian objects and purchasing private collections. In 1907, Sieglin donated part of his collection to the Royal State Collection of Patriotic Antiquities, the preceding institution to the State Museum of Württemberg.²⁰³ Like

¹⁹⁸ Odler, Martin, and Jiří Kmošek. 2020. *Invisible Connections: An Archaeometallurgical Analysis of the Bronze Age Metalwork from the Egyptian Museum of the University of Leipzig*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 55. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1bjc3bj.12>.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 79.

²⁰⁰ Näser, Claudia. 2017. “Structures and Realities of the Egyptian Presence in Lower Nubia from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom: The Egyptian Cemetery S/SA at Aniba.” In *Nubia in the New Kingdom: Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*. Proceedings of the July 2013 Conference at the British Museum. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 3. Leuven et. al., 557. https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/10138320/1/N%C3%A4ser_BMPES3_2017.pdf

²⁰¹ Herb, Christiane. 2007. “Von Seifenpulver und Mumienporträts: Ernst von Sieglin: Fabrikant und Mäzen.” *Schwäbische Heimat* 58, 4, 419.

²⁰² “Ernst Von Sieglin Preis.” July 20, 2022. *Philosophische Fakultät Institut Für Klassische Archäologie*. Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. <https://uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/altertums-und-kunstwissenschaften/institut-fuer-klassische-archaeologie/ernst-von-sieglin-preis/>.

²⁰³ Herb, 419.

Pelizaeus, Sieglin was creating a canon of ancient Egypt through his own collections and tastes that would ultimately influence the collections of other smaller institutions. This controlled canon was reinforced not only through his financing of excavations but also through funding the processing and publications of the excavation results in several monumental volumes titled “Expedition Ernst von Sieglin.”²⁰⁴ Such efforts earned him an extensive list of notable awards, including a title of nobility. He strategically associated his name with significant national excavations, making him indispensable to Germany’s scientific explorations and an authoritative voice in the museum world.

Ernst von Sieglin sponsored both of Steindorff’s excavations in Giza and Abusir from 1909-1910, which differed from earlier excavations by primarily focusing on discovering new material finds rather than giving equal weight to conducting and documenting geographic and cultural surveys. Ernst von Sieglin likewise sponsored the 1909 season in Aniba, during which the Temple of Khafre was excavated under the German architect Uvo Hölscher (1878-1963) and assistant of the German Institute for Egyptian Archaeology, Hans Abel (1883-1927).²⁰⁵

Steindorff primarily moved his operations to Aniba because at the opening of the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in 1911, he and German archaeologist Hermann Junker (1877-1962) agreed to switch their concessions for the 1912 season. Steindorff consequently took over Junker’s concession at Aniba with the Vienna Academy of Sciences while Junker managed operations in

²⁰⁴ For example, see Schreiber, Theodor. 1908. *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin: Ausgrabungen in Alexandria (Band 1, 2): Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*. Leipzig: Ernst Sieglin. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.27161#0008>.

²⁰⁵ The Temple of Khafre was referred to as the Temple of Chephren during Steindorff’s era. Voss, Susanne, and Thomas L. Gertzen. 2013. “Germans at El Amarna, 1911-1914.” *Kmt. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 24.1, 43.; Gertzen, Voss, and Georg, “Chapter 8: Prussia and Germany,” 231.; Steindorff, Georg. 1909. “Die Ausgrabung des Totentempels der Chephrenpyramide durch die Sieglin-Expedition 1909.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 46, 1. https://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/documents/steindorff_zas_46_1909.pdf.

Giza.²⁰⁶ Steindorff's main intention for the Aniba excavation was to continue Junker's excavation work in the southern pyramid "S/SA" cemetery and that of the Coxe Junior Expedition, which was a partnered project between the University of Pennsylvania and The British Museum in 1910.²⁰⁷ The satisfactory results of Steindorff's prior seasons certainly must have helped convince Sieglin to sponsor his 1912 season.

Local Laborers

In conjunction with acknowledging privileged figures like Sieglin and their roles as sponsors, an analysis of Steindorff's excavation would not be complete without casting a spotlight on the figures who frequently received little to no mention at the beginning of excavation reports: the hired laborers. Hundreds of local people were hired for each dig, and many moved around between adjacent operations.²⁰⁸ They were responsible for digging and clearing dirt for many hours at a time under the supervision and direction of overseers, and they applied their native geographic knowledge for the success of the excavation although only people like Steindorff were recognized. Allison Mickel's research highlights the problematic relationships underlying archaeological endeavors in that the role of laborers was considered purely physical, not intellectual. They were not considered primary contributors to the excavations although they were indispensable to uncovering new finds.²⁰⁹ Mickel reassigns these individuals, who were traditionally treated as unskilled laborers, a sense of agency by

²⁰⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1999. *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*. United States: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 146.; Odler and Kmošek. *Invisible Connections*, 4.

²⁰⁷ Spencer, Neal, Anna Stevens, and Michaela Binder. 2017. *Nubia in the New Kingdom: Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 3. Leuven et. al., 557.

²⁰⁸ I include an example of this in the previous chapter regarding Borchardt sending workers from Aniba to assist Steindorff in Giza.

²⁰⁹ Mickel, Allison. 2021. "Introduction." In *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: A History of Local Archaeological Knowledge and Labor*. Denver: University Press of Colorado, 6. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1ft83n9.5>.

recognizing them as experts of acquired archaeological and scientific knowledge for uncovering and handling artifacts.²¹⁰ This coveted knowledge could only be gained through years of experience on the job and could be passed down to younger generations within working families. Despite having a vast amount of relevant knowledge, these workers were not always allowed to voice their opinions and concerns with the decisions of the supervising excavators. Although local workers could have been familiar with new finds, especially given their many excavation seasons that perhaps surpassed that of their overseers and that they were traveling between sites where similar objects were discovered, interpretation and appraisal of finds fell under the jurisdiction of Western archaeologists. Within Steindorff's journals, the workers are periodically mentioned in various entries, but the descriptions are frequently limited to brief interactions between Steindorff and Senussi as well as the workers' implicit insubordination through labor strikes. This consequently gives the impression that to modern archaeologists and Egyptologists, the workers were not worth documenting beyond basic acknowledgment, and that although their contributions were crucial, they were viewed as a foreign, tolerated, and inferior peoples in the excavation process.

Egyptologists like Steindorff also commonly made assumptions about different ethnic groups among the hired laborers that resulted in unequal treatment and supported an internal hierarchy (Fig. 28). Distinguishing the excavation's internal labor system proves necessary to my main argument that the workers conditioned Steindorff's outlook because although the laborers played a crucial role in the operations, Steindorff and other excavators did not always take the laborers' opinions into consideration. Instead, excavators like Steindorff listened when the

²¹⁰ Ibid, 42.

workers were excited about new finds but dismissed them when they expressed hesitations or had conflicting interests. An example from his earlier 1905 journal sheds light on the labor system in place at the time, a system that also was not exclusive to Steindorff's excavations. He briefly recorded how he justified assigning tasks to different workers, writing, "We can't use our well-trained workers to push the wagon, and the other guys, especially the Zawawis, are just too inexperienced and careless."²¹¹ In this single sentence, several conclusions can be drawn about Steindorff's, and more generally European excavators', view of local laborers. First, they imposed a hierarchy among the workers in that more experienced individuals were more valued and would not have been used for less important tasks like moving a wagon when they were needed to carefully unearth new finds. Second, although moving a wagon was beneath the efforts of highly trained laborers, Steindorff did not want to assign the task to laborers who were completely untrained, meaning a job only requiring physical strength was still believed to be above the qualifications of some workers. Finally, Steindorff specifically labeled the "Zawawis" as a *careless* people. I must clarify here that Steindorff's use of the term "Zawawis" referenced the Zawaya peoples. The Zawaya people's heritage proves ambiguous even today, and scholars of Steindorff's era would have been unfamiliar with their history. The Zawaya did receive recognition throughout West Africa as being respected scholars of Islamic knowledge.²¹² Despite this community's dedication to scholarly knowledge, Steindorff dismisses the people as careless. He also implicitly applied this conclusion to all Zawaya peoples, a clear case of essentializing

²¹¹ "Wir können doch nicht unsere guten geschulten Arbeiter zum Wagen schieben mitbrauchen, und die anderen Kerls, besonders die Zawawis sind gar zu ungeübt und unvorsichtig."
Author's translation of Steindorff. 1905. *Tagebuch 1905*, 37.

²¹² Ibid, 69.; Ogot, Bethwell Allan, 1992. *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. United Kingdom: Pearson Education New Zealand Limited, 324.

and degradation. Regardless of the ranks these laborers were forced into by Steindorff and other excavators, the laborers were equally left uncredited for their contributions and knowledge that made the success of the excavations possible and that advanced the careers of said Egyptologists.

Just as it is necessary to critique Steindorff's choice of wording, it is necessary to also reflect on my own phrasing regarding the social relationships behind the excavation. Throughout this chapter and the entire thesis, I have repeatedly used the terms "laborers," "workers," or "Steindorff's team" when referring to native Egyptian and non-European individuals who were employed during Steindorff's excavation. This is to primarily document the professional and colonialism-based hierarchies that Steindorff would have operated in and reinforced. Steindorff frequently used the term *Arbeiter* ("workers") in his journal entries. On the one hand, this was, and still is, a common phrase for differentiating lower from higher positions in the labor chain. However, it is also a generic term which erases individual contribution and homogenizes people of varying backgrounds. Many of the hired workers were local Egyptians, but others originated from areas that became part of other countries. For example, the main overseeing foreman Mohammed al-Senussi was born in Kiman, an Anglo-Egyptian condominium part of Upper Egypt in the early twentieth century that is now part of modern Sudan.²¹³ Despite a high rate of illiteracy, many of the seasoned local workers would have had greater familiarity with the geography of the region, an area of knowledge in which they surpassed the European excavators. They were the unrecognized, or silent, archaeologists of the excavation who remained in the

²¹³ The Anglo-Egyptian condominium continued until Sudan gained independence in 1956. Great Britain. Foreign Office. Historical Section. 1920. *Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. London, H.M. Stationery off. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/a22000955/>. For a more in-depth analysis of Steindorff's workforce, see Gertzen, Thomas L., Susanne Voss, and Maximilian Georg. 2021. "Chapter 8: Prussia and Germany."

shadows of their European counterparts. These true and unseen archaeologists were the ones who enabled the excavation of finds like the block statue and further enabled Steindorff's success.

Excavating the Block Statue

The hired workers' reaction to and dramatic presenting of the block statue caught Steindorff's attention and convinced him that it was a significant object. In this case, Steindorff gave weight to their expertise and allowed them to shape his own judgments. These individuals excavated the block statue from Ruju's tomb, which was centrally located within the S/SA cemetery (Fig. 27). The cemetery was an area comprised of one hundred and fifty-seven tombs and primarily dedicated to "the middle and lower echelons of the bureaucracy who administered the Lower Nubian province in and from Aniba."²¹⁴ These officials and their families would have formed the locally resident elite at Mj'm in Ramesside times.²¹⁵ S 66 was one of the largest tombs in Aniba, which consisted of a rectangular plan with an ante court, a roofed court, and several shafts. Other objects found alongside the two limestone statues include four canopic jars, two shabtis, a heart scarab, a regular scarab, a fragment of a bronze ring, a cosmetic vessel in limestone, faience beads, a mirror, and a limonite kohl-stick.²¹⁶ Each of the found funerary objects reflect Ruju's political importance and speak to the rich resources available in Nubia at the time of his burial. Notable from the journal entry quoted at the beginning of the chapter, the block statue and the limestone statue of the seated figure were not discovered in their original

²¹⁴ Näser. "Structures and realities of the Egyptian presence in Lower Nubia from the Middle to the New Kingdom," 563.

²¹⁵ *Mi'am* was the administrative center in Lower Nubia.

Spencer, Stevens, and Binder. *Nubia in the New Kingdom*, 558-563.; Dreyfus, Renée, Cathleen A. Keller and Catharine H. Roehrig. 2005. *Hatshepsut, from Queen to Pharaoh*. United Kingdom: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.

²¹⁶ Steindorff, Georg. 1937. *Aniba II: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929–1934. Glückstadt*; Hamburg; New York, 69-74.

findspot by Steindorff but rather in a different shaft by the Egyptian workers. However, no known documentation survives which recorded the statues as they were found *in situ* in the tomb.²¹⁷ Instead, Senussi immediately transferred the pieces to the expeditionary boat. The two limestone statues were found on a dirt floor within the shaft, which was unusual given that such statues were traditionally placed in carved wall niches. Steindorff later commented on this irregular placement as likely being the result of tomb robbers, but other scholars have argued that the surviving architecture of the tomb did not have wall niches and the statues were possibly placed there deliberately.²¹⁸ This theory is not entirely convincing given that much of the tomb's architecture, especially the walls, were damaged or missing when first excavated. In other words, it cannot be fully determined whether there originally were niches for statues or not. This damage is evident in the original photographs from Steindorff's excavation (Fig. 29). Claudia Näser has conducted some of the most recent work on the tomb and presents the question of whether Ruju was ever buried in S 66. She notes that all the burial equipment inscribed with Ruju's name, including the two statues, was found in a subsidiary shaft and raises the point that these were perhaps objects isolated from Ruju's actual burial.²¹⁹ In other words, she suggests that preparations were originally made for Ruju to be buried in S 66, hence why the objects with his name were found inside, but he ended up being physically buried elsewhere.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Additional objects in the shaft included "two *shabtis* of Rwjw, four canopic jars without inscription, a heart scarab with an illegible name as well as some toilette objects, remains of furniture and several pieces of [jewelry]. Moreover, twenty-three pottery vessels were recorded."

The author further notes that "none of the archaeologists were present when the statues were discovered and none saw them *in situ*," but I re-emphasize my point that the workers were archaeologists.

Näser, 568.

²¹⁸ Steindorff, *Aniba II*, 189.

²¹⁹ Näser, 569.

²²⁰ Näser proposes that Ruju could have been buried in Thebes, but this theory has not yet been proven.

If Ruju was not buried in the same tomb as the inscribed objects, it raises an additional question as to whether Steindorff's perceived value of the block statue was based on the statue's association with Ruju, the statue's aesthetics as they compared to other block statues, or its findspot. The first possibility is unlikely because, although the inscription on the block statue mentioning Ruju certainly related to Steindorff's expertise in philology, Steindorff never pursued further research into Ruju beyond translating the inscription. Next, the appearance of the block statue was arguably not a cause because there was nothing visually out of the ordinary when compared to other block statues from the Middle and Late Kingdoms. Steindorff would have otherwise made note about any unique features in his entries that he would have deemed praiseworthy. On the contrary, Steindorff implicitly degraded the block statue when he called it a "handicraft work" and specified that it was *not* an artwork. Italian Egyptologist Gianluca Miniaci's work helps define handiworks as European excavators would have perceived them during Steindorff's era. Egyptian handiworks referenced "ordinary craftsmanship" without geniality made by collective "producers", and these types of works received far less attention compared to European beaux arts, the workshops sponsored by kings, and "artists" promoting individualism.²²¹ Therefore, excavators only considered Western Europe as capable of producing Great Art while Egypt made lesser but still notable artistic achievements.²²² Despite the statue's well-preserved condition and its expensive limestone material, Steindorff specified that its importance came from its location and its connection to Nubia.

²²¹ Miniaci, Gianluca, Juan Carlos Moreno García, Stephen Quirke, and Andréas Stauder. 2018. *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000-1550 BCE*. Sidestone Press, 7.

²²² Ibid.

German Interest in Nubia

Why was Nubia significant to Germany, and more broadly Europe, in the early twentieth century? During Steindorff's era, German scholars interpreted culture, politics, and art of ancient Nubia through the lens of its relationship with ancient Egypt because German expeditions in Nubia were extremely limited until after the Second World War.²²³ Steindorff admitted that at the time, not much was known about the political conditions of Lower Nubia during the Hyksos period in the 13th Dynasty.²²⁴ German scholars were aware that ancient Egypt had controlled ancient Nubia, but they did not know that the kingdom of Kush had also taken control of Egypt. The limited context available on ancient Nubia thus prompted ideas that Egypt was always the dominant power and had successfully colonized Nubia. Such a misleading narrative closely aligned with colonialist ambitions of conquering the weaker entity and civilizing it for its own good.²²⁵

Today, scholars acknowledge that the relationship between ancient Egypt and ancient Nubia was complex in that it involved trade and conquests happening in both directions. We now understand that immediately following Egypt's control of Nubia in the Middle Kingdom there was a state of political weakening and fragmentation. The decline in centralized rule amidst several independent local kingdoms in addition to new advances by the kingdom of Kush

²²³ "German research expeditions to the Sudan during the first half of the 20th century were scarce. Leo Frobenius collected folk tales in Kordofan in 1912 and documented rock pictures in Nubia in 1926. Some trips which the Austrian ethnographer Hugo Bernatzik conducted in many different parts of the Sudan in the 1920s are worth mentioning for their photographic yield. An expedition organized by H. Hilke (31) and D. Plester the area of southern Funj on the eve of independence in 1954/55 for various reasons produced only survey reports." Braukamper, Ulrich. 1997. "Sudanese Studies in Germany." *Sudan Notes and Records*, no. 1, 162. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44947731>.

²²⁴ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 38.

²²⁵ Said, 41.

resulted in political weakening that ultimately led to Egypt withdrawing from Lower Nubia.²²⁶ Egyptologists traditionally classify this period as the Second Intermediate Period (13th-17th Dynasties, ca. 1780-1550 BCE). The kingdom of Kush retaliated against former Egyptian rule by taking control of a portion of Egypt. By the 15th Dynasty, the authoritative powers included the Theban kingdom ruling the center of Egypt out of Thebes, the Hyksos presiding over northern Egypt out of Avaris, and the Kushites ruling over southern Egypt out of Kerma.²²⁷ The kingdom of Kush was the largest of the authorities during the Second Intermediate Period, and this time marked the height of Kushan royal power.²²⁸ As power fluctuated, cultural changes likewise occurred. The close geographic proximity between Egypt and Nubia resulted in mutual cultural influences dating to even before the Second Intermediate Period. However, the Kushan kings ordering many Egyptian pieces be moved to Kerma and readapted predominantly sparked a new wave of Nubian artistic production of Egyptian-inspired objects like the block statue.²²⁹ Most importantly, the block statue of Ruju remains the oldest example of this sculptural type originating from Nubia.²³⁰ The block statue's dating to the 18th Dynasty and its findspot in Aniba make the object a valuable reflection of "the material culture of the local Egyptian elite of Lower Nubia, who were well aware of the current fashion in Thebes and other New Kingdom Egyptian

²²⁶ Török, L. 2009. "Chapter Eight: Locating the Cultures of Lower Nubia in the Late Neolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Age: Some Preliminary Conclusions". In *Between Two Worlds*, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 104. doi: <https://doi-org.proxy.libraries.smu.edu/10.1163/ej.9789004171978.i-606.34>; Müller, Vera. 2018. "Chronological Concepts for the Second Intermediate Period and Their Implications for the Evaluation of Its Material Culture." In *The Hyksos Ruler Khyam and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research*. Forstner-Müller, I and N. Moeller, eds. ÖJH Ergänzungshefte 17: 199–216.

²²⁷ Pinch, Geraldine. 2002. *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology*. United Kingdom: ABC-CLIO, 18.; Allen, James P. 2000. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 10.

²²⁸ Ilin-Tomich, Alexander. 2016. "Second Intermediate Period." *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1(1), 8. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/72q561r2>.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 11.

²³⁰ Description card of the block statue of Ruju. Courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff.

towns down the Nile”.²³¹ Both the Theban and Hyksos kingdoms also participated in the trend of moving Egyptian monuments and adopting Egyptian forms at this time, but these two areas fall outside the scope of my discussion and are explored in other scholarship.²³² Although Egypt was divided, the kingdom of Kush still replicated and took inspiration from Egyptian culture. I argue that to European scholars, Nubian copying was a testament to ancient Egypt being the cultural center, and it helped justify European colonialism.²³³

On a more individual level, some scholars drew connections between Orientalism, and colonialism, and ancient Egypt for promoting their own careers and beliefs. They analyzed Egypt through a colonialist lens “to trumpet their conquests in the Ancient Near East, the real argument for relevance—especially outside of Indology—was not that their scholarly achievements helped extend Germany’s power abroad but that they gave it worldwide prestige.”²³⁴ Both Egypt and Nubia were therefore treated as metaphoric pedestals for elevating the achievements of Germany, and more specifically of German scholars like Steindorff, to be able to capture the attention of an international audience. It must also be pointed out that ancient Egypt, despite its

²³¹ Odler and Kmošek. “Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom Aniba,” 116.

²³² For example, see Eaton-Krauss, Marianne. 2015. “Usurpation.” In *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological studies in honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, ed. Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn Cooney, pp. 97-104. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.

²³³ The Egyptian nationalist Salah Hamdi’s justifications for Egyptian colonization of Sudan closely resemble those in Lord Balfour. Hamad wrote, “There is no doubt that the Egyptian Sudan is part of our beloved Egypt like the soul to the body; from it comes the blessed Nile, the life of the country and the source of Egypt’s resources and welfare. Everyone who rules the Sudan realizes these truths. From ancient times, their care had been to keep the Sudan together with Egypt. The pharaohs conquered the Sudan, then the Arabs, then Muhammad `Ali Pasha, who had it explored and excavated by teams of specialists, searching for its hidden minerals, which companies there now refine. All this is to say that the remains of Egypt’s imperialism in the Sudan show she has long been a part of the country, whose benefits come thanks to such endeavors.”

In his 1910 House of Commons speech, Balfour stated, “...We are in Egypt not merely for the sake of the Egyptians, though we are there for their sake; we are there also for the sake of Europe at large.”

Powell, Eve M. Troutt. 2003. “The Tools of the Master: Slavery, Family, and the Unity of the Nile Valley.” In *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*, 1st ed., 135–67. University of California Press, 164. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pp9tr.9>; Said, 41.

²³⁴ Marchand, 72-73.

geography, was more widely recognized as part of the Near East rather than Africa, and thus the narrative of Egypt's superiority over Nubia also held racial implications. Nubians were often described as a primitive-like, semi-nomadic African tribe and particular attention was frequently given to the dark skin color of the Kushites.²³⁵ Though European explorers treated Egyptians as lesser for their non-white skin, Egyptians were, in this case, distinguished as being separate from and superior to Africans. German scholars like Herman Kees (1886-1964) and Walther Wolf increasingly connected race to Egyptology up until the 1930s as the field was threatened by other subjects devoted to race and nationalistic values.²³⁶ Using colonialism for discussing Egypt and Nubia therefore gave the field relevance and helped maintain public approval while also protecting individual academic careers. The block statue was then not just about Ruju, German excavations, or Nubia. To figures like Steindorff it was an important piece of evidence for justifying their colonialist ambitions that necessitated conquering and civilizing Other as well as a platform for promoting careers and European conquest at the expense of Nubian and Egyptian culture.

The impact of German scholarly perceptions regarding the colonial dominance of ancient Egypt can be subtly traced throughout several of Steindorff's writings. In his 1937 multi-volume book *Aniba*, Steindorff summarizes his three Aniba excavation seasons in 1912, 1914, and 1930. Most of his discussion concerning Nubia maintains a historical focus, but some minor points deserve greater attention. For example, when discussing the re-annexation of Nubia to Egypt in the 18th Dynasty, he writes:

²³⁵ Kees, 342.

²³⁶ Lipson, Carol. 2013. "Comparative Rhetoric, Egyptology, and the Case of Akhenaten." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 43, no. 3, 278. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24753556>.

In other parts of the country, the fortresses were repaired and occupied by troops, and after the gold mines in the eastern desert reopened, new colonists came into the country, and so over the course of a few decades, Nubia was covered by Egyptian culture. Certainly, it still remained ‘the wretched Kush’ in the eyes of the Egyptians, but it lost more and more of its horrors as a foreign country in which no Egyptian wanted to be buried.²³⁷

In these two sentences, one can draw a clear parallel between European colonialism and the colonialism Steindorff described. He not only mentioned the Egyptians in control and moving into Nubia as colonists, but he also emphasized a supposed repulsion that the Egyptians felt towards the Kushites. He quoted the phrase “the miserable Kush” from the 1933 book *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* by Hermann Kees.²³⁸ This is not only a large generalization, but it also oversimplifies the complex entangled political and cultural histories of Egypt and Nubia. Furthermore, Steindorff touched upon a form of colonial violence in which a dominating political entity forces a foreign culture or nation to change and replicate the ways of said colonial power in order to “civilize” the “uncivilized”. Egypt experienced these effects firsthand at the hands of both the French and British colonists at the turn of the nineteenth century as well at the hands of the Egyptologists who judged and classified ancient Egyptian culture according to European standards. Finding Egyptian-style objects like the block statue in Nubia supposedly

²³⁷ “Auch an anderen Stellen des Landes wurden die Festungen wieder in Stand gesetzt und mit Truppen belegt, nach Wiedereröffnung der Goldbergwerke in der östlichen Wüste kamen neue Kolonisten ins Land, und so wurde im Verlauf weniger Jahrzehnte Nubien von der ägyptischen Kultur erfaßt. Gewiß blieb es in den Augen der Ägypter nach wie vor ‘das elende Kusch’, aber es verlor doch mehr und mehr seine Schrecken als Ausland, in dem kein Ägypter bestattet sein wollte.”

Author’s translation of Steindorff, *Aniba II*, 39.

²³⁸ Hermann Kees was later confirmed as a pro-Nazi supporter during the war.

Reid, Donald Malcolm. 2019. “Egyptology in the Twilight of Empire and Monarchy, 1939–1952.” In *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*. The American University in Cairo Press, 332. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2ks70j9.20>.; Marchand, “The ‘Orient’ And ‘Us,’ 84.; Kees, Hermann. 1933. *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*. Germany: Munich, C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 347.

communicated that the new modifications ancient Egyptians made to Kushan culture had enhanced Nubia as a civilization, giving Nubia a sense of prestige that pointed to Egypt's glory.

The Block Statue and the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig

Steindorff's journal briefly recorded that the two limestone statues dedicated to Ruju and the other finds from S 66 were immediately taken to and divided among the boats *Da-habij* and the *Salon* because the *Salon* was packed full of finds at the time.²³⁹ On the entry dated February 16, 1912, Steindorff made note that he worked on the *Da-habij* that day, presumably to escort the objects during transport, and that the finds from the "Salon" were stowed away and reached the "Hause."²⁴⁰ "Hause" likely referenced one of the "Deutsches Haus" (German House) locations set up in Egypt at the end of the 19th century to establish "a permanent presence to German Egyptology."²⁴¹ The closest "Deutsches Haus" to the Aniba site was in Western Thebes, which Steindorff's colleague Ludwig Borchardt had founded and used for hosting other German Egyptologists and members of the Egyptian Antiquities Services.²⁴² Steindorff most likely

²³⁹ Steindorff, *Anibe 1912*, 124.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 126-127.

²⁴¹ The "German House" locations included Cairo's Bulaq quarter, Western Thebes, and the Cairo DAI branch in Sharia al-Kamel Mohammed. Polz, Daniel. 2015. "Artists and Painters in the 'German House' at Thebes, 1905-1915." In *Every Traveller needs a Compass. Travel and Collecting in Egypt and the Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 143. [https://www.academia.edu/14827777/Artists_and_Painters_in_the_German_House_at_Thebes_1905_1915.](https://www.academia.edu/14827777/Artists_and_Painters_in_the_German_House_at_Thebes_1905_1915;); Gertzen, Voss, and Georg, "Prussia and Germany", 240. For more on the "German House," see Voss, S. 2013. "Die Geschichte der Abteilung Kairo des DAI im Spannungsfeld deutscher politischer Interessen 1881–1929." *Menschen-Kulturen-Traditionen* 8, 1. Rahden/Westf: Marie Leidorf, 99–108.; Polz, Daniel. 2007. "Das Deutsche Haus in Theben: 'die Möglichkeit gründlicher Arbeit und frischen Schafens.'" In *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit. 100 Jahre in Ägypten – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo 1907–2007*, G. Dreyer/D. Polz (eds). Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 25–31.; Voss, S., & Gertzen, T. 2020. German Egyptology (1882-1914). *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1(1), 5. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6np9x3sq>.

²⁴² "On 24 December 1904, a small group of men and women of different nationalities gathered in a newly built house in Egypt for a very special occasion. The party had been organized by the founder and builder of the 'German House' in Thebes, namely the German archaeologist and architect Ludwig Borchardt, and his wife Mimi. Among the participants of this illustrious event were the British archaeologist and Egyptologist Edward Russell Ayrton, the British Chief-Inspector of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, James Edward Quibell, and his wife Annie, the German

traveled with the finds there. I also argue that “Hause” held a second, more symbolic meaning. The journey by ship represented European colonists looting objects that they deemed as belonging to a superior civilization from a “lesser” people and bringing them back to their “house”, or the place where they belonged. On one level, this can be interpreted as bringing the ancient Egyptian objects back to Egypt. However, one must keep in mind that objects like the block statue did not remain in Egypt and instead were shipped back to Germany. Thus, “Hause” also referred to Germany. These ancient objects were treated as trophies of conquest that naturally belonged to the German conqueror, an act of cultural violence downplayed by subtle phrasing in which objects were described as going home.

The events that transpired between when Ruju’s tomb contents were loaded onto the ships and when they first reached Leipzig unfortunately remain undocumented in Steindorff’s journals. He did not record a division of objects during the 1912 or 1914 seasons, and the statues of Ruju were not mentioned again. This prevents further examination of the types of objects that were surrendered to the Egyptian Antiquities Services. Steindorff mentioned S 66 only once more after the objects were transported, this time expressing great excitement about a golden ring. On Sunday, February 17, 1912, Steindorff recorded the following:

...Nothing significant was found from the graves that were mentioned. Only grave 66 gave us a good piece at the end: a gold finger ring with a square faience plate showing a crocodile on one side and a grasshopper on the other; a very pretty work, which also has received a place of honor in the find journal - no. 750....²⁴³

Egyptologist Kurt Sethe, the Egyptian agent of the German Consulate General in Luxor, Mohareb Todrous, Ludwig Borchardt’s assistant, Georg Möller, and the German representative of (Thomas) Cook’s Nile Service, Leo Pfahl.” Polz, 143.

²⁴³ “...Auch aus den beeidigten Gräbern wird nichts wesentliches mehr zu Tage gefunden. Nur Grab 66 hat uns noch zum Schluss ein gutes Stück beschert: einen goldenen Fingerring, mit viereckigen Fayenceplatte, die auf der einen Seite ein Krokodil, auf der andere eine Heuschrecke zeigt; eine sehr hübsche Arbeit, die auch viel Fundjournal einen Ehrenplatz -No. 750- erhält....”

Author’s translation. Steindorff, *Anibe 1912*, 131.

Despite a lack of further mention of the block statue from Steindorff, his entry allows several conclusions to be drawn about the block statue and his personal views. First, Steindorff did not think all the finds from S 66 and the surrounding tombs were important. In fact, only one find in particular earned Steindorff's approval as a "good piece": a small gold ring. This contradicted the earlier entry in which he had expressed excitement upon the discovery of the block statue. He suddenly seemed to have forgotten about the block statue entirely when a precious metal object was found. The block statue that the hired workers had made a spectacle of was now metaphorically overshadowed by the canonical, "pretty" gold piece. Second, Steindorff mentioned that the gold ring received a place of honor in the excavation find journal. The "find journal" could have referred to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, originally the E.E.F. *Journal* (Egypt Exploration Fund *Journal*), to which Steindorff submitted excavation updates.²⁴⁴ However, none of the 1914 issues for the journal mention any of Steindorff's excavated objects.²⁴⁵ Regardless, the gold ring was a rare example in which an object was immediately broadcasted during the excavation, speaking to Steindorff's high regard of its monetary and aesthetic value. He also provided insight as to how the ring was presented in the find journal, more specifically in "a place of honor". Although it remains uncertain as to whether the block statue was also mentioned in this same publication, the journal entry offers insight as to the types of objects that held precedence in Steindorff's and other Egyptologists' minds at this time.

²⁴⁴ The E.E.F. was first released in January 1914.

Bommas, Martin, Aidan Dodson, and Chris Naunton. 2014. "Foreword: to the Centenary Volume." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 100, i. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24644960>;

For Steindorff's 1912-1914 excavation update, see "Notes and News." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1, no. 3 (1914), 217-218. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3853646>.

²⁴⁵ The journal issues from volume 1 that were examined included January 1914 (No. 1), April 1914 (No. 2), July 1914 (No. 3), and October 1914 (No. 4).

While the 1,630 finds from Steindorff's Giza excavations later formed the core of the Ägyptisches Museum's collection in Leipzig, the finds from his Nubia excavations between 1912 and 1914 caused the collection to drastically expand. Exactly 2,641 new objects, including the block statue, arrived in Leipzig and filled many historical gaps in the exhibited narratives.²⁴⁶ Steindorff arranged a short-term exhibition from February to April 1913 to showcase some of his recent discoveries. It cannot be fully determined as to who the audience for the exhibition was, but the collection was still a teaching collection at this point and was most likely intended for scholars and students. Steindorff provided the opening remarks for an illustrated guide that accompanied said exhibition, but the guide was inaccessible during the duration of this project and would thus serve as a meaningful point for future research.²⁴⁷ By 1916, the numerous objects were rehoused for the first time as independent from the University of Leipzig's Museum of Classical Antiquities collection to officially form the Ägyptisches Museum.²⁴⁸ Not all of the ancient objects remained in the Leipzig collection as Steindorff sought other ways to obtain new acquisitions. Other avenues included exchanging duplicates with other institutions and colleagues, appealing to private individuals for monetary and object donations, and purchasing through German and Egyptian art and antique dealers.²⁴⁹ The block statue always remained in

²⁴⁶ Raue, Dietrich. 2017. *Georg Steindorff. Stationen eines Lebens*. Kleine Schriften in Auftrag des Ägyptischen Museums Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig II. Berlin: Manetho Verlag, 45.

²⁴⁷ Städtisches Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Leipzig. 1913. *Städtisches Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Leipzig, Ausstellung ägyptischer Alterthümer aus den Grabungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Nubien 1912*, Leipzig, Februar bis April 1913 / [Vorbemerkungen Georg Steindorff].

²⁴⁸ Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig. 2021. *Unser Weg Ins Krochhochhaus - Kurze Geschichte Des Ägyptischen Museums*. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i_SNiOx29e0.

²⁴⁹ "Private donors included Georg Ebers, the publisher Georg Hirzel, the publishing bookseller Hans Meyer and the merchant Adolf Goldschidt."

Ibid.

the Leipzig collection, as confirmed by archival images and its current display at the Ägyptisches Museum (Fig. 30 & 31).

Based on limited available sources, it remains difficult to determine the individual impact of the block statue on the German public, but the statue's constant presence in the collection suggests that a brief study of the museum's impact offers as a relevant substitution. The museum collection first became independent when it officially opened on May 21, 1916.²⁵⁰ By then, Steindorff had developed into a major authoritative figure in his field. He was recognized through many notable awards, including in 1914 when he earned the Anhaltine Order of Merit, First Class for Science and Art issued by Duke Friedrich of Anhalt. Steindorff continued to excavate in Egypt up until the early 1930s, and his many leadership positions as Vice Dean and Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (1917-1918), as rector of the University of Leipzig (1923-1924), and as Director of the Ägyptisches Museum (1893-1934) made him a respected professional both at home and abroad. Steindorff's successful career and persuasive skills ultimately enabled the museum to grow and develop into a reputable institution in Leipzig and in Germany. Even before opening to the general public, the museum made an impressive impact and was praised in scholarly publications. For example, the 1916 edition of the *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-vereins* (Magazine of the Austrian Society of Engineers and Architects) described the Ägyptisches Museum as "the most important provincial collection of Egyptian and Near Eastern antiquities."²⁵¹ Similarly, a 1919 publication classified

²⁵⁰ Kasper-Holtkotte, Cilli. 2017. *Deutschland In Ägypten: Orientalistische Netzwerke, Judenverfolgung und das Leben der Frankfurter Jüdin Mimi Borchartd*. Berlin/München/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH. ProQuest Ebook Central, 111.; Koetschau, Karl. 1915. *Museumskunde: Zeitschrift für Verwaltung und Technik Öffentlicher und privater Sammlungen*. Germany: Georg Reimer, 137.

²⁵¹ *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-vereins*. 1916. ed. by Martin Paul. Issue 31. Austria: Wien, 590.

http://www.google.com/books/edition/Zeitschrift_des_Österreichischen_Ingeni/0lxNAAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1.

the Ägyptisches Museum as an institution comparable to the large state museums in Berlin and Munich in regards to holding the most extensive collections of Egyptian art in Germany.²⁵²

Furthermore, the moral implications of the museum appear in the same publication through the remark:

The Ägyptisches Museum, which is initially intended for academic instruction, is accessible to everyone and contributes to carrying the knowledge and the [Bölfer] of the Near East to wider circles and to showing how the light of civilization has penetrated the West from the ancient Orient and casts it down to our day in an invigorating way.²⁵³

The author of the quotation drew direct connections between ancient Near Eastern and modern European cultures, demonstrating the shared mentality of German scholars, and most likely of the German public, towards ancient Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century.

To modern Germans, the block statue contributed to a museum collection that made the nation competitive with other major European powers in archaeology and Egyptology. Alongside the rest of the collection, the block statue also became an admired trophy of conquest that commemorated yet another instance in which Western Europe dominated time and space at the expense of Other. To Steindorff, the block statue commemorated how he had successfully ventured outside the comfort of university walls and his field in philology and became a respected excavator admired both nationally and internationally. The statue additionally

²⁵² *Leipzig als stätte der boldung mit unterstützung der sächsischen staatsregierung und der Leipziger Stadt- und universitätsbehörden hrsg. durch rektor und senat der Universität Leipzig*. 1919. ed. By Rudolf Kittel.

Germany: Furch, 92.

www.google.com/books/edition/Leipzig_als_st%C3%A4tte_der_boldung_mit_unte/84xCAAAlAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

²⁵³ “Das Ägyptisches Museum, das zunächst für den akademischen Unterricht bestimmt ist, ist jedermann zugänglich und trägt dazu bei, die Kenntnis und der Bölfer des näheren Orients in weitere Kreise zu tragen und zu zeigen, wie vom alten Morgenlande das Licht der Zivilisation den Westen gedrungen ist und bis auf unsere Tage belebend wirft.”

The word “Bölfer” is left untranslated in the quotation because a proper translation was not found. The word appears almost exclusively in texts from the early 19th century and thus presumably fell out of use.

Author’s translation. Ibid, 95.

embodied a crucial point of development in Steindorff's career in which native expertise influenced his own perceptions of ancient objects. Because of the indecisiveness in Steindorff's initial judgments, Egyptians and Sudanese had a unique opportunity to call attention to objects like the block statue they believed were important and to indirectly shape the canon through Steindorff.

CONCLUSION

In the three previous chapters, I argued that as scholars like Steindorff excavated ancient Egyptian artifacts, they made decisions in accordance with a scholarly standard for judging which artifacts were essential to representing ancient Egyptian culture to the modern museum-going public. As the European scholarly notion of a canon of ancient Egyptian art was being formed, Steindorff participated in this process while also exhibiting some indecisiveness when evaluating rare ancient objects that exhibited both canonical and non-canonical elements. Steindorff's uncertainty reflected his internal challenges while he was still gaining experience and confidence as an excavator – yet these struggles also reveal some of the core problems endemic to the scholarly concept of the canon itself. In this thesis, I discussed Steindorff's excavation and curatorial career, evaluating his choices as he came into contact with three specific ancient Egyptian objects: a miniature wooden boat model, a diadem, and a block statue. The first chapter discussed how Steindorff learned to accept objects like the boat model as a guiding standard for his own excavations regarding the types of canonical objects suitable for small German museum collections. German scholars considered the boat model as a canonical artwork because of its ancient Egyptian origin and its association with elite burials. The DOG's gifting of the boat model to the Ägyptisches Museum reflects an established canon regarding the types of objects German Egyptologists believed necessary for a proper Egyptian collection. Steindorff accepting the boat model for the university collection likewise represented his

acceptance of the DOG's canonical standards for collecting ancient objects. This would ultimately impact his perceptions of his own finds like the diadem and the block statue.

The second chapter centered on Steindorff's first excavation season in Giza during which he learned how to lead operations in the field and evaluate new finds. Steindorff experienced immense pressure to secure valuable, canonical artworks and other archaeological objects that would ensure funding for his future excavation career. Among the excavated objects, an Old Kingdom diadem presented Steindorff with a dilemma in determining how to classify the headpiece in line with the canon. On the one hand, the diadem met canonical standards as a rare elite example from the Old Kingdom. However, the diadem's poor surviving condition and its absence in traditional Egyptian collections left Steindorff uncertain as to whether he should bring it back to Germany. Although he later recognized the diadem's value and requested it in the following season, Steindorff left the diadem unaddressed in his publications. I argued that the pressure Steindorff faced led him to reevaluate the diadem as valuable in order to demonstrate to donors the success of his first excavation.

The final chapter represented the late stage of Steindorff's career at which point he had developed into a seasoned excavator and grown more confident in his judgments of objects. Yet despite his experience in the field, Steindorff wavered in his initial reactions towards the block statue of Ruju. He justified the block statue as canonical because of its Egyptian style and frequency in Egyptian collections. Furthermore, he interpreted the block statue's findspot in Aniba as indicative of ancient Egypt's superiority because its culture was imported to outside cultures, thereby reinforcing Egypt's central place in the broader canon of art of the ancient world. Simultaneously, the block statue's discovery in Nubia caused Steindorff to classify it as a

handiwork instead of an artwork, reflecting German scholars' lesser opinion of Nubia.

Steindorff's uncertainty offered Egyptian and Sudanese workers a platform to express their opinions about ancient objects they believed were culturally significant. This ultimately allowed voices of the local people to indirectly shape the canon through Steindorff.

Steindorff's legacy reflects his time as a modern scholar and excavator who navigated through and operated at a crucial point of development in the field of Egyptology. He served as a middleman who solidified and expanded upon the early ideas of a canon of Egyptian art begun by the scholars of previous generations, passing those aesthetic and value-laden judgements down to the next generation of scholars. The choices that scholars such as Steindorff and his contemporaries made while on excavations – where to dig, what objects to record (and at what level of detail), and what objects should be brought back to Germany – cemented the scholarly notion of what counted as canonical ancient Egyptian art. These ideas then filled newspapers, scholarly articles, and museum collections, like that of Ägyptisches Museum, with the chosen few objects that were deemed worthy.

Following his excavations, Steindorff returned to Leipzig and continued a successful career within the university setting. His excavations were widely recognized throughout Germany, and Steindorff released numerous publications relevant to his excavations, including commentary on his excavations in Aniba, and more broadly on ancient Egyptian art and culture. As previously mentioned, he held several prestigious positions, including that of rector and dean, before he was forced to leave his post due to Nazi persecution in the early 1930s. After his forced emigration to the United States, Steindorff continued publishing for institutions like the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore up until his death. He continues to carry weight today as a

leading figure in Coptology, a well-published scholar both in Europe and the United States, and a leader in numerous ground-breaking excavations that provided new insight into ancient Egypt and Nubia. Three years after Steindorff's death in 1951, the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (ZÄS), for which Steindorff served as the sole editor from 1907 until 1938, published a tribute that testified to his legacy.²⁵⁴ The dedication included the following:

...Steindorff seems to us to be the great herald of Egypt to our own world and time. No one should overlook this office. Because far more depends on its exercise than the external public validity of the subject with all the necessities it has in the wake. It also depends on the inner rank of ancient Egypt as an educational power, which obviously brings it closer to Classical antiquity.

Similarly, Steindorff's former student and German Egyptologist Hanns Stock (1908-1966) wrote his own commemoration to his teacher:

In Georg Steindorff the last of one of the great generations passed away, whose names always shone brightly in science: they had gathered around their teacher Erman, Sethe, Borchardt, Schäfer, Breasted, Ed. Meyer and Steindorff. Of them, only Schäfer is alive today...But what makes Steindorff unforgettable, although 15 years have separated him from his long-term place of work in Leipzig, are his relationships with the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* and his important publications...The expedition led in 1912-14 that was supported by [Ernst von] Sieglin, has enriched, among other things, the collection of Egyptian antiquities in Leipzig. G. Steindorff was one of the few Germans who were directly involved in the excavations in the Nile valley for many years. A scholar of world renown, one of the most respected representatives of Egyptology in Germany, who emerged in Leipzig as a professor, rector and member of the Saxon Academy, a person of unusual charm and inner wealth, G. Steindorff continues to be remembered by posterity.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ University of Leipzig. n.d. "Universität Leipzig: Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache Und Altertumskunde (ZÄS)." <https://www.gkr.uni-leipzig.de/aegyptologisches-institut/institut/zaes>.

²⁵⁵ "In Georg Steindorff ist der Vorletzte der grossen Generation dahingegangen, deren Namen stets hell in der Wissenschaft leuchteten: um ihren Lehrer Erman hatten sie sich geschart, Sethe, Borchardt, Schäfer, Breasted, Ed. Meyer und Steindorff. Von ihnen ist heute nur noch Schäfer am Leben...Was Steindorff aber unvergessen sein lässt, obwohl ihn bereits 15 Jahre von seiner langjährigen Wirkungsstätte in Leipzig trennten, sind seine Beziehungen zur deutschen *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* und seine bedeutenden Veröffentlichungen...Die Expedition; die 1912-14 durch E. v. Sieglin unterstützt worden war, hat unter anderen auch die Sammlung Ägyptischer Altertümer in Leipzig bereichert. So zählte G. Steindorff zu den wenigen, die deutscherseits an den Ausgrabungen im Niltal unmittelbar und langjährig beteiligt gewesen sind. Ein Gelehrter von Weltruf, einer der angesehensten Vertreter der Ägyptologie in Deutschland, der in Leipzig als Professor, Rektor und Mitglied der

Both excerpts exalt Steindorff as one of the great founding figures in German Egyptology. The ZÄS dedication speaks to Steindorff's major responsibility as a "herald of Egypt" as one in charge of establishing validity for ancient Egypt that creates relevancy for Western Europeans. Stock's remarks point to Steindorff's national importance and to his worldwide recognition. Today, Steindorff's career attests to the complexities of the canon and to the great advancements he made within his field to which modern scholars and museums are still indebted.

Following Steindorff's time, the canon's influence gained such momentum that it spread to all parts of the world.²⁵⁶ During the 1950s and 1960s, the canon took on a modern focus in line with popular modernization theories after events like the Cold War, and emerging values on peace and coexistence resulted in new scholarly efforts to create a unified European history.²⁵⁷ Just prior to Said's work, a new wave of public interest in Egypt, best known as Egyptomania, appeared in the 1970s throughout the United States and Europe following the traveling exhibition of Tutankhamun's funerary treasures. The groundbreaking event reinforced the canon by focusing public perceptions of ancient Egypt on its elite pharaonic past and inspired scholarship and museum displays to follow this model. This trend then led to new reevaluation of the canon's relevancy through post colonialist approaches. The question remains of if and how the canon should continue to be used when discussing ancient Egyptian art.

Sächsischen Akademie hervortrat, ein Mensch von ungewöhnlichem Charme und innerem Reichtum, so steht G. Steindorff weiterhin vor den Augen der Nachwelt."

Author's translation. Stock, Hanns. 1952. "Georg Steindorff. (12. November 1861 Bis 28. August 1951)." *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 16, 168–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41635773>.

²⁵⁶ Liakos, Antonis. 2013. "The Canon of European History and the Conceptual Framework of National Historiographies." *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*. Palgrave Macmillan. 326-327.

²⁵⁷ "Engulfing older views of history as evolution in progressive stages of growth, modernization theories were the product and, at the same time, producer of a historical canon in terms of ideal-type models of tradition and modernity."

Ibid, 327.

While scholars continue to debate the canon's applicability in today's world, I call attention to how museums with Egyptian art collections are responding to canonical narratives. Riggs notes that ancient Egypt holds an important position within several types of institutions, including "universal survey" museums, natural history museums, and local authority museums. These institutions highlight the perceived exoticism of ancient Egypt's "Otherness" and incorporate ancient Egypt into the narrative of Western European and American progression.²⁵⁸ Many large Western institutions present their ancient Egyptian collections as an encyclopedic survey, meaning they communicate to visitors that their collections are encompassing important aspects of ancient Egyptian culture that are worth highlighting. Yet the encyclopedic museum in practice actually presents a carefully tailored cultural narrative to viewers in which the connections and conclusions are essentially drawn out for them and leave little room for questioning.²⁵⁹ For example, The British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art websites continue to promote canonical objects like pharaonic imagery and statues, mummified human remains and sarcophagi, and high-value jewelry from elite tombs, thereby leaving the non-canonical works unseen and unrepresented while packed away in storage.²⁶⁰ Some newer museum practices have attempted to combat the harmful effects of colonialism and the canon, but they cannot fully separate colonialism embedded at the museum's core.²⁶¹ In accordance with

²⁵⁸ Riggs, "Colonial Visions," 70.

²⁵⁹ See Kreiter, Rachel. "Chapter 12: Conceptualizing the Past in Museum Exhibitions of Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Art." In *Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology*, 253-273.

²⁶⁰ See "Egyptian Art." n.d. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <https://www3.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/collection-areas/egyptian-art>.; "Egypt." n.d. The British Museum. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/egypt>.

²⁶¹ Current practices include editing wall texts and incorporating more inclusive language. See Wallis, David. 2015. "Labels, Digital Included, Assume New Importance at Museums." *The New York Times*, March 17, 2015, sec. Arts. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/19/arts/artsspecial/labels-digital-included-assume-new-importance-at-museums.html>.; Dellmann, Sarah, Joe Kember & Andrew Shail. 2017. "Towards a nondiscriminatory,

Rigg's discussion on the network of contributors involved in the process of making knowledge, smaller museums like the Ägyptisches Museum look to the set model of larger institutions as "creators of knowledge" to educate visitors according to what major institutions deem necessary for them to know about ancient Egypt.²⁶²

Even museums in Egypt today demonstrate the impact of the canon in that they curate collections to display what are considered the most impressive finds near the museum's entrance to encourage foot traffic. For example, the canonical Narmer Palette resides within fifty feet inside the main entrance of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The direct line between the door and the Narmer Palette enables the museum visitor to make an immediate connection with a work that they likely recognize and thus encourages further wandering through the museum. The Luxor Museum presents a canonical collection of objects in a single row near the front entrance, giving the impression of the "greatest hits" of ancient Egyptian art forms. Some of the highlights include a sphinx, a block statue, an obelisk of Ramses II, pharaonic statues and wall paintings, and a royal sarcophagus. These examples attest to how the canon has not only impacted how Western institutions represent and display ancient Egyptian material culture, but also how modern Egyptian museums represent their people's past to the world.

The museum practices currently in place require constant reflection as to what messages and agendas they project onto museum goers and require new solutions to address the

inclusive use of language and images in our journal." *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 15:4, 393-404. doi: 10.1080/17460654.2017.1413826.

²⁶² Grabar, Oleg. 2012. "The Role of the Museum in the Study and Knowledge of Islamic Art." In *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*. ed. by Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf. London: Saqi, 23.; Riggs, Christina. 2015. "Discussing Knowledge in the Making." In *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*. New York: Abingdon. Routledge, 134.

longstanding issue of the canon. While not an all-encompassing solution, I propose that one important and feasible step in the right direction includes museums moving towards becoming more transparent in their collections. Although the Ägyptisches Museum in Leipzig was founded on historic curatorial decisions based on Steindorff’s efforts, it does provide full transparency of its entire collection to allow new avenues of research. Transparency can take different forms such as digitizing collections as well as reconfiguring display cases. Opening up public collections for research allows the museum to become more of a classroom setting for learning and questioning rather than one-way lecturing at the visitor.²⁶³ Instead of absorbing a finalized narrative, the museum visitor takes on an active role by being able to form their own connections between cultures and between non-canonical objects normally stored away.²⁶⁴ Museums must also disclose to visitors that certain objects are commonly on display in public institutions because individuals in Steindorff’s era made authoritative decisions. Since the canon-focused encyclopedic museum is a product of these decisions and thus not fully representative of all aspects of the cultures they include – not to mention of the cultures, such as ancient Nubia, which are often omitted entirely – there is a need to communicate and trust the public to challenge and build this knowledge alongside museum professionals. As this thesis has shown, the non-canonical objects are equally valuable for understanding the past and likewise deserve attention. We must recognize – and museums must communicate to the public – that the objects displayed as characteristic of ancient Egyptian art were selected as much because of the priorities

²⁶³ See Schaeffer, Ann. 20 “Chapter 13: The Ancient Near Eastern Canon in the University Classroom and Beyond.” In *Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology*, 274-301.

²⁶⁴ For more recently proposed museum practices involving collections of Islamic art, see Gazi, Xenia. 2022. “Influencing Presentation and Interpretation of Islamic Art in Museum Settings: The Myths of Inclusivity, Didacticism, and Provincialism.” In *Deconstructing the Myths of Islamic Art*. New York: Routledge.

and decisions made a century ago by men like Georg Steindorff as because of their importance to the actual people who made and used them three thousand years ago.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. *Boat model of Herischef-hotep*. 9th—10th Dynasty (ca. 2130-1970 BCE). Excavated from Abusir (Tomb of Herischef-hotep), 25.2 inches. Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff, Inv. 38. Source: Darby Linn.



Figure 2. Detail of the wooden crew from *Boat model of Herishef-hotep*. 9th—10th Dynasty (ca. 2130-1970 BCE). Excavated from Abusir (Tomb of Herishef-hotep), 25.2 inches. Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff, Inv. 38. Source: Darby Linn.

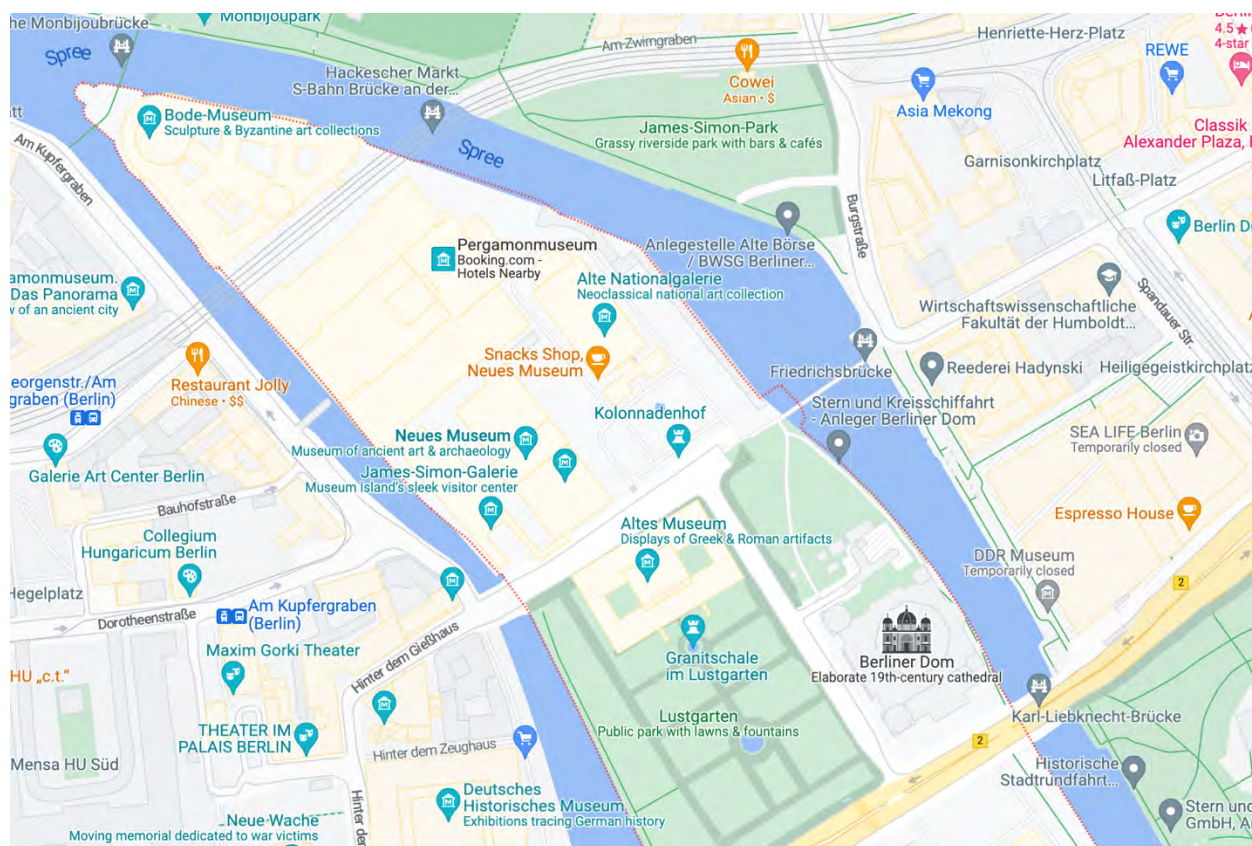


Figure 3. A current map of *Museuminsel* (Museum Island) in Berlin, Germany. Google Maps. 2023. *Museuminsel*. <https://www.google.com/maps>.

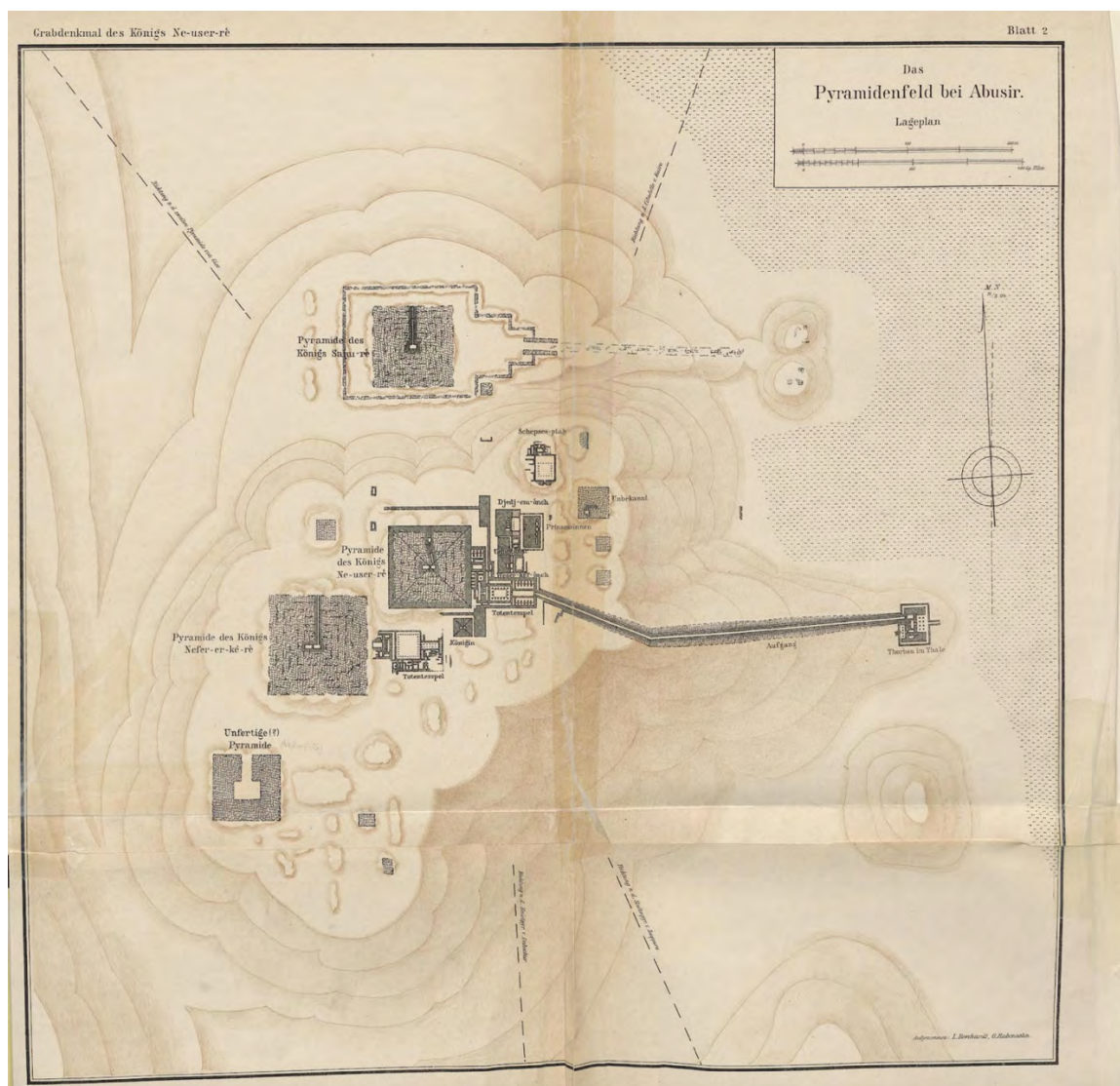


Figure 4. The layout of the pyramid complex at Abusir according to Ludwig Borchardt. Herishef-hotep's tomb was located in the area labeled as "Totentempel." Source: Ludwig Borchardt, *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir: 1902-1904 (Band 1): Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re.* (Leipzig: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, 1907), pl. 2. doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36919#0202.



Figure 5. A preliminary drawing by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft upon first opening Herischef-hotep's tomb. Source: Ludwig Borchardt. "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1901/2." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, vol. 14 (Leipzig: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, September 1902).



Figure 6. A staged photograph of the excavation finds, including a boat model, from the tomb of Herishef-hotep, Abusir, 1902-1904. Two rowing ships are possibly visible in a wall niche on the right. Source: Ludwig Borchardt. "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1901/2." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, vol. 14 (Leipzig: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, September 1902), 41.



Figure 7. A photograph of the boat model was included in Borchardt's 1902 report to the DOG, showing the model's state of preservation at the time of the excavation. Source: Ludwig Borchardt. "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1901/2." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, vol. 14 (Leipzig: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, September 1902), 42.



Figure 8. *Diadem*, Late 5th Dynasty (2445-2347 BCE), excavated from Giza (Mastaba D 207/208, Shaft 9), copper, gold leaf, and wood. Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff (Inv. 2500). Source: Darby Linn

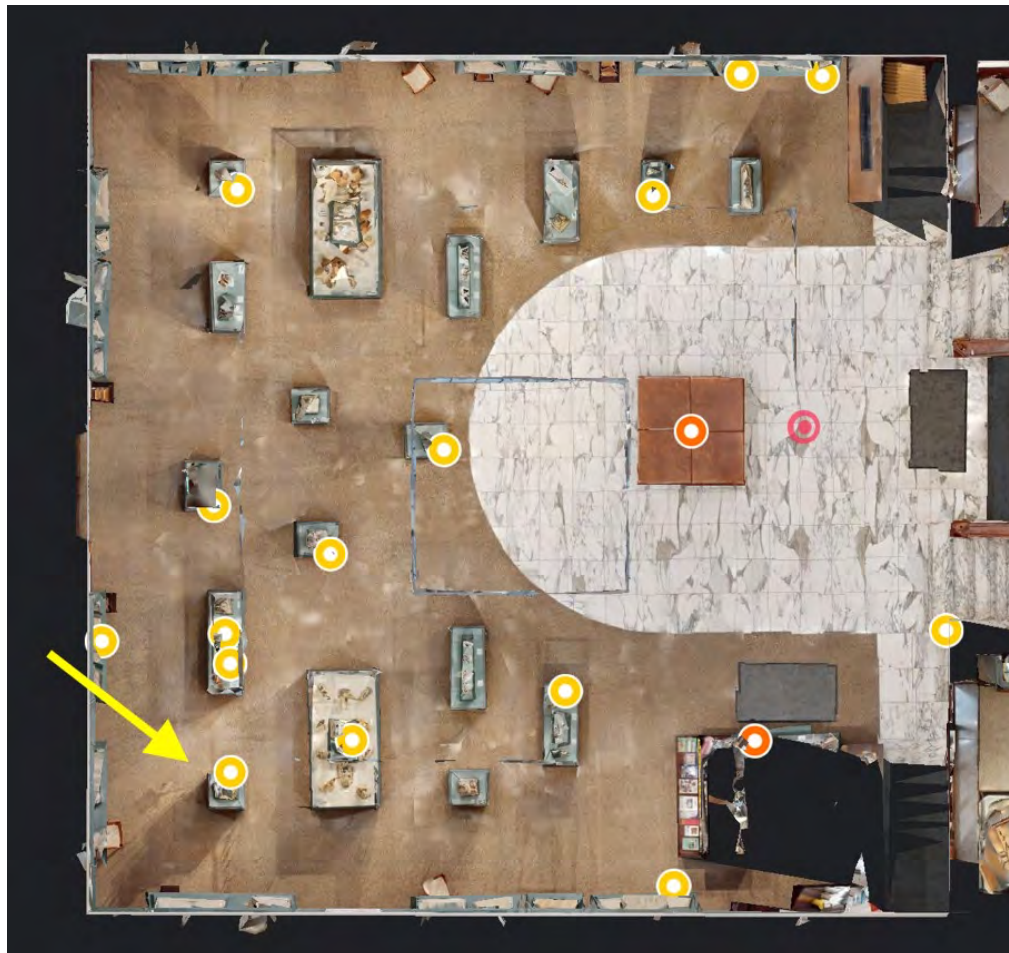


Figure 9. The floorplan of the first floor of the Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff in Leipzig. The yellow arrow indicates the display case of the diadem. Source: Phönix Warenhandelsgesellschaft m.b.H. 2022. "Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig 3D." Matterport Discover. <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=CpqEUiBdRtU>.



Figure 10. Model of *Diadem* made by Alexander Gatszche, Restorer, B.A, in 2010. Source: Darby Linn.



Figure 11. Layout of Mastaba D 207/208. Diagram by K. Behnert. Source: Heike Wilde, "Grabbeigaben und ihre symbolische Bedeutung anhand eines Konvolutes aus Giza (Mastaba D 208): Überlegungen zum privaten Jenseitsglauben im Alten Reich," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (ZÄS)*, 140, no. 2. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2013), 172. doi.org/10.1524/zaes.2013.0017.

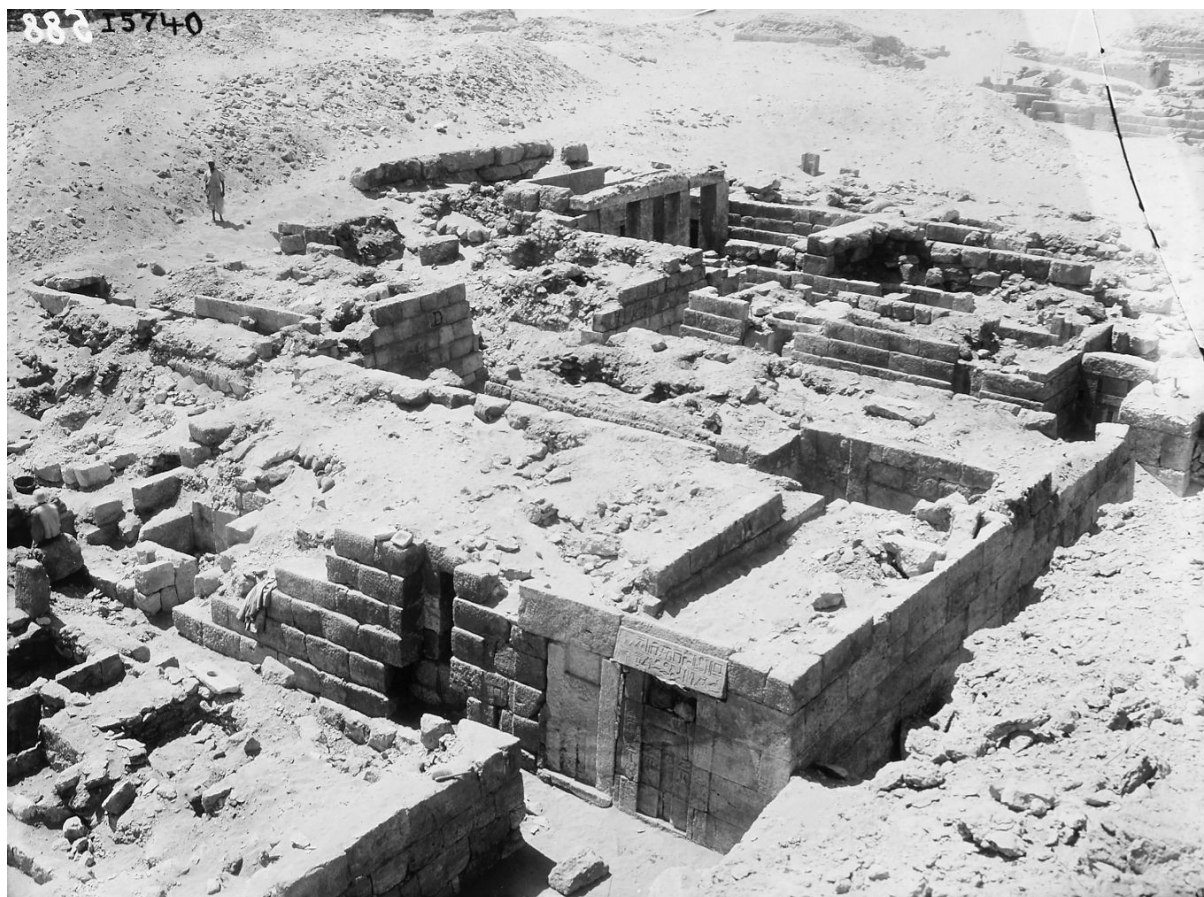


Figure 12. Detail of Steindorff (Western) Cemetery as of 1902-1903: D 201, with false doors on west wall of corridor chapel (foreground), D 202, D 203, and D 204 (sequentially to West), D 208, with pillared portico (partially excavated, background center), looking southwest. Source: The Giza Project at Harvard University. *Digital Giza*. Boston: Harvard University, 2011).



Figure 13. Modern view of D 207/208 from on top of G 2000 facing SW. Source: The Giza Project at Harvard University. *Digital Giza*. Boston: Harvard University, 2011).



Figure 14. A restored necklace made of pearls and metal hoops that is on display at the Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff in Leipzig. Source: Darby Linn.



Figure 15. A referential sketch of the pearl necklace on display at the Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff in Leipzig. Source: Georg Steindorff, *Tagebuch – 1903*, 204-205. *Digital Giza*. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1903/Tgb_03.pdf.

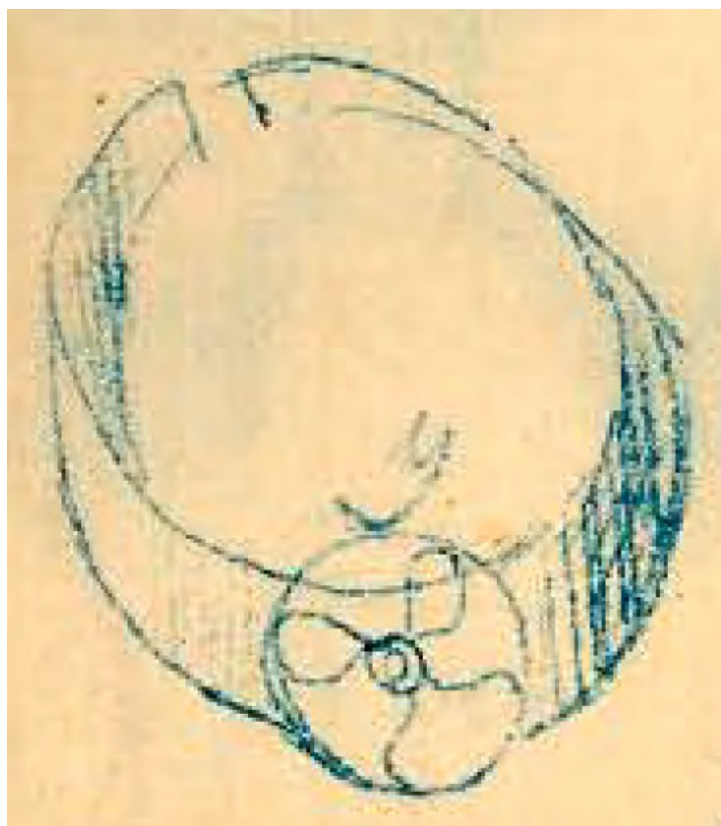


Figure 16. Detail sketch of *Diadem*. Source: Georg Steindorff, *Tagebuch – 1903*, 180-181. *Digital Giza*. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1903/Tgb_03.pdf.

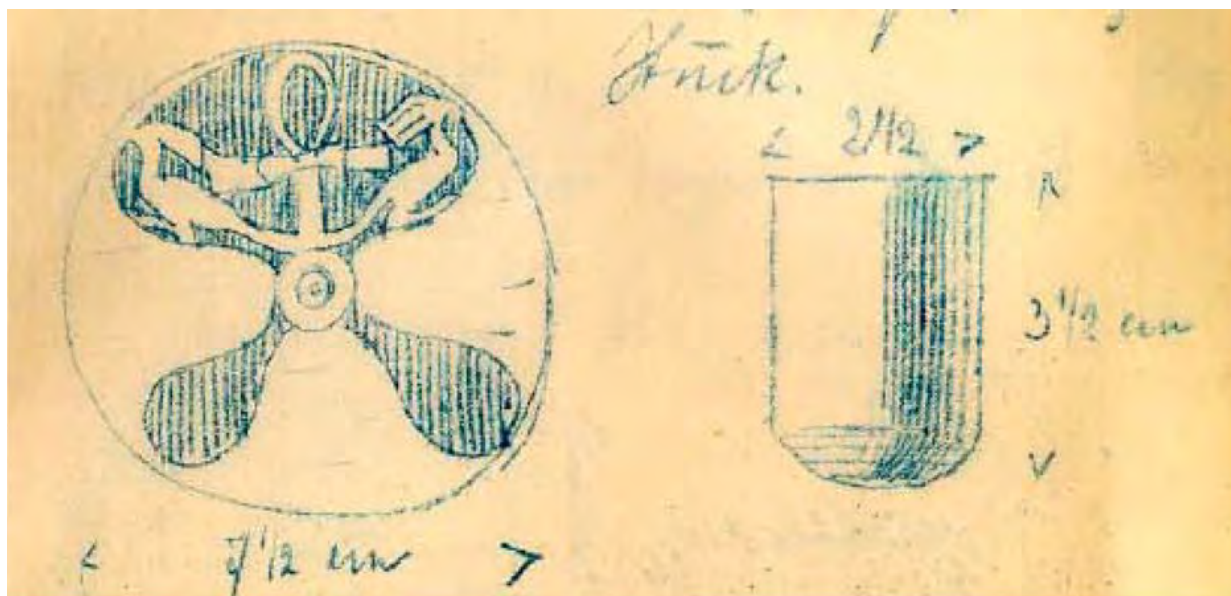







Figure 17. Detail sketch of *Diadem*. Source: Georg Steindorff, *Tagebuch – 1903*, 181. *Digital Giza*. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1903/Tgb_03.pdf.

Excavations of Gizeh.
of Prof. Steindorff

Division made 4th May 1903.

<u>Prof Steindorff</u>	<u>Museum</u>
good limestone statue of man & his wife, heads broken off, but remaining.	 Stone of this form, with false door, common marking a man's statue.
pair limestone statue of man and wife.	1 wooden statue of a woman; (bad condition).
Three wooden statues in bad condition: have been strengthened by soaking in wax	2 wooden coffins, a larger one and the inner one.
Wooden coffin, old empire.	limestone group of man & wife; heads missing.
a false door of Tri (Aaa)	Fragment of inscription from the mummy of Ukenka.
square top of a stela, nameless	
Lintel of Nfrut (Saa)	(1) Lintel of 
Lintel, nameless, in bad condition.	(2) Relief of Aaa
A few pots, beads etc.	(10) Lintel of Aaa
	(11) Lintel of 
	(15) Large lintel of 
	(17) Lintel of 
	Samples of beads.

G. Steindorff.
 V. Quibell
 4 May 03

Figure 18. Official division of excavation finds between Georg Steindorff and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. May 4, 1903. Source: Antje Spiekermann and Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, *Giza Ausgrabungen im Friedhof der Cheops pyramide von Georg Steindorff*, (Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museums der Universität Leipzig, 2003), 10.

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billig; er meint, uns zuviel gelassen zu haben. — Die Arbeit wird nun $7\frac{1}{2}$ mit 13 Männern & 14 Jungen aufgenommen, dazu noch die 2 Vorarbeiter & ein Kamelreiber. Wir wollen mit diesen 30 Mann 4 Wochen aufsummen. Vormittag werden die Fingerringe gereinigt, Nachmittag die Feilung der restl. von Punktsteinen — Grab [N] liegen Gruppe in Angriff genommen. Teil photographie, Holz fängt an, die Fingerringe aufzumessen. —

Nachmittag kommt Pelizaeus & mit ihm wird nun die interne Teilung vorgenommen, die ganz glatt verläuft. Pelizaeus erhält an Hauptstücken: die Katakombengruppe (ohne Farben), die beiden ägyptischen Holzfiguren, die Sphintür des Fri & der Feinsberg des Nopret (Fund. 12). Auf mein Teil kommt die 130er Gruppe, die größere Holzfigur des Mannes, eine Sphintürförmige mit Flügeln, ein kleine

Figure 19. Excerpt from Georg Steindorff's daily logbook entry describing the internal division of finds, May 4, 1903. *Tagebuch 1903*, 161. Source: The Giza Project at Harvard University. *Digital Giza*. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1903/Tgb_03.pdf.

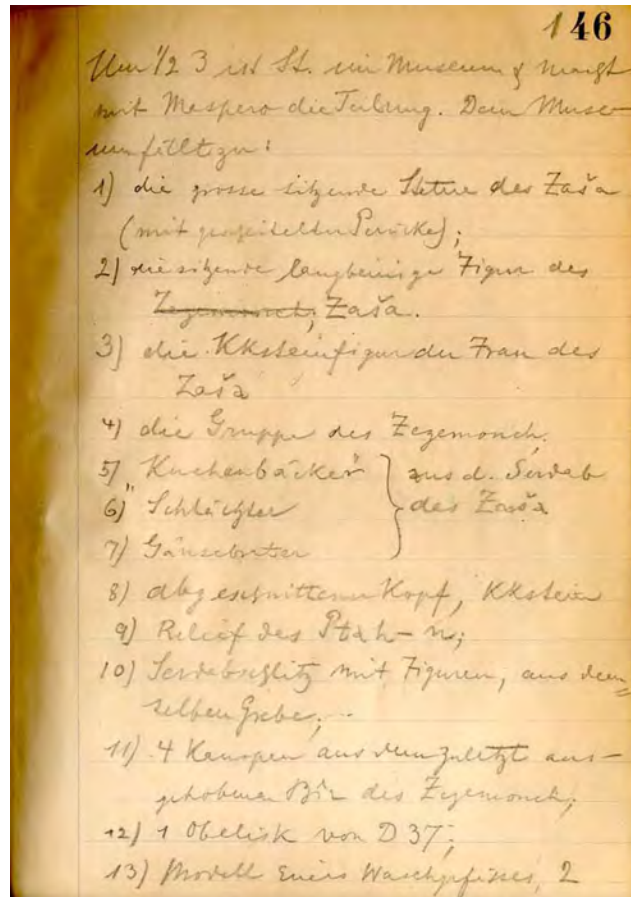


Figure 20. Excerpt from Georg Steindorff's daily logbook entry describing the internal division of finds, April 24, 1905. *Tagebuch 1905*. Source: The Giza Project at Harvard University. *Digital Giza*. http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/1905/Tgb_1905.pdf

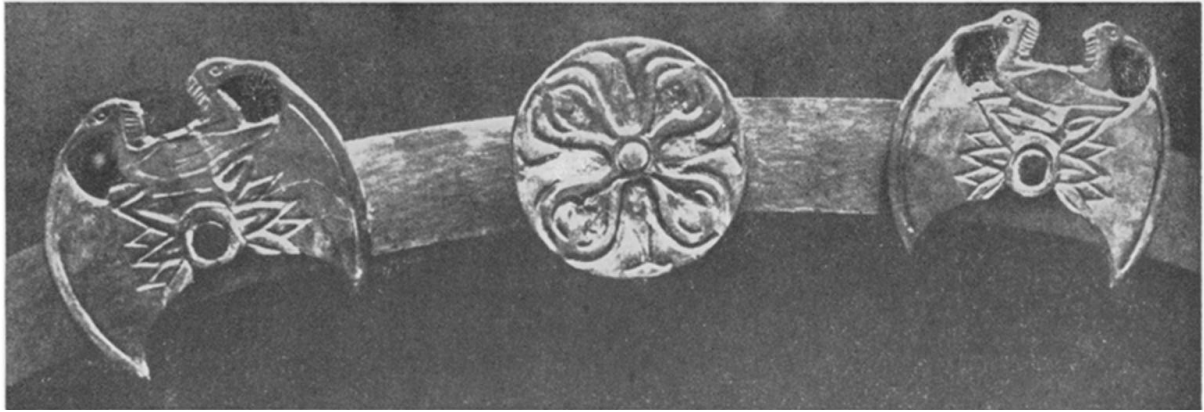


Figure 21. *Gold Diadem*. Old Kingdom (4th-5th Dynasty). Giza. The Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Source: Dows Dunham. February 1946. "An Egyptian Diadem of the Old Kingdom" *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, XLIV, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 27.



Figure 22. *Diadem*. Old Kingdom (5th Dynasty, 2465–2323 BCE). Giza (Pit G 7143 B). Gilded copper, gold, and carnelian. 7.3 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (37.606a). <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/147991/diadem>.



Figure 23. *Gilded and painted wooden figure of a Ba-bird with outstretched wings.* Egypt. 664-332 BCE. Wood and gold. 4.0 x 8.5 x 4.6 inches. The British Museum (EA29597).



Figure 24. Front and side profile of the block statue of *Rwju* from S 66. Source: Georg Steindorff. 1937. *Aniba II, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929–1934*. (Glückstadt; Hamburg; New York), pl. 37.



Figure 25. The seated statue of *Rwjw* from S 66. Source: Georg Steindorff. 1937. *Aniba II, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929–1934.* (Glückstadt; Hamburg; New York), pl. 37.

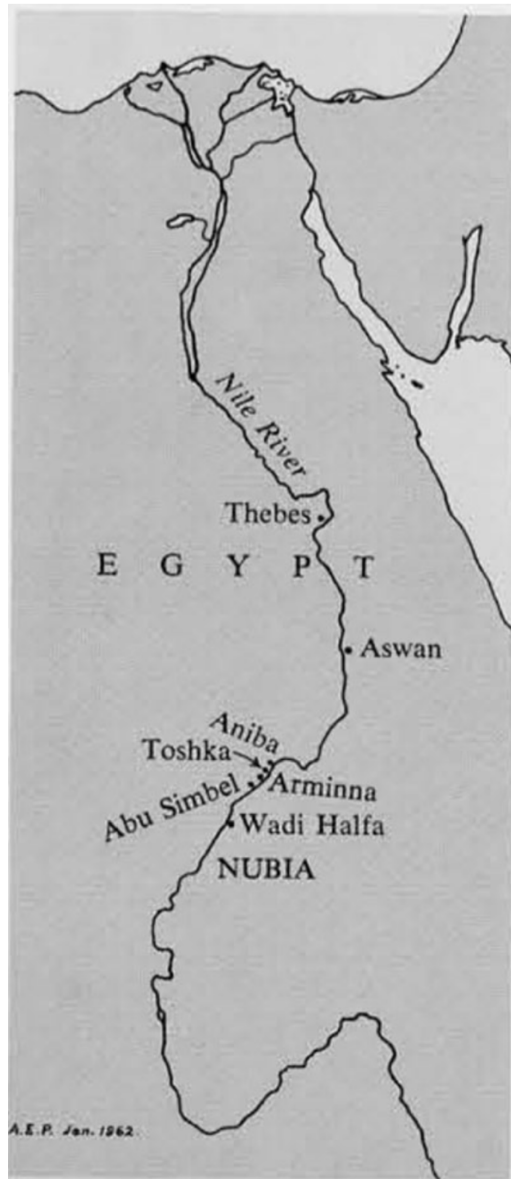


Figure 26. A map of Egypt illustrating Aniba's original location. Source: William Kelly Simpson, 1962, "Nubia" *Expedition Magazine* 4.2: 28. *Expedition Magazine*. Penn Museum. <http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=378>.



Figure 27. West view of the southern cemetery at the beginning of the Aniba excavations. 1912. Aniba. Source: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff (Inv. N4767).



Figure 28. Steindorff briefing an uncredited group of Egyptian laborers during the Aniba excavation. 1912. Aniba. Source: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff (Inv. N4767).

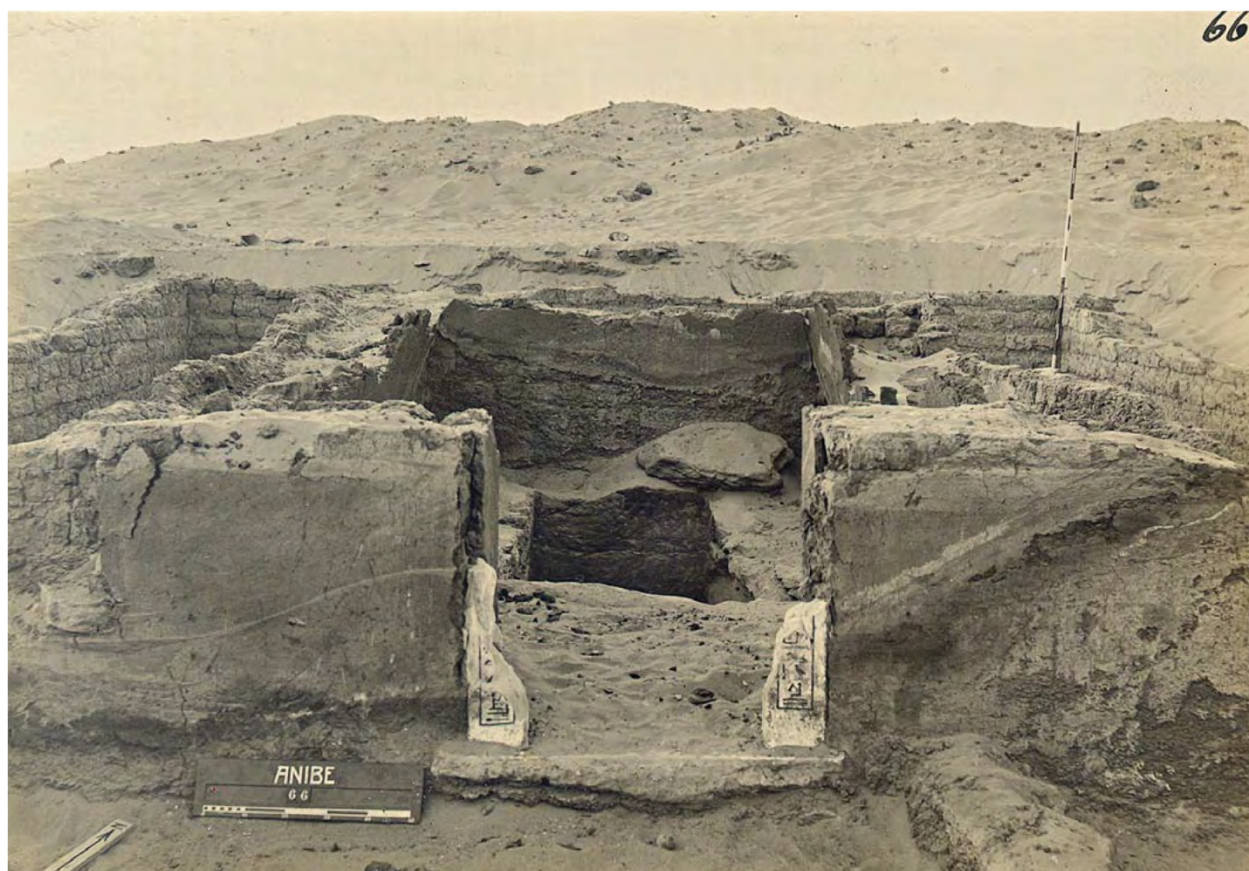


Figure 29. Entrance to the chapel of tomb S66 during the Ernst von Sieglin Expedition. Source: Ägyptisches Museum-Georg Steindorff (Inv. N4713).



Figure 30. An archival photograph of the Ägyptisches Museum collection on display at Gebäude Schillerstraße 6 in 1976. The vitrine with the block statue is outlined in red. Source: Ägyptisches Museum Leipzig. 2021. *Unser Weg Ins Krochhochhaus - Kurze Geschichte Des Ägyptischen Museums*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i_SNiOx29e0.



Figure 31. The block statue is currently on display inside the atrium of the Ägyptisches Museum. The vitrine with the block statue is outlined in red. Source: Darby Linn.

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