

Egyptomania as a fandom (or two): How fanon became canon in the world's oldest fandom

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Abstract:

Egyptomania has been described as a significant cultural interest in things related to Ancient Egypt, which manifests in the activities – including collection, reproduction, and creation – of its participants. Thus this cultural phenomenon is participatory in much the same way that a fandom is participatory, existing in the specific actions of fans, sustained and evolving over time. As a result, Egyptomania can be defined as a fandom, one whose fan activities began in Greco-Roman antiquity and have continued into the 21st century, making it quite possibly the world's oldest fandom. However, Egyptomania is not just one fandom, but two: Egyptomania 1.0, which celebrates the original 'text' of Ancient Egypt, and Egyptomania 2.0, which celebrates a culturally fan-created (or 'fanon') reading of 'Ancient Egypt' as a place of hidden, magical promise. Analyzing four key historical moments within Egyptomania (Greco-Roman antiquity, early modern Europe, the 19th century, and the 20th-21st centuries) demonstrates not only how and when each of these fandoms developed, but also how the Egyptomania 2.0 fanon has popularized to become canon for many audiences, in both fandoms and beyond, today.

Keywords: Egyptomania, Ancient Egypt, fans, fandom, fanon, canon

The title of this article makes two bold claims: that Egyptomania is the *world's oldest fandom*, and that *its fanon has become canon*. But before we can explore those, through an analysis of audience participation in a nearly 3000-year-old cultural phenomenon, we have to address why that phenomenon should be considered a fandom in the first place.

Egyptomania has been described – by the handful of archaeologists, historians, film scholars, and literary critics who have discussed it – as a cultural manifestation of significant interest in things related to Ancient Egypt.¹ Some have defined it more specifically, and perhaps too narrowly, as the recurrence or reinvention of Ancient Egyptian visual motifs in non-Egyptian art, architecture, and design.² But beyond this, Egyptomania has not been

widely studied, and thus far most scholarship centers on simply illustrating its existence through examples.

In that spirit, let us illustrate Egyptomania through a recent example: the 2014 music video for pop star Katy Perry's single 'Dark Horse.' The video, which as of 2021 has been viewed on YouTube.com more than three billion times,³ opens on 'Memphis, Egypt, a crazy long time ago,' where Perry and two companions are being ferried on, ostensibly, the Nile River. Perry wears a thigh-length white pleated tunic, reminiscent of Ancient Egyptian linen clothing, but embellished with vaguely Art Deco-style jewels; her backup dancers evoke the feline Ancient Egyptian goddess of dance and music with anime-style cat heads, gold thigh-high boots, and hip-hop chops.⁴ Later in the video, Perry sits on a sphinx-shaped throne to receive a succession of supplicants who present her with offerings, such as a pyramid of Twinkies. She examines each with a neon-blue sacred eye-shaped monocle, but most trigger her displeasure, which she delivers as magical lightning that shoots from her fingertips, seeming to enact this lyric from the song: 'So you want to play with magic?' (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Katy Perry and crew with her sphinx-shaped throne. Still image from the 'Dark Horse' music video, 2014. YouTube.com, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKSOMA3QBU0>.

The video gleefully performs Ancient Egyptian concepts reimagined for a 21st-century pop music audience, making it, without a doubt, Egyptomania. But the video demonstrates more than an interest in Ancient Egypt, more than the recurrence or reinvention of Ancient Egyptian visuals. The characters in the video are not simply wearing Ancient Egyptian-inspired clothing, in an Ancient Egyptian-inspired space; they are actively participating in the creation of, according to the video's director, 'something fresh' intended to 'bring a new spin' to our 'shared collective mythology'⁵ of Ancient Egypt.

This seems very like fan fiction, those objects and texts created by audiences to celebrate a favored central text which, when shared with other fans, can provide meaning for additional objects and texts within the fandom.⁶ Fan-created items demonstrate the participatory nature of fandoms,⁷ themselves cultural phenomena that are defined by the activities of their participants, or fans, who interact with their favored texts, over time, in specific ways that non-fans do not.⁸ These activities can range from consumption to collection to creation, and are never passive; fans' actions create their fandoms as much as, if not more than, their original favored texts do. Fans' favored 'texts' need not be media-based texts at all, as evidenced by the existence of fandoms for sports teams, musical groups, role-playing games, and even individual persons. Such fandoms exist because some favored texts are rather 'a set of signs and symbols' that fans recognize, and read, across 'an array of different genre conventions and other elements.'⁹

In this way, the recognizable 'signs and symbols' of Ancient Egypt form the original favored 'text' of the Egyptomania fandom. However, there is not just one fandom which reads Ancient Egypt as a text, but two: what I call Egyptomania 1.0, which celebrates the original signs and symbols of Ancient Egypt, and Egyptomania 2.0, which celebrates a culturally created reading of Ancient Egypt as a place of hidden, magical promise. Analyzing four key historical moments within Egyptomania (Greco-Roman antiquity, early modern Europe, the 19th century, and the 20th-21st centuries) demonstrates not only that Egyptomania can be considered the world's oldest fandom, but also that its 2.0 fan-created items, or fanon, is now so widespread, so accepted, so popular, that it has become canon for many audiences, in both fandoms and beyond.

Establishing Egyptomania 1.0: The Fandom in Greco-Roman Antiquity

The first fans of Ancient Egypt were the Ancient Greeks and Romans (ca 500 BCE through 500 CE), and some of their earliest fan activities manifested as fan (non)fiction. For example, in the 5th century BCE, Greek writer Herodotus described the people, places, and practices of Ancient Egypt in his *Histories*; famous as both the 'Father of History' and the 'Father of Lies,' Herodotus filled his Egypt fan text with much that could be corroborated as factual, such as a description of mummification, and much that could not, such as a description of the phoenix as a real animal. But his portrait of the mysteries of Egypt, real and imagined, inspired later writers like his fellow Greek Diodorus Siculus and the Roman Pliny the Elder to further describe the sites and sights of Egypt, in turn prompting aristocratic fans to tour the actual text of Egypt in person, with these fan(non)fic 'guidebooks in hand.'¹⁰

Many Greco-Roman fan tourists brought home souvenirs, none more so than the Roman state itself, which literally collected Egypt by annexing it in 30 BCE and then minting a commemorative coin that read AEGYPTO CAPTA, 'Egypt has been captured.'¹¹ The Romans further displayed their fan consumption by importing into Rome more than a dozen Egyptian obelisks; this activity resembles the systematic collecting in which some fans engage, with Egypt constituting the final piece of Rome's imperial Mediterranean 'set.'¹²

Roman emperors controlled Egypt more directly than they did the empire's other provinces,¹³ which served to highlight their status and 'sense of self'¹⁴ as collectors of the economic and cultural cachet of Egypt.

Some collected experiences instead of objects, like Roman emperor Hadrian,¹⁵ who debated with famed intellectuals in Alexandria, thereby 'insert[ing himself] into an iconic moment'¹⁶ from the original text. He also hunted lions in Egypt as a means of 'interpret[ing] those spaces according to [his] own fan interests,' and even founded a town in Egypt for a friend who drowned in the Nile, thus 'making [his] mark on that space.'¹⁷ That friend was further immortalized in pharaoh statues in Hadrian's holiday villa in Italy (see **Fig. 2**), alongside symbols of Egyptian animals and gods, to commemorate the emperor's fan visit.¹⁸



Fig 2. Statue of Osiris-Antinous. Roman emperor Hadrian commemorated his fan visit to Egypt with marble statues of his favorite courtier Antinous as an Egyptian pharaoh/god. At the Gregorian Egyptian Museum in the Vatican Museums,

<https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-iii--ricostruzione-del-serapeo-del-canopo-di-villa-adriana/statua-di-osiri-antino0.html>.

Such fan tourism, much like visiting a film location or attending a music concert, allows fans to experience the world of their favored text.¹⁹ But even when they tour the actual text itself, as Egyptomania fans can, fans engage with the text via their own interpretations of it. For example, by the first millennium BCE, the already 2000-year-old Egyptian kingdom was no longer controlled by native Egyptians, so the Egypt that the Greco-Romans 'read' included not only Egyptian but also Nubian, Libyan, and Persian influences.²⁰ This was likely not what the dynastic Egyptians would have thought of as canon – the 'selection of texts that represent the supposed essence or highest quality examples of their form or phenomenon'²¹ – but to the Greco-Romans it was. And since canon is determined by the

reader rather than the creator,²² it was the Greeks and Romans who established the first canon interpretation of Egyptomania 1.0 by reproducing it in text, art, and architecture.

That canon was Ancient Egyptian in inspiration but often Greco-Roman in execution, as in the too-steeply pitched 125-foot-high pyramidal tomb of politician Caius Cestius (circa 12 BCE), which still stands today in Rome's Protestant Cemetery (see **Fig. 3**).²³ This canon reading was also layered with Greco-Roman fans' belief in the co-existence of the natural and supernatural worlds, as in Herodotus's fan (non)fiction which suggested Egypt was home not only to tangible wonders but also fantastical ones. Such fan-created homages reproduced this first fandom's love for authentic Ancient Egyptian signs and symbols, but read those symbols as emblematic of the kinds of possibilities that would excite the next wave of fans, one thousand years later.



Fig. 3. The pyramidal tomb of Caius Cestius in Rome's Protestant Cemetery is Egyptomania 1.0 in inspiration but Greco-Roman in execution. Photograph by Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma, from the Roma Sito Turistico Ufficiale, <https://www.turismoroma.it/en/places/piramide-cestia>.

Initiating Egyptomania 2.0: The Fandom in Early Modern Europe

In the thousand years after the breakup of the Roman Empire in the 5th century CE, 'Rome' became a legend and 'Egypt' more of a myth for Europeans. The 15th-16th century 'renaissance' of interest in classical antiquity was fueled by a belief that the *prisca sapientia*, the wisdom of the ancients, was waiting to be rediscovered.²⁴ This led scholars to attempt to translate all sorts of items from the Greco-Roman period, sometimes with wildly imaginative results, and established the central Egyptomania 2.0 reading of Egypt as a place of hidden knowledge.

For example, when the Mensa Isiaca tablet was unearthed in Milan in 1515, everyone surmised all the tablet's images were real and held the secret to some lost wisdom. They were mistaken; the bronze tablet, likely a 2nd-century CE Roman fan-created object, features authentic Ancient Egyptian imagery alongside gibberish hieroglyphics.²⁵ But in 1652 German polymath Athanasius Kircher published a translation, claiming he had solved this 'riddle' of the Sphinx (see **Fig. 4**).²⁶ His fan text was widely read, as were other misinterpretations from a Christian European perspective, including the idea that the pyramids were the granaries of Joseph.²⁷



Fig. 4. Frontispiece to Athanasius Kircher's 1652 *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, in which he claimed to have unlocked the hidden knowledge of Ancient Egypt contained in its hieroglyphics. (He had not.)

These fan-created items can 'form a field of gravity'²⁸ around what a fandom interprets as its canon, thus affecting the reading of both canon and fanon texts, such that fanon can become part of the 'fan bases' own canon.²⁹ The era's most popular fanon interpretation mistakenly attributed the writings of several philosophers from Roman Egypt to a fictional 'Hermes Trismegistus' (meaning 'Thrice-Wise' or 'Thrice-Greatest') who supposedly proposed the single theology that formed the basis for all other religions, including Christianity.³⁰ At the time, many Hermetic 'truths' were believed to exist, simply waiting to be found, such as the key to alchemy, the fabled secret formula for transmuting matter into gold. Proof of those Hermetic truths was claimed by the Freemasons, who trace the origins of their fraternal organization to the 14th century but the beginnings of their architectural crafts to Ancient Egypt itself; Freemasons have used Ancient Egyptian motifs on their lodge buildings and certificates since the 18th century to signify their maintenance of this secret wisdom.³¹

But since few Europeans visited Egypt in this period, the Egyptomania fandom from the 15th through the 18th centuries leaned 2.0, blending Greco-Roman inspiration with

Renaissance fanon. This is why characters in (Freemason) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's 1791 opera *The Magic Flute*, set in a mysterious desert land represented in stage designs by pyramids, search for hidden knowledge using magical instruments (see **Fig. 5**),³² and why the stone sphinxes in the garden at Versailles (built 1690s-1730s) have European faces (see **Fig. 6**).³³ Such hybridized Ancient Egyptian imagery was especially popular among European aristocrats for funerary architecture, like the Mensa Isiaca-inspired monument for Poland's King Augustus II the Strong (who died in 1733),³⁴ due to the 2.0 reading of Egypt as the origin of Christian theology and other Hermetic truths.

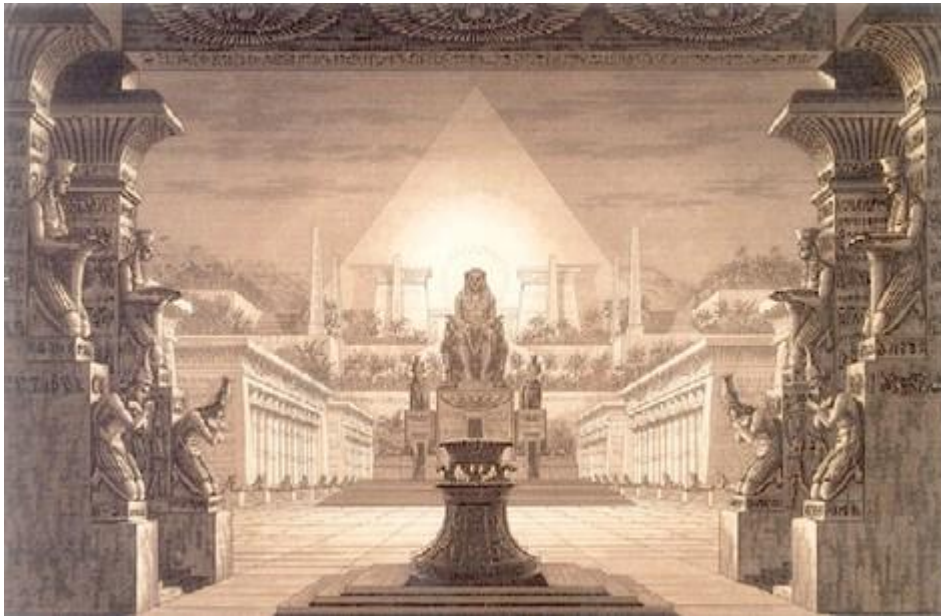


Fig. 5. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's design for the final scene of the 1816 staging in Berlin of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* evokes both 1.0 symbols and 2.0 mystery. At <https://www.seattleoperablog.com/2017/04/the-magic-flute-and-early-romanticism.html>.

This helped cement the 2.0 fandom's interpretation of Egypt as 'the source of all knowledge,'³⁵ an idea supported at the time by scholars within Mamluk-controlled Egypt who proposed that ancient giants, or even wizards, had wielded 'some sort of super-science'³⁶ to create the pyramids. But it would take the globalization of imperial ambitions, media, and manufacturing in the 19th century to catapult Egyptomania 2.0 into the mainstream. Surprisingly, it was the resurgence of the canonical 1.0 interpretation, and its fandom, that served as the catalyst.



Fig. 6. The Sphinx chevauché par un Amour at Versailles, by Jacques Houzeau and Louis Lerambert, blends a Greco-Roman interpretation of Egyptomania with early modern European style. Photograph by Christophe Fouin, in the online Catalogue des sculptures des Jardins de Versailles et de Trianon, at <https://sculpturesjardins.chateauversailles.fr/notice/notice.php?id=208>.

Linking Egyptomania 2.0 to 1.0: The Fandom in the 19th Century

The 1.0 canon interpretation was repopularized as a result of Napoleon Bonaparte's unsuccessful 1798 military invasion of Egypt. Although the French soldiers were removed by the British in 1801, Napoleon's scholars (who had accompanied the army) published a *Description de l'Égypte* in several volumes in the 1820s, making available to readers across the world sketches of contemporary Egypt's flora, fauna, people, and places (see **Fig. 7**).³⁷ Add to that the subsequent accurate translation of hieroglyphics by Jean-Francois Champollion, making them readable for the first time in more than a millennium, and fans descended on Egypt en masse, competing for a chance to consume the canon.³⁸

These fan visitors included additional scholars, of course, as well as aristocrats who added Egypt and the Levant as a biblical leg to the classic Grand Tour of Greece and Rome.³⁹ Both groups' descriptions of their travels inspired treasure hunters who sought to bring pieces of the favored text to fans back home. One of the most famous was Giovanni Batista Belzoni, a former circus strongman turned hydraulics engineer who liberated several mammoth-sized objects and sold them to collectors, public and private, across Europe.⁴⁰ Others like Belzoni were sponsored by states, who, robbed of their chance to collect Egypt as an imperial conquest, scrambled to field their own scholars and speculators in order to acquire the cultural cachet of ancient Egypt instead.⁴¹

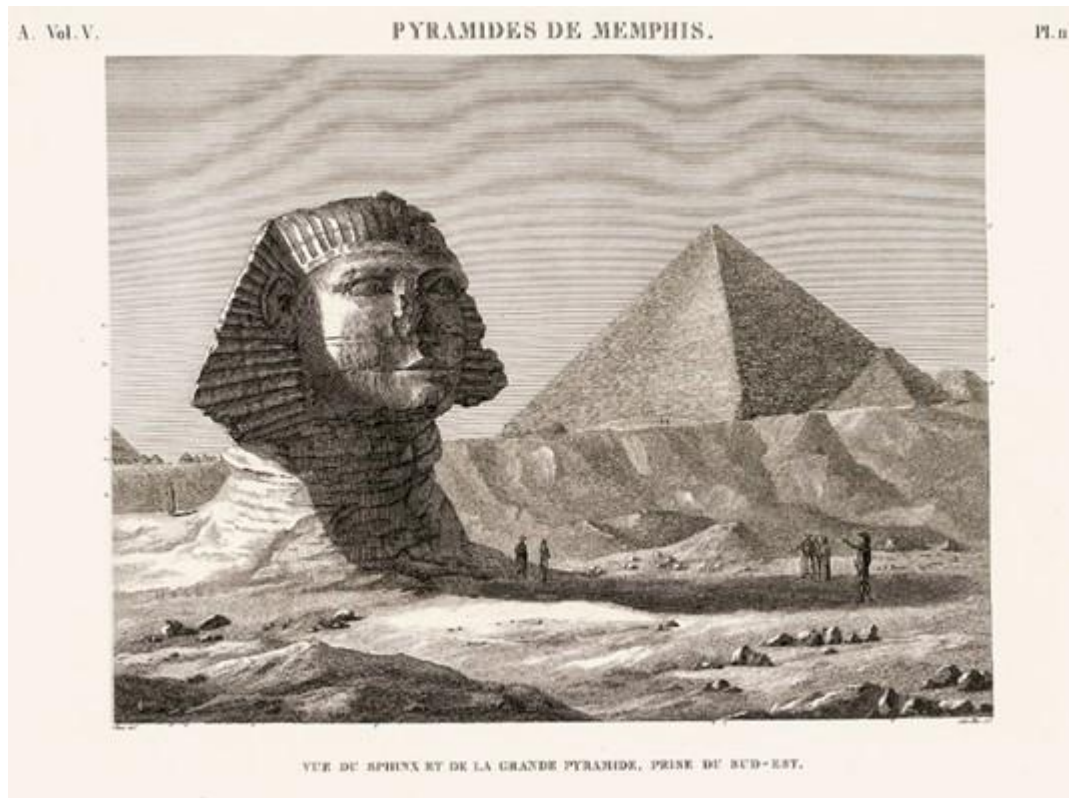


Fig. 7. A sketch of the sphinx and pyramids at Giza from the *Description de l’Egypte*, published in 23 volumes 1809-1829, which helped to reestablish, and repopularize, the Egyptomania 1.0 fandom. Image of plate II from Volume V of the text.

The public display of these collection efforts, such as the Nefertiti bust in Berlin,⁴² and the reproduction of 1.0 canon symbols in architecture, like the giant obelisk that is the United States’ Washington Monument, coupled with widely published fan nonfiction and news stories, brought multitudes of new audiences, from new socio-economic classes, into the fandom. London’s Great Exhibition of 1851 exposed more than six million visitors from around the world to an entire Egyptian Court, complete with canon-inspired pillars, statues, sphinxes, hieroglyphs, and even (fake) mummies (see **Fig. 8**).⁴³ Cook’s Tours of London capitalized on middle-class fans’ interest (and newly disposable incomes, thanks to the Industrial Revolution) by offering a travel package to Egypt that included a steam-powered paddleboat ride up the Nile.⁴⁴ Fans of multiple classes were soon elbowing each other for room to pose next to, or stand in, or scribble their names on, Egyptian monuments.

One such fan was Amelia Edwards, a British career woman who made her living as a writer; she fell in love with Egypt’s ancient sites, and her *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* from 1877 was half travel narrative, half history book, all Egyptomania 1.0 fan nonfiction text. It was her biggest hit, inspiring countless more fans to make real pilgrimages to their canonical text; she used the proceeds to create the Egypt Exploration Society, which funded the work of several scholars, including the father of modern archaeology, Sir Flinders Petrie. Edwards also founded a chair of Egyptology at University College London and chose an Egyptian-style obelisk, with authentic Egyptian hieroglyphics, as her grave marker.⁴⁵

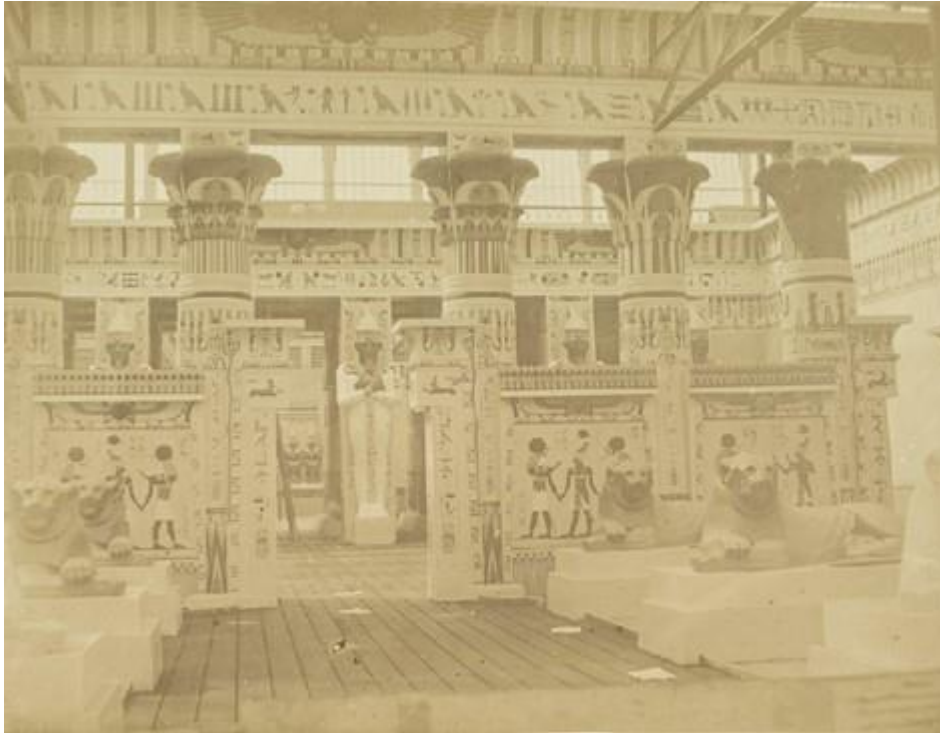


Fig 8. The Egyptian Court of London's Great Exhibition in 1851 exposed more than six million visitors from around the world to the signs and symbols of Egyptomania 1.0. Photograph by Philip Henry Delamotte, 1855, in the British Library, at <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/earlyphotos/e/006zzz0tab442a5u00082000.html>.

But every 1.0 fan text sold, every fan visit to Egypt, every new tomb and relic unearthed, only solidified the persisting 2.0 belief in Egypt as a land of hidden wonders, waiting to be discovered. Fans' souvenir collections highlighted this. Fans could use 1.0-themed mass-manufactured daily use objects like cigar boxes, cigarette lighters, and tea sets to mime the discovery of 2.0 delights on a daily basis,⁴⁶ and the genuine contents of Ancient Egyptian tombs were made visible via fans' displays of jewelry and amulets, either authentic or cleverly faked. But the gem of any serious fan collector's set was a real sarcophagus or, better yet, a mummy; a genuine mummy allowed fan collectors the additional thrill of unrolling the bandages, often tearing the mummy apart in the process, to hunt for buried treasures (see **Fig. 9**).⁴⁷ Spectators at such events, held as parties in private homes and presented as scientific theater in public, could vicariously, and collectively, participate in the unveiling of 2.0 mysteries. There were plenty of fans, of all classes, eager to do so: When Sir John Soane acquired a pharaoh's sarcophagus in 1824, 900 other fans – including the British prime minister, various royals, and several intellectuals – attended his three-day party in London.⁴⁸



Fig. 9. Displaying one's 1.0 collection, especially mummy paraphernalia like this sarcophagus of pharaoh Seti I, let fans experience a vicarious thrill of 2.0 treasure hunting. Engraving of Sir John Soane's Sarcophagus Room by Mason Jackson for the *Illustrated London News*, 1864, at <https://archive.org/details/illustratedlondov44lond/page/616/mode/2up>.

By the turn of the 20th century, the original canon reading of Egypt had not only been rediscovered but also popularized by an expanding fandom. But this 1.0 interpretation carried the legacy of 2.0 fanon, which would come to dominate the Egyptomania fandoms in the following century, suggesting the ultimate allure for many fans was the *prisca sapientia* of Ancient Egypt, and all of the possibilities, dazzlingly wonderful and delightfully terrible, contained therein.

Fanon Becomes Canon: The Fandom in the 20th-21st Centuries

Nowhere was the culturally created idea of the *prisca sapientia* of Ancient Egypt on better display than in public reaction to the 1.0 discovery of boy king Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922.⁴⁹ The tomb was found by archaeologists virtually intact, the first Ancient Egyptian tomb ever located in such condition, and for years new treasures – gold-covered thrones, chests of jewelry, and a set of nested coffins containing the mummy itself – were carted out under the noses of waiting news photographers. Papers headlined the story for more than a year, spawning the sub-fandom of Tutmania, and subsequent global tours of the tomb's objects drew sold-out crowds to museums in the 1970s and early 2000s.⁵⁰

But what seemed most thrilling for many fans was the specter of a 'mummy's curse,' for when the Tut excavation's financier died unexpectedly (of pneumonia), many (including newspapers as well as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Freemason and famed creator of Sherlock Holmes) blamed the death on a mysterious Egyptian power from beyond the grave (see **Fig. 10**).⁵¹ Horror fan fiction had introduced the idea half a century earlier; Louisa May Alcott's 1869 short story 'Lost in a Pyramid; or the Mummy's Curse' was among the first, with an

adventurer's fiancée falling into a coma after encountering objects found with an Ancient Egyptian sorceress's mummy. But the worldwide attention garnered by Tut's tomb helped link this 2.0 fanon idea irrevocably to the 1.0 canon, then and in the decades since. For example, during a museum tour of Tut's tomb objects in the 1970s, a guard in San Francisco blamed the curse for his own stroke: 'I certainly hope I won't have to bear the full brunt of the King's anger,' he told *People Magazine*, 'and that he'll let me off with a little sting.'⁵² Even today, the 'pharaoh's curse' is named by some as the source for various problems in modern Egypt, including the ship that ran aground in the Suez Canal in March 2021.⁵³



Fig. 10. What was most thrilling for many Tutmania fans was the 2.0 specter of a 'mummy's curse,' as evidenced by this front-page story from the April 6, 1923, *Detroit News*, at <http://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/589897>.

Even without this threat of calamity, the survival of authentic mummies and artifacts for thousands of years suggests, to many, the wonders of Ancient Egyptian *prisca sapientia*, which achieves magical proportions in its 'conquest of death.'⁵⁴ Some 2.0 fan fiction interprets this possibility as positive, as in the 2006 film *Night at the Museum*, where an Ancient Egyptian artifact brings the exhibits to life each night. But the film's sequels show this power to create life can also cause death, reflecting a subgenre of 2.0 fanfic which frames Ancient Egypt as 'the fountain of all darkness and terror.'⁵⁵ Horror writer H.P. Lovecraft's 1924 short story 'Imprisoned with the Pharaohs' for *Weird Tales Magazine* features real-life escape artist Harry Houdini on a fan tour of the pyramids at Giza, where he then must escape the undead entity that inspired the Sphinx (see **Fig. 11**). Sir Arthur Conan Doyle made such magical malevolence peripatetic in his 1892 short story 'Lot 249,' in which an Oxford college student buys a mummy at auction, reanimates it, and sends it to kill his enemies.⁵⁶ Doyle's previous Sherlock success meant his mummy story had a broad readership, and even more audiences were exposed via 20th-century films. The most successful in promoting this horror fanon interpretation was 1932's *The Mummy*, which

followed a magically reanimated Ancient Egyptian priest attempting to resurrect his long-dead lover;⁵⁷ it was so successful it spawned almost a century's worth of sequels, remakes, and comedic parodies (including the 1939 Three Stooges vehicle *We Want Our Mummy*⁵⁸).

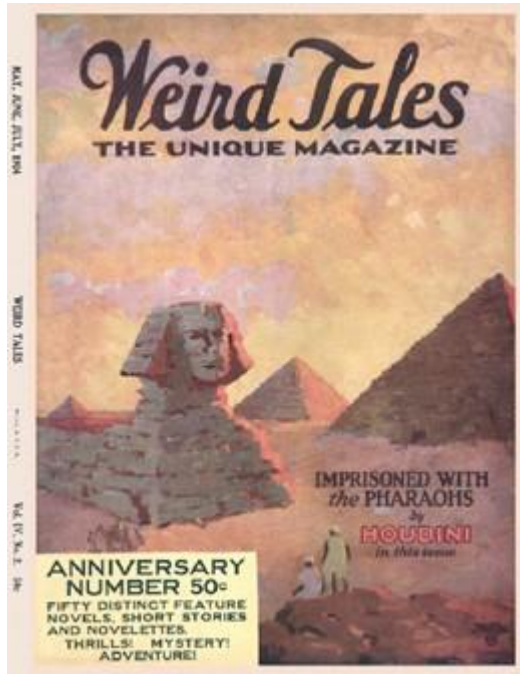


Fig. 11. Escape artist Harry Houdini's 'Imprisoned with the Pharaohs' (ghostwritten by H.P. Lovecraft) helped establish the 2.0 fanon idea of Ancient Egypt as 'the fountain of all darkness and terror.' Image of *Weird Tales: The Unique Magazine* cover, May-June-July 1924, at <https://archive.org/details/WeirdTales1924050607ATLPM/mode/2up>.

The 1994 film *Stargate* blends some of these classic 2.0 horror fanfic concepts with late 20th-century fears of sinister beings from outer space to cast the Ancient Egyptian sun god Ra as an evil alien enslaving humans to build the pyramids. *Stargate* and its film and television sequels, prequels, and spinoffs also owe much to another branch of 2.0 fanon known as 'alt-Egypt,' which proposes that Ancient Egypt's *prisca sapientia* originates not in Egypt at all, but rather in an earlier, as-yet-undiscovered, or even extraterrestrial civilization.⁵⁹ Alt-Egypt fanon includes books, TV series, and documentaries, and is so popular with fans that alt-Egypt proponents secure funding to engage in archaeological digs alongside actual Egyptologists.

The findings from these and most other digs in Egypt make regular headlines in global media, tying the 1.0 reality of Ancient Egypt to the 2.0 thrill of discovery for audiences across the world. Fans can participate vicariously in this hunt for treasure through adventure fanon. H. Rider Haggard helped popularize tomb raiding fanfic with novels like 1885's *King Solomon's Mines*, where a hidden legendary mine containing a cache of mummies is discovered by English explorer Allan Quartermain. Fans thirsty for 1.0 artifacts and their 2.0 possibilities, both tangible and magical, can watch films like 1981's *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, wherein American archaeology professor Indiana Jones thwarts Nazi

baddies searching an ancient Egyptian temple for a legendary Christian artifact of supernatural power; play video games like 2017's popular *Assassin's Creed Origins*, where players traverse Roman Egypt in search of secrets and loot (see **Fig. 12**); and read novels like Rick Riordan's Kane Chronicles series (published 2010-2012), in which the middle-school protagonists discover they are part of a secret order of magicians descended from the Egyptian pharaohs. So favored is Egyptomania adventure fanfic that its concepts are used to market fan nonfic: For instance, the 2010 reality television series that followed Egyptologist Zahi Hawass, a former Minister of State for Egypt's Antiquities Affairs, titled itself *Chasing Mummies: The Amazing Adventures of Zahi Hawass*.



Fig. 12. 2017's popular *Assassin's Creed Origins* video game blends 1.0 canon locations with 2.0 adventure fanon as players traverse Roman Egypt in search of secrets and loot. Photograph by author of the game cover for PlayStation 4.

Some 20th-century fans have interpreted the 1.0 treasures of Ancient Egypt to signify new 2.0 concepts of luxury, modernity, and sexuality. The Art Deco design movement of the 1920s-1930s, inspired by the discovery of Tut's tomb, abstracted Ancient Egyptian pyramidal and floral symbols into geometric shapes which became signifiers of luxury and modernity on everything from clothing to furniture to architecture.⁶⁰ Art Deco was especially popular for movie theaters, thus doubling down on the 2.0 idea of mysterious wonders waiting to be discovered within an Ancient Egypt-themed space.⁶¹ Another modern 2.0 interpretation is the broadly consumed depiction of Cleopatra, the final pharaoh of Ancient Egypt, as a beautiful seductress. Romans like the biographer Plutarch read Cleopatra as a 'consummate manipulator,'⁶² which influenced Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* circa 1606. But 20th-century films, especially those starring Theda Bara in 1917, Claudette Colbert in 1934, and Elizabeth Taylor in 1963, attributed her political savvy to an irresistible sexual allure (see **Fig. 13**).⁶³ Advertisers then used this fanon reading to market personal care products, such as the 1960s underwear ad in which a woman lounging before imagery of a pharaoh reminisces, 'I dreamed I played Cleopatra in my Maidenform

bra,' or the 1920s Palmolive soap ad where a woman standing in front of a sarcophagus proclaims, 'Just as the Egyptian Princess of 3000 years ago bequeathed a heritage of beauty to the modern girl, so did she also hand down knowledge of the surest way to keep it' (see Fig. 14).⁶⁴



Fig. 13. Cecil B. DeMille's *Cleopatra* blended two 20th-century 2.0 fanon ideas: the abstracted 1.0 forms of Art Deco as a symbol of luxury, with Cleopatra (played by Claudette Colbert) as a symbol of sexual allure. Promotional poster for the film, 1934.



Fig. 14. Egyptomania fanon was so popular with 20th-century audiences that advertisers used the fandom's 1.0 imagery and 2.0 ideas to sell everything from lemons to cigarettes to soap, as in this circa-1920s Palmolive ad.

The meanings of 2.0 fanon continue to evolve because the fandom continues to expand, not just socioeconomically but also geographically. Japanese Egyptomania fanon, for example, has entered the cultural mainstream both in Japan and around the world. In the Yu-Gi-Oh media franchise (ongoing since 1996, and including manga, anime, and collectible card games), a regular schoolboy inherits magical powers from a (fictional) Ancient Egyptian pharaoh and uses them to defeat villains in a high-stakes game.⁶⁵ Authentic Egyptian deities are interpreted to represent evolving 2.0 concepts in other high-profile Japanese media content: In the 2013-2014 visual novel and anime *Kamigami No Asobi (Play of the Gods)*, they are moody, mysterious, and popular students in a supernatural high school, and in the 2020-2021 anime *Tototsuni Egypt Kami (Suddenly Egyptian Gods)*, they eat pizza and post selfies to 'Egystagram' (see **Fig. 15**). The most popular Ancient Egyptian figure among Japanese fans is Medjed, a being that is 'riddled in mystery'⁶⁶ due to being mentioned only once in a single Ancient Egyptian text.⁶⁷ Medjed became a sensation after a 2012 museum exhibition in Tokyo; resulting fanfic often depicts the figure as 'an ordinary salaryman who transforms like a magical girl into his true form,'⁶⁸ and fan-created objects include everything from homemade toys to professional art gallery exhibits (see **Fig. 16**). That Medjed does not look Ancient Egyptian in the 1.0 sense (rather, it looks like someone wearing a ghost costume made from a bedsheet) seems to matter less than the 2.0 fans' active participation in creating its character and meaning as a symbol of Ancient Egypt.



Fig. 15. In the Japanese 2.0 fanon anime *Tototsuni Egypt Kami (Suddenly Egyptian Gods)*, Egyptian gods do their day jobs and afterwards eat pizza, post selfies to 'Egystagram,' and nap. Still image from the anime on Moshimoshi-Nippon.jp at <https://www.moshimoshi-nippon.jp/354841>.



Fig. 16. The most popular Ancient Egyptian figure among Japanese fans is Medjed; that so little is known about the figure encourages audiences to participate in actively creating its meaning. Tweet available at <https://twitter.com/eloquentpeasant/status/1169945446887804928?lang=en>.

In these ways, this interactive 2.0 fanon interpretation of Ancient Egypt – as a symbol of mystery, knowledge, and treasure, but also of luxury, sexual appeal, modernity, and more – has become the ultimate meme, reproduced by fans and non-fans alike as representative of Ancient Egypt itself. This shift from an Ancient Egypt recognized by its 1.0 canon symbols, to one signified by its 2.0 fanon concepts, can be traced across the last century of music and musical performance, which act as barometers for and drivers of cultural comprehension and creation. Some draw inspiration from the 1.0 canon, like 1923’s catchy ‘Old King Tut was a Wise Old Nut’⁶⁹ (prompted by early Tutmania) or Steve Martin’s 1978 novelty song ‘King Tut’⁷⁰ (commemorating tours of Tut’s treasures). Others blend 1.0 with 2.0, like the Bangles’ 1986 hit ‘Walk Like an Egyptian,’ in the video for which the band donned bejeweled outfits to encourage regular New Yorkers to ‘do the sand dance’ like ‘the old paintings on the tombs.’ Recent examples often reflect primarily 2.0 fanon, like the video for Snoop Dogg’s 2015 ‘California Roll;’ the song has no connection to Ancient Egypt whatsoever, but the video envisions California as a futuristic Ancient Egypt-Art Deco hybrid space, with the rapper driving a flying car past the ‘Canubis’ (a blending of the word ‘cannabis’ with ‘Anubis,’ an Ancient Egyptian god) building toward pyramids floating in the distance (see **Fig. 17**).⁷¹



Fig. 17. The video for Snoop Dogg's 2015 'California Roll' reflects multiple aspects of 2.0 fanon in its vision of California as a futuristic Ancient Egypt-Art Deco hybrid space. Still image from the music video, 2015, on YouTube.com at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNDKCHGW70w&ab>.

Similarly, Katy Perry's 'Dark Horse' video from 2014 presents this kind of modern 2.0 interpretation: She shoots magic lightning from her fingertips, she and her dancers dress like Art Deco/anime hybrids, and her video concludes with her standing atop a pink-lined pyramid that is floating in the sky as if about to blast into space (see **Fig. 18**).

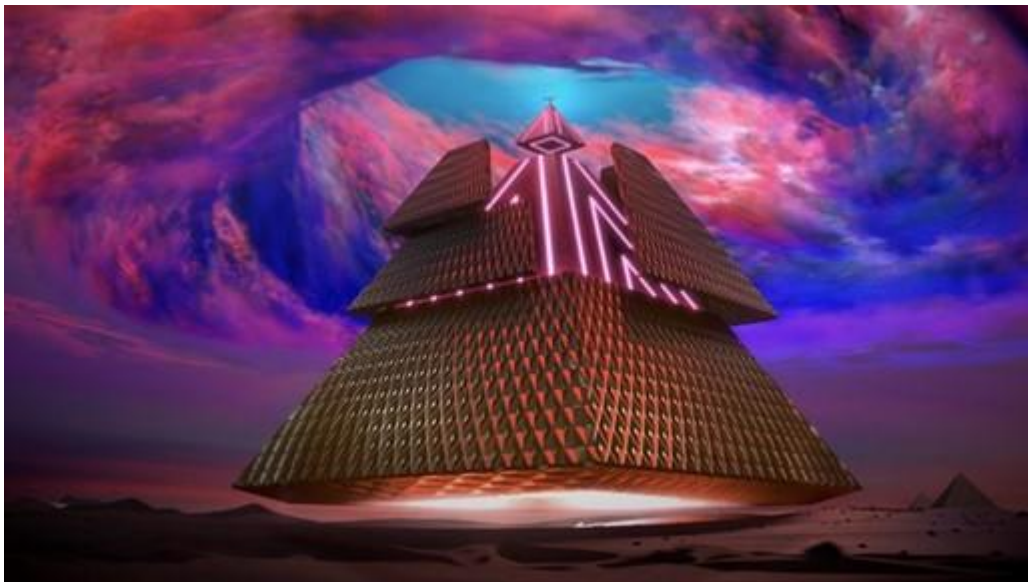


Fig. 18. Fanon has become canon when Katy Perry's 'Dark Horse' video pyramid reads as an Egyptomania 2.0 spaceship. Still image from the 'Dark Horse' music video, 2014, on YouTube.com at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KSOMA3QBU0>.

That this final image reads as a 'spaceship' is testament to, and proof of, the power of the 2.0 fanon. That audiences within the 1.0 and 2.0 fandoms, and without, could read all of

these signs and symbols – from the magic powers of ‘Katy-Patra’⁷² (as her video character came to be referred to by the media) to her pyramid-as-spaceship – as ‘Ancient Egypt’ shows that in the 21st-century Egyptomania fandom, for many fans, fanon and canon have become one and the same.

Conclusion: Egyptomania as the World’s Oldest Fandom

Thus, fanon has become canon in the fandom that is Egyptomania. But is Egyptomania the world’s oldest fandom?

Egyptomania 2.0 dates from, at a conservative estimate, the early 16th century, and Egyptomania 1.0 is roughly 2000 years older than that. Both have waxed and waned through the centuries since, but neither exists solely within the historic era of its birth; rather, both have survived to continue, with gusto, into the 21st century. This qualifies it as the world’s oldest fandom (thus far identified) as well as helps to historicize fandom studies, since both Egyptomania 1.0 and 2.0 predate significantly the sports, music, and literary fandoms of the 19th century that have long been considered among the earliest examples of fan activity.⁷³ This also allows us to consider fandom not as a result of globalized media, or even as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, but rather as the interactive engagement of audiences with a favored ‘text,’ wherever and whenever the inspiration strikes.

Thinking of Egyptomania, then, as not simply a historical fandom, but as one that continues into the present day, also prompts us to analyze the influences of an ‘othering’ gaze within fandom activities. Fans are almost always separate from the central text/object/person of their fandom, and Egyptomania invites consideration of the ramifications of this separation. How much of Egyptomania can be linked to Orientalism – the belief in the superiority of the West, over an exotic and unknowable East – and to imperialism?⁷⁴ Do some Egyptomania fan activities shift from appreciative celebration to cultural appropriation, or even destruction, of the central text? Do similar issues arise in other fandoms?

But these are questions for the future, in which there will be new Egyptomania fans and fandom productions ripe for discussion. For Egyptomania, despite being a fandom built on a text from the far past, has become also a symbol of the present, and of wonders yet to be discovered, by and for its fans.

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Notes:

¹ See Ronald H. Fritze, *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession, and Fantasy*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 10; Bob Brier, *Egyptomania: Our Three Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and 'Egyptomania! What accounts for our intoxication with things Egyptian?' in *Archaeology* 57, no. 1 (2004): 16-22; Matthew Coniam, *Egyptomania Goes to the Movies: From Archaeology to Popular Craze to Hollywood Fantasy* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2017); and Antonia Lant, 'The Curse of the Pharaoh, or How Cinema Contracted Egyptomania,' *October* 59 (1992): 86-112.

² James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania, The Egyptian Revival: a Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1994), xiv-xix, and Jean-Marcel Humbert, 'Egyptomania: A Current Concept from the Renaissance to Postmodernism,' in *Egyptomania: Egypt*

in *Western Art, 1730-1930*, by Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi, and Christiane Ziegler, catalogue for the exhibition organized by Reunion des Musees Nationaux/Musee de Louvre, Paris, and the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, with the collaboration of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Ottawa: Publications Division of the National Gallery of Canada, 1994), 21, respectively.

³ The video can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KSOMA3QBU0>.

⁴ Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 115-117.

⁵ The video director Matthew Cullen is quoted in Lily Rothman's 'There's a Very Good Reason Why Katy Perry's 'Dark Horse' Video is set in Ancient Egypt' for the February 21, 2014, online edition of *Time*: <http://time.com/9233/katy-perry-dark-horse-egypt/>.

⁶ Mark Duffett, *Understanding Fandom: An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 216; Cornel Sandvoss, 'The Death of the Reader? Literary Theory and the Study of Texts in Popular Culture,' in *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, edited by Jonathan Gray, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 23.

⁷ See Daniel Cavicchi, 'Before "Fan": Shaping the History of Enthusiastic Audiences,' in *Reception: Texts, Readers, Audiences, History* 6, no. 1 (2014): 52-54; Duffett, 166-190 and 226; and Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 58, and 'Quentin Tarantino's Star Wars? Digital Cinema, Media Convergence, and Participatory Culture,' in *Myth, Media, and Culture in Star Wars: An Anthology*, edited by Douglas Brode and Leah Deyneka (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 155 and 169; as well as Will Brooker, 'A Sort of Homecoming: Fan Viewing and Symbolic Pilgrimage,' in *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, edited by Jonathan Gray, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 150-163; Kathryn Fuller-Seeley, 'Archaeologies of Fandom: Using Historical Methods to Explore Fan Cultures of the Past,' in *The Routledge Companion to Media Fandom*, edited by Melissa A. Click and Suzanne Scott (New York: Routledge, 2018), 27; and Rebecca Williams, 'Fan Tourism and Pilgrimage,' also in *The Routledge Companion to Media Fandom* (2018), 98-104.

⁸ Cavicchi, 55-56.

⁹ Sandvoss, 22 and 23.

¹⁰ Frank L. Holt, 'Egyptomania: Have We Cursed the Pharaohs?' in *Archaeology* 39, no. 2 (1986), 60.

¹¹ See J. C. Zietsman, 'Crossing the Roman Frontier: Egypt in Rome (and Beyond),' chairperson's address, *Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa* 52, no. 1 (2011), 2-3; Holt, 60; and Brier, *Egyptomania*, 33-150. Christiane Ziegler laments that 'Today Rome has more obelisks than the temple of Karnak' in Egypt, in 'From One Egyptomania to Another: The Legacy of Roman Antiquity,' in *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930*, by Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi, and Christiane Ziegler, catalogue for the exhibition organized by Reunion des Musees Nationaux/Musee de Louvre, Paris, and the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, with the collaboration of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Ottawa: Publications Division of the National Gallery of Canada, 1994), 17.

¹² Most scholars acknowledge collection as a fan activity; see Cavicchi, 52-53; Duffett, 166-190 and 226; Jenkins, 'Quentin Tarantino,' 155; Brooker, 150-163; Fuller-Seeley, 27; and Williams, 98-104; plus Lincoln Geraghty, 'Class, Capital, and Collecting in Media Fandom,' in *The Routledge Companion*

to *Media Fandom*, edited by Melissa A. Click and Suzanne Scott (New York: Routledge, 2018), 215-216.

¹³ Charles Freeman, *Egypt, Greece and Rome: Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 500.

¹⁴ Geraghty, 215.

¹⁵ Brier, *Egyptomania*, 24-25. Hadrian toured Egypt in 130-131 CE.

¹⁶ Williams, 101.

¹⁷ Williams, 99 and 101.

¹⁸ Curl, 28 and 32-34, and the *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930* exhibition catalogue 46-51, 54-56, and 61-62.

¹⁹ Williams, 98-104; Duffett, 226; Brooker, 150-163.

²⁰ See Salima Ikram's *Ancient Egypt: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Hellenistic Culture and Society series (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

²¹ Duffett, 216.

²² Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author' (1967), translated by Richard Howard, from *Aspen* no. 5+6, item 3, <http://www.ubu.com/aspens/aspens5and6/threeEssays.html>. See also Brooker, 105-113.

²³ Curl, 25-26; Ziegler, 17. The tomb still stands in Rome's Protestant Cemetery today.

²⁴ See Martin Mulsow, 'Ambiguities of the Prisca Sapientia in Renaissance Humanism,' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 1 (2004): 1-13.

²⁵ Curl, 57-59.

²⁶ See Curl, 72-73; Fritze, 144-146; and Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt: How a Lost Civilization was Rediscovered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 54. Images from Kircher's Oedipus Aegyptiacus and his 1672 Sphinx Mystagoga, in which he translates Ancient Egyptian burial practices, can be found in Daniel Stolzenberg's 2013 essay 'Athanasius Kircher and the Hieroglyphic Sphinx' at <https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/athanasius-kircher-and-the-hieroglyphic-sphinx>.

²⁷ Fritze, 124-125. The first occurrences of this interpretation date to the Christianized Roman Empire.

²⁸ Sandvoss, 23.

²⁹ Duffett, 217.

³⁰ Fritze, 136-139.

³¹ Curl, 134-136; see also Curl's *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1991).

³² Curl, *Egyptomania*, 148-156.

³³ Curl, *Egyptomania*, 76 and 84-86

³⁴ Curl, *Egyptomania*, 85.

³⁵ Curl, *Egyptomania*, 68.

³⁶ Fritze, 115.

³⁷ See Brier's *Egyptomania*, 43-65; Fritze, 157-167; and Tyldesley, 44-52.

³⁸ Tyldesley, 50-67. The British confiscated the Stone from the French; it can be seen in the British Museum in London.

³⁹ See John Pemble's *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

⁴⁰ See Tyldesley, 69-87, for a quick overview of Belzoni's exploits, or for the full account in all its delightfully self-aggrandizing glory, see Belzoni's 1820 memoir, Narrative of the operations and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a journey to the coast of the Red Sea, in search of the ancient Berenice, and of another to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon, available in reprint and at <https://archive.org/details/narrativeofopera00belz/page/n10/mode/2up>.

⁴¹ See Brier's *Egyptomania* and Tyldesley. This idea of the West treasure hunting in Egypt is so ingrained in our understanding of the relationship between the two that French theorist Michel de Certeau uses it in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) as an analogy for the way readers choose texts: 'readers are travelers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it for themselves,' 175.

⁴² Brier, *Egyptomania*, 69-100; Tyldesley, 119-138.

⁴³ Michael Rice and Sally MacDonald, 'Introduction - Tea with a Mummy: The Consumer's View of Egypt's Immemorial Appeal,' in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice (London: University College London Press, 2003), 7; see also the 1855 photos of the exhibition building by P.H. Delamotte, currently in the British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/earlyphotos/e/006zzz0tab442a5u00082000.html>, and the Great Exhibition Virtual Tour by Royal Parks UK, <https://www.royalparks.org.uk/parks/hyde-park/things-to-see-and-do/the-great-exhibition-virtual-tour>.

⁴⁴ See Edmund Swinglehurst's *The Romantic Journey: The Story of Thomas Cook and Victorian Travel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

⁴⁵ Tyldesley, 131-135. See also Roberta Muñoz, 'Amelia Edwards in America – A Quiet Revolution in Archaeological Science,' *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 27 (2017): article 7, 1-10, and Joan Rees' biography *Amelia Edwards: Traveller, Novelist & Egyptologist* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1998), which includes an image of Edwards' grave marker.

⁴⁶ Brier, *Egyptomania*, 65-67, 101-110.

⁴⁷ See the chapter in Brier's *Egyptian Mummies: Unraveling the Secrets of an Ancient Art* (New York: Quill/William Morrow, 1994) titled 'Holy Unrollers: The Mummy Unwrappers,' 149-173.

⁴⁸ Gillian Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 275-276. Soane bought the sarcophagus from Giovanni Batista Belzoni.

⁴⁹ Tyldesley, 183-212.

⁵⁰ Fritze, 237-242; Brier, *Egyptomania*, 169-173; Coniam, 141-142.

⁵¹ Fritze, 234-237.

⁵² 'Chatter: Tut, Tut,' *People Magazine*, February 1, 1982, <https://people.com/archive/chatter-vol-17-no-4/>.

⁵³ 'Is the Pharaoh's curse coming true?' *DailyMail.co.uk*, March 29, 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-9415737/Social-media-says-Pharaohs-curse-blame-Suez-ship-crisis-two-disasters-Egypt.html>.

⁵⁴ Lant, 107.

⁵⁵ From p. 9 of "Imprisoned with the Pharaohs" by H.P. Lovecraft and Harry Houdini, *Weird Tales: The Unique Magazine*, May-June-July 1924.

⁵⁶ Fritze, 213-215; Brier, Mummies, 303-304.

⁵⁷ Brier, Mummies, 309-312, and Carter Lupton, “‘Mummymania’ for the Masses—is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy’s Curse?’ in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice (London: University College London Press, 2003), 31-32. The film nods to the 1.0 fans in its use of famous Ancient Egyptians’ names: Imhotep was the architect credited with building the first pyramid; Ankhesenamun was the name of pharaoh Tutankhamun’s wife.

⁵⁸ Brier, Mummies, 312-317.

⁵⁹ Lynn Picknett and Clive Prince credit Egyptologist Zahi Hawass with coining the term ‘pyramidiot’ in ‘Alternative Egypt,’ in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice (London: University College London Press, 2003), 175. Fritze also uses this term, 10 and 266, but does not mention Hawass.

⁶⁰ Curl, Egyptomania, 211-220.

⁶¹ Lant, 100-101.

⁶² Jacquelyn Williamson, ‘Cleopatra and Fake News: How ancient Roman political needs created a mythic temptress,’ *Folger Shakespeare Library*, October 20, 2017, <https://shakespeareandbeyond.folger.edu/2017/10/20/cleopatra-mythic-temptress/>, para. 4.

⁶³ Maria Wyke and Dominic Montserrat, ‘Glamour Girls: Cleomania in Mass Culture,’ in *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited*, edited by Margaret M. Miles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 173-182; Coniam, 32-33.

⁶⁴ The Maidenform ad can be seen at <https://vintageadsandmags.com/product/maidenform-bra-ad-1952>, and the Palmolive ad is available to view at <https://egyptianaemporium.wordpress.com/2015/07/22/egyptomania-2/>.

⁶⁵ Yu-Gi-Oh began with a manga in 1996 and has, to date, spawned several manga and anime series, a popular card game, and multiple video games. Of course, it has its own website: <https://www.yugioh.com/>.

⁶⁶ As described by Hikaru Midorikawa who voices Medjed in the *Suddenly Egyptian Gods* anime: ‘Egyptian God Anime Series To-totsuni Egypt Kami to be Narrated by Tomoya Nakamura,’ September 1, 2020, <https://www.moshimoshi-nippon.jp/354841>.

⁶⁷ Medjed appears in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead: ‘I know the name of that Smiter among them, who belongs to the House of Osiris, who shoots with his eye, yet is unseen, who circles the land with flame from his mouth.’ For more on Medjed’s ‘arrival’ in Japan, see Dr. Margaret Maitland’s twitter feed:

<https://twitter.com/eloquentpeasant/status/1169945446887804928?lang=en>

⁶⁸ Eric Stimson, ‘The Obscure Egyptian God Medjed and His Bizarre Afterlife on the Japanese Internet,’ July 31, 2015, <https://www.animenewsnetwork.com/interest/2015-07-31/the-obscure-egyptian-god-medjed-and-his-bizarre-afterlife-on-the-japanese-internet/.91149>

⁶⁹ ‘Old King Tut’ was released in 1923 before they knew he actually died as an adolescent. Composed by Lucien Denni with lyrics by Roger Lewis. Sheet music cover and full song lyrics available at <https://arabkitsch.com/song-directory-2/735/old-king-tut-was-a-wise-old-nut/>.

⁷⁰ Steve Martin, ‘King Tut,’ track 10 on *A Wild and Crazy Guy*, Warner Brothers, 1978, vinyl.

⁷¹ Pinch, 104. Anubis is the god of embalming and also the protector of the necropolis, and all of its tombs and treasures.

⁷² Katy Perry’s character in the video came to be referred to as ‘Katy-Patra,’ as a reference to Cleopatra. See Brenna Ehrlich, ‘Is Katy Perry’s ‘Dark Horse’ video accurate? We asked an

Egyptologist,' *MTV News*, February 21, 2014, <http://www.mtv.com/news/1722735/katy-perry-dark-horse-egyptian-references/>.

⁷³ Several fandom scholars outline this history, including Cavicchi (2014), who makes a call for historicizing fandom studies.

⁷⁴ See Edward W. Said's seminal *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) and his *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).