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***Princess Ru and Papyrus*^{*}
Stereotypes on ancient Egypt in graphic novels**

Abstract: The decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in 1822 marked a fundamental change in the views on ancient Egypt and due to the scientific research the knowledge on the subject substantially increased ever since. Despite the wide accessibility of the results of Egyptological studies, the image of Egypt in the popular culture often contains older conceptions, and some of them, like the myth of ancient and immense wisdom, are turned into stereotypes used in certain popular media. The paper deals with their presence in graphic novels. The origins of the stereotypes are reviewed and the reasons for their persistence analysed. I argue that the stereotypes on Egypt in graphic novels became early on a codified part of the communication within the "comic book culture" (M. Pustz), and therefore indispensable in this medium. As representatives of different genres in the graphic novels, the series on adventures *Papyrus* by Lucien De Gieter, and the comic books *Princess Ru* by Đorđe Lobačev and *Hatshepsut* by Nikola Kokan Mitrović were chosen for the analysis.

Key words: Ancient Egypt, graphic novels, stereotypes

The image of ancient Egypt prevailing with the European educated circles up to the 19th century was based on the reports and interpretations of the unquestionable authorities on the subject of that time: the Bible and the Classical authors. With the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in 1822, the Egyptian written sources were at the researchers' disposal and the foundations of the scientific study of ancient Egypt were laid down. Egyptological reconstruction and understanding of the various aspects of the Egyptian society and culture have been steadily and substantially enriched ever since, becoming

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widely accessible. Still, the vivid interest in ancient Egypt is nourished on other sources too, expressed in a number of ways, ranging from urban legends to the works of art, thus being present in both 'low' and 'high' culture. The image of Egypt in the popular culture is to a high extent still closely connected to the older interpretations, and its essential elements are the priests possessing secret knowledge and magical powers, gods whose bodies are part human and part animal, mummies who revive. The popular cultural media frequently using and interpreting ancient Egypt is the graphic novel. In the world of comics, the stories of various genres, irrespective of the time frame, take place in the land and numerous characters are inspired by or named after the Egyptian gods; some episodes or whole series are set in antiquity, in a particular historical context. The status of the comics has changed over the last decades, and once a cheap entertainment, despised by the intellectuals, it has been promoted to the status of art. This, and the fact that this "form of reading" (Eisner 2000, 7-12) is widespread, also resulted in the didactic use of comics, enabling them to mediate between the science and public.

The statement on the popularity of ancient Egypt in non-didactic graphic novels can be supported by some numbers. Up to the end of the 20th century, approximately 200 albums on ancient Egypt were published in North America and Europe, not counting the graphic novels in periodicals (Humbert 1998, 45). As for the copies sold, the third place among the graphic novels dealing with the antiquity, after *Asterix* and *Alix* with three hundred millions and six millions respectively, was held by one on ancient Egypt, *Papyrus*, with its respectable million copies (Thiébaud 1998, 234). The graphic novels in which the characters inspired by Egypt play a role would considerably increase the mentioned numbers (e.g. http://www.comicbookreligion.com/?Religion=Egyptian_Classical_Religion). My aim here is neither to present an overview of the graphic novels dealing with ancient Egypt, nor to evaluate the specific properties of comics, nor to scrutinize the reasons that made ancient Egypt appealing for the medium, but to examine the stereotypes on ancient Egypt common in graphic novels. The accuracy from the Egyptological point of view will be analysed only to the extent necessary for the latter subject.

As representatives of different genres in the graphic novels, and exhibiting different approaches to the subject of the ancient Egypt, the series on adventures *Papyrus* by Lucien De Gieter (Belgium), and the comic books *Princess Ru* (alias Thanit) by Đorđe Lobačev and *Hatshepsut* by Nikola Kokan Mitrović (Yugoslavia/Serbia), are suitable examples for the analysis of the stereotypes on Egypt in "the ninth art".¹ Lobačev created his *Princess* in

¹ Although single episodes of larger series are taking place in ancient Egypt or partly involve the subject, they were not included in the analysis: e.g. *Les Cigars du Pharaon* (1934 and 1954), by Hergé, the two parts of *Le mystère de la grande*

the cultural context of 1930s, whereas Mitrović's *Hatshepsut* and De Gieter's *Papyrus* appeared for the first time in 1970s, the new episodes of the latter appearing up to the present day. The additional reason for the choice is the fact that all three are the authors of both script for and drawings of the mentioned graphic novels. The cultural settings of the three authors differ considerably. Since the Renaissance, the interest for ancient Egypt in Belgium went generally along the lines it followed in the Western and Northern Europe, and it is reflected in museum collections, firmly established Egyptological research as well as in a considerable number of works of fine arts and popular culture (e.g. Curl 2005, 325f, 366f.). Lobačev and Mitrović had scarcely any of the corresponding potential resources at hand.

Princess Ru

The knowledge one mortal acquired directly from a god (Osiris in this case) constitutes essential part of the plot of the Đorđe Lobačev's *Princess Ru*, and is introduced at the very beginning of the story, being later referred to as the "Great Secret", meaning "the control over life and death" (Lobačev 1938, t. 2, 37, 40). As might have been expected, a priest, here the high priest of Osiris, is named as the keeper of the knowledge, and a mummified body (of the priest's daughter, Ru), revived by a "famous Egyptologist",² appears too (Lobačev 1938, t. 4-5)



Fig. 1 Reviving the mummy (after Lobačev 1938, t. 4)

Pyramide (1950), by Edgar P. Jacobs, and *Asterix et Cléopâtre* (1963) by René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo; *Le sphinx d'or* (1971) and *Le prince du Nil* (1974), by Jacques Martin. Brief comments on some further albums in which the reconstruction of the life in ancient Egypt plays a visible role: Humbert 1998, 46.

² For Egyptology represented by a cliché of Egyptologist, see: Delvaux 1996, 607.



Fig. 2 Princess Ru and the scientist (after Lobačev 1938, t. 5)

The hinting at the ancient Egyptian knowledge of magic, present in *Princess Ru*, includes the use of the blood of Apis-bull (Lobačev 1938, t. 36-37), the sacred animal closely related to Osiris. The myth of enormous and exceptional knowledge the ancient civilizations (as it turns out, Egypt) was used again in the episode *The Secret of papyrus* (*Tajna papirusa*), part of his series *Master of Death* (*Gospodar smrti*), otherwise unrelated to *Princess Ru* (Lobačev 1939-1940). There, the knowledge (of controlling the weather) is written down on papyri whose origin can be identified as Egyptian by the headdress of the supernatural being who helps reveal the secret of the manuscript (Lobačev 1939-1940, t. 20-21).

Lobačev used only two generally recognizable visual signifiers for his Egyptian characters. The first one, the 'short' head-cloth, pseudo-*nemes*, and its variants, was worn by the princess, her father the high-priest of Osiris and 'counselor of Re' and some other characters (Lobačev 1938, t. 5, 14). The second one, a hook-like projection of the simple diadem on forehead, obviously a variant of an uraeus, appears with Ru, her father, god Seth, and even some soldiers (Lobačev 1938, t. 33).

The personal names of Ameni, Meni, Ahmes, though not of Ru, are indeed the Egyptian ones, confirming that Lobačev had some knowledge of ancient Egypt, but whether the knowledge itself or its use was limited, it primarily served the purpose to create a fantastic world. Indeed, in *Princess Ru*, the ancient Egyptian gods, high-priests, and the demons serving them, are represented as a parallel world. Some of the Egyptians, or better still – the beings in the human form, have the 'powers' to enter our world (1938-39); the characters living in the



Fig. 3 Soldiers and servanst of Seth (after Lobačev 1938, t. 15)

20th century travel to the realm of the ancient Egyptian Underworld without a time-journey. The aim of Đorđe Lobačev was never to recreate Egypt, the stereotypes on Egypt were simply suitable for his story, in which the real and imagined worlds, the past and the present merge. The arbitrary rendering of the Egyptians stand side by side with a variety of strange beings, including "lizard-people", other that remove their own heads in order to use them as a projectiles and place them back after the use, giant spiders as prisoner-guard, muscular frog-like beings, members of the torture squad, birds-men of various forms, weapons like cigarette lighter combined with lizard's eye producing a powerful weapon – ray, or dragons acting as cannons by spitting rocks, and so on. All that gives the "oneiric" quality (Lobačev in Bogdanović 1989, 18) to the creation, amounts to harmonious story, and because of that the question becomes irrelevant whether the stereotypes are used intentionally or by mistake.

Princess Thanit, the abridged French version of *Princess Ru*, published under the pseudonym George Strip in 1939 in the weekly magazine *Aventures* n° 3-39 (Zupan 2007, 25; http://wikipf.net/wiki/index.php/Princesse_Thanit, accessed 1.5.2012.), seems to have been popular in France at the time. Several decades later, when BD was obtaining a better status, *Princess Thanit* received some acknowledgments for its merits, including Pierre Strinati's opinion that it was the most surrealistic of the comic books created up to then (Богдановић 15, n. 7; Bogdanović 1989, 16-17). Đorđe Lobačev (Јуриј Павлович Лобачев 1909-2002) studied art history at the Belgrade University (Bogdanović 1989, 7). At the time, beginning in mid 1920s into the mid 1930s, Belgrade had a strong surrealist movement, closely tied to the French one, and well known among the young artists and students (Todić 2002, 19-20, 65, 163-164, 207). As the author of comics, both at the time when he created *Princess Ru* and after that, Đorđe Lobačev had worked on the subjects with a strong fantastic component, such as *Baron Münchhausen*, *The Wizard of Oz*, or the Serbian folk-tales such as *Baš Čelik* (*Bash Chelik* /"Man of Steel"/), *Čardak ni na nebu ni na zemlji* (*Castle*



Fig. 4 Laboratory of the high priest of Osiris (after Lobačev 1938, t. 2)

neither in heaven nor on earth), *Biberče* (*Peppercorn*). Lobačev's *Princess Ru* and *Baš Čelik* are recognized as the first representatives of the fantasy graphic novels in Yugoslavia, and possibly beyond it (Bogdanović 1989, 15). Beside the fantastic components of the tales and the surrealism, some other influences may be present in *Princess Ru*: a young man in love with the mummy revived in the form of a beautiful young woman is the motif present in both *Princess Ru* and in *Mephisto has fun* (*Mefisto se zabavlja*), the following episode of the series (Lobačev 1938-1939, t. 22), reminding of Theophile Gauthier's story *The Mummy's Foot*, even more of his novel *The Romance of a Mummy*, and could have been inspired by them.³ The unwrapping of the lifeless (passive) female mummy, with its "thinly-veiled pornography", may have been used by Gauthier in order to question the motives and profits of those involved in the proclaimed quest for knowledge (Howthorne 1993, 719ff.), but with Lobačev, the revived body is not nude, and its form and dress allude to the Oriental beauty personified in belly-dancers. Enormous ancient knowledge, great secret, papyri, magic, priests, a revived mummy, they are all present in the *Princess Ru* series,

³ Son of Pavel Anatolievich Lobatchev, Russian consul serving at the Balkans in early Twentieth century, and who himself spoke a dozen of languages, Đorđe Lobačev had a Swiss nanny to whom, in his own words, he was indebted for good mastery of French (Bogdanović 1989, 4-6) Thus, Đorđe Lobačev could have read T. Gauthier in the language, or translated in Serbian (translated by Nikola Trajković, under the title "Roman jedne mumije", was published between two World Wars in Belgrade, and had new edition in 2007).

combined with Lobačev's own fantastic beings. Although Lobačev's creation is thus not set in antiquity, the very surrealism of the story, quite different from the other two chosen, made it suitable for this contribution. Still, some further observations will be presented.



Fig. 5 European as a rescuer (after Lobačev 1938-1939, t. 18)

However small and dispersed through the episodes, some details mirror the cultural background and ideas of the world Lobačev was living in. Thus, whether he himself was uneasy with Egyptian placement of the "good god" Osiris in the Underworld, or was conforming to the concepts his potential readers are familiar with, Lobačev placed Osiris with his retinue in the heavens, and the winged soldiers of the god look like archangels. His brother and murderer Seth resides in the Underworld, which looks like a gloomy medieval castle with dungeons, and the Styx, mythical Greek river is flowing therein. Intentionally or not, the representation of the high priest of Osiris as a medieval alchemist, corresponds to the idea of Hermes as alchemist, present in the late antiquity, mentioned in the Arabic books on alchemy, later embraced by the alchemo-Paracelism, and by the Rosicrucians (Ebeling 2007; van Bladel 2009). Further, some colonial views of modern Egypt surfaced in the episode *Mephisto has fun*, in which most of the surrealistic qualities of the first part of Ru-series seem to have evaporated: a girl is beaten with a whip in a Cairo street (Lobačev 1938-1939, t. 17, 18) by an "indigenous", and it is an European, the main male character in the series, who hurries to rescue the unknown girl.

Seeking for distraction after the event, he sits in a club watching belly-dance, and proceeds to the clandestine luxurious rooms where he indulges

himself with hashish while a black servant with a feather-fan sits by his side refreshing him (Lobačev 1938-1939, t. 19-20)



Fig. 6 Relaxation (after Lobačev 1938-1939, t. 20)

Queen Hat

Often based on his own scripts, the subjects of graphic novels by Nikola Kokan Mitrović (1933-1997) ranged from funny, via adventurous with historical setting (World War II, Ottoman occupation of Serbia), to folk epics and tales (Stojanović 2001; Zupan 2007, 60ff.; UPPS 2009). In an interview, he admitted that ancient Egypt is kind of his personal obsession, that "the time imposes itself on [him] as an ancient secret" (Stojanović 2001). And yet, the mysterious and secretive do not play a role in his graphic novels *Hatšepsut* (*Hatshepsut*) and *Kraljica Hat – Put u neizvesnost* (*Queen Hat: The journey to the Unknown*) (Mitrović 1979; 1980). They are situated in a particular period of the history, involving a historically documented person, the queen of the 18th dynasty, ruling as a king in the 15th century B.C.E., and a real event of her reign too: journey to Punt, the land of uncertain location, possibly in Ethiopia (Meeks 2003, 53-58, 77-79). With this, the connection with the facts on Egypt more or less ends. Nikola Mitrović's attitude towards pharaonic Egypt is in a way a colonial one: he appropriates it, uses it for his own goals, with almost no concern for characteristics of the land or the time. The result of such indiscriminate 'administering' of potential resources in *Hatshepsut* are the scenography and costume of predominantly nondescript place, partly recognizable as a code for the 'ancient times' (including Roman and Medieval) and 'Near East'.



Fig. 7 "Thebes" (after Mitrović 1979, t. 4)



Fig. 8 Queen Hatshepsut (after Mitrović 1979, t. 6)

Among the inaccuracies and errors, only few will be mentioned: Hatshepsut's naming Tutankhamen, who lived over a century after her, as her father, the pyramids as a part of the landscape of Thebes (Mitrović 1979, t. 4, 6),⁴ the

⁴ Almost all royal pyramids are situated in the region stretching from the apex of the Delta to the Oasis Fayum (i.e. from Abu Roash to Illahun). The remains of the pyramidal tomb superstructures of modest size belonging to the Theban rulers from

riding of camels (Mitrović 1979, t.1ff.),⁵ and an 'Aladdin's lamp' (Mitrović 1979, t. 6).

In the second part of the story, *The Journey to the Unknown*, published several years later, the form of the ships indicates that Mitrović has seen how Egyptian sailboats generally looked like (Mitrović 1980, t. 1, 2, 7), but the close-ups of the hull in some frames correspond rather to the gun-ports in the sides of a galleon's hull (Mitrović 1980, t. 6-7).

As for the visual codes and stereotypes used by Mitrović in both episodes of Hatshepsut, there is the pseudo-nemes worn by soldiers, but the more recent stereotypes of the Orient prevail, including galabeya, fez and turban for men, and belly-dancers' dress for Hatshepsut (combined with the 1970s haircut). Moreover, the names of some men from Hatshepsut's entourage are the names used by the Muslims (Halil, Ahmet, Abid), and the men attacking Hatshepsut's sailboat are explicitly identified as the Arabs (Mitrović 1980, t. 4). Unfortunately, the second part of the episode was never published nor was the planned sequence prepared (Stojanović 2001). Thus, heroes of the story never reach Punt and it remains unknown whether or not the representation of the land or its inhabitants would have been based on the well-known reliefs from the Hatshepsut's mortuary temple representing the expedition.

One can only speculate if Kokan Mitrović's image of Egypt would have further evolved towards higher authenticity if he had completed *The Journey to the Unknown*. Without the sequences of his graphics novel, there is an impression that Mitrović acquired just the basic information on Hatshepsut, her temple and the expedition to Punt, and recognizing a subject suitable for a graphic novel, he produced one without any visual references, or further research into the country at the times. His decision to create an adventure graphic novel based on the real event and person, made the inaccuracies and arbitrary choices in representations of the landscape, buildings, persons painfully obvious and unjustified. The easily obtainable basic information on Egypt and its history could have helped to avoid the (con-) fusion of the ancient Egyptians with the present majority of the country's inhabitants, mirrored in names, costumes etc. In the absence of this, the readers are offered

the sixteenth century B.C.E., were still visible the nineteenth century (B. Bryan 2000, 221). This could hardly have been known to Mitrović, and even if it was, the Theban pyramid with its full height at the time of its construction would not correspond to the text accompanying the drawing: "pyramids of gigantic size".

⁵ Several sporadic finds (bones and figurines) attest that the camel was known to the Egyptians in Pre- and Early dynastic times, but the domesticated animal used as carrier of goods became common only during the Ptolemaic dynasty (Osborn and Osbornová 1998, 155-157).



Fig. 9 Egyptian ship and Arabs (after Mitrović 1980, t. 7)

the stereotype of a 'Near Easterner', it itself largely based on the stereotype of an Arab equated with a Bedouin, wearing galabeya, turban, having a Muslim name, and who is, when not riding a camel through a desert, also a pirate.

Papyrus

The adventures of Papyrus and his friend princess Theti-cheri have strong fantastic component, not surprising for the image of Egypt in comic books. Lucien De Gieter's (born 1932) series *Papyrus*, was recognized and analysed by Luc Delvaux (1996) as an excellent representative of an approach to the antiquity present to the different degree with some comic books authors, the approach that he (Delvaux) characterized as the "conflict between the fictional and authentic, between re-invention and re-creation" (Delvaux 1996, 610). Egypt of the first issues of *Papyrus* was not always really Egyptian (Delvaux 1996, 610-611). Various phantasy creatures appear, including dragons who devour young girls, a magic sword, an underground city of gold; the Nile flows through Egypt towards its cataract (and thus to the south!), beyond which the lush tropical jungle spreads, inhabited by the ferocious Pygmies, armed with stone-axes and bludgeons, killing the strangers (De Gieter 1978; 1979). The motif of the young man reviving a mummy of a princess is slightly altered, but also present: the main female character is introduced into the story wrapped as a mummy, and it is Papyrus who frees her from the bandages.



Fig. 10 An armed Pygmy (De Gieter 1978, t. 6)



Fig. 11 Unwrapping the Princess (De Gieter 1978, t. 13)

The attention to authenticity of settings and details, both in the drawing and text, visibly and continuously increased after first six episodes of the adventures of Papyrus. The preparatory research became recognizable in the buildings and landscapes, and is also reflected in the explanations, often placed in footnotes, which are unnecessary from the point of view of the fictional story and do not have a function in the story itself. The originally unidentified "Pharaoh" became king Merenptah and with it the initially chronologically non-specified 'ancient Egypt' became Egypt of the 19th dynasty. The pseudo-nemes seen with soldiers (officers) and the porters of a carrying-chair (De Gieter 1978, 34-37; *ibid.* 1995, T. 16-18; *ibid.* 2010, T. 2) disappeared after some time (Delveaux 1996, 611, n. 17; De Gieter 2012, t. 1-2). Since the second volume of the series, Papyrus, a boy of humble origin, wears an *uraeus*, on his forehead (De Gieter 1978; *ibid.* 1979), although he continues to be the fiancé and friend, not a husband of the king's daughter Theti-cheri, for decades after the first volume of the adventures. *Uraeus* is the prerogative of the ruling royalty, not meant for a prince, a future husband, and even less for the non-royals, such as Papyrus (Martin 1986, 866, n. 23).⁶ Another stereotype, the one of evil mummies, is the subject of the whole episode (De Gieter 2010). The name of Theti-cheri and the majority of other personal names are the Egyptian names, though not the one of Papyrus, which was obviously chosen as an association to Egypt.

⁶ E.g. In Abydos temple of Seti I for Osiris-henti-imentiu, Seti I is shown with his son Ramses, the future pharaoh Ramses II - the later does not have an *uraeus*, although he had, finishing the temple, the opportunity to add one to his representation.



Fig. 12 Theti-cheri, Papyrus and a soldier (De Gieter 1979, t. 5)

Where do these stereotypes originate from?

Because of the wide audience it attracts, the cinema industry was recognized by Michel Thiébaud as a source of a number of stereotypes used in graphic novels dealing with antiquity, but rather as a transmitter of ideas and iconography, than their creator; the models may be found in the 19th century paintings, the illustrations for the novels or histories of art, and similar sources of information are at hand for the graphic artists (Thiébaud 1998, 37-38). This equally applies at least partly⁷ to ancient Egypt in graphic novels, though some of the ideas on Egypt have a different and much longer previous history. The ancient Egyptian beliefs that make the background, and the origins and the development of the myth of immense wisdom of the Egyptians are too complex to be pursued here in any detail (s. Hornung 2001; Ebeling 2007). Still, several pertinent points will be mentioned, pertinent to the present purpose.

The wisdom of the Egyptians. Though puzzled or even abhorred by some Egyptian customs like animal-cults, the ancient Greeks were impressed by the country's antiquity, architecture, mathematics, and above all by the immense wisdom and knowledge they ascribed to it. That favourable side of the Greek image of Egypt, and the tendency to recognize the familiar phenomena in the foreign customs, led the Greeks to believe that a number of elements of their

⁷ The subject of ancient Egypt appears in graphic novels already between 1905 and 1918, almost simultaneously with the same subject in film (Humbert 1998, 45). For the few films made before 1905, featuring Egypt or mummies see: <http://www.ancientegyptfilmsite.nl/> accessed 12.5.2012).

own culture, including philosophy and theology, originated in Egypt, the prominent and most influential proponent of the idea being Herodotus (Lloyd 2010, 1074-77, 1085; Ebeling 2007, 28-29). The idea of ancient and sublime, "antediluvian" knowledge of the Egyptians is certainly present with Plato (Griffiths 1980, 168; Ebeling 2007, 28), and the mythical and mystical image of Egypt can be traced further on in the writings of the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman authors. The Egyptian word for hieroglyphic script, "medju-netjer" (words of gods), reflects the belief the script was created by gods, and god Thoth – later equated with Hermes by the Greeks – was the god of writing and knowledge, to whom many inventions were ascribed and the veneration of whom did not cease with the last native Egyptian rulers. The high regard the Egyptian mastery of magic had led to the translations of the Egyptian magical texts into Greek, and Thoth, whose epithet since the New Kingdom was "great in magic" and "trice great" (Trismegistos) since the 2nd century C.E., played an important role in these texts (Ebeling 2007, 23-27; Kurth 1986, 507; Hornung 2001, 9). The written sources on Egypt that reached the Renaissance Europe were not a simple result of misunderstanding and misinterpretations; the slow changes and shifts in religion perceptible in the long history of Egypt, continued into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious society ruled by the foreigners, the Egyptians of the late antiquity did not belong to the ruling class, their priesthood lost the political and economic influence it once had, and in spite of the resistance, their religion was not completely immune to the influences of the others. The fact that "Books of Hermes", written in Coptic, were found along with the Gnostic texts in the Nag Hammadi library, points to the hellenized Egyptian temple priests as authors/compiler of the Hermetic tractates and the subsequent analysis revealed the connections to the temple inscriptions of the late date as well to the most ancient Egyptian texts (Hornung 2001, 53; Ebeling 2007, 11, 30). The texts of this kind were brought to Italy from Greece in the 15th century and greatly contributed to the renewed esteem of Egypt. Believed to be the works of the Egyptian priest Horapollo and the god Hermes Trismegistos himself respectively, the "Hieroglyphica" and "Corpus Hermeticum" were first translated from Greek into Latin, and soon into the other languages and were accepted and analysed as the documents of ancient wisdom, the ideas expressed in them being recognized as the predecessors of the Christian faith (Curl 2005, 81; Ebeling 2007, 9-12). Although "Corpus Hermeticum" was recognized by Isaac Casaubon as early as the beginning of the 17th century as a product of the Early Christianity (Hornung 2001, 98), the philosophy of Hermeticism was further on highly influential, and Corpus Hermeticum, itself esteemed by learned people, reprinted and translated into other languages and inspired new works. Hermeticism had strong impact on the image Egypt in the European thought until the beginning of the 19th

century. Its influence did not disappear with the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in 1822 and with the subsequent development of Egyptology based on the critical analysis of the ancient Egyptian written sources and archaeological data. The Rosicrucian and Freemason movements, Theosophical societies, Mormons, each in their way believed to own the ancient Egyptian knowledge or pursued the idea of it, some of them performing pseudo-Egyptian rituals too (Hornung 2001, 106-127, 141-154, 173-178). A list of the mystifications of the ancient Egyptian achievements and knowledge can be continued with neo-pagan Kemetists, R. A. Schwaller de Lubitz, tarot cards and is not exhausted with them. However limited to certain circles the occult, esoteric ideas may seem, their influence on the popular image of Egypt should not be underestimated. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's literary contribution to the popular image of the mummies did not solely originate from unwrapping of the mummies, social events of upper class in the Victorian times, but was undoubtedly related to his adherence to spiritualism (Saler 2003, 607).

Revived mummies. The ancient Egyptians' belief in Afterlife included the communication with their dead and they used various means to accomplish it. They communicated with the eternal soul of the dead. A body was necessary for the *ka*-soul in Afterlife, and beside the mummy, the sculptures and two-dimensional representations could play the role, so that the rituals meant to make the body functional by magic were performed on all of them. The representations were idealized images of a human body, void of advanced age, disfigurement etc., in short – they were materialization of the idea of a timeless body. The Egyptians tried to create the impression of the fullness of muscles, and to attain it they added textile pads to arms and legs of a desiccated mummy, painted face features over wrappings, covering the mummy with masks and so on, proving that the idea of the skeleton wrapped in strips of textile, striding through the (Under-)world, was not their idea. Still, it is the very picture one meets most often in comics (and movies).

The step into this direction may have been made long before our times. *The Life of Pisentios*, preserved in the 10th century copy of the older Coptic manuscript, contains an account on Pisentios, bishop of Koptos in the 7th century, hiding in a rock-cut tomb full of mummies and his conversation with one of them, which awakens after her name was read loudly, and gets up from its coffin (Amélineau 1887, 9, 44, 141-151). This may be the earliest story of the kind (Hornung 2001, 165), since the considerably older story of the Ramses'II son Khaemwese Setne, the first Egyptian "antiquarian" who became the central figure of at least one cycle of tales, can be referring to the communication and a confrontation with a spirit abiding in a mummy (not a revived mummy), in order to obtain the scroll of magic, written by Thoth himself (Ritner 2003, 454).

In the English literature, the first novel featuring a reanimated mummy, was "The Mummy! Or a Tale of The Twenty-Second Century" (1st edition 1827) by Jane C. Loudon, née Webb, who may have been inspired by Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus*, especially by the sentence spoken by Victor: "A mummy again endued with animation could not be so hideous as that wretch" (Hopkins 2003, 6). The time when the motif of a revived mummy came into being almost coincides with the time when J. F. Champolion deciphered the hieroglyphic script (1822) which in its turn resulted in the fast development of Egyptology. The continuing popularity of and fascination with ancient Egypt of the 19th century, recognizable in the use of the Egyptian motives and themes in architecture, painting, literature, applied arts, advertising, gave birth to a new type of social gatherings of educated people who were not necessarily Egyptologists – 'the Mummy parties'. A mummy's bandages were removed, and the desiccated body was inspected. Such an event provided the setting for the Edgar Allan Poe's story *Some Words with a Mummy*, published in 1845. The mummy named Count Allamistakeo, unwrapped on the dining table and revived by galvanisation (as the one of Jane Webb), talks with the experts on Egypt gathered for the occasion, serving to the author, Edgar Allan Poe to ridicule the beliefs in the superiority of the modern science, the historians' and especially Egyptologists' interpretations of the past, and to express his own scepticism towards democracy by the reference to an ancient Egyptian tyrant whose name was Mob (Quinn 1998, 94, 468; Trafton 2004, 133). In the French literature of the time, it was Théophile Gautier who wrote about mummies, but though the mummified foot of the princess Hermonthis, used as a paperweight, lively leaps in his story *Le pied de momie* (1840), the mummy of the queen Tahoser in his novel *Le Roman de la momie* (1857) never revives to step "alive" into the modern world. Further contribution to the popular image of mummies was given by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Whereas the mummy in *The Ring of Thoth*, the story published in 1890, is just eary and unhappy, two years later, in his story *Lot No 249* Doyle created the character of an evil mummy; a papyrus of immense value, because of the knowledge it contains, features also in the latter story. Both Doyle's stories were later exploited in film scripts (Freeman 2009, 3). It is not known if the tale of Khaemwese Setne was known to Conan Doyle. But the scholarly translations in German (1867), English and French (1900), opened the way to the story for the wider audience and some of its episodes and characters are recognizable in Karl Freund's film *The Mummy* with Boris Karloff (1932) and Mika Valtaris's book *The Egyptian* (1949) (Vinson 2009, 284, n. 6; Ritner 2003, 454), both highly influential in the popular culture.

Pseudo-nemes and uraeus with non-royal persons. For ancient Egyptians, *nemes*, a stripped cloth that covered the hair (or wig) leaving ears free, was a headcloth reserved exclusively for pharaohs. *Nemes* had two laps falling on the

breast, whereas the third corner of the cloth was wrapped forming a kind of pigtail and hung on the back. It is difficult to trace back when *nemes* started to be used in representations of persons of non-royal descent. Early and probably the best known examples, date from the 2nd century C.E., from the time of the emperor Hadrian. After drowning in the Nile, the emperor's favourite Antinous was declared a semi-god and the sculptures memorizing him were placed throughout the Empire. Some statues represented him as Osiris-Antinous, in the attire of an Egyptian pharaoh, wearing the royal *shendit*-kilt and *nemes*-headcloth. Several representations of the kind were preserved and exhibited in Rome at least since the 16th century, initializing the wide and enduring (re-)use of the motif (Ziegler 1994a, 46-48, Cat. No 1), not only in sculpture, but in paintings, furniture, etc. The details of the original were not always closely followed – the fate Osiris-Antinous, turned into the motif of an Egyptian, shared with the growing number of other Egypt-inspired motifs. Highly influential in designing and spreading of the Egyptian motifs was Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Piranesi. His peculiar combinations of the Greek, Etruscan and Egyptian motifs for interior design, published in 1769 (*Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini ed ogni altra parte degli edifizii desunte dall'architettura Egizia, Etrusca, e Greca*), were for a long time seen as a role model and were copied. They included male figures recognizable as Egyptian by their form, the royal *shendit*-kilt, and royal head-cloth, the latter often being substituted for its short version without laps (Humbert 1994, Cat. Nos 14, 21), i.e. a pseudo-nemes, similar to the one used in comics. Josiah Wedgwood, approximately contemporary with Piranesi, can be also named here as an important creator of the Egyptianizing design. Beside designs inspired by the classical antiquity, Wedgwood's pottery included the ware with the Egyptian motifs such as sphinxes, deities, pseudo-hieroglyphs etc. Wedgwood's "Canopic jars", vases copying the form of the Egyptian funerary equipment, receptacle for viscera, had a number of decorative elements recognizable as Egyptian; the (false) lids in the form of a human head wore a stripped head-cloth, a variant of *nemes*, often reaching only to the vase shoulder. Although the Egyptian antiquities were a part of several private collections in England, and some of them were already published by English gentlemen who visited Egypt (Pantazzi 1994, 170-171), Wedgwood designs were modelled on the drawings published by the authorities such as Bernard de Montfaucon and Athanasius Kircher, but who had never been in Egypt (Curl 2005, 195) i.e. the models used were already subjected to a strong Europeanization.⁸ The limited knowledge of designers – not only of

⁸ E.g. some of the "Egyptian black" or "basalt" vases are recognizable in illustrations for Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité Expliquée* (1719-1724), which in turn can be traced back to the Roman Egyptianizing canopic jars from the time of Hadrian, at

those working for Wedgwood – on the difference between the royal head cloth and the wig worn by Amseti, human-headed deity protecting one of the canopic jars, contributed to the blending of two head-covers and to the creation of "pseudo-nemes". The Wedgwood quality pottery, at first the status marker for the English middle class, later found its place in the homes of the upper class; the designs used for it were widely known and thus they too contributed to establishing "pseudo-nemes" as a visual signifier of a male from Ancient Egypt. The example of the painter Lawrence Alma Tadema, highly esteemed by the bourgeois circles of the Victorian times, illustrate how deeply rooted and persistent the established signifiers may be. His first paintings included early medieval subjects, but he later turned to the subjects more appealing to the public, first Egypt, then classical Greece. He meticulously copied the objects exhibited in the British Museum and extensively used the available Egyptological literature of the time, (using Egyptian pictures) especially John G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians* (1837-1841) (Raven 1996, 467-468). In spite of this, he still painted a strange head-cloth, half pseudo-nemes, half head-cloth of Arabs in his *Egyptian Chess Players* (1865).

In ancient Egypt, *uraeus*, reared up cobra with the dilated neck, spitting poison, was worn on the forehead by kings and gods. Loaded with a number of meanings, it was a powerful royal protection and a threat to the enemies. Though usurped along with some other royal insignia by private persons to be used predominantly in funerary context and as an amulet, for the ancient Egyptians the reared up cobra on the forehead remained a divine and royal prerogative (s. above) – the *uraei* represented on the forehead of some royal sons are all added later, when they became ruling kings. The use of the *uraeus* outside of Egypt went along the same paths as *nemes*, basically together with it. Its form was also occasionally misunderstood: the *uraei* on the forehead of the pair of sphinxes from Villa Borghese are transformed into lilies by the 18th century restoration, and the process of such transformations is traceable back to the Roman antiquity (Ziegler 1994b, 91). Specific for Egypt and easily recognizable, the *uraeus* (or its variants) is adopted since the Renaissance as a signifier of an Egyptian, and is often shown on the forehead of non-royal persons, alone or coupled with the pseudo-*nemes*.

Conclusion

The codes on ancient Egypt in graphic novels came to being under the wing of already existing ideas of ancient Egypt. Resulting from the long history of the

display in Rome at the time Montfaucon spent there (Pantazzi 1994, 174; Humbert 1994, 178, Cat. No 91).

contacts, and a higher degree of inclusion in the Mediterranean World under the Ptolemaic and Roman rule, the image of Egypt created in the Antiquity saturated the later perceptions of Egypt. The decisive influence on the Renaissance views on ancient Egypt was made by those Graeco-Roman written sources on the country, its history, achievements, religion and customs of its inhabitants, above all Herodotus' account, preserved after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. The *Corpus Hermeticum* and Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica* were therefore perceived as a confirmation of the reports on the immense wisdom of the ancient Egyptians. Although not recognized as such at the time, the texts were the final products of the transformation the Egyptian culture underwent over time, and especially in Roman Egypt, and were produced in close contact with and at least partly under the influence of other religions and world views. In the centuries to follow their re-discovery, they were studied by the European theologians and philosophers and, on the other hand, together with some other texts like Tabula Smaragdina, by the alchemists, and remained up to now essential for the perpetuators of the idea of the exceptional knowledge of the ancient Egyptians, embraced by the occult, esoteric societies, and in the popular culture. The transformation of the original form of *uraeus* and *nemes* headcloth, and the way they were used started with the Egyptianizing products of the imperial Rome, commissioned by some emperors or made to meet the demands of adherents of the cults of Isis and Serapis. And although the evil mummies may be the product of the 19th century and its taste, the idea that a mummy, or better a well preserved body, had a potential to be revived, coincides in a sense with the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians.

There is little doubt that the authors of the early comics met with the already existing stereotypes of Egypt. It was partly created, partly supported by the literature, painting and applied arts, and further invigorated by the movies and firmly established in them.⁹ Most of the ideas underlining these stereotypes had their roots in the Antiquity and have further evolved in the Renaissance, but all of them were filtered through the world views of the 19th century, and are thus laden with the ideology of the time. The classifications of human societies, modern and ancient, produced the images of what is considered to be representative for particular country and its inhabitants and these images are discernible in graphic novels (Thiébaud 1998, 38-40). Thus, whether using some general encyclopaedias, overviews on specific subject (e.g. costume, architecture), publications signed by specialists for Egypt as John G. Wilkinson (1837)

⁹ Dozens of films featuring ancient Egypt, including those with biblical themes, and at least twenty with mummies and on mummies were made before Karl Freund's *Mummy* (1932), and thus before the time when, in 1930s, the 'American comics' established themselves in Europe. List with basic data on the films: <http://www.ancientegyptfilmsite.nl/>

and Adolf Erman (1894) were, as the visual source for their drawings, or being influenced directly by movies, the authors of the first graphic novels on Egypt were not just compelled to rely on their exactness: they needed ready-made images perceivable as a type to make the characters and the setting recognizable as specific for the country, Egypt, and the time the story was set in.

One of the reasons for which ancient Egypt appealed and still appeals the authors of the graphic novels is the perceived freedom to use it without much concern for the facts, to alternate it and alienate it, if necessary. Luke Pitcher proposed that ancient Greece and Rome, due to the system education, were observed as too familiar to be a suitable background for the exotic and occult magic of superheroes of comics, and the ancient Near East became a convenient choice for the purpose (Pitcher 2009, 32). This is valid for the stereotypes on Egypt too, and the three graphic novels analysed here, although each to the different extent, may serve as the examples. The angle of approach can be an additional hint at the complexity of social and cultural issues involved in the creation and utilization of the popular image of Egypt, and the colonial background some of them share should not be overlooked. The appropriation of ancient Egypt in graphic novels, reflected in the interpretation based on the old stereotypes, occasionally includes the neglect of the specifics of the landscape, costume and similar, or introduces the stereotypes on Orient of more recent date, and thus in its way results in an Orientalised Egypt, similar to Verdi's *Aida* in Edward Said's analysis (Said 2002, 231).



Fig. 13 Funeral complex of the King Djoser at Saqqara (De Gieter 2008, t. 6)

Although various informations on ancient Egypt were easily accessible to De Gieter at the times when he created his first albums on the adventures of Papyrus, he drew on the popular image of the culture and made arbitrary choices in the scenography and costume. The same author was – for good reasons – praised by Luc Delvaux for the level of the accuracy he achieved over the time in representing landscape, architecture, rituals, in understanding iconography and even implementing it occasionally in his drawings (Delvaux 1996: 612, 613-14). Why then De Gieter does not also relinquish the few stereotypes left in his albums on Papyrus?

The persistence of the stereotypes (however few were left) in the graphic novels such as *Papyrus*, shows that they are not present exclusively, or not always, out of necessity to have a clear-cut outlines of the "otherness" of the Egyptians or people living in antiquity. The reason for the longevity of these stereotypes in graphic novels is the same reason for which they were adopted and used at first: the readership. Namely, though the socio-political patterns, education, personal interests and preferences that form the cultural background and world view of an author of graphic novels can be and often are clearly reflected in their work, a number of codes (that may vary according to a genre) is more universal, creating a specific and recognizable communication means between the author and the readership, and among the readers, irrespective of their country of origin or particular cultural background. The comic books as media have their specific language, beyond specific tongues, and moreover they have their culture, "comic book culture" as Matthew J. Pustz (1999) named it. Many of the codes evolved in the early days of graphic novels, when their authors drew on the popular ideas familiar and attractive to huge numbers of readers; once created, they became an indispensable part of the comic books' notion "Egypt". The stereotypes of Egypt, whether all or only some of them present in the graphic novels here analysed, do not necessarily represent a crucial part of a particular story, but their usage shows that they are intrinsic part of setting a story in Egypt, belonging to the elements that form such framework. They seem to be indispensable in non-educational graphic novels tackling with Egypt, being the elements of a specific mythology of the medium. The stereotypes of the profound knowledge of the Egyptians, mastery of magic, and the quest for their secrets, evil and dangerous mummies, accompanied by some visual clichés are quintessential for the language of comics concerning the ancient Egypt, they became premises, and are accepted by the readers as the facts of the comics.

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Princeza Ru i Papirus – Stereotipi o starom Egiptu u stripu

Dešifrovanje hijeroglifskog pisma 1822. godine označilo je korenitu promenu u shvatanjima o starom Egiptu i od tada se, zahvaljujući naučnom istraživanju, znanje o ovoj temi neprekidno uvećava. Uprkos dostupnosti rezultata egiptoloških studija, slika Egipta u popularnoj kulturi često sadrži starije kon-

cepte i neki od njih, kao što je mit o drevnoj i velikoj mudrosti, postali su stereotipi koji se koriste u popularnim medijima. Tekst govori o njihovom prisustvu u stripovima, razmatra poreklo ovih stereotipa i razloge njihovog opstanaka. Predlaže se da su stereotipi o starom Egiptu postali kodifikovani deo komunikacije unutar "kulture stripa" (M. Pustz). Kao predstavnici različitih žanrova stripa, serija *Papyrus* Lisjena de Žetera (Lucien De Gieter) i albumi *Princesa Ru* Đorđa Lobačeva i *Hatšepsut* Nikole Kokana Mladenovića izabrani su za analizu.

Ključne reči: stari Egipat, stripovi, stereotipi

Princesse Rou et Papyrus – Stéréotypes sur l'ancienne Égypte dans la bande dessinée

Le déchiffrement de l'écriture hiéroglyphe a marqué en 1822 un changement radical dans les conceptions de l'ancienne Égypte, et depuis, grâce à des recherches scientifiques, les connaissances sur ce sujet augmentent sans cesse. En dépit de l'accessibilité des résultats des études égyptologiques, l'image de l'Égypte dans la culture populaire contient souvent des concepts plus anciens et certains d'entre eux, comme le mythe de l'ancienne et de la grande sagesse, sont devenus des stéréotypes utilisés dans des médias populaires. Le texte constate leur présence dans les bandes dessinées, il examine l'origine de ces stéréotypes et les causes de leur permanence. L'on affirme que les stéréotypes sur l'ancienne Égypte sont devenus une partie codifiée de la communication à l'intérieur de la "culture de la bande dessinée" (M. Pustz). En tant que représentants des différents genres de bandes dessinées, la série *Papyrus* de Lucien de Gieter et les albums *Princesse Rou* de Đorđe Lobačev et *Hatchepsout* de Nikola Kokan Mladenović ont été choisis pour l'analyse.

Mots clés: ancienne Égypte, bandes dessinées, stéréotypes

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