Magic, Envy, Reparation:
Egypt and the Decolonial Potential of Narrative

Shaymaa Mahmoud
s1951939
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University of Leiden - International Relations
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Dedication:

Thank you to my advisor, Diana Natermann, who encouraged me to believe in my research and kill my darlings.

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Introduction

The quest for justice and restoration is an ancient story. It is one I have in the forefront of my mind in museums in particular. Walking beneath the giant glass pyramid, crowds of people bustle to enter the Louvre. Though I appreciate the beauty of Paris and have a passion for museums, I am preparing myself for what I know will come: Egyptian artifacts, sarcophagi, jewelry, and chunks ripped from temple walls will line the glass cases that sit in rococo rooms. I try to appreciate the meaning of the inscriptions, the ingeniousness of the artifacts of themselves, but the disjointedness of being torn from their own context and transplanted into these exhibits, with their veiled but not so hidden historical context, haunts me through the halls.
Regarding the European art in its proper context, so starkly opposite the artifacts, I feel less tense, and go about the visit, until the gift shop. I see a necklace with the pendant of my favorite Egyptian goddess, Bastet. My friend tells me I should get it, but I turn away from the case and answer: no, they have taken enough. She asks what I mean, and I explain: how the museum profits immensely from the droves of people who pay to view the stolen artifacts, to be present in this space which functions as a cultural and historical center of the Western world and which tiptoes around the usurper legacy upon which this reputation rests. I talk about this secondary profit, extracted from the commercialization of this experience in trinkets which mimic artifacts and which museum patrons can purchase in an ever repeating cycle of buying and usurping sacred icons, with little to no awareness of the ever-reaching damage this cycle recreates. Sites like the Louvre and the British Museum sit in wealthy European countries because of the benefits they seized as past colonizers, while the damage and erasure they have inflicted upon countries like Egypt remain largely unrectified and often, unacknowledged.

Egypt and its various cultural artifacts are a thing of wonder, curiosity and high historical value. The mystery and magic of Ancient Egypt is famous; magic was tied to everything, from medicine and science to nature and concepts of morality. The lived experience of Egyptians across every social class, were impacted by this manner of engaging with the world. Though Ancient Egypt had distinct customs, so much of what formed a legacy, then manifests in different yet influential ways today. Ancient Egypt is considered to be an enduring bedrock of influence, culture and inspiration, and has maintained this value for millenia. From prime placement in the Louvre, the British Museum, universities and research organizations like Yale and the University

of London, the ingenuity of Ancient Egyptian artifacts and knowledge continue to spark the collective imagination centuries after their inception. As contemporary scholarship, culture and media shift the spotlight onto conversations around reparations, countries like Egypt that have been pillaged are demanding repayment. In attempting to both heal and decolonize relations between the Global North and South, this discussion is of particular meaning.

The stakes of this research are twofold: ideological as well as geopolitical. Understanding the ways narrative, preservation and envy are at play throughout time lends a depth to the international, scientific and spiritual fascination with Egypt throughout history. Egyptian heritage is valuable in the making of knowledge about the past but also offers guidance on present injustices and disparities of power. Because this history is so globally valuable and belongs to a living populace, preserving that legacy in the most honest, just and dignified manner is a priority. It should also be a priority spearheaded by its own people, who not only document their own history but also self-determine. Looking critically at how institutions currently re-construct, maintain and address colonial legacies, how power structures maintain varying modes of oppression, and where these modes may originate, shows how everything from the microlevel to the global order is affected.

Thesis Statement

Envy created a trauma bond between colonizer states and Egypt; examining Egyptian Origin narratives using envy theory and colonial narcissism shows antiquity repatriation and distributive justice are essential postcolonial steps in healing the global order´s colonial legacy and rewriting power relations between the global North/South.

Research Questions

How does envy connect the colonizer to the colonized, and what does the Origin story reveal about envy, memory, relationality and reparations when examined within a decolonial lens? How is the historical context of envy useful in understanding repatriation, reparations and postcolonial potential? How does envy manifest within the Egyptian psyche, and how can its social and cultural context help to address legacies of colonialism on a local, macro and

international scale? To what degree does envy in an Egyptian context tie ancient Egyptian culture to today and influence Egypt´s actions as a geopolitically important state actor?

Order of paper: First, I will define relevant terms, frameworks and narratives. Next, I will identify the gap my research fills and situate it in relation to existing scholarship. After that, I will interrogate the colonial motivations around theft, including how envy manifests around artifact theft. Then I will explore the influence envy had as a motivator and how benefits around colonialism worked. I will then transition to how the evil eye personifies envy in Egypt now. That will be followed by how narratives around envy are tied to the Ancient Egyptian origin story, and how this narrative models the importance of both postcolonial justice and reconstructing narratives of multi-disciplinary healing. Then envy will be examined in terms of natural resources, followed by how Isis' narrative itself works on a postcolonial level. Finally, this paper aims to explore how repatriation, reparations, healthy envy, and the global order should engage in order to reach a just and balanced endpoint for international benefit.

Literature Review

Egypt´s origin story has an important lesson which continues to emerge in different portions of this paper, and the problem of scholarly research´s approach is one focus of this research: fragmentation. The separation between disciplines, connected both through the overlap of human experience and the specific case of colonialism, is a problem. Collaborative scholarship ¨is absolutely relevant to a richer understanding of [colonial] encounters, not so much in terms of 'filling holes' in the historical fabric, but in combining with other forms of evidence to generate different ways of looking – or to productively reconfigure problem-spaces¨ (Richard, 2010, p. 43). Colonialism induced major shifts in a wide variety of spheres: the economic, cultural, political, psychological, and so on. It follows, then, that a holistic and interdisciplinary approach must also be employed to correctly research colonialism´s damage and appropriately heal affected entities, which some scholars demonstrate in their research.

Envy Theory

Psychology and anthropology combined recently to develop envy theory, which explores how envy manifests, contributes to as well as resolves colonial legacies and constructs the global order. Maijala´s psychological depiction of envy shows colonialism´s origin, possible unconscious manifestations, and how to address this: "[Envy] is modified greed, suggestive of the emotional state of jealousy[…]Especially when unconscious, envy may lead to destructive behavior or non-harmonious existence[...while] recognition of envy may open up new developmental possibilities towards harmonious existence (Drichel, 2018, p. 230). Envy can be perceived as a dimension of a person's health" (Maijala, 2000, p. 1346). Hughes (2020) explains the subject´s relation to their environment and to Others around them: ¨envy is best identified with [...] feelings and resentment of the inferior regarding their own inferiority in relation to their social betters[...]one does not normally envy down¨ (p. 193). This interacts interestingly with narcissism´s projection of superiority: if colonizers envied non-Western Others, this implies an initial impression of inferiority, which could possibly be the driving force of such violent manifestations. Maijala asserts this "painful emotion caused by the experienced weakness of the ego[...] leads to a lowering of self-esteem and [...]-respect" (Maijala, 2000, p. 1345). In looking at how envy shaped the colonial self, and how this self would then be stifled in relations with

Others, it is not so hard to contextualize the colonial psyche and protocol in engaging with Egyptians. Ninivaggi (2010) includes envy´s ties to larger structures: “Many customs and beliefs gleaned from anthropological research may have their origins in the social impact resulting from envious penetrating dynamics” (p. 339). [Envy hampers insight, ...] complicates and gives texture to human social dramas,” but stops just short of applying it to institutions like colonialism (Ninivaggi, 2010, p. 339). I agree with these scholars´ assertions and widen the field further, as envy theory provides an important and much needed frame for conceptualizing colonialism. Taking envy theory from the micro to macro level, to the national and cultural psyche of colonizer states unlocks its true potential, specifically around decolonization.

Colonial Narcissism and Relationality

While envy theory has not been theorized in relation to colonialism, the concept of narcissism has, though not as widely as experts might like. Drichel (2018) asks ¨[If clinical analyses…] emphasize narcissism’s ‘disastrous’ origins in traumatic relationality, why is so little of this discourse filtering through into broader conversations about narcissism beyond the clinic?¨ (p. 334). Particularly in terms of how envy theory and narcissism structure relationality, or how the Western colonizer relates to the Orient´s Other, these contributions are helpful in looking at the role relationality and envy have in colonialism and decolonization. Said (1978) writes: ¨because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action—an act of imprisonment that brought enormous psychological benefits to the European Orientalist: European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate [...] underground self¨” (Said, 1978, p. 3). In this context Drichel examines this narcissism not only in its effects on the colonized but in what it reveals about colonial identity: narcissistic grandiosity in which European colonizers are readily interpellated—as having painful, failed relationality (2018, p. 333). A lack of healthy relationality has been essential to the colonial identity and its expression of narcissism; Shaw, like Said, finds “the tendency to seek power and control through negation of the other” (Shaw, 2014, p. 6). Drichel adds that this negation happens ¨so that the narcissist’s subjectivity is always the exclusively important and only valid focus [...] He creates fixed complementarity in relationships, himself in the dominant [subject] position and the other as his object to use¨ (Drichel, 2018, p. 332). These explorations

of stunted relationality are very useful to this research and will be shown using evidence from various, overlapping disciplines.

Museums, Colonialism, Artifact Repatriation

Museums, as maintainers and originators of legacy, are important sites to observe colonial narcissism and absorption with self-image at work. Savoy and Sarr (2018) assert that in its ¨very origins, [...] a logic of national affirmation, the museum allows for European powers to stage their aptitude for the absorption and classification of the world¨. The Savoy report was essential in taking apart institutions of colonial supremacy within education and exhibition; this dissection of colonialism and demand for responses in the present regarding artifact repatriation and reparations drew wide critique. Ideology was fundamental to colonization, so museums created and validated this hierarchy of knowledge which maintained colonizers as subject and Others as object. As evidence of this asymmetrical relation's maintenance today, France's former culture minister Aillagon challenged: the report is "a manifesto, built on [assumptions ...of the authors], leaving hardly any place for contradiction" and leading to "radical propositions" whose ¨implementation would empty the museums¨, and would replace works with copies (Hunt, Dorgerloh, & Thomas, 2020). The focus is on any cost to colonial legacy rather than the simplicity of returning what is stolen; this anxious response is even before talk of what appropriate reparations or distributive justice might look like. Other responses to the Savoy report have agreed: Cameroonian Prince Ndumbe III of the Duala people runs an artifact restitution nonprofit, and said this report was "the first step in the right direction¨: "This is not just about the return of African art (Nayeri, 2018). When someone's stolen your soul, it's very difficult to survive as a people. He invited Britain and Germany to follow the French example and commission their own restitution reports¨ (Nayeri, 2018). I also find this report´s propositions an appropriate beginning of a long process starting with material returns but needing to go as far as interrogating institutions and ideologies that colonialism has manifested and cemented. The gap within this work is that the ¨report only concerns sub-Saharan Africa,¨ and the Egyptian case ¨should be the object of a more specific reflection (Sarr & Savoy, 2018, p. 3). I believe this research´s application will make meaningful contributions to the report´s assertions and look forward to other previously colonial states´ restitution reports.

Reparations

Rather than focusing on particular plans around reparations, this research is concerned with the politics and narratives in which concepts are embedded. The resistance to restitution discounts any specific plans or figures, and as this research asserts, the values and voices given within restitution demand their own alterations. Savoy and Sarr state the decolonial "mission is oriented toward the creation of an entirely new and specific procedure for how to proceed with restitutions¨ (2018, p. 76). I agree that the majority of work needed here is recognition of decolonial voices, that colonizer institutions are not the experts on decolonization and required resources for this procedure. Collste asserts that reparation claims can be transgenerational, as beneficiaries and victims can be clearly identified and that "reconciliation without rectification is empty" (Collste, 2010, p.85, 97).

Methodology

This research combines narrative and historical research methods to explore the case study of Egypt. Qualitative research is useful to trace what the Egyptian Origin narrative has to offer around colonialism, decolonization and effects of hindered relationality. A postcolonial lens highlights how historical and narrative perspectives have been shaped by colonialism and guide how to move away from colonial and neocolonial structures into a postcolonial future. Arguments around decolonizing postcolonial studies highlight the ways that the present is not yet postcolonial, and how further decolonization must be completed before a postcolonial future is possible. I will be developing colonial rupture alongside the Origin narrative to illustrate work to be done in decolonizing the past and present. I will also be developing rememory to explore decolonial healing and which makes particular assertions around concepts of embodiment and relationality in the Egyptian context.

Colonial Rupture as practice and perspective

Colonial rupture explores how systems are affected by narcissistic (dis)engagement with the self and Others. It is shaped through the legend of Narcissus, which ties knowledge of the self with death (Wick 2013). This concept was expanded by philosophers, which Grosfoguel extensively explores: ¨By producing a dualism between mind and body[,] mind and nature, Descartes was able to claim non-situated, universal, God-eyed view knowledge¨ (2007, p. 4). Like Frantz Fanon's concept of unmarked and invisible whiteness, this rupture became a manner of disconnection which would ripple outward extensively into colonial structures; the pathological need to conquer distracted from engaging with or seeing the self (Hilton, 2011) . It also offered material and self-aggrandizing reinforcement to this method of relationality. Narcissus´ absorption with his reflection translates his stunted relationality rippling out onto his surroundings and making the world in his image. This is seen with colonialism; exposing this flawed relationalty caused various kinds of rupture elsewhere, which became the standard to normalize this constructed colonial reality. One important practice was reality curation and exhibition that validated this colonial relationality; the colonial curation process assigned value, validated ideas and artifacts that supported its aims and nullified or destroyed what did not (Said, 1978). This colonial curation reifies the constructive and maintenant power of museums and

explains anxieties around emptying them. Material benefits are not the only loss; returning these exhibits disrupts the curated ´reality´ and context validating colonial and neocolonial narratives. Grosfoguel asserts that in ¨hiding the location of the subject of enunciation, European colonial expansion and domination constructed a hierarchy of superior and inferior knowledge and, thus, of superior and inferior people around the world¨ (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.214). This rupture hides the speaker, rendering the assumptions and hierarchies this speaker adheres to as rational rather than constructed or questionable.

Colonial rupture affects perceptions of time and relations between the past, present and future. It selectively denies the value of tradition, inheritance and their cyclical natures. It separates the father from the son and action from reaction. Mansfield, an established British historian, asserts this was how Ancient Egypt could be romanticized while colonizers ´despised´ Egyptian descendants as ´such worms´ and ´child-like´. He includes an excerpt from a report considered sympathetic at the time to Egyptians: ´The people are not real people, only parts of the scenery¨ (Scalf, 2017). Said´s work around the invisibility of Arab personhood is relevant here: ¨Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analyzed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined or—as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory—taken over (207). **T**his aspect of temporal rupture is also how colonial transmissions to the present are dismissed: connections through history, tradition, the baselines of institutions and between descendants and ancestors are dismissed. This fragmentation was strategically deployed by colonialism and maintained by neocolonialism. Faimon (2004) states “the intense denial and controversy that follows confrontation with a truth that contradicts the defined truth by the colonizers is predictable[...A]re they not also modern day colonizers [...]when they perpetrate and support the myths that have been created by keeping the silence and by reaping the rewards of governmental policies and actions¨(p. 239). This ruptured relationality was so well cemented, it continues today: true knowledge of the self or a reckoning with colonial behavior and resulting reparations means ruin. This temporal rupture separates formal colonizers from economic, ideological and national ruin; colonial benefactors would have to cede their stolen advantage, particularly riches they have built their identity on. This can be seen now in Britain where nostalgia for being ´the pride and envy of the Western world´ is a political rallying cry.

The concept of colonial rupture within this research casts colonial and decolonial actors into the Egyptian Origin narrative and uses it to explore rectifying this past. Horus is cast as contemporary Egyptians and those seeking decolonial justice while Osiris is useful in understanding Egypt´s ancestral legacy. Colonizers play the role of the envious god Set, while the roles of Thoth and Isis combine to explore both the rejoining potential of scholarship and activism. The overlay of this narrative over history shows how intersections of magic, healing, relationality and narrative support a decolonial and eventually postcolonial global order. In this way, an Ancient Egyptian narrative offers historical perspective that responds directly to the global order.

Rememory and magic

Re-memory is a response to the effects of traumatic fragmentation caused by colonialism. Decolonial concepts of 'magic' explain phenomena outside contemporary scopes of understanding and lend agency to relationality. Narrative will also used as a decolonial tool and is inspired and contextualized by Toni Morrison's concept of rememory[1]:

> "History versus memory, and memory versus memorylessness. Rememory as in recollecting and remembering as in reassembling the members of the body, the family, the population of the past. [...]The effort to both remember and not know became the structure of the text. [The oppressed cannot] bear too long to dwell on the past[...N]o reliable literary [or] scholarly history [is] available to [...] help them, [...] living in a society and system in which the conquerors write the narrative of their lives. They are spoken of and written about – objects of history, not subjects within it. [A] major preoccupation of [this research is] reconstituting and recollecting a usable past [...]but also the narrative [...] turns on the stress of remembering, its inevitability, the chances for liberation that lie within the process[...]memory is insistent yet becomes the mutation of fact into fiction then folklore and then into nothing." (Morrison, 2019)

[1] It is important to acknowledge that this concept will be reworked to suit Egypt as a case, and to further acknowledge that it has not been conclusively proven that Egyptians kept slaves as they are known today. A deep and important tension exists here between a concept developed by a descendant of slaves to talk specifically about European-enacted slavery and its deeply traumatic legacy, and a civilization which Biblically, though perhaps not actually, places its claim to greatness on the labor of slaves.
Egyptologists shirk accounts of Egyptian slavery (mainly supported by Biblical evidence) and posit "Slaves [at the time] were basically only prisoners of war, foreigners" (Ćwiek, 2018). In being aware of the power of narratives, it is important to question the power of (religious) narratives which have their own biases and have shaped the collective imagination without necessarily having historical credibility.

There is a specific relationship between the colonized, whose trauma-informed identity is developed in conditions and treatment imposed by European colonialism, and memory or narratives of past experience. Understanding the power of narrative is relevant to magic as a postcolonial tool, as narrative constructs what is possible by showing what has been done and thus, what can be done again. Magic is a way of knowing, and the kind of knowing that is possible depends on the perceiver of this magic. “Seen from the post-colonial perspective, magic and supernatural elements serve to disrupt reality, giving voice to the Other [the oppressed groups]” (Adams, 2005). In using postcolonial magic as a tool, interpretations of what happened within the physical world can be reinterpreted in a way that stems from and gives further credence to Ancient and native Egyptian magic, narrative and experience. Using this aspect of magic to look at how narrative shifts and who has control of narrative can do powerful work in shifting concepts of ‘objective truth’ that were often treated as unquestionable by colonizers but which in fact were deeply biased. It can also highlight instances of erasure and the superimposition of colonial devices and voices within Egyptian narratives. This is particularly true when renowned Egyptologists and archaeologists are not only not Egyptians, but are citizens of countries shaped by colonial projects around nationalism and history.

´Superstition´ is one example; this terminology invalidates the relationship between the spiritual follower and the agency afforded through magic. ´Superstition´ places a deliberate distance between the reality experienced by Egyptians as a distinctly non-Western part of the mystical ´Orient´, and a rational Western perspective which is placed in a mostly unquestioned baseline reality. If Egyptian magic is every action having a reaction and followers being tied into holistic and healthy relationality with all, superstition is a way of dismissing the consequences of colonial actions and rupturing their relation to consequence.

The decolonial use of magic as ideological framework and lens reexamines colonial assertions. Decolonized history and knowledge unlocks indigenous resistance and potential by retelling and recontextualizing history. For example, Egyptian ‘superstition’ around grave robbing was dismissed by colonial perception 'that such ideas and beliefs are both childish and foolish” (Budge, 2002, p. 2). It is no surprise that colonial language refers to Egyptians as immature and uneducated and no coincidence colonial powers saw this belief system to be further proof of Egyptians´ ‘backwardness’. Egyptian concepts of Ma´at, however, would find colonial

graverobbing being answered with a fatal mosquito bite or overnight estate loss as divine cause and effect; this is how the decolonial lens of magic functions as resistance.

Healing and justice

Healing has two dimensions: one is suturing fragments and the other is enacting justice. Returning fragments to their original wholeness involves the deliberate gathering and placement of materials and ideas. Addressing fragmentation happens here on three levels in parallel narratives. Isis tirelessly searches for, discerns and gathers Osiris´ limbs, making him whole with aid from Thoth and Anubis, who originates eternal preservation in the process. Scattered artifacts and mummified ancestors return home after centuries without true context to inspire pride in and be preserved by descendants. This research cites and synthesizes the decolonial work of other scholars and disciplines in order to understand the historical perspective of the Origin story more holistically. Active justice, meanwhile, addresses disharmony resulting from the violence of fragmentation and associated ripple effects. ¨To envision the possible of the future requires clearing away the painful legacies of the colonial past [...]If this can be accompanied by a return of emblematic objects, memory work can function as an operator for the reconstruction of the identity of subjects and communities¨ (Sarr & Savoy, 2018, p.35). Fragmentation is a kind of wounding, and the process of closing and dressing the wound must happen for it to heal effectively. This includes restitution, artifact repatriation, challenging colonial narratives and institutions, and other avenues of decolonization which address not only immediate damage from the wound but delays that layer more damage upon the original fragmentation.

Definition

1. Envy, the Evil Eye and the Eye of Horus

The evil eye is “a malicious or envious look which, in popular belief, had the power of doing material harm¨ (OED). There is an awareness across cultures of an envious gaze causing damage. The cause and effect principle, so central to Egyptian magic and culture in the past and now, finds great relevance in the evil eye. It is a magic-centered sense of universal forces that are also accommodated by Islamic practice and belief. The evil eye finds its counterweight in the eye of Horus, god of the rising sun, symbol of endlessly renewed life. Horus loses his eye challenging

the usurper of his father's legacy, but Thoth magically restores it. Horus´ open eye gives eternal life and represents protection, health and restoration. It acknowledges the dangers of envy, and provides a talisman for fighting injustice (Britannica, 2020). This cycle of loss and restoration caused by envy is useful in understanding colonial envy of another´s abundance and what balancing out envy´s damage can bring to the future.

2. Magic as ancient practice

Heka and Maat were manners of manipulating the natural world and will of the gods, functioning as a "handmaiden to religion" (Budge, 2002, p. 3). Heka was protector and sustainer of humanity, the gods, world and universe. *Ma'at* was the harmony and balance allowing the universe to function and a central defining value of Egyptian civilization (Clark, 2003). Ancient Egyptians saw magic and medicine as one discipline; magic was a significant aspect of medical practice, so physicians would invoke Heka. Magic created and sustained everything, so Heka was the generative power the gods drew upon to create life (Mark, 2017). Everyday conduct and preparing for the afterlife were intertwined with Heka, as was the magic- and ritual-based practices of medicine. Nature, medicine and healing to Ancient Egyptian magic through Heka. "The ancient Egyptians regarded Maat as the supreme guide to harmony with nature and the gods" (Clark, 2003, p. 15). Heka was the general magic of being, while Maat was the ethical and moral manner of engaging with all surroundings.

3. Colonialism

This research starts Egyptian colonization with Bonaparte´s 18th century invasion. Egypt had been under foreign rule for two thousand years previous, conquered by the Assyrians and proceeding through various hands[2] until Turkish Ottomans held the country in the 14th century and were displaced by colonial powers (BBC, 2019). Though French occupation was just three years, this caused a shift in Egypt´s ideological, physical and economic stages. Having been delayed for around seventy years, British occupation followed and extended from 1882-1954[3,]

[2] Following the Assyrians were the Persians, Macedonians, then the Romans. Rome was displaced by Arab rule, then around two hundred and fifty years of slave soldier or *mameluke* rule.

[3] "Egypt and North Africa, 1800–1900 A.D." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ht/?period=10&region=afe (October 2004)

concluding once Egypt became a republic. British rule was considerably longer with more time to cause damage, but the joint efforts of British and French colonists co-created the burden of Egyptian oppression together. Thus, British and French colonialism will be the focus of colonial exploration in this paper[4].

[4] This is not to say that these trends are relevant only to these colonialisms; some quotes around decolonization as a process will be taken from indigenous American and Sub-Saharan scholarship. Colonialism as national project had many overarching aims and approaches no matter the subject; thus, decolonizing peoples today form their resistance and healing in similar ways for this reason.

Research results

The story of Isis, Osiris, Horus, Thoth and Set which is important to this research and which will be referenced throughout.

The earth god Geb and sky goddess Nut bore four children, Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys. Set was unpleasant from birth, and grew into an evil god. He was envious and jealous, particularly of his brother Osiris who is god of abundance and order. Osiris was chosen to become king of Egypt and Isis was queen. Together, Isis and Osiris ruled over Egypt and taught the people to flourish. Even though Set became god of foreigners, chaos (calamities like earthquakes and storms), deserts and far away lands, he was still jealous, and so he hatched a plot to kill his brother. Set trapped Osiris in a decorated wooden chest, which he coated in lead and threw into the Nile. With his brother vanished, Set became king of Egypt. Isis could not forget her husband, and she searched everywhere for him until she eventually discovered Osiris, still trapped in his chest, in Byblos. She brought his body back to Egypt, where Set then discovered the chest and proceeded to furiously hack his brother into pieces. Set then scattered the remains of his brother far and wide. Transforming into a bird, and helped by her sister, Nephthys, Isis was able to discover and reunite the parts of her dead husband's body—only his penis was missing. Using her magical powers, she was able to make Osiris whole; bandaged, neither living nor dead, Osiris had become a mummy. Nine months later Isis bore him a son, Horus. "Osiris was then forced to retreat to the underworld, where he became king of the dead" (Tyldesley, 2021).

Horus carries the duty of training not only to be a solid soldier and warrior, but also to avenge his father and take his rightful place as ruler of Egypt. Thoth is an important ally to Horus and Isis, protecting her during pregnancy and as healer of Horus' eye, the *wedjat* (Kramer, Wiley online). It is no accident that the god Thoth is the overlapping deity of writing, magic and justice. He was also the creator of hieroglyphics and Maat, Egyptian concept of divine order and justice. This narrative is central to Ancient Egyptian understandings of everything from healing and ritual to the afterlife, envy and justice. The lessons it offers around these subjects continue to create and give meaning to Egypt in the present.

Context and inherent value of artifacts

Egyptian artifacts are deeply tied to Egyptian culture; it is important to highlight the ways Egyptian culture inspired Greece and Rome as monoliths of European high culture. This is important because the past of a discipline shapes their development and relevance. Medical scripts from ancient Egypt, for example, are displayed in research institutions well known for scientific contributions today. Science, technology and culture are considered pillars of social value and cast a civilization as forward-thinking. The Egyptian context holds this relevance and more in influencing Rome and Greece, revered as pinnacles of civilization within European thought. if ancient Egypt and the way that it has contributed to Egyptian people up today as well as to the middle East as a region and its connections with the West, both consensual and coerced:

> Egypt was the oldest and most imposing civilization of the ancient world, renowned for its invention of writing, monumental pyramids and temples, and knowledge of history, astronomy, mathematics, magic, and medicine. Through this cultural prestige, as well as trade and diplomacy, Egypt exerted considerable influence on neighboring cultures throughout the Mediterranean, and was in turn affected by them. This exhibition explores the rich history of interconnections between Egypt, Greece and Rome over a span of more than two thousand years (Getty, 2018).

This would place Egypt at the center of cultural catalysts, alongside two powers continually romanticized and idealized in Western culture as the epitome of ingenuity. It is no secret that Greece and Rome were inspired and influenced by Egyptian innovation; a central exhibit was dedicated to these examples at the Getty. This also highlights another less obvious but equally powerful emerging factor in Western envy of Egyptian antiquities: Egypt's ancient influence and inspiration sits at the center of what is now widely accepted as ´cultural purity´. Egypt has long seen and prized itself as a core cultural creator, however; this perspective has then been periodically confirmed and reified by outside powers seeking to usurp its ideas, culture, resources, geography and artifacts.

Damaging Colonial Interactions with Ancient Egypt

The meaning and salience of Egypt is well known and affirmed by colonial interactions which valued antiquities and promoted their esteem within the European psyche. ¨The sculptures, [...ornate stones and objects] of the same nature are exposed to the eyes of the public of all

Nations and speak powerfully about the glory of the country that possesses them¨ (Khater, 1960, p. 271). Having the access and resources to ´explore´ the world, ´experience´ other cultures and return home with ´souvenirs´ was an impressive boon not only for the ´explorer´ and their extended family, but also for the country which created this possibility and the associated cultural and symbolic value of Europe at the time. With this type of value, however, came a simultaneous devaluing of Egyptian culture and life which will be evidenced by excerpts that highlight the dehumanization of Egyptians and how these values remain intact today. The mutually engaged processes of bastardization and exploitation that colonizing actors enforced on Egyptian people and culture ranged from Orientalist fetishization to literal objectification and consumption. Many practices on various scales demonstrate how French and British actors viewed Egyptian people and heritage as inhuman, but specific examples are extremely convincing.

Mummified ancestors were commodified and consumed in various ways, and each manner shows various colonial relationality and rupture manifestations. ‘Mummy Brown’ was considered a vogue commodity during colonial times, and so the colonizers filled their homes and museums with portraits and landscapes ´ornamented´ with the pulverized bodies of Egyptian people. Mummies would also be ground and used as medicine for bruising or headaches, and so Egyptian bodies were literally eaten by and at the behest of colonizers. Mummies that were not ground up were often taken back to England for unwrapping parties: hugely popular exhibitions where the British would gather to watch someone dissect the remains and accompanying funereal charms and preparations[5]. These examples show “mummies were not considered bodies, but rather commodities to be bought, traded, sold, used, and ultimately abused by the Westerner who eventually came to own the prepared corpse[...Dismissing these practices´ relevance is the same as dismissing] years of imperialism, of colonialist thought, in which people of ‘the Orient’- a category in which Egypt was definitely included - existed in the Western imagination as curios, commodities, and curiosities, not as human beings” (Leary, p. 5, 6). While these uses of Egyptian remains are substantiated, many other claimed and documented uses abound: everything from grinding mummies into flour to make bread to using them to power trains and give steak a

[5] These occasions of mummy abuse are paraphrased from Leary’s article, “Bodies Politic: Unwrapping the Treatment of Mummies in Colonized Egypt”, which the following quote also cites.

smoky mummy flavor (Elliott, 2017, p. 39, 40). These indignities evidence the degree to which the colonizer's relation to the Egyptian culture and people was rife with dehumanization, objectification and disrespect.

It is not surprising, with this backdrop of questionable moral behavior in particular, that a belief in repercussions for their actions followed displaced antiquities to colonial homes, institutions and cities. Concerns around theft and disruption were supported by the construction of the tombs themselves, including those featuring curses: ¨Robbery and theft from the tombs was a serious issue, so pharaohs requested that their bespoke tomb designers employ unique and ingenious means to prevent tomb robbers from desecrating the tombs"(Harrison, 2017, p.82). [Tombs often] displayed evidence of traps deliberately set to prevent unauthorised access into the valuable inner confines, and some bore hieroglyphic inscriptions[...] believed to be curses making [various] threats[...]¨(Harrison, 2017, p. 82). Whether these ends were chemical[6], metaphysical or some combination of the two, the narrative becomes one of perspective. Tombs inscribed with curses against graverobbing and colonizer torment by specters, illness and death makes an interesting point of the self-fulfilling cycles of consequence unmatured envy causes.

Ancient Egyptian reliance on a global sense of balance and justice link with many cases of ´explorers´ having met grim ends. Where Ancient Egyptians used magic to ward away envy and its ranging ill-effects, colonial enviers were anxious about consequences of this sacrilegious trespassing. ¨Helmut Schoek writes: 'nearly all superstition can be found to derive its dynamic from this particular anxiety about envy, and may be interpreted as a system of ritual environmental control directed against envy´ (Epstein, 2003, p. 34). Curses were defensive, reserved for envious outsiders and strangers, people who had a vested interest in the downfall of Egypt; harm was the activation. Relatedly, Egyptians believed foreigners were the ones practicing dark or destructive magic. The difference here is narrative, and the potential of who is telling the narrative and in what way decides what reality is represented.¨These curses basically consist of the owner of the tomb invoking judgement on any [violators...serving as reminders]

[6] "There is science behind the fact that when you are disturbing deposits that haven't been mucked around in a while, it's at least conceivable that you can expose yourself to some evil stuff," said Kenneth Feder, professor of archaeology at Central Connecticut State University in New Britain.

that the ancient Egyptian´s responsibility was to Maat, [...] the complete system of order and justice, the overall pattern of life, and reiterated that potentially dire consequences of any kind of rebellious action against Maat" (Harrison, p. 82, 87). The tombs promised various kinds of ruin to trespassers; this was supported by curse inscriptions, deliberately hidden tombs and centuries-old Roman graffiti often found in largely undisturbed tombs. These curses represent a second condemnation of colonial theft, first from the originators of the tombs and goods themselves, and secondly from the former colony who is demanding stolen antiquities be returned. Very rarely was this cause enough to thwart graverobbing but it was enough to follow in the colonizer's mind as a possible outcome for their behavior. Colonial Europeans saw curses as superstition, which made their ominous promises easier to ignore in the short-term, but over time began to take on an undeniable trend.

Stories abound about those who entered tombs, removed antiquities, disturbed mummies, or were within proximity of museum displays consisting of stolen artifacts meeting injurious and even fatal ends. ¨One of the first modern treasure seekers in the valley was Belzoni, a circus strongman [...] describing the uncovering of the tombs and how a battering ram was used to open ancient sealed doorways [...] Belzoni himself died in suspicious surroundings […] after contracting a mysterious disease widely believed to have come from the tomb (Harrison, 2017, p. 81). As evidenced in the use of a battering ram, the decorum of entering a resting place was rarely observed, not only in the pilfering of tomb goods and mummies but also in the manner of entry and the lack of care these ´explorers´ employed (Harrison, 2017, p.81). Belzoni´s mysterious death was only the beginning of a long series of injuries, misfortunes and deaths which seemed attributed to invasions and the thefts of tombs.

When talking about curses and mummies, the most famous ´discovery´ was Pharaoh Tutankhamun by Howard Carter and his crew. Carter's mistreatment of the tomb was recognized by a few individual Egyptologists who found his approach inappropriate. ¨Weigall confessed he had been appalled by the lack of respect shown to the tomb on behalf of Carter. [O]n the day of the opening he 'turned to the man next to [him], and said: ´If [Carter] goes down in that spirit, I give him six weeks to live'¨ (Weigall, p. 7). While Carter would not fall prey to the curse as immediately as others, Weigall´s assumption of mistreatment of the tomb being divinely

punished would turn out to be rather correct. The Tut tomb in particular had vastly negative effects on the ´staff˝ removing items from the tomb: ¨Lord Carnarvon was the first to allegedly fall victim to the curse, followed sometime later in the same hotel by the American Egyptologist Arthur Meiss. Shortly thereafter, a number of other scientists were also found dead, including Archibald Douglas Reid, a professor of radiology. Reid was the first to lift the linen fabrics from the mummy, and to reveal the body of Tutankhamun for x-ray photography. Between 1922 and 1929, more than 13 Egyptologists died. Each [...] had a connection to the tomb of Tutankhamun¨ (Harrison, 2017, p. 89). Whether the explanation lay in ancient Egyptian magic, or envy as one of the seven deadly sins offsetting a haunting of appropriate consequences, something was happening to connect tomb trespassers with the ends specified in curses.

The Origin Story: Analysis

British and French colonizers took whatever they envied. They were displacing antiquities, human remains and even brought entire pieces of temples to foreign lands. The rest was destroyed, whether literally or through curatorial invalidation. ¨Unconscious envy is a subliminal sense of [...]powerlessness and resentment, [...rooted in..] an irresistible urge to spoil what is sensed as too good and too giving. This inversion of values - wanting to destroy what actually supports life - characterizes the primary inception of envy¨ (Ninivaggi, 2010, p. 354). Set shares many commonalities with colonizers, this destructive envy as a prime example. ¨His name is usually translated as ‘instigator of confusion’ and ‘destroyer’ and he was associated with disorder, foreign lands and people, and the color red¨ (Mark, 2016). He was envious from birth, supporting the colonial rupture claims of envy and relationality being developmental. Set is described as a foreigner with pale skin who causes destruction, is driven by lack, his relationality is dysfunctional: the overlap between Set and colonizers is intriguing. Moreover, Set´s leadership was incomplete and eventually found invalid because he is envious and deceptive. These characteristics cause and maintain chaos, disruption and injustice, which make him incompatible with leadership. In the curation of the reality that colonial rupture entails, deception is used. This comparison with Set marks colonial power as similarly illegitimate, as can be observed through the destruction and imbalance it caused and continues to cause in the present day.

Seeking reparations as facets of larger generational justice is also woven into the creation myth of Egypt. Osiris trains his son, Horus, for years; to test his character, Osiris then asks what the bravest thing a man can do is. Horus responds that obtaining justice for ancestors who have been wronged is, which shows Osiris that Horus is ready within the narrative. Horus is symbolic here of the potential of new beginnings and the vanquisher of usurpers like Set (Mark, 2016). He also harnesses postcolonial potential because he embodies descendants pursuing justice for their ancestors. This justice restores balance to the homeland and its resources; in doing so, these inheritances are returned. In this way, Horus highlights the efforts of this research project in arguing for reparations. Both Horus and Osiris are also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, describing them as pharaohs on various occasions. Horus represents the pharaoh in life, while Osiris is the pharaoh transformed by death. The deceased pharaoh, represented by Osiris, is succeeded on earth in the form of new incarnations of the pharaoh, represented by Horus. Horus and Osiris blur together: what is done in the past has direct, calculable and unquestionable effects on the present and future (Ninivaggi, 2010, p. 356). What harms the father very likely harms the son, even in differing or compounded ways; cause and effect here is greatly evident and obvious.

If Horus is the action of justice against envy, Thoth is the knowledge and healing required to address envy. Thoth makes Horus (and his pursuit of justice) whole again: the influence of magic, healing and wisdom together enable the meaningful action of decolonization. It is telling that Thoth is key in the implementation of the eye, because the god of wisdom, magic, and healing joins the struggle against Set. “[The eye] represents the power to see, to illuminate and to act. The act of bringing the eye back to the creator was equivalent to healing the earth – the restoration of right and order. Maintaining right and order to prevent the earth from falling into chaos was central to the pharaoh's role” (Canadian Museum of History, n.d.). The combination of wisdom, healing and magic rights this imbalance and gives all Egyptians the essential icon to similarly arm themselves, with and against, other iterations of this narrative.

The story of Thoth, Osiris and Horus working against Set is an integral part of ancient Egyptian culture; thus, it could be argued this also makes it a central part of current Egyptian culture, particularly when applied to a colonial narrative. Isis´ use of medicine and magic as one is intricately woven into Egyptian culture, to heal Osiris as well as to enable circumstances that will

balance Set´s trespasses. The processes of re-memberment, healing and justice were interwoven together, which is useful when tracing connections between medicine, healing, ritual, nature and cause and effect:

> ¨Although far-fetched to a modern [...reader...] cause and effect – application of a substance and subsequent action – had a powerful resonance with [...]ancient Egyptian healing practices. [A range of substances, including plants], was characteristic of ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia. [M]agico-medical actions [in the narrative] were not [simply myth;] their effectiveness relates to [challenges] Horus faced [to be worthy of ascending] the throne of Egypt¨ (Price, 2016, p. 119).

The narrative defines the system of Egyptian rulership and models the jointure of medicine and magic. Isis uses her magic skills, from transmuting animal forms to originating mummification with Anubis, to not only resurrect her husband and bear Horus, but grant him the ability to become king of the underworld and ensure possibilities of everlasting life. Divine healing, wholeness, and healthy relationality are shown as requirements for ascension. This denounces and delegitimizes rulership that is motivated by envy and claims power through problematic relationality and deception, rendering it temporary usurpation.

Isis´ role within the narrative likewise has postcolonial relevance, particularly around healing and the process of re-memory. Her gathering of the scattered pieces of Osiris´ body and re-memberment of these pieces into a whole are essential to the healing and rebalancing of the narrative. This process could be said to mimic the way trauma and memory are used in postcolonial circles to reacquaint descendants with the practices of their ancestors. Her use of ritual to rebalance in order to counter envy is a powerful parallel to current day responses to envy into something healthy: “Isis was […] able to use her wits to guard her husband and son [...] The shelter she afforded her child gave her the character of a goddess of protection. But her chief aspect was that of a great magician, whose power transcended that of all other deities[,] far stronger than the powers of Osiris and Ra. She was frequently invoked on behalf of the sick and […] protected the dead” (Tyldesley, 2021). Her connection to her family and her ability to protect is strong, and this narrative is one of her most famous, but her most powerful skill was her magic, the way her healing connected with the rebalancing of justice in whatever sphere she existed within. In speaking about narrative, re-membering and envy, it is important to point out

the ways that trauma separates in order to meaningfully approach the joining together of disjointed parts which belong together and whose power lies in being joined in a balanced manner.

Narrative is essential to such a storied culture, but so too is it integral to healing the narrative of the rift of the North and the South, and to the effectiveness of policy between these to entities moving forward. If trauma, remembering and history are central places this break in the fluidity of time and its narrative (history and memory) happens, using multiple disciplines to address the various levels on which colonial damage worked and on which healing will need to take place is only appropriate. "Addressing the historical trauma is an essential element to the recovery process and remembering and mourning are critical" (Faimon, 2004, p. 4). If a dismemberment of the Egyptian people´s culture and psyche has caused the damage, re-membering is to address what moving forward in a postcolonial sense must look like. A central part of looking forward meaningfully is looking backward, remembering holistically. Whether this re-membering looks like repatriation itself, a return of meaningful pieces to their original and intended whole, or the labor of this thesis, the gathering of multi-disciplinary perspectives which are placed together to show the value and potential of the decolonial process, the cycle of Isis´ narrative is one that repeats itself endlessly. We have already addressed the millenia-long meaning and resonance this kind of balance has, and how essential cause and effect have always been to the essence of the Egyptian people. Reparations, including repatriation as essential, is the start in a process of addressing this rupture.

Through a postcolonial lens, the potential here around awareness of this Origin story and its possibilities in context of looking at, healing from and seeking reparations around colonization is useful. Osiris has many meanings, one of which is abundance, which makes it rather interesting that the god of chaos and lack would be in such contrast with the god of plenty. He is also the god of order. His death and resurrection are mirrored in so much of the natural world: the cyclical flooding of the Nile, the death and rebirth of fertility through the seasons, the switch from day to night and even through the phases of the moon. Similarly, the removal of Osiris, a beloved and balanced ruler, from his throne by nefarious means at the hands of his jealous brother, says a great deal about leadership and what could be considered a legitimate

transmission of power. The proper ascension of Horus, in having royal blood, but also in receiving the correct training and thus proving himself committed to justice contrasts sharply with a usurper, who takes power through violence and deceit and who is driven by greed.

Inspiring the future: scientific seeds of magical fruit

The process of creating artifacts is directly rooted to the cycle of cultural production - it is shaped by the culture of the past, and it reemphasizes, inspires and connects to the culture of the present. This means there is marked loss at not having those artifacts where they have the most context and connection. This adds to the inherent truth that artifacts hold various kinds of value, which is then denied to descendants when made absent through theft, colonial voyeurism and hoarding. A telling example of this, signifying what potential is lost when a culture loses its artifacts, is demonstrated in the example of neurosurgery and its recent finding as an Ancient Egyptian achievement:

> ¨there has never been any suggestion as to the potential actual basis of the Osiris ´spinal´ resurrection story. From a neurosurgical point of view, however, this story involves [...]three fascinating elements. [First], medical neurosurgical teaching [widely suggests] attempts to treat paralysis from spine fracture in a medical tradition in which spinal traction for fractures was understood[...,]commonly proposed as being well before 2500 BCE. [Second,] evidence of an association in common Egyptian religion between an intact spine and the ability to rise from the dead. Finally, [...] the odd story of a goddess/queen assisted by a god of knowledge and medicine reassembling the spine of a fallen King to achieve his Resurrection. Therefore, [...] there is a very real possibility that the oldest written tradition in the world tells the story of the first recorded neurosurgical operation" (Filler, 2007, p. 6)[7].

The legend of Osiris here again ties together the themes mentioned in this research, and artifacts like the ¨djed column" painted on the back of the numerous Egyptian sarcophagi for thousands of years¨ or the ¨hieroglyphs appearing in both the Edwin Smith medical papyrus and in the Papyrus of Ani¨ (Filler, 2007, p. 6) are found to reference some of the most sophisticated medical

[7] Filler, A. G. (2007). A historical hypothesis of the first recorded neurosurgical operation: Isis, Osiris, Thoth, and the origin of the djed cross, *Neurosurgical Focus FOC*, *23*(1), 1-6. Retrieved Dec 22, 2020, from https://thejns.org/focus/view/journals/neurosurg-focus/23/1/foc-07_07_e6.xml

and scientific awareness even today. The value of these artifacts is a fact; establishing that these artifacts belong with the descendants of their crafters and within their own cultural context in order to reaffirm and inspire certain cultural and identity-based possibilities is becoming more accepted.

Envy, the Evil Eye and Contemporary Egypt

Envy remains relevant to Egyptian daily life and formative to Egyptian culture:

> ¨beliefs and practices concerning the Evil Eye resist interpretation as magic or superstition. [...Cultural concepts] of the Evil Eye incorporate a complex worldview about disability, affection and envy, causes of disaster and harm, trauma, social tensions, and protection of the self in antiquity. One could unwittingly be a *fascinator* of the Evil Eye through a variety of factors, or [...] activate it intentionally through envy or malice¨ (Elliott, 2016, p. 46).

Exploring levels of envy and how they infiltrate and affect society has particular meaning in Northern Africa. Using time and outside influences like Islam and folk beliefs as overlapping lenses, interactions between people can be contextualized through the evil eye. Envy is an unlikely place where Egyptian folk history and Islamic currency overlap to create a meeting ground for present-day Egyptians to practice something relevant to their current faith that is also tied to their historical context and ancestral beliefs:

> ¨habits, like leaving blooded handprints from offered animals on the walls of houses or small white dolls on a sting are believed to keep away *hassad* [...] blue bead pendants, dangling an old shoe from a car or cleansing houses with burning herbs to protect from [...] *hassad* have historical sources; the pharaohs believed in the evil eye of envy and used to engrave their figures on blue marbles as a protection. The population of Old Egypt used to wear [... and display blue marbles with pendants…] featuring the eye of Horus around their houses for the same purpose.[...H]*assad* is mentioned in the Quran; Muslims believe that reciting a certain Quran chapter every day will protect them from *hassad*. It is expected that any Muslim will say "M*asha'Allah" (*it is Allah's will), whenever

> [...]good fortune is mentioned by others, like [good health or beauty], in order to bless and protect them from *hassad*[8] (Sherief, 2013).

The practices and understandings of the evil eye in this context are difficult to detangle from each other; some of these practices are based on prayer and recitations mentioned in the Qur´an. Those have become intermingled, however, with pagan practices that can be traced back to Ancient Egyptian myth, are decidedly un-Islamic and have been cited within Islamic history as witchcraft-adjacent.

Islam may have transplanted so widely because of shared values with Ancient Egyptian spirituality. Both systems acknowledge the evil eye as a consequence of human interaction and build in ritualistic counters. For example, in Islam the collection of prayers recited before sleep asks for protection from *hasad*. Similarly, ¨M*asha'Allah"* becomes a reflexive response in conversation. This saying functions as a sort of verbal amulet, protecting the receiver from the evil eye. The potential originator of the evil eye is encouraged to also say ¨M*asha'Allah"* when offering compliments to immediately offset any collateral damage. In this way, the culture acknowledges how intention, incantation and manifestation (some could say magic) is an implicit part of daily life and a concern whether the conjuring is accidental or deliberate. Relatedly, intention is central to Islam; a Muslim is declared good or evil in the afterlife based upon intent. This echoes ancient Egyptian relations to the divinity of the natural world and cause and effect. Finally, the intent and ritualistic invocation of powerful, preset words overlaps with magical ritual. On the topic of contemporary Egyptian ritual, so do the performative aspects of coughing when good health is mentioned or denying successes when they are mentioned as compliments. These behaviors are very similar to common magic and folk practices around manifestation and protection. Depending on ´old´ or ´folk´ cures as backups or in addition to Islamic protection demonstrates the perhaps unacknowledged but still relevant ways that Ancient Egyptian culture and beliefs continue in present day Egypt. Though the intersection of magic, the evil eye and Egyptian relationality change their meaning and usage between ancient and contemporary times, the link between them remains unchanged.

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[8] *Hassad*: any evil spirit, envy or jealousy (*hassad)* that is directed at them and which has the ability of ruining their life or damaging their prized possessions (Sherief, 2013).

Green with Envy

Egyptian national identity is connected to symbols that hold particular relevance to the geography; one essential example is the Nile. The Nile has a long history as an enabler of the region´s prolificacy, which ties it to pharaonic symbols and lore. The story of Osiris focuses on the cycles of death and rebirth, modeled after flood patterns of the Nile. Despite all the changes faced by Egypt, a few geopolitical factors are constant; one thing that remains unchanged is dependence upon the Nile and its ability to turn desert into fertile crescent. The threat of disruption to this millenia-long collaboration recalls ancient identities which seem almost built into the landscape. When the Nile´s longevity was threatened by Ethiopian dam-building efforts, Egyptian hackers targeted Ethiopian governmental sites using pharaonic emblems and epithets to identify themselves (EG 24 News, 2020). While temporal shifts have changed some things, beliefs about the natural world as inheritance here remain the same. This is reflected in the messages hackers, identifying as "Cyber_Horus Group," left on Ethiopian sites:

> "If the river level drops, let all the Pharaoh's soldiers speed up and return only after the liberation of the Nile, which impedes its flow, and engaging with Egypt in a war may cost you more than the lives of the people of Ethiopia, and may the curse of the Pharaohs be upon all who wanted Egypt badly¨ (EG 24 News, 2020).

Egyptian legacy is connected to national identity, which this modern geopolitical event shows. The moorings of the past to particular jewels of national meaning are still very strong. The nature of these quotes denounce envy of the Nile by outsiders, in this case Ethiopia, who has a long past of conflict as a neighbor of Egypt. Protection of the Nile is not only essential to physical survival but additionally threatens Egyptian identity, which has depended on the Nile river for millenia. When the Nile is threatened, a familiar threat resurrected by a familiar foe, it seems to immediately connect to pharaonic identity and inspire responses deeply influenced by Ancient Egyptian narratives. This response, from a Muslim state filled with majority Muslim citizens, makes sense in particular context: national pride is deeply connected to magic and pharoahnic myth, regardless of religious proximity to Islam. One can be Egyptian and Muslim, and find compromise in that overlap.

Another related concern is around what many Egyptians fear to be a recurring Nile prophecy:

> ¨An ancient pharaonic granite slab from the time [...] ancient Egyptian King Djoser, which was discovered years ago, has recently resurfaced [...raising fears over a stone-carved inscription...which] tells the story of a drought [...] that lasted for seven years, during which the Nile ceased flooding during its usual season¨ (Mahmoud, 2020).

Familiar fears resurrect in the area, as dependence on the Nile in the midst of the desert remains unchanged. As proud people whose identity and survival are tethered to the fate of the Nile, Ethiopian assaults on their independence from without inspire traditional impulses. The cyclical rise and fall of the Nile was a reflection of the divine connection between order and nature. Flooding, the harvest and stability in society depended on the will of the gods and their approval of the Pharaoh. As evidenced by responses to changes in the Nile, the past still very much holds sway over the present. Even millenia later, Egyptian geopolitical fears are much the same, and resurrect familiar reactions, regardless of details like time or spirituality.

Another example of contemporary Egypt resurrecting the past is the naming of locations, which show the intact link between language, history and power. ¨Egypt has managed to plant trees in the desert using wastewater, as part of plans to preserve the environment, reduce pollution and optimize the use of natural water resources. The Serapium Forest, which has boomed despite the drought and rainfall deficit, consists of 200 hectares (494 acres) of trees¨ (Mahmoud, 2020). The name choice is particularly relevant; Serapeum[9] is a temple dedicated to Serapis, Osiris´ image and relevance put into human form. The association of this ´miraculous´ oasis with Osiris´ narrative illuminates the current Egyptian imagination´s tie to legacy. This gathering together of nature and magic, with its resurrection of greenery seemingly from the harsh, empty desert shows the ways Egyptians still experience and connect to nature, magic and healing in ways that echo and deeply connect to Ancient Egyptian mythology. These narratives are still deeply relevant, and inspire Egyptians engaging with their national myth and homeland now.

In exploring the diverse ways Ancient Egypt lives on in contemporary Egypt, interactions between envy and the global order have a lot to say regarding decolonization. When envy is elevated to the macro level, subjects of colonial theft have a particular cultural meaning to them.

[9]https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/10/egypt-africa-desert-forests-plant-trees-wastewater.html

The West commonly places the onus of creative expression at its ´purest´ and ´most authentic form´ in the purview of the Orient, often specifically citing Egypt (Said, 1978). Egypt is infamous as the cradle of civilization, and admired for accomplishments that hold timeless potential inspiration. As we have seen, however, and as any Egyptian well knows, envy-based admiration has within it the seed for something destructive. Colonization, and by extension colonial artifact theft, roots itself in these seeds:

> "…We pilfer from the Africans under the pretext of teaching others how to love them and get to know their culture, that is, when all is said and done, to train even more ethnographers, so they can head off to encounter them and 'love and pilfer' from them as well." (Michel Leiris, Miroir d'Afrique, Edited and Annotated by Jean Jamin, Paris: Gallimard, 1996, p. 204)

Indeed, it could be argued that envy is a part of what motivates most conquerors, and the consistent history of conquering of Egypt would be solid evidence of that argument. As Leiris notes above, this process is two-fold: the colonial intent to ´discover´ and ´admire´, which is to say commodify, exploit and envy, and the cyclical, self-maintaining nature of colonization. This facade of admiration excuses colonial trespasses and classifies any damage as ´accidental´. The implicit connection between loving and pilfering here is an excellent representation of colonial envy. Understanding and connecting these layers can be messy or inexact, but is essential in getting to the heart of how colonization works. Moving from local to global, a bottom up approach, traces themes to their contributions on international and transnational levels. This understanding can only happen using multiple disciplines to examine interactions and subtext on the microlevel. This overlapping approach to scholarship needs to be more common:

> ¨The delay [in this scholarship] is even more pronounced because the historian, as the classical division of labor requires, hardly ever deals with the present, much less with the future. Historians [...] do not cross into the territory reserved for anthropologists, who in turn do not encroach on the territory of historians. Their work therefore remains literally a ´closed book´, unknown to many people who regard the past as distant and out of reach, and therefore too difficult or impractical to address. [...] The disciplinary limits inherited from the eighteenth century are intact, as are the academic chairs, but the need to communicate beyond academic divisions is still urgent in the African context¨ (Diawara, 2010, p. 96).

The interplay between time here is again mentioned, in particular reference to the colonial time rupture and seemingly against the human and academic instinct that history is important both on its own and in the context of understanding its direct contribution to the present. Colonial ideologies have embedded practices within education and research institutions that help to maintain it. The argument for multidisciplinary engagement on subjects in order to get a fuller and more useful picture is also relevant not only to the approach of this International Relations program but also in the scope of this research, which has aimed to prove that such an approach supports a more enriched and thorough understanding of that which is being extensively examined. Indeed, colonialism functioned on multiple levels all at once; it only follows that diagnosing this damage, and healing from it, should also span multiple disciplines and use various perspectives. If the ´disciplinary limits´ separating the arts from the sciences and international relations from the humanities were set by colonial structures, it makes sense to cast off these limits. This openness and willingness to look at the ´difficult and impractical´ is very likely key to a meaningful way of moving forward from the burdens of the past. Africa, and Egypt as North African, holds a rich and diverse history as well as one tinged with colonial casualty, and there is still much meaningful work to do here in terms of multidisciplinary collaboration and its potential to teach, improve and make amends.

Limitations

An important caveat in support of the lack of access created by the West is directly related to this research: the limitation within this work in accessing primary sources in Arabic. Being half Egyptian, I have seen firsthand how a lack of access to one's ancestral culture shapes daily life in the negative space of lack. ¨Traumatized people suffer a sense of alienation of disconnection that provides relationships from the most intimate familial bonds to affiliations with community and religion (Faimon, 2004, p. 3). I do not have a working knowledge of the language tied to my heritage because of the effects of colonial trauma on Egypt. Fanon introduced the importance of language as a central feature of cultural revitalisation and agency (Stevens, 2020). Not only does language structure the psyche, but we make meaning through language. Being understood through our home language is crucial to mental well-being (Stevens, 2020). This has informed my experience and perspective of postcolonial justice.

On the other side of this coin, access to resources for Egyptian native archaeologists is similarly impacted. Egyptologists are commonly Western-originating and educated, which brings the concept of the ´explorer of Egyptian curiosities´ into its current evolution, and likely continues to circulate and affirm problematic and two dimensional conceptions of Egyptian culture, both in ancient times and today. This is also important to note because it is not native Egyptians who are able to preserve and control their findings, artifacts and ancestors. The removal of Egypt from its own history and cultural wealth is complete on various levels, and each layer compounds both potential and actualized harm. For native Egyptologists, language becomes a boundary as most scholarly material is in English. This is a colonial boundary to access, which prevents the descendants of this country and culture from engaging with their own history.

In discussing archaeology in the Egyptian context, it could be argued that excavating and displaying these artifacts as ´goods´ are aims specifically influenced by Western demand. These are sacred spaces of the dead, and the dead took specific and extensive measures to avoid being disturbed. Attempting to minimize this damage and violation, Egyptians today hope to observe the proper etiquette and respect afforded to these sites and findings by handling them firsthand. If postcolonial studies need to be decolonized, as Grosfoquel mentions, postcolonial work does not yet seem possible. The colonial process of education narrows, cuts disciplines into strips, and refuses to see the value of anticolonial collaboration or contextualization. Seeking resources and validation from institutions predicated on and upholding colonial structures and ideologies limits decolonial work in that they are the antithesis of each other. There is a difference between history and memory. It is the hope that the sterilizing and decontextualization of history will be rectified by honoring the traumatic memory that has been foisted upon colonized descendants. Changing the priority of particular kinds of history in one-sided presentation of the losses of those who are taken from is vital. Diverse stories, those told by the least advantaged, who carry the trauma of the unresolved past and its effects are necessary, as is an understanding of the limitations of the narrative and how this compounds over time.

Repatriation, History, the Global Order

The end of colonial rule is painfully recent; Egypt is still very much near the beginning of its true postcolonial potential. There is a great deal of postcolonial work to be done, and reclaiming

Egyptian history both on narrative and physical terms is an essential step to that process. It also goes without saying that conducting political business in the present with this comparatively recent period of time unaddressed, and this colonial perspective still alive and well in colonizer countries like France and England, will have direct effects on policy and state actions. Colonialism was embodied on multiple stages of society, and so the effects and damage can only be fully contextualized and addressed on multiple levels. It follows, then, that addressing and healing this damage fully and meaningfully also take on multiple disciplines jointly, in order to give the depth necessary to this subject. Indeed, it could be argued that a division of all forms needs to be meaningfully dissected in order to come to the conclusion that collaboration and an understanding of interconnectedness are the only way to move forward effectively. The delay mentioned by Diawara above is argued to be a true and just reckoning between colonial pasts and crafting a postcolonial future, since these two things are inseparable:

> ¨The failure to consider the past for constructing a future has not concerned development specialists [...] It is high time for history to rise from its own ashes [...] *The Past of the Present* is the subtitle of Cooper´s book (2002). Of what present are we speaking? To whom does this present belong?¨ (Diawara, 2010, p. 95).

The fundamental point of repatriation is relevant to the global order because the current order is not sustainable. The global order as a whole must change direction and its manner of function or face planetary extinction. Repatriation is both a catalyst and a symptom of the process required to change the global order so there is still a globe to order in the future. The types of relating and valuing that have been learned and maintained are deeply flawed and founded on lack. Mentioning how to cultivate a healthy sense of envy using envy theory is helpful here: placing the ego and unconscious impulses into balance means the “excessive idealization fundamental to nuclear envy diminishes and can become felt as normal love [admiration, empathy, compassion]. When envy is recognised and made manageable, primitive urges to rob, spoil, destroy, and hate become humanised. A natural inclination toward helpfulness in attitude and performance comes to the forefront of experience. Inordinate violence and power struggles with self and others are mitigated” (Ninivaggi, 2010, p. 356). There must be a shift in the way the West looks at, engages with and connects to those around it, and repatriation is a sign that these changes are happening on a meaningful level, to examine and alter the way the global North envisions, engages with and collaborates with the global South. Envy theory moreover goes to great lengths to reiterate the

vital importance of learning and change throughout life[…] environment and context are undeniably significant¨(Ninivaggi, 2010, p. 356). Were this healing to occur, the benefits are wide-reaching: the global order would look very different.

Repatriation is an accurate gauge of the depth and genuineness of this commitment. Consulting the British Museum website, for example, CircArt is a resource for tracking and reporting dubious artifacts and historical goods. On their FAQ page, they define themselves as such: ¨CircArt makes it easier for all relevant actors to behave responsibly, and for others to keep an eye on how they treat the world's cultural heritage. This involves a multi-layered approach, taking account of numerous factors to the problem¨ (British Museum). Aside from supporting this paper´s views on overlapping multiple disciplines and approaches, they claim to be concerned about ´the world's cultural heritage´ and work to ensure ´actors behave responsibly´. Admirable intent, though further down the page, their answers to FAQ are suspect: *¨Are you opposed to the antiquities trade?*
No, we're not. In many cases the trade in cultural property is a legitimate activity. However, there is at present a lack of accountability in parts of the trade, which has led to illicit antiquities being offered for sale, and thus undermined trust and polarised the debate¨ (British Museum). This response overlooks the colonial history that has created this market in the first place, one that has been hugely responsible for filling the British museum with some of its most valuable displays. In fact, Egypt has been calling for the return of the Rosetta stone for decades, since it was taken by the English after Napoleon ´discovered´ it; the mask of Nefertiti being another well-known artifact Egypt has tried to recover from European colonial display and has not been successful in. The ´lack of accountability´seems here to be speaking about the British Museum itself and museums with similar means of obtaining exhibits, in their refusal to return artifacts which were stolen and are being specifically recalled by former colonies like Egypt (British Museum). It would follow then that institutions like the British Museum themselves ´undermine trust and polarise the debate´ (British Museum). There is nothing promising about these museums, institutions of both preserving and creating knowledge, having such duplicitous approaches to the use and maintenance of their intellectual, cultural and historical capital. Indeed, this is what the historical approach of historically-based institutions looks and sounds like when unwilling to reckon with the full extent of its own legacy.

In doing this research, understanding the micro has direct implications for the macro. As regional power shifts to a state actor like Egypt, it will have more leverage in demanding its pillaged heritage back in return for cooperation with the global North's interests. It has exerted this power in relations with America. Referencing artifacts recovered as part of the Mummy's Curse Operation, "the repatriation ceremony was held just a day after the signing by the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Egypt's Foreign Minister, Sameh Shoukry, of a bilateral cultural property agreement between the respective countries" (Romey, 2021). Antiquities are directly implicated in policy, and which supports the findings of this research and the assertion that repatriation is a meaningful part of rewriting relations between the global North and South. Evan Ryan, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, said about this particular instance: "We want people to know that the United States will no longer be a market for these items" (Romey, 2021). In changing the way value by state actors in the global North is assigned, it follows that relationships and links within the global order will shift as well.

Antiquity repatriation is only one aspect of reparations. A main argument against extensive redistributive justice is the unspoken awareness that ceding back advantages seized through colonial theft would have important repercussions on the global order. Particularly with regard to Egypt's current involvement around building infrastructure and foreign investment with China and Russia, tensions between the global North and global South are high which may be influenced by the global order potentially reaching a state of flux. In addition to adjusting the international hierarchy, Egypt holds geopolitical power by controlling stability in the region. Egyptian policy towards Israel directly ties Egypt to the European Union and the U.S. Maintaining favourable relations with Egypt is particularly important now, which gives Egypt even more leverage. If Egypt is displeased, it has a great many issues it can exert its own power over, including using its regional sway to raise oil prices or in promoting insecurity within the region and causing refugee crises which would directly affect members of the European Union (Metawe, 2013). Another place of power for Egypt is commerce. Recently, a carrier ship blocked the Suez canal; every day, $9.6 billion were lost (BBCNews). This is a trade route within Egypt, so Egypt has dominion over considerable assets.

Repatriation also has benefits to the colonizer, since a stolen legacy is no legacy at all. Responses like reparations and repatriation of artifacts like tomb goods and museum ‘exhibits’ decentralize whiteness as voyeur. This functions on a symbolic as well as material level. If the West admits its former trespasses, this is the beginning of a process where the West can also examine and interrogate the impulses behind these past actions, which is essential into reforming and handling the global order into something that does prize envy and theft as an underpinning factor. This is essential for the West´s engagements with what it classes as outsider powers: ¨Memory is a powerful tool in the quest for understanding, justice and knowledge. It raises consciousness. It heals some wounds, restores dignity, and prompts uprisings¨ (Misztal, 2003, p. 126). If this move can promote more collaboration rather than usurpation, this bodes well for everyone; it begins to break down the artificial imposition of barriers, instead focusing on balanced appreciation with honest intention and actions that demonstrate the ritual of intercepting and negating harm as reflex, a practice envy has taught Egypt well.

A wronged entity always deserves the return of their property, intellectual and cultural, and the righting of a wrong against them. Only they can hope to imagine what this reclamation looks like since they are the ones who have lost potential benefit and must go through the pain of imagining what might have been on top of mourning what actually was. What strengthens this case is when cyclical understanding can be made of how the past is connected to this loss, and what could be missing from the present and future because of it. It is the natural progression to return what has been stolen and to atone for that crime; this is reified if the artifact is something that holds any modicum of value; the hope is that understanding all the ways cultural capital, among others, is held in artifacts, and particularly human remains, will strengthen calls for repatriation.

Conclusion

Envy, when appropriately recognized, diagnosed and responded to, has potential to rectify a vital gap within the colonial envier, and can mend the trauma caused to the envied which serves both in healing this bond. A region is entitled to the heritage of its land and the legacy of its masses, particularly if that region has been denied the benefit of these things so that an outside power might usurp these resources nonconsensually for their own benefit. In other words, the burden of

proof should not be on the victim to incriminate the thief. This should be at the core of the vast majority of postcolonial research and publications. If, additionally, there is a foundation of beliefs which tie together the ideologies, values and context of the past with the core ideals of people in the present, there is every case for repatriation, and for serious reparations for the time period that responsibility remains unmet. The myth and magic of Ancient Egypt is widely intriguing, and ties me to the legacy of my ancestors both in the iterations of how it continues culturally today as well as the benefits to my contemporaries upon the return of and appropriate compensation for the absence of Egyptian artifacts. The fascination with Ancient Egypt´s magic as well as the way it binds to current day cultural identity are central to why Egypt's antiquities are missing and must be returned in the first place. These questions and answers are all interrelated.

Tradition and history are powerful cycles, and magic and memory connect to narrative because the way that we know contributes to how we respond and what we heal. In talking about how legacies, wide-scale narratives of the past and future, carry forward, it is also important to name the ways colonizers continue the legacies of their own ancestors in maintaining this theft and the profit it generates. This theft additionally continues the trauma of displacement and objectification. Furthermore, the inaccessibility of these artifacts denies a people their own history and takes from them the potential that their history could create in the present and in the future merely by being present and available. If connections between Ancient Egyptian identity and current Egyptian identity are as undeniable as research shows, even now, the case for repatriation goes that much further. Deep links add another layer to the necessary need for the return of artefacts as well as reparations on an economic and ideological level. What takes from the ancient identity limits the current identity through this bond. Egypt has a long history of being an originator of culture and creativity in the base of what is possible; this continues to be fundamental to who they are, no matter the time. The fact that they are denied the opportunity and access to manifestations of this continued talent and resource (imagination and creativity) that has been cultivated over millennia is a way of both erasing history in the discourse of the Middle East today, which has larger implications for making policy.

There is an undeniable power to narrative. From media, art and entertainment to religion and history, the way we relate to the stories we tell shapes the reality we create and the possibilities we envision. Our perspective shapes our entire experience of the world: so the unhealed and imbalanced stories we tell hold and maintain the power to continue this imbalance as well. Reclaiming a narrative can look like finding relevant pieces and joining them together in order to create a single story of different lenses that connects the future with the past without shirking the positives and negatives of this jointure. Another way is to interrogate the stories of our past and determine if a legacy of theft, envy and dehumanization is one we, as maintainers of the past and establishers of the future, aim to continue and support. The labor of discovering legacy in its multiple implications and aligning it with what we know to be right and true is one we are all tasked with. Are we prepared for this raw but rewarding labor? Are we wise enough to discover the breadth of our legacy, brave enough to learn even its most painful lessons, and meaningfully dedicated enough to alter its path to fit the future we aim to create? If we are, we have the means to define both the history we look to benefit from and the history we wish to make.

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Abstract

Exploring postcolonial understandings of magic, narrative, healing and relationality in Egypt shows the Origin story as an untapped resource. Envy theory and colonial narcissism connect reparations, colonizers and contemporary Egyptians to the tale of Egyptian gods fighting for the kingdom of Egypt. From artifacts stolen and mummies consumed by colonizers to curses that led to the undoing of famous colonial archaeologists, a postcolonial look at colonial interactions within Egypt reveal many connections between the past, present and future of the country. Ancient Egyptian understandings and uses of magic and science filter through to today, including the interactions of these aspects with colonialism. The lens of postcolonialism will highlight the role that magic and narrative have in providing an indigenous dimension to colonial times, connections with nature and Egyptian experiences of agency over time. Looking at how Orientalist norms are maintained through a dominance of archaeology and Egyptology, and the resulting treatment of Egyptian antiquities will be supplemented with using overlapping disciplines to conduct more holistic research. Narrative, rememory and magic shape and contextualize both past and present efforts to preserve and present Egypt's internationally valuable heritage. This complex web of interactions and their causes and effects are useful in healing reserves of colonial trauma as well as understanding the context for the country's future development in terms of reparations, museums as colonial curators and legacy safeguarding.

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