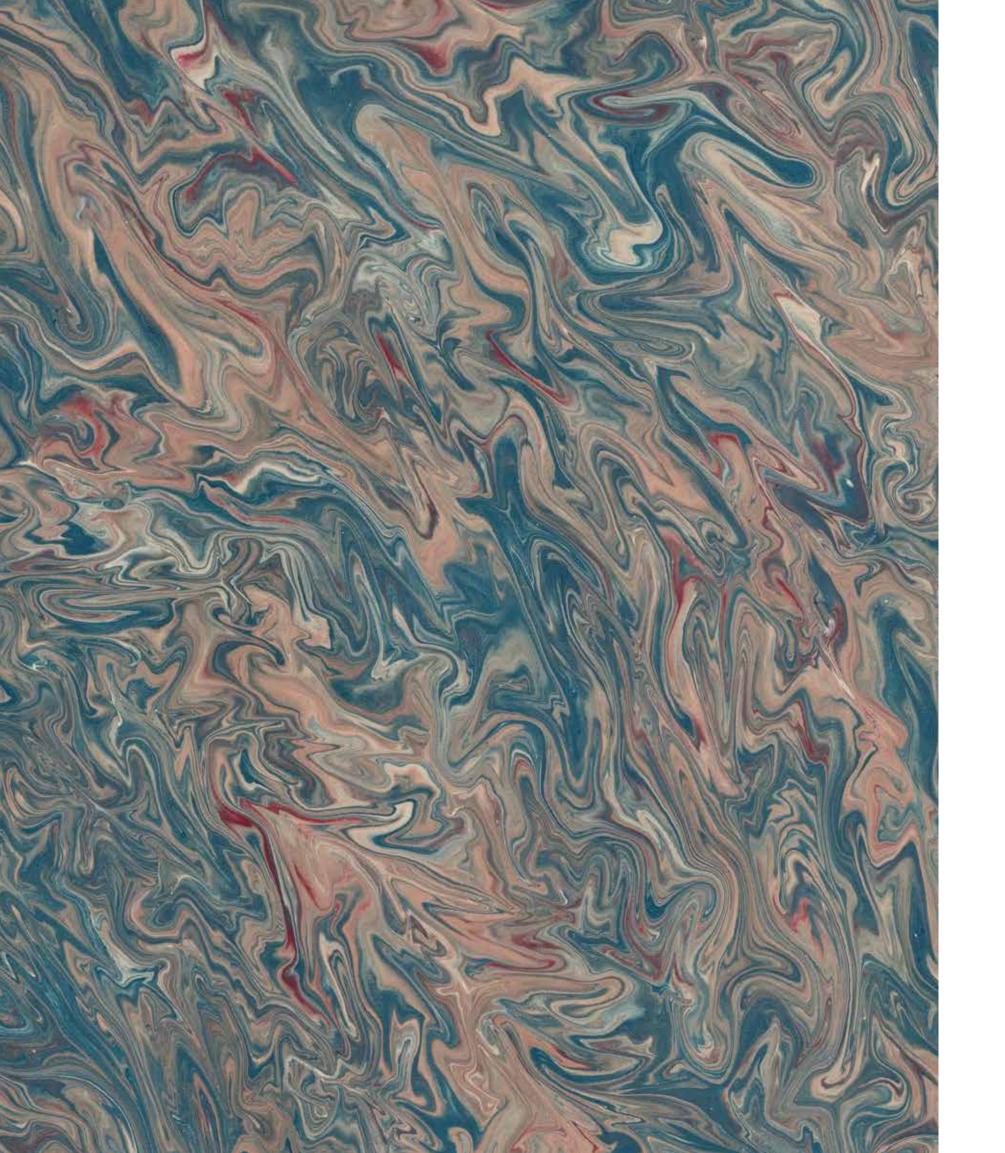
TO DETAIL THE GENERAL An unusual votive Shabti for General Kasa





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Eugène Warmenbol

FOREWORD

My profession as an art dealer and expert allows me, quite often, to handle or at least see, extraordinary objects.

I must confess I was quite surprised, though, to have the ancient Egyptian funerary statuette at the centre of this publication in my hands, as it is spectacular, and was utterly unknown.

Reading the text written on the front of the dress, mentionning the title and the name of the owner of the statue, the General of the Lord of the Two Lands, Kasa, I immediately linked him to the famous stelae from the tomb of this important military man of the early 19th dynasty, now in the Musée de la Vieille Charité in Marseille.

An album with historical photographs came with the object, and put it in the context of its acquisition, the assignment of one Jacques de Lalaing, a Belgian diplomat of high aristocratic lineage, to the Belgian legation in Cairo in the autumn of 1922.

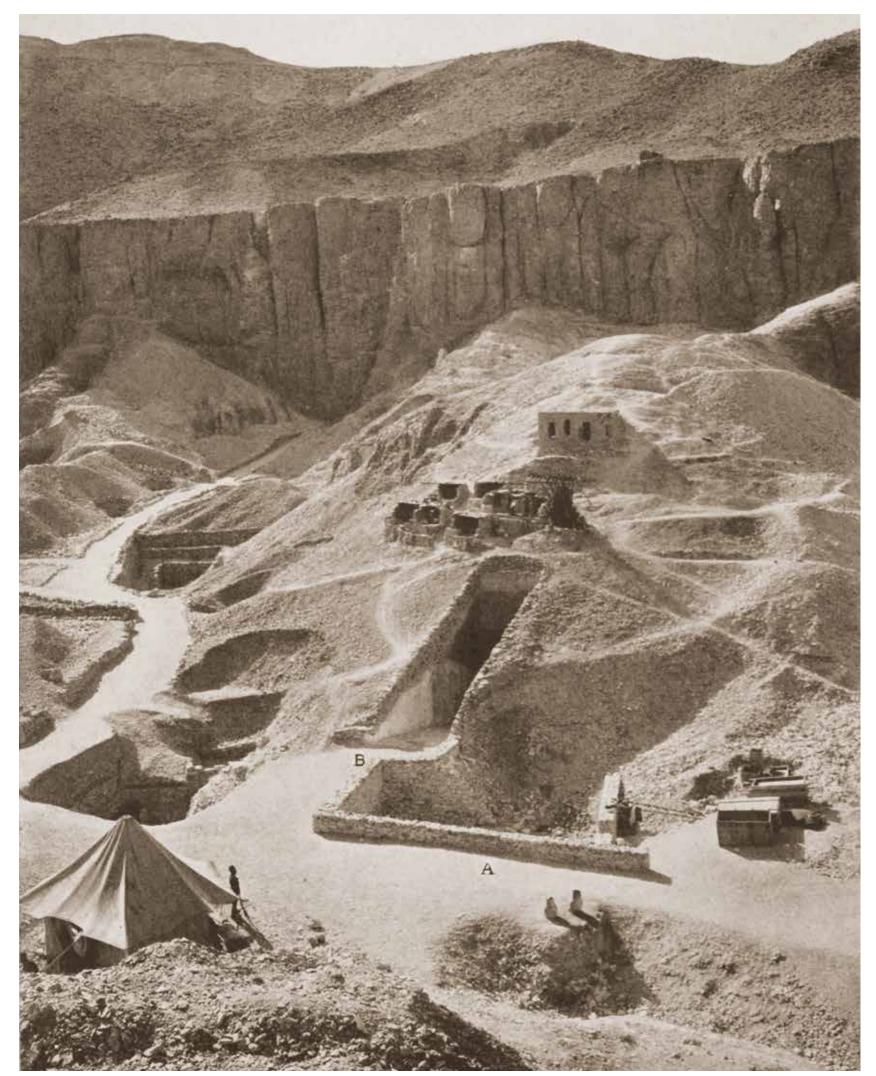
This is the year of the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun, and the album contains several photographs taken during the visit of the charismatic Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians to Egypt, in February-March 1923. She thus introduced her son, the future King Léopold III to Africa, as he extended his visit to Sudan.

Some well known egyptologists are to be seen in the photographs, such as Jean Capart, Queen Elisabeth's guide, and the "father" of Belgian Egyptology. Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter, the discoverers of the tomb of Tutankhamun also figure prominently, more specifically in the photographs taken on the 18th of February 1923, the date of the official opening of the Burial Chamber of the Boy King, witnessed by Jacques de Lalaing and his wife Suzanne Allard, who was the photographer.

This was great material for a publication. And who else but Professor Eugène Warmenbol would be able to provide me with a thorough study of General Kasa's shabti, but also with the details of its acquisition, in the wake of the founding of what is now the Association Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth? A page of the history of Belgian Egyptology could be re-written.

My friend Eugène accepted this scientific mission and brilliantly fulfilled it. This study proved an opportunity for him not only to revisit the material bearing Kasa's name that made him a celebrity —an « inconnu célèbre »-, but also to relocate material from his funerary « trousseau » that was considered lost, not least three of his four canopic jars, actually in the British Museum in London. On his own turf a forgotten faience shabti turned up in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, once in the collection of another Belgian Royal with a love for Egypt, and a taste for Africa, Léopold II.

Jacques Billen



TO DETAIL THE GENERAL

An unusual votive Shabti for General Kasa (early 19th Dynasty), acquired in Egypt at the Service of Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians (early 20th Century).

Introduction

The extraordinary sandstone shabti for General Kasa studied here, was acquired in Egypt, most probably in 1923, and not later than early in 1924, by Count Jacques de Lalaing, a Belgian diplomat then stationed in Cairo.

Its impeccable pedigree makes it a rare object indeed, and it carries the name of a character recently dubbed "un inconnu célèbre", as indeed we know quite a few artefacts he commissioned, but very little about himself, apart that he had high military rank.

To detail the general is to discover more about a key period of ancient Egyptian history, the end of the 18th dynasty, and the beginning of the 19th dynasty, in other words, the end of the XIVth, and the beginning of the XIIIth century BC, when generals sometimes became pharaohs, by all means no detail.

The Collector

Count Jacques, Maximilien, Paul, Emmanuel de Lalaing, born in Den Haag, the Netherlands, on the 8th of February 1889, died on the 4th of July 1969 in Nyon, Switzerland, after a brilliant career, which took him from Saint Petersburg to Stockholm, his first assignment as "attaché de Légation" dating from the 12th of November 1911, his last as "Ministre de 1ère classe" ending on the 25th of February 1954¹.

He was the son of Count Charles de Lalaing (1857-1919), himself a diplomat, and Christine Louise du Tour van Bellinchave (1866-1919).

Being a diplomat in a century of turmoil, he was a witness to several dramatic events of the 20th century, the Russian Revolution to begin with, an uprising that brought an abrupt end to his first assignment. He had to flee Saint Petersburg in 1917 (to Finland, and from there to Sweden) leaving everything behind, and assuredly recovering nothing of it. This was during the First World War. During the Second World War, he had to flee fascist Budapest in 1941 (ultimately to the United States of America²), again leaving everything behind in what was to become a heavily bombarded city. We do not know if he ever recovered the family's Memling, without doubt the most precious piece of art he had to leave behind.

landscape, in the early days of its exploration. The all traces of that of Tutankhamun, preserving it from entrance to the tomb was just underneath the tomb of looting (Carter & Mace 1923, between p.86 and p.87).

Plate 1 - The tomb of Tutankamun (A) in the Ramesses VI (B). The work on this tomb obliterated

^{1 -} Most of what we know about him is to be found in the Archives of the "Service public fédéral Affaires étrangères, Commerce extérieur et

^{2 -} He first lived there, with his wife and children, on Mulholland Drive in Los Angeles. Of all places: we thought it was just the title of an enigmatic movie signed David Lynch. It was released in 2001.

His last assignment before Cairo was Teheran, first as "Secrétaire" then as "Conseiller de Légation" and operating effectively as "Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*". It's also his last assignment as a bachelor, but he was actually chosen because he was one. This was a rather delicate position, or an adventurous one, with a saddle and bridles being among the indispensable acquisitions. He will witness another revolution in Teheran...

He was appointed as "[conseiller] à la Légation du Roi près de S.M. le Roi d'Egypte" in Cairo on the 15th of July 1922, sailing from Venice in September, arriving in Cairo in October at the latest, where Jacques and his wife stayed at the Shepheard's first, and then rented a house in Giza, with a view on the Nile.

His new appointment as "conseiller à la Légation du Roi près de S.M. la Reine des Pays-Bas" in Den Haag is announced by a royal decree issued on the 20th of February 1924. We actually do not know if he was still in Cairo by that date, or already back in Brussels. The Nationalist leader Saad Zaghlul becoming Prime Minister of Egypt on the 26th of January 1924 might have played a role in the departure of Jacques de Lalaing. The album kept in the family archives shows no trace of Jacques de Lalaing's presence in Egypt beyond September 1923, the most recent photographs probably being those documenting Saad Zaghlul's return to Egypt from his exile on Gibraltar on the 17th of September 1923.

His wife

Suzanne Allard was born on the 25th of May 1902 and died on the 6th of July 1987. She was the daughter of Josse Allard (1868-1931) and Marie-Antoinette Calley Saint Paul de Sinçay (1881-1977).

Her father was active as a banker –the family business- and as an administrator of many companies. The "Compagnie Immobilière d'Egypte" is just one of them. He presided the "Société Commerciale et Minière du Congo", the "Chemins de Fer Vicinaux du Congo", the « Messageries Automobiles du Congo » etc. A major entrepreneur...

But Josse Allard was also, among many other things, director ("directeur de la fabrication") of the "Hôtel des Monnaies" in Brussels. As such, he supervised the minting not only of Belgian and Congolese coins, but also of those of many other countries, including Brazil and Egypt³.

Suzanne Allard married Jacques de Lalaing on the 11th of July 1922. Jacques' assignment in Cairo came only days later, so Egypt became their honeymoon destination.

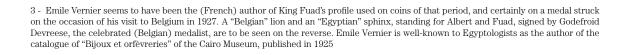




Plate 2 - Suzanne Allard in her hotel room in Cairo, before settling in her own house: "Ma chambre au Shepheard's – octobre 22)". To the right, on the table, is a photograph of the castle of Zandbergen, de Lalaing's historical dwelling (Album de Lalaing, 3 F).

Suzanne was only twenty years old, and turned twenty-one after meeting Tutankhamun! It seems very probable to the author that she was the youngest person present⁴ –beating Lady Evelyn Herbert (1901-1980), the daughter of Lord Carnarvon- at the official opening of his Burial Chamber on the 18th of February 1923.

She followed her husband wherever he was sent to, and they had four children, Godelieve (1925-1983), Josse (°1927), Ferry (1932-1998) and Ariane (°1936), the youngest born in Budapest.

She is the self-declared author of the photographs –clearly made with a box camerain the album documenting their stay in Egypt. This album will be used in the following text as a major source to document Jacques de Lalaing's and Suzanne Allard's stay and activities in Egypt.

^{4 -} She might have been the last survivor also.

The Queen

As the album shows quite clearly, Jacques de Lalaing and Suzanne Allard were present at the official opening of the Burial Chamber of Tutankhamun on the 18th of February 1923, where they met the discoverers Lord Carnarvon (1866-1923) and Howard Carter (1874-1939). They were there to accompany Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians (1876-1965), who arrived in Alexandria on the 15th of February, and in Luxor on the 16th, taking rooms at the Winter Palace, where they probably also stayed. Quite obviously, the diplomat, his wife and the Queen will meet again on several occasions, mostly in Cairo, before her departure from Egypt on the 29th of March, still in the company of the famous Egyptologist Jean Capart, about whom we will have more further on.

Jacques de Lalaing was informed of the Queen's visit to Egypt on the 6th of February 1923 by means of a telegram (bizarrely not sent to Auguste Dauge, the Belgian Minister) dispatched by count Guillaume d'Archot Schoonhoven, King Albert's chief of Cabinet. This son-in-law of Boghos Nubar Pacha, i.e. Edouard Empain's associé in Heliopolis, asks Jacques de Lalaing to give notice of the visit to Pierre Lacau, Director of the Antiquities Service of Egypt and Georges Herbert, Lord Carnarvon, sponsor of the excavation of Tutankhamun's tomb. The Belgian diplomat had been in Egypt for just four months, and this must have been an unexpected task indeed.

On the 18th of February, the Queen set off to the Valley of the Kings in the company of her son, the future King Léopold III, with Jacques de Lalaing and his wife attending. They are looked after, in a way, by lieutenant-colonel James "Jimmy" Kiero Watson, who took place in the Queen's car, a man who they probably did not just casually meet at the Winter Place, as some authors suggest. He had just retired as Military Attaché in Cairo, a very important function indeed, and must have been a man of many stories, having been "aide de camp" of Lord Kitchener, in the Sudan as well as South Africa. Colonel Watson will accompany Prince Léopold on his visit to Karthoum, at the end of February, and not just as a body-guard. They will stay with Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan, who will subsequently be assassinated in Cairo, on the 19th of November 1924, causing Saad Zaghlul to resign.

The album shows other Belgians were present at the official opening of the Burial Chamber, but, admittedly, we do not know if they had access to the tomb of the Boy King on that very day. There were visits on the following days.

Josse Allard and his wife Marie-Antoinette Calley Saint Paul de Sinçay, Suzanne's parents, and her "oncle G", who is not industrialist Adrien "Gaston" Calley Saint Paul de Sinçay, her grand-uncle, as "oncle G" is a Guillaume, were all present.



Plate 3 - From left to right and top to bottom:

A: Venice, where de Lalaing's boat to Alexandria departed: "Départ de Venise – septembre 1922" (Album de Lalaing, 1 A).

B: The house where Jacques and Suzanne will live during his assignment in Egypt, in Giza, along the Nile (album de Lalaing, 2 F – no caption).

C: The façade of Hotel Shepheard's in Cairo, where Jacques and Suzanne stayed upon arrival in Egypt's capital. The building was utterly destroyed on the so-called Black Saturday, the 26th of January 1952 (Nelson 1960, between p. 64 and p. 65).

D: The house in Giza in close up (album de Lalaing, 5 B – no caption).

D: Jacques and Suzanne on top of the Great Pyramid: "Sur la Pyramide de Chéops – août 1923" (album de Lalaing, 25 H).

E: Jacques in casual clothes on the terrace of the house in Giza: "Jacques sur la terrasse" (album de Lalaing, 5 D).





Plate 4 - A & B: The living-room of the house in Giza: the very back, to the left of the bottom photograph, "le salon". On the table behind the sofa, a human- an unidentified objet, already seen on the wall of the headed lid of a canopic jar is visible, not located at hotel room at the Shepheard's (album de Lalaing, 21 present... Some other antiquities are visible, and at C and 21 E).

The Egyptologist

Jean Capart (1877-1947) is the founder of Belgian Egyptology. He was a man of great skills, and of great public relations.

Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians visited the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire on the 18th of November 1922, where an exhibition commemorated the first century after Champollion, or the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs. Jean Capart is her guide and seems to have made some impression. By the greatest of coincidences, the most spectacular discovery in the history of Egyptology occurs just a few days later on the 26^d of November 1922. A sealed doorway leading to the tomb of Tutankhamun, now a household name, was opened on that day, giving into what is now known as the Antechamber of the tomb. Carter's words upon discovery are now famous. "At first, I could see nothing, he writes, the hot air escaping from the chamber causing the candle flame to flicker, but presently, as my eyes grew accustomed to the light, details of the room within emerged slowly from the mist, strange animals, statues, and gold – everywhere the glint of gold. For the moment - an eternity it must have seemed to the others standing by - I was struck dumb with

amazement, and when Lord Carnarvon, unable to stand in suspense any longer, inquired anxiously 'Can you see anything?', it was all I could do to get out the words 'Yes, wonderful

This is only the beginning...

things".

Jean Capart tries to keep up with the news coming from Egypt, and soon starts lecturing on the new finds, as he was a master in scientific popularization. Countess Louise Marie d'Ursel (1886-1956), holding a "salon" at the Hôtel d'Ursel, rue Marché au Bois in Brussels, and taking his classes at the "Institut d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie", invites Jean Capart early in 1923 to give a talk about the new discoveries. He is enthused, his audience is enthused, the talk is published on the 31st of January by "Le Flambeau", the "revue belge des questions politiques et littéraires", which had published contributions by Capart before. The story goes that Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians read this paper and got in turn enthused by the news of the discovery of an undisturbed royal tomb in Egypt. One should not lose sight of the fact though, that Countess Louise Marie d'Ursel was the "dame d'honneur" of Queen Elisabeth, and thus had easy access to the royal family.

Whatever made the decision, by the 5th of February, the Queen of the Belgians is about to depart.

Plate 5

A: Queen Elisabeth with Lord Allenby in the garden of the Belgian Residence in Cairo: "S.M. et Lord Allenby" and G. Scott (?). At the back, starting with the third person from the left, we have Jean Capart, Firmin van den Bosch, Sir W.N. Congreve, Countess de Caraman-

B: Queen Elisabeth with Lord Allenby on the same bench, with company: the long caption gives the name of all of them. At the front, we see James Kiero wife), Suzanne Allard, Prince Léopold ("le chapeau du Prince"), Lady Congreve and Auguste Dauge (album de Lalaing, 6 A).

Watson, Lord Allenby, Queen Elisabeth, Lady Allenby, and G. Scott (?). At the back, starting with the third person from the left, we have Jean Capart, Firmin van den Bosch, Sir W.N. Congreve, Countess de Caraman-Chimay, Jacques de Lalaing, Anne Etty (Henri Naus' wife), Suzanne Allard, Prince Léopold ("le chapeau du Prince"), Lady Congreve and Auguste Dauge (album de Lalaing, 6 A).

As one could learn from "La Libre Belgique", "elle a demandé [...] à M. Capart, notre éminent égyptologue, professeur à l'Université de Liège, conservateur au Musée du Cinquantenaire, de lui servir en quelque sorte de "cicérone" scientifique".

An opportunity most Egyptologists must have dreamt of; Jean Capart cleverly made use of it to see the greatest show on earth, inaccessible to most of his colleagues, with no royalty to escort.

The visit

On the 16th of February, when the wall between the Antechamber and the Burial Chamber was actually taken down (according to Howard Carter's journal), only a handful of Egyptologists working for the "Service des Antiquités", and Carnarvon's and Carter's closest associates were present. On the one hand we have Pierre Lacau (1873-1963), Director general of the Service des Antiquités and Reginald Engelbach (1888-1946), Chief Inspector for Upper Egypt, Ibrahim Effendi (dates unknown) and Tewfik Effendi Boulos (dates unknown), both also Inspectors for the Service, as well as Abd el Halim Pasha Suleiman (dates unknown), an Under Secretary of State, on the other we have James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) and Alan Gardiner (1879-1963), Albert Morton Lythgoe (1868-1934) and Herbert Winlock (1884-1950), Arthur Mace (1874-1928), Arthur Callender (1875-1936), Alfred Lucas (1867-1945) and Harry Burton (1879-1940), as well as Sir William E. Garstin (1840-1925), an engineer working on the irrigation system of Egypt⁵.

On the 18th of February, when an unknown number of high guests was invited to visit the Tomb, but only some of them to see the Burial chamber, Jean Capart is, as far as we know, the only Egyptologist present, and apart from Pierre Lacau, the first non-Anglo-Saxon. He owns his presence to his "fée-marraine" Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians: for sure, Jean Capart is a respected colleague, but we have the feeling he was not expected. Probably Howard Carter even less expected the Belgian Egyptologist would publish a booklet on Tutankhamun the very same year, addressing the French-speaking readers with enthralling reading on the tomb's discovery.

Apparently, Mervyn Herbert (1882-1929), Lord Carnarvon's brother was also present at the "official opening", but was it on the 16th or on the 18th of February? If on the 18th of February, he might be describing a scene Queen Elisabeth witnessed.

"Rows of chairs, he writes, had been arranged in the first chamber of the tomb, which had been entirely cleared except for the two statues of the King at one end. [Porch, i.e. Lord Carnarvon] began by making a very nice speech to all of us –short and to the point- one of





the main things being thanks to all the workers [...]. Then Carter made a speech –not very good- he was nervous almost inarticulate and talked about science and the insecurity of the discovery".

Death comes as the End⁶? Not for Tutankhamun...

The aftermath

There will be several other visits by Queen Elisabeth to Howard Carter and his team.

On the 21st of February, Jean Capart's birthday, Queen Elisabeth, accompanied by her son Léopold and her favourite Egyptologist, returns to the Valley of the Kings. On this occasion, they are expected in the "laboratory", i.e. the tomb of Sethi II (KV 15), where the objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun are conditioned, before being sent to Cairo. Arthur Mace notes Queen Elisabeth is "embarrassingly keen on everything", and so she was not only in terms of Egyptology.

On the 25th of February, nobody's birthday, Queen Elisabeth is back, in the company of Ghislaine de Caraman-Chimay. Jean Capart is of course also present, curious as ever. They pay a second visit to the tomb, being invited for a peek within the first chapel built around the sarcophagus, and offered more. This was when Lord Carnarvon cut a little piece out of the veil covering the second chapel, to offer it as a token of respect to the Queen, who will ultimately hand it over to the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. A new visit to the "laboratory" will follow, with Arthur Mace "dodging" the Queen, so not to have to open a box or another to satisfy her curiosity, something he "simply would not do for anyone".

On the 9th of March, they are in the Valley of the Kings again. Queen Elisabeth is there to open "her" box. So be it. It is unsealed, and a golden snake emerges from it (object number 37 a or 38 b), to the great delight of Her Royal Highness. Arthur Mace, never short of words, expressed what probably the whole team was feeling: "we are all getting very bored with her".

This was the last visit, at least in 1923.

The same days saw the creation of the "Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth", which is, under a slightly altered name, still one the world's leading research centers in the field. This "conte que Schéhérazade n'a pas connu", to use Jean Capart's words, is another story that would take too long to tell.

Plate 6

A: Howard Carter and Arthur Mace taking down the blocking between the Antechamber and the Burial Chamber on the 16th of February 1923 (Carter & Mace 1923, between p. 184 and p. 185).

B: What Queen Elisabeth first saw on the 18th of February 1923. Three quarters of the blocking have been removed, revealing the outermost shrine protecting Tutankhamun's mummy. The Antechamber had been emptied, save for the guardian statues, which would remain there until the next season's work (Carter & Mace 1923, between p. 186 and p. 187).

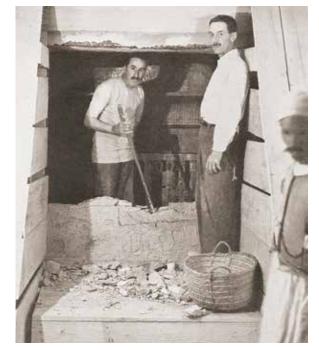












Plate 7 - The official opening of Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber:

A: The Allard family meeting Lord Carnarvon: the caption gives the names of all. From left to right: Lady Evelyn Herbert (in front), Suzanne Allard, "Pussy" de Spoelberch, Marie-Antoinette Calley etc. (Suzanne's mother), Josse Allard (her father), "oncle G[uillaume]" (not further identified), Lord Carnarvon and, walking away, Howard Carter (album de Lalaing, 12 D).

B: Some of the guests: the caption gives the names of some of them. At the front, from left to right: Count de Serionni (?), Henri Gaillard, "Ministre de France" (who frankly doesn't look well), Joseph Morton Howell, "Ministre des Etats-Unis". At the back: Richard "Dick" Graves and Jacques de Lalaing (album de Lalaing, 16 E).

C: Some of the guests: the caption gives the name of some of them. Jacques de Lalaing (center left, standing next to Lord Allenby, whose face is in the shade of his hat) and Suzanne Allard (center right, with her hand to her face, holding a fly-whisk, not an umbrella) figure prominently (album de Lalaing, 18).

D: The crowd around KV 63: "Ouverture officielle des 3e et 4e chambres de la Tombe de Tout-Ankh-Amon". The kind of stretchers front left were used to transport the objects out of the Antechamber (album de Lalaing 16 C and 17).



Plate 8 - The Antechamber being emptied.

A: Tutankhamun's "mannequin" seemingly walking. The workman who is carrying it is closely followed by Arthur Weigall, an Egyptologist turned journalist, inventor of "the Curse of Tutankhamun", an apocryphal story still fascinating part of the public (Reeves & Taylor 1992, p. 147).

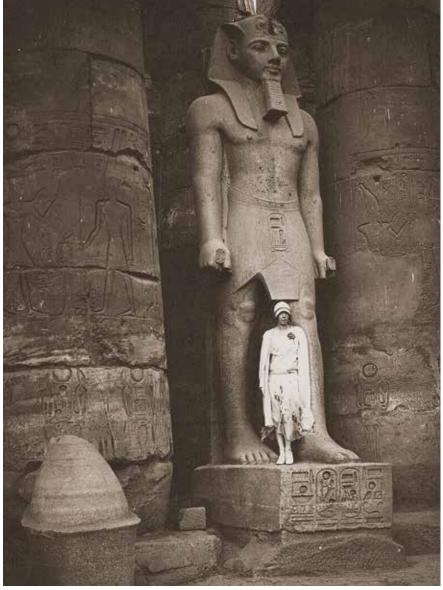
B: One of Tutankhamun's sealed shrines Queen Elisabeth wanted to see opened taken out of the Antechamber of Tutankhamun's tomb, under surveillance of Howard Carter himself, obviously not in working clothes (Carter & Mace 1923, between p. 148 and p. 149).



Plate 9 Queen Elisabeth, the return: visiting Egypt with her husband, 10th of March 1930 to 3^d of April 1930.

A: Queen Elisabeth posing at the foot of one of Ramesses' colossi in Luxor (22^d of March 1930) (photo Polinet, Archives of the Association Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Brussels, photo nr. 7697).

B: Queen Elisabeth again visited the Tomb of Tutankhamun, on the 24th of March 1930. Standing on her left are King Albert I and Howard Carter. Jean Capart, again her "cicérone", emerges from the group on the right (photo Polinet, Archives of the Association Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Brussels, photo nr. 7705).





The acquisition

As Jacques de Lalaing and Suzanne Allard never returned to Egypt, there is no doubt the statuette studied here has been acquired there and then, i.e. in Cairo or in Luxor in 1923 or early in 1924. The diplomat was by no means a collector of Egyptian antiquities, and, judging by the interior of his house in Giza, Egyptian antiquities are just part of the "couleur locale". Actually, General Kasa's shabti stands out by its rarity and its quality, which could mean the acquisition of the object was not entirely made on Jacques de Lalaing's own initiative. He followed Queen Elisabeth closely, almost from the day of her arrival, on the 15th of February, to the day of her departure, the 28th of March 1923.

The diplomat and his wife where present in Cairo at the Residence of Belgium's "ministre plénipotentiaire", with Lord and Lady Allenby, the High Commissioner in Egypt ("alias" 1st Viscount Allenby of Megiddo) and his wife, about the 15th of March, and were again in the presence of Queen Elisabeth in Heliopolis in front of the basilica (?) on Palm Sunday, i.e. the 25th of March that year. The Queen was staying at the Heliopolis Palace hotel.

If indeed Jacques de Lalaing had frequent contact with Queen Elisabeth's party, as a photograph of the album suggests, showing him with Countess Ghislaine de Caraman-Chimay, "Lady of Honour" of Her Royal Highness, both on the back of a dromedary during a visit to the Giza pyramids, then he must have at least occasionally met Jean Capart too. The Belgian Egyptologist was always ready to counsel fellow countryman in the acquisition of antiquities, sometimes even pushing them to buy one or the other piece he would have bought himself if he had had the funding, and this with the hope of seeing the object donated later to the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

A strange example is the statue representing a kneeling king (E.6386), seen by Jean Capart in Luxor in 1930, during Albert's and Elisabeth's visit to Egypt, where and when Mahmud Mohasseb Bey, the son of the well-known merchant Mohammed Mohasseb Bey was offering it for sale, for a price Jean Capart could not afford to pay. We don't know how he managed it, but in the end, he had Robert Mond, the President of the Egypt Exploration Society at the time, buying it as a gift to Queen Elisabeth, *for* the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

To us it seems very probable that Jean Capart counseled Jacques de Lalaing about the acquisition of the shabti of General Kasa, and very plausible that he hoped that after tiring of it he would donate it to the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. It was never to be. Who the dealer might have been is a matter of speculation, as Jean Capart visited quite a few of them. Considering the schedule of Queen Elisabeth's visit, the dealer might have been in Cairo rather than Luxor. Among the usual suspects, we count the Khawam Brothers and Maurice Nahman, whose (premature!) obituary was published by ... Jean Capart.

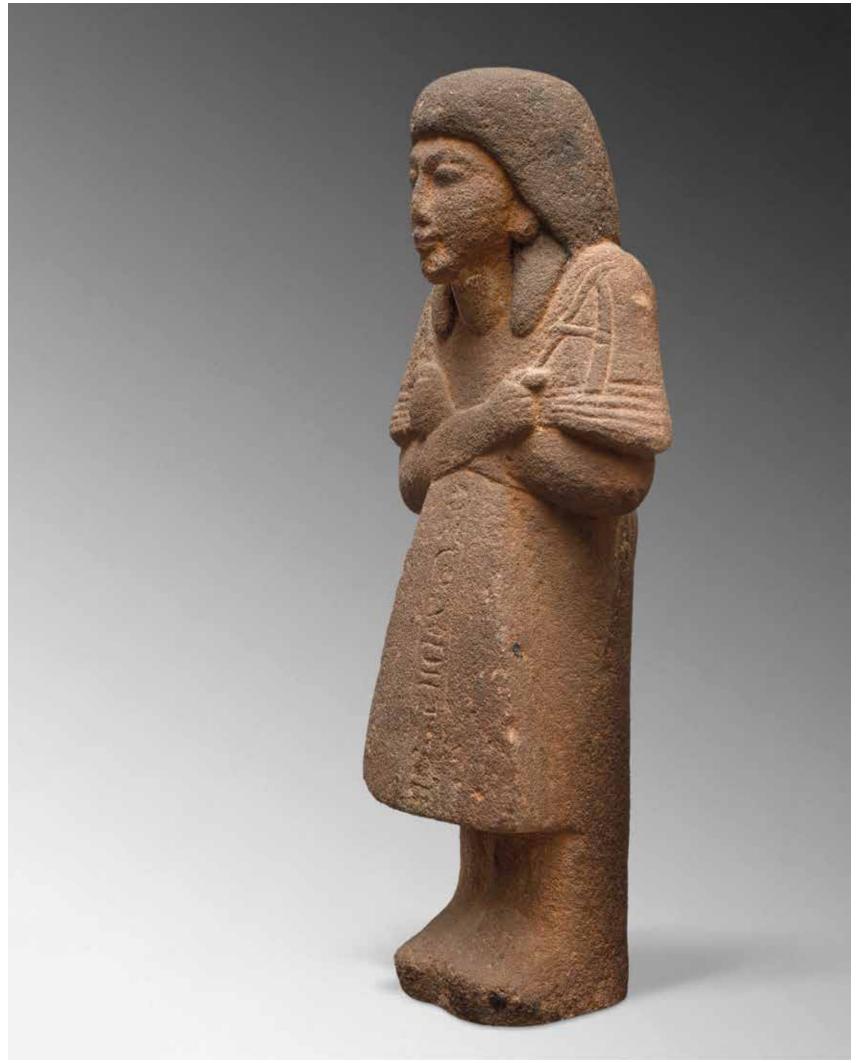
Votive shabti of General Kasa

Red sandstone.

H: 39,7 cm; maximal width: 17,4 cm.
Egypt, probably Giza of Saqqara ("Ro-Setau"), New Kingdom, end of the 18th - beginning of the 19th dynasty (c. 1325-1275 BC).

This very large stone shabti shows General Kasa in the dress of daily life. His title and name are stated in the inscription on the lower front of his dress. The man is best known for the four stelae illustrating Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead (presently in Marseille), found in his tomb in Saqqara, which was discovered about 1855, but was lost again since then.

Provenance: Collection Count Jacques de Lalaing, Belgium, acquired most probably February-March 1923 (and no later than early 1924).

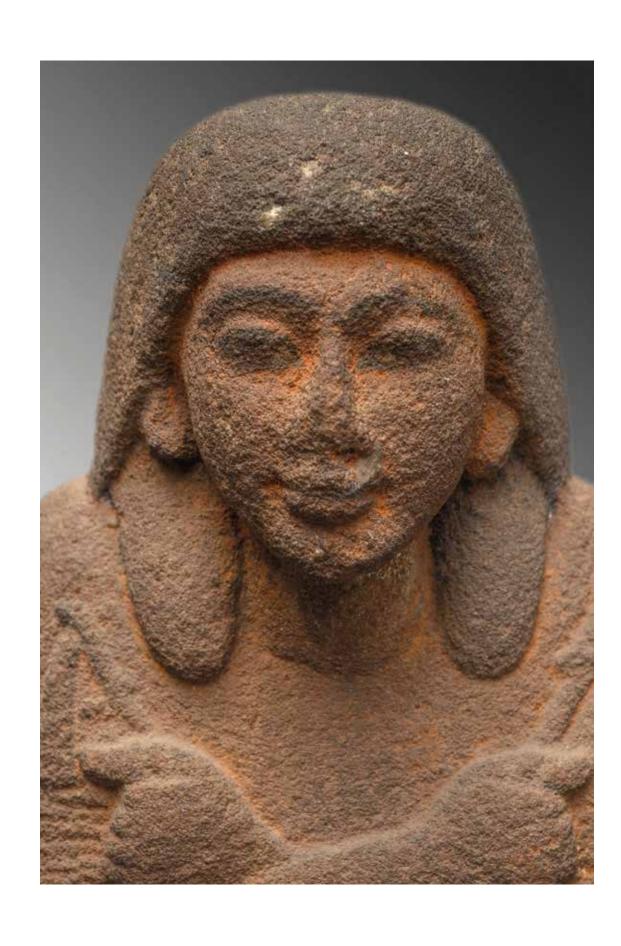


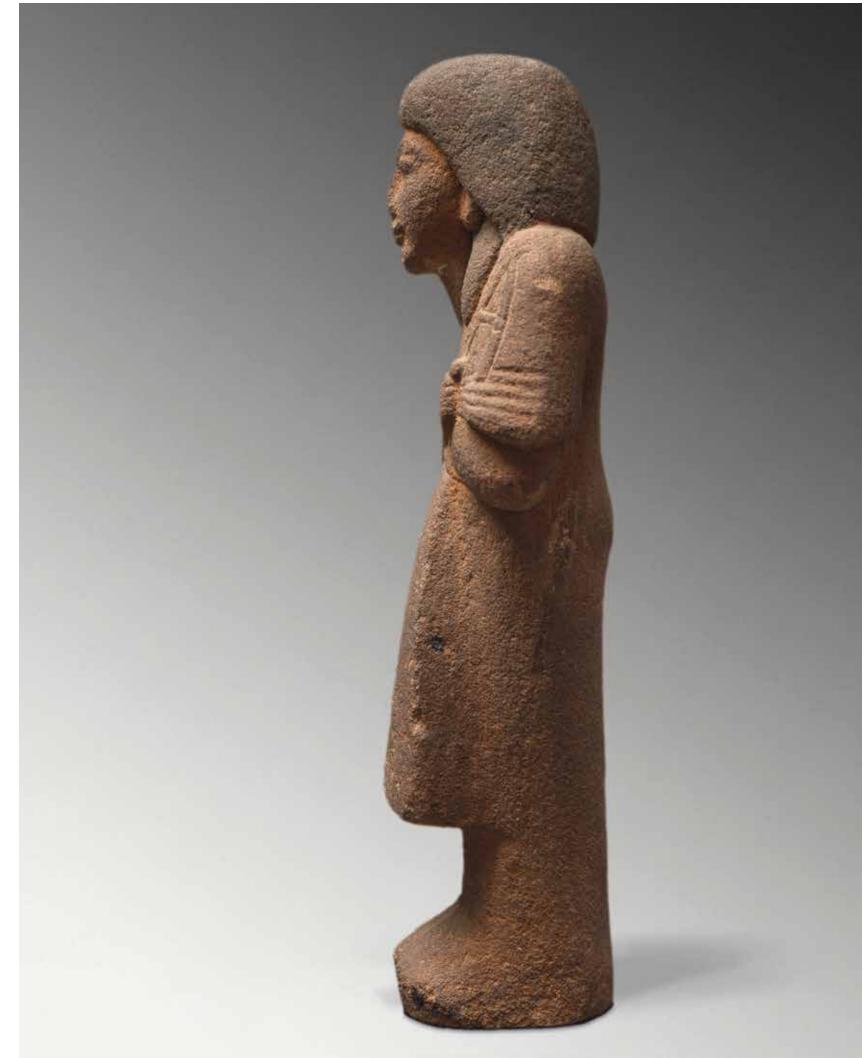




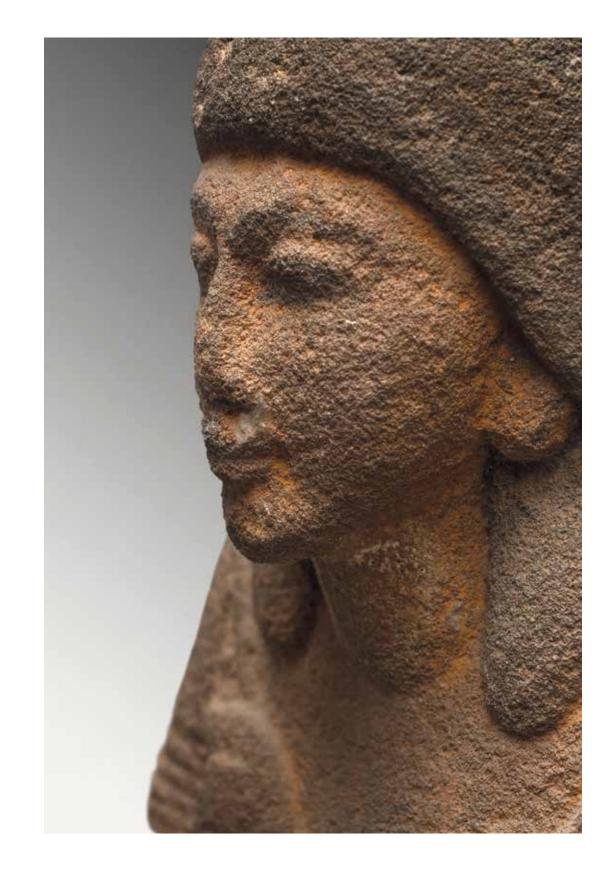


Written proof.
The inscription on the shabti, naming the General, qualified "General of the Lord of the Two Lands", i.e. the Pharaoh of Egypt











An unusual votive shabti

The sandstone shabti of General Kasa is exceptional also because of its size, measuring 39,7 cm in height, and 17,4 cm in maximal width, rarely (even for royalty) reached by shabtis put into a tomb (the largest ones dating from Amenhotep III, Akhenaten and Tutankhamun). The red sandstone that was used for this statuette is typical for the 19th dynasty, but of course we know General Kasa belongs to the early 19th dynasty.

He is shown in the dress of daily life (Class VI of Hans Schneider), a garment with pleated sleeves, and holds his arms crossed over the breast, the right over the left (H-1 in Hans Schneider's hand-key), the hands holding a hoe each, both compound hoes with a broad blade, but the one in the right hand larger than the one in the left hand. No other details of the clothing, such as sandals, are given, and General Kasa is not carrying a bag or basket on his back.

The shabtis in the dress of daily life found in tombs are to be identifified as so-called *reis*-shabtis, the "division-leaders of the shabti gang of the master".

General Kasa is wearing a composite duplex wig, painted black, without details (but to be identified as a W-14 in Hans Schneider's wig-key), a wig that became fashionable under Sethi I. The eyes and eyebrows are also painted black, his slightly smiling face having a triangular shape⁷.

There is just one text column of text, on the lower front of the dress, saying the statuette represents "The Osiris, the General of the Master of the Two Lands, Kasa, Justified". The absence of a second column of text, to be expected on the lower back of the statue (TP-8a in Hans Schneider's text position key), means that most probably the sculpture stood in a niche.

That niche must have been somewhere outside of General Kasa's tomb, the shabti being also oversized for use as tomb furniture. As we will see, shabtis from his tomb are known, most of them faience, which is the usual material for these. As Hans Schneider states, the deceased most probably "wished to be present on those locations where he might be able to influence any decisions to be taken by the Lords of the Hereafter regarding the necessities of life in the Beyond".

The precinct of the temple of Osiris in Abydos is the place were most of the shabtis outside of their owner's tomb have been found. As General Kasa's tomb was in Saqqara, one might rather propose the memphite area as a provenance for the object. Indeed, the desert plateau between Giza and Saqqara produced a large number of shabtis outside their owner's tomb too. This was the domain of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Lord of Ro-Setau. As Hans Schneider reminds us, "Ro-Setau was the domain of chtonic gods like Osiris and Sokar; but in fact it was the sun-god Re who dominated the theology of Ro-Setau: the deceased owed his life to the rays of Re and not to Osiris whose fields he had to till".

The red sandstone used by the sculptor is definitely a material with solar connotations.

The General

Very little is known about General Kasa, who is obviously one of those military men that appear very prominently at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th dynasty, some of them even promoting to pharaoh, but pending the rediscovery of his tomb in Saqqara, we only have the rather banal information on the presently known funerary material

So the man was also a scribe, meaning he could read and write, and so he was a general, with, as we will see, an unusual tomb, which might reveal an unusual man.

His father, whose name was Hatiay, was part of the administration, carrying a title that is often translated as "Judge", whatever that may mean. His name is not that rare, but we have nothing to suggest he might be identical with "another" Hatiay.

Of his mother even less is known, as we have nothing else but her name, Iset. As she carries the name of the great goddess Isis, one might even wonder if this not a kind of surname. We suggest by that she might have been a foreigner, with a name unpronounceable to an average native.

Actually, Kasa's name might, just might have been derived from an Asiatic root, "ks", and it has been suggested that his name could even reveal he was a Kassite, the rulers of Babylon at that time. The foremost authority about Asiatic names, or derived from Asiatic roots, in ancient Egypt, i.e. Thomas Schneider, though, does not include Kasa's name in his brilliant study.

The rediscovery of his tomb, probably near those of his colleagues General Horemheb, a slightly older monument (rediscovered in 1975 by Geoffrey Martin), or General Iwrhya, a slightly younger one (discovered in 2018 by Ola el-Aguizy), would probably bring a major breakthrough.

One might note Iwrhya is apparently "a foreigner", and his grandson is called Hatiay. To be continued...

The Tomb

Quite obviously, the General's tomb was found in Saqqara, probably in the 1850's, and most probably, it was intact. The four stelae of the tomb, now in the Musée de la Vieille Charité in Marseille, are quite well known, and have often been studied since their first publication by Edouard Naville in 1880.

The very first mention of some of the tomb's material is to be found in John Gardner Wilkinson's manuscripts, i.e. partial copies of the celebrated stelae's inscriptions, in a

notebook he used in 18568. We thus know the tomb was opened before that date, probably by a gang hired by the dealer Solomon Fernandez, who had been exploiting for many years the area south of the Unas causeway, where many highly decorated New Kingdom tombs are located. These were days of fierce competition for the "best" antiquities, as a newcomer, named Auguste Mariette, appointed director of the new Antiquities Service on the 1st of June 1858, made sure more and more of them went to the Bulaq museum. "One may postulate" that as Fernandez "was no longer able to stock his antiquities shop with objects from the tomb(s) he had been exploiting since a long time, he may just as well had [these objects] destroyed before his rival Mariette could remove them", as happened with at least one decorated doorway of the tomb of Ptahmose. A less "expeditious" way of dealing with the situation, might have been to rebury some of the tombs he was emptying, and this has hopefully been the fate of General Kasa's tomb, whose sarcophagus is missing, but not the canopic jars. Not a single relief is known from the tomb, but we do have the four stelae, above mentioned, and detailed below. By all means, we do not know, at present, where it is, though the tomb is probably not to be found far away from that of Ptahmose, recently relocated, again during excavations by Ola el-Aguizy.

The finds

Several items of General Kasa's "trousseau" are to be found in European collections. As stated, his sarcophagus is probably still in his tomb, but the four canopic jars were sold in 1890 at the Paris sale of the Raymond Sabatier collection. The inscriptions were then published by Georges Legrain⁹. They were apparently "lost", but three of them turned up, in the course of this research, in the British Museum, which acquired them at the Raymond Sabatier sale. They carry the representation of, respectively Qebehsenuef, Hapy and Imsety, and two columns of text (EA 22932-22934)¹⁰.

Jean-Baptiste-Gabriel Raymond Sabatier (1810-1879) was consul general for France in Alexandria between 1852 and 1859. He was most probably a client of Solomon Fernandez, as were his colleagues Giovanni d'Anastasi (Ioannis Anastasiou) (c. 1775-c. 1860), consul general of Sweden-Norway and Etienne Zizinia (Stephanos Tzitzinias) (1794-1868), consul general of Belgium who both had their abodes on the Place des Consuls of Alexandria too. Curiously, Raymond Sabatier was also the man who brought Auguste Mariette to the Khedive Mehemet Ali's attention. The story goes that Mariette first saw some of the

^{8 -} Ms. Wilkinson dep. e. 68, p. 69 (Bodleian Library, Oxford. See FLYNN 1997, section D 1, e. 68).

⁹ - LEGRAIN 1893, pp. 65-66, nrs. 123-126. The author states explicitly that the lid of nr. 123 (bearing the name of Duamutef) is missing, but not the other ones.

^{10 -} The one missing is thus the one described by Legrain as having no lid, but meanwhile, the lid of the jar protected by Qebehsenuef, and that of the one protected by Hapy have disappeared.





35





37

36 21 22

(photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de Marseille).

The « western » stela of General Kasa, coming from The « eastern » stela of General Kasa, coming from the western wall of (the burial chamber of?) his tomb the eastern wall of (the burial chamber of?) his tomb in Saqqara. The missing inlay represented a djed- in Saqqara. The missing inlay suggested the magical pillar upon a magical brick, the pillar normally in brick upon which was placed the chapel carrying faience, upgraded with some gold inlay. H: 84 cm; w.: Anubis in his usual guise. H: 83 cm; w. 56 cm (Musée 56,5 cm (Musée de la Vieille Charité, Marseille 242) de la Vieille Charité, Marseille 243) (photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de Marseille).

sphinxes lining the alley leading to the Serapeum at Saqqara in the gardens of Etienne Zizinia, and, according to Gaston Maspero, that Solomon Fernandez had declared he had "brought them back" from Saggara to sell them to the likes of Zizinia.

Antoine-Barthélémy Clot, or Clot-Bey (1793-1868), a famous surgeon who introduced modern medicine to Egypt under the patronage of the Khedive Mehemet Ali, earned his honorary title fighting cholera. He was certainly also a client of Solomon Fernandez and it is a fact he acquired the famous four stelae of Kasa's tomb from him. That must have been between 1854 and 1858, after a period of disgrace under Abbas Hilmi, which saw him return to France, and before his final return to his home country. Objects from his collection were acquired by the Louvre, in Paris, in 1852 and 1853, but most of it went to the Musée Borély in 1863, and is now in the Musée de la Vieille Charité, also in Marseille.

The four painted limestone stelae of General Kasa (240-243) were assuredly the most important items in Clot's collection.

Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead prescribes the use of four amulets, to be placed on a brick of unbaked clay, to be placed in niches provided for them in the tomb, so they could repel evil coming from the four cardinal points. Basically, as stated by John H. Taylor, "the figure on the northern brick overthrows the one who would overthrow the deceased. The torch (southern brick) prevents sand from choking the burial chamber. The Anubis jackal (eastern brick) repels the rage of a hostile being, and the djed-pillar (western brick) 'keeps off the one whose steps are backward and whose face is hidden".

The stelae show the amulets and bricks, and are an apparent substitute for the niches, and as such are, quite curiously, the only set known to do so. They were placed one on each wall of the tomb, and carry the words for north, south, east and west to ensure correct placement.

The General is shown on three of the four stelae (in one case even twice), kneeling in front of the amulet (originally inlaid). All four show a shen-sign (for eternity), the sign for water and a pot at the top, flanked on the northern and eastern stelae by a pair on jackals, and on the southern and western ones by a pair of *udjat*-eyes. At the bottom of each stella we find Kasa's name, his qualification as a royal scribe, and as a general, as well as the name of his father, a "judge", maybe, whatever that actually means, and of his mother, about whom we learn nothing, and who has the most banal of names (Isis...), as we have seen. On the northern stela, it is specified where the stelae have to be put up: "the djed-pillar will be on the west side, facing east. The Anubis will be on the east side, facing west. The torch will be on the south side, facing north. The figure in *ima*-wood will be on the north, facing south". The main text of each stela describes what "happens", through the action of the amulet, on the "side"

Plate 21

© Musées de Marseille).

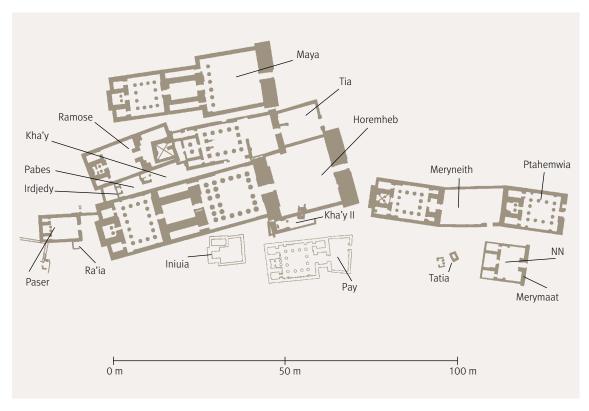
Plate 22

The « southern » stela of General Kasa, coming from The "northern" stela of General Kasa, coming from the south wall of (the burial chamber of?) his tomb the north wall of (the burial chamber of?) his tomb in Saqqara. The missing inlay represented a torch, in Saqqara. The missing inlay represented a shabtisupposedly burning, again placed upon a magical like figure, shown frontally, placed on a magical brick. brick, H.: 83 cm; w.: 57 cm (Musée de la Vieille H.: 84 cm; w.: 56,5 cm (Musée de la Vieille Charité, Charité, Marseille 241) (photo David Giancatarina, Marseille 240) (photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de Marseille).

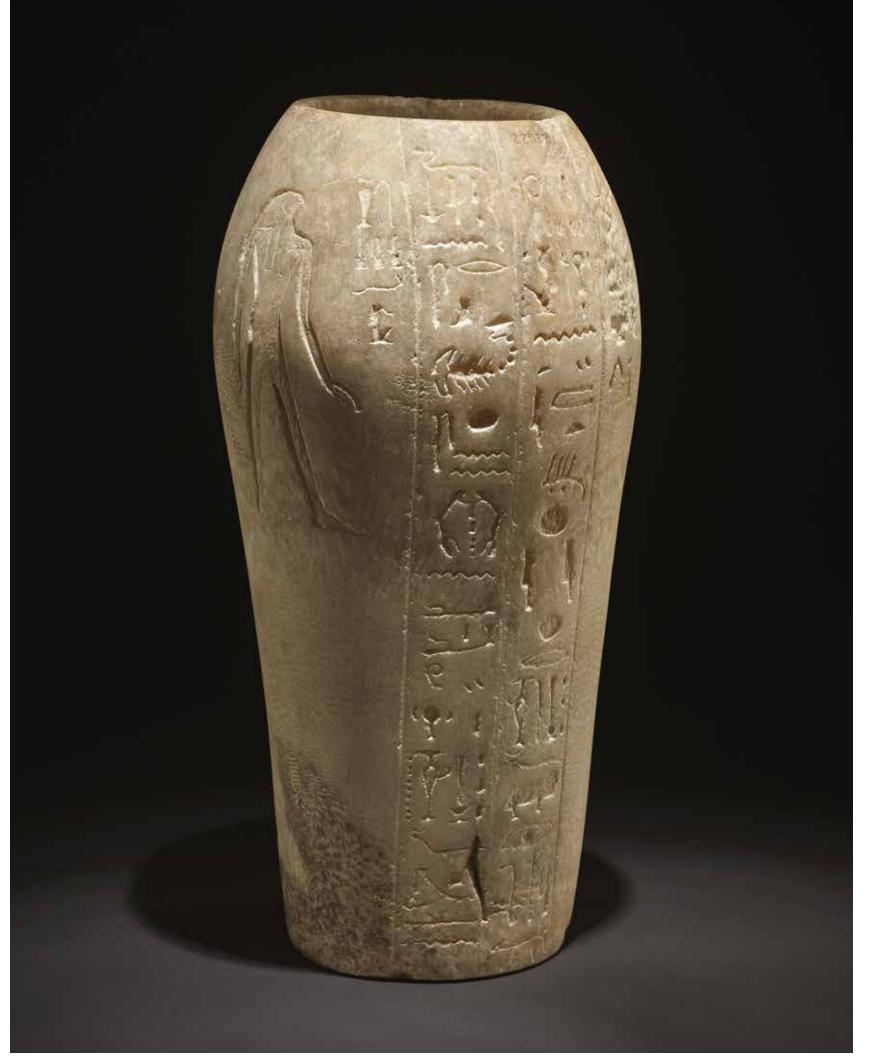
were it was placed, and what actions to take and words to pronounce to make it happen. This is not exactly the case of the stela that was on the western side, where the main text is supposed to be recited by the deceased himself, who does not go as far as to substitute himself to the *djed*-pillar, but at least takes position behind it, ready to strike, giving him an almost divine status. This is actually the stella on which the general is represented twice.

Three faience shabtis, that must come from the general's tomb, are known in the same collection of the Musée de la Vieille Charité in Marseille. They also come from the collection of Antoine-Barthélémy Clot, as do the stelae, and this is a good reason to propose they come from his tomb too, as they were bought form the same dealer. Two are white glazed shabtis (369/1 and 369/2), one is blueish green (369/3), and also shows a quite different organization of the text.

The fourth shabti carrying Kasa's name known to us is very close to one of the Marseille collections, but was in the private collection of Charles Bouché (1928-2010), where it was first seen about 1974, no earlier mention of it being known to us. It has been sold in 2012 by the "commissaire priseur" Thierry de Maigret at the Hôtel Drouot, and in now in the "Emmacha" collection in Paris. Charles Bouché regularly bought shabtis in "mythical



Saqqara, south of the Unas causeway. The area where General Kasa's tomb is most probably to be found, not far from his colleague General Horemheb's tomb, somewhat to the north of this monument (Frazer 2012, Fig. 1).



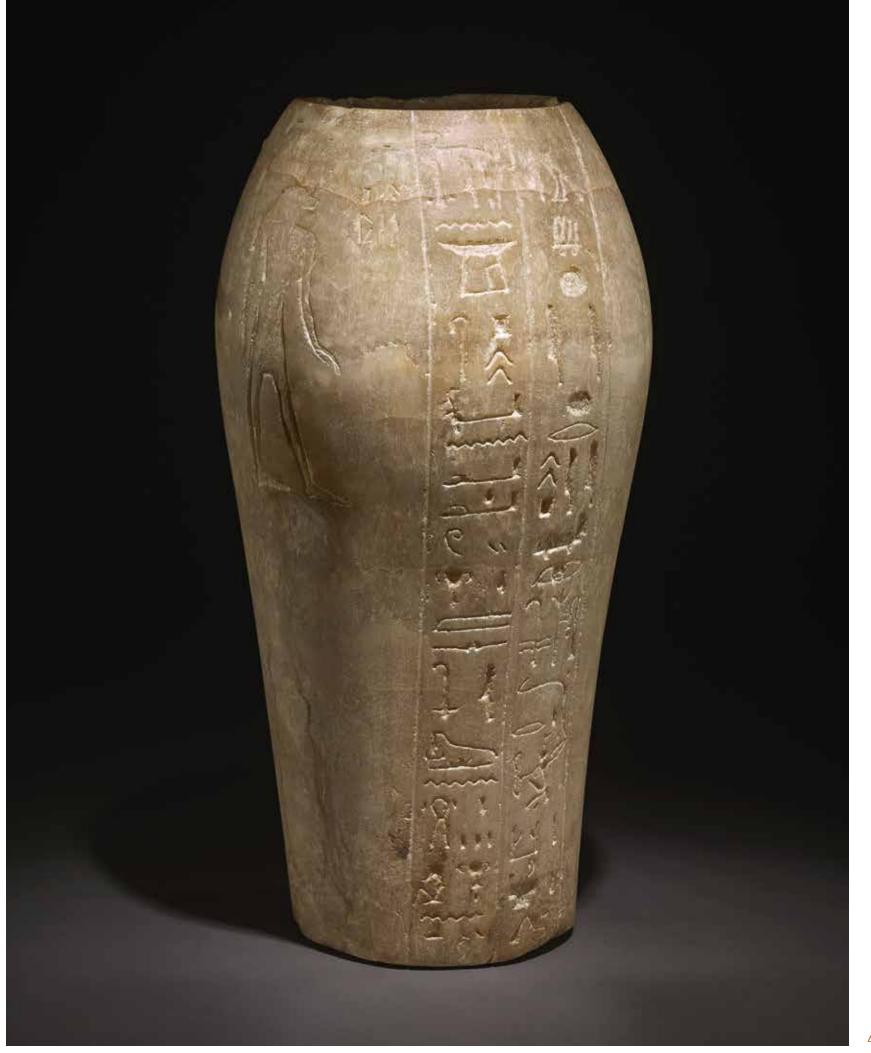




Plate 23

Calcite canopic jar of General Kasa, with a representation of Qebehsenuef, and three columns of hieroglyphic text. The lid is missing. H: 24 cm; Ø: 16 cm (British Museum EA 22932 (registration number 1891,0511.28) = Legrain 1893 a, nr. 124) (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

Plate 24

Calcite canopic jar of General Kasa, with a representation of Hapy, and two columns of hieroglyphic text. The lid is missing.

H.: 38 cm; Ø: 19 cm (British Museum EA 22933 (registration number 1891,0511.29) = Legrain 1893 a, nr. 125) (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

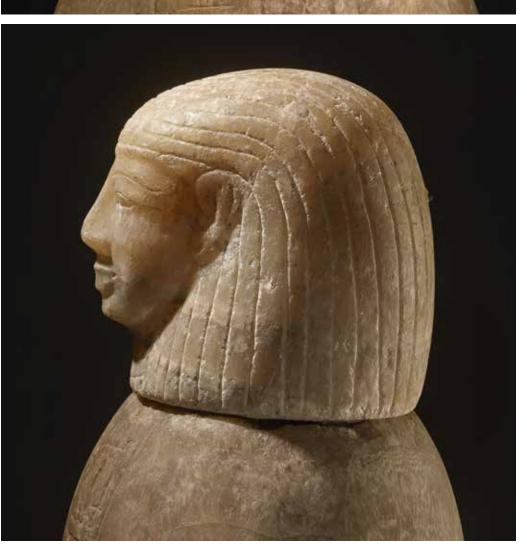


Plate 25

Calcite canopic jar of General Kasa, with a representation of Imsety, and two columns of hieroglyphic text. The lid is preserved. H.: 49 cm; Ø: 16,5 cm (British Museum EA 22934 (registration number 1891,0511.30) = Legrain 1893 a, nr. 126) (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

Plate 26

The human-headed lid of the canopic jar of General Kasa protected by Imsety (British Museum EA 22934 (registration number 1891,0511.30) = Legrain 1893 a, nr. 126) (© The Trustees of the British Museum).



collections", where "his" Kasa might have lived hidden for a long time. We suppose it has been in Paris since the 1850's or 1860's and it was part of the outfit of the tomb of Kasa.

Yet another white glazed shabti is in the collections of the British Museum (EA 33957), which acquired it from the Reverend Greville John Chester, in 1875. This British clergyman, who was forced to retire due to bad health in 1865, wintered in Egypt for many years. The date of acquisition shows shabti of General Kasa were still circulating in Egypt something like ten years after the opening of his tomb. We presume it also comes from Kasa's tomb¹¹.

Again in the Sabatier collection was a shabti (20 cm) in dark stone (serpentine? See below...) showing General Kasa with a ba-bird on his chest, an object that is unfortunately not in a known private or public collection. As the same collector owned the four canopic jars of our man, chances are that this statuette comes from his tomb.

A rather large (19,3 cm), and beautiful, black serpentine shabti naming Kasa, most probably also to be attributed to General Kasa (but admittedly the inscription does not specify General Kasa is meant) is also known. It is not clear to us wether this shabti comes from the tomb of the general or not, as those who certainly do are in faience, but Kasa would certainly not be the only one with mixed sets.

The object was in the Kofler-Truniger collection in Lucerne since at least the late 1970's, and was sold at at Christies in 1998, then at Sotheby's in 2003, and is now part of the "Emmacha" collection in Paris.

Other objects

The most remarkable document naming General Kasa, but *not* belonging to his tomb, is a stela (38 x 30,5 cm) in the Museum August Kestner in Hannover (Inv. 1935.200.196), showing the "Osiris" Kasa seated on the left, the scribe Imen-heru standing in from of him, holding a *nemset*-vase in the right and an incenser in the left hand. It was carved in sandstone, according to Lena Höltkemeier, which is a rather rare material for a stela, and its provenance seems to be Upper Egypt, which is not necessarily to be retained for the two sandstone shabtis too, ours and the one below.

The object was in the collection of the Egyptologist Freiherr Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (1873-1956), who had a large private collection, partially acquired during his stay in Egypt from 1898 to 1901.

Another large sandstone shabti of General Kasa, beside ours, indeed is known, and should be, as ours, a votive one. It surfaced in 1972, when it was sold by Charles Ede, and resurfaced in 2014, when it was re-sold by Bonhams. This is a mummiform figure (24 cm), carrying a broad and a narrow-bladed hoe. The statuette is described as having "four incised rows of text around the legs and a column down the back", but only a full-frontal view is available.

A rather problematical object is the small statuette, very much like a shabti, in the collections of the British Museum (EA 33932), interpreted by Marie-Astrid Calmettes and Dominique Farout as a statuette representing "our" General Kasa, an interpretation we do not share. Stylistically, it seems impossible to us, to date the statuette later than the reign of Amenhotep III, which is way too early for Kasa, who died half a century later, especially because the statuette would "already" specify he is a general. That does not mean the sculpture could not, possibly, have been recycled one way or another. The inscription, bizarrely, as it is one that makes the statuette a shabti, is on the back, with, obviously, some problems in reading it. Either the name of the owner is "our" General Kasa, either it is a General Ka-iabet. We could not check it, but in our opinion, not the statue, but the inscription might be a fake. The object entered the British Museum in 1856, a "good" date for Kasa, but was sold to the venerable institution by Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887), a very close associate of Auguste Mariette, especially in Giza and Saqqara (before 1860), briefly director of the Egyptian Museum (between 1881 and 1884), but not above suspicion. Our colleague Francesco Tiradritti suspects him of having "enhanced" the famous painting showing geese from the tomb of Nefermaat and Atet in Meidoum. We think he might have similarly "enhanced" an anonymous statue under consideration, by adding (in 1856...) an inscription taken from an object of the tomb of General Kasa, a "hot" commodity, attracting customers like Raymond Sabatier and Antoine Clot.

A provisional conclusion

This very large shabtiof General Kasa, with its impeccable pedigree, is an exceptional object indeed. The statuette belongs to an intriguing figure of the late 18th and early 19th dynasty, whom we know by a fair amount of material bearing his name, including furniture from his lost tomb, which has been collected here for the first time. The scribe Kasa seems to have been a religious, but not necessarily a traditional man. As a General, he probably belongs to the group of military men restoring "law and order" in Egypt after the turmoil of the Amarna-period. The artists working for General Horemheb, for General Kasa, were among the finest ancient Egypt saw at work, and this is no mean compliment. Sandstone is a coarse material, but it does not hide the mastery of the sculptor of this unusual shabti of General Kasa.



Plate 27

Blue greenish faience shabti of General Kasa carrying Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead.
H.: 18,8 cm (Musée de la Vieille Charité 369.3)
(photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de Marseille).

Plate 28

A: White faience shabti of General Kasa. H.: 14,5 cm (Musée de la Vieille Charité, Marseille 369.1) (photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de

Marseille).

B : White faience shabti of General Kasa.

H.: 14,5 cm (Musée de la Vieille Charité, Marseille 369.2) (photo David Giancatarina, © Musées de Marseille).







Plate 29
White faience shabti of General Kasa.
H.: 14 cm (British Museum EA 33957
(registration number 1875,0517.97)
(© The Trustees of the British Museum).



Plate 30
Sandstone stela of General Kasa, with the scribe Imen-heru incensing him.
H.: 38 cm; w.: 30,5 cm (Museum August Kestner, Hannover 1935.200.136)
(photo and © Museum August Kestner, Hannover).





Votive shabti of General Kasa.
H.: 23,5 cm (photo and © Bonhams
Press and Public Relations).

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The documentation our good friend Jean-Luc Bovot, Ingénieur d'études at the Département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre, professor at the Ecole du Louvre, has sent us generously, proved precious. Writing on shabtis without consulting him is perilous business.

Many thanks also to our colleague Catherine Leclercq, who wrote a doctoral thesis on another Jacques de Lalaing, the uncle of "ours", and one of the great sculptors of the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century. We owe our first introduction to the de Lalaing family and genealogy to her.

Last but not least, Jacques Billen of the Galerie Harmakhis shared with us his enthusiasm, his knowledge, and his library. This made life with Kasa a lot easier...

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Post scriptum

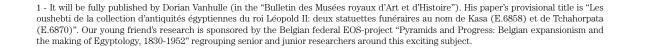
One may add yet another shabti to the growing collection of General Kasa's shabtis, this one being of particular interest to us, as it comes from a Belgian collection, and not just an "ordinary" one.

The shabti¹ is nowadays in the collections of the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E.6858), but was formerly in the royal collections, brought back by the duc de Brabant, or Prince Léopold, the future Léopold II of the Belgians, most probably from his visit to Egypt in the winter of 1862-1863.

The statuette (14,4 cm) is in white faience, as are two shabtis assuredly from his tomb, now in the Musée de la Vieille Charité in Marseille, but, to the contrary of these two, it does not mention his generalship. The shabti from Brussels actually does fit so well into the series, first and foremost stylistically, that it's attribution to General Kasa should leave no doubt. The one bearing his title in the British Museum, bought two winters later by Reverend Greville John Chester, shows Kasa' shabtis were up for sale for a decade at least.

Prince Léopold was hosted by Belgium' consul general in Alexandria during his visit with his wife in 1855, as well as on the occasion of his visit, on his own, of 1862-1863. The consul general for Belgium Etienne Zizinia was an important collector, though probably not on the scale of his uncle by alliance, the consul general of Sweden-Norway Giovanni d'Anastasi, his neighbour. Both were Turkish-speaking Greeks with Italianized names owing their colossal fortune to Mehemet Ali's munificence. It was in Zizinia's gardens that Auguste Mariette first saw sphinxes from the alley leading to the Serapeum of Saqqara. Both were probably major clients with the likes of Solomon Fernandez, the discoverer of General Kasa's tomb, and both had material from General Horemheb's tomb, as well as from other denizens of the Saggara necropolis. A relief from yet another General's tomb in Saqqara, that of General Ramessesnakht (now lost), was in the duc de Brabant's collection before being deposited in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (E.5183). Though Léopold was given some (prestigious) antiquities during his visit to Upper Egypt, in the company of Ménandre Zizinia, it is quite obvious that most of his collection was made up during his days in Alexandria, and were gifts of Ménandre Zizinia's father. This was very convincingly argued by our colleague and friend Bernard Van Rinsveld, the authority on Léopold's travels in Egypt and the antiquities collected then and there.

Our main contemporary source is Hippolyte Stacquez, a medical doctor who travelled with Prince Léopold, and published a travelogue in 1865, in which he briefly hints at the diversity of Zizinia's collections, and repeatedly lauds him for his generosity. One might be assured this courtesan was even more generous towards a man he knew would be king one day.







Pl. 32. White faience shabti of General Kasa. H: 14,4 cm (Art & History Museum, Brussels, E.6858) (photo M.-H. Williot-Parmentier, © KMKG-MRAH).

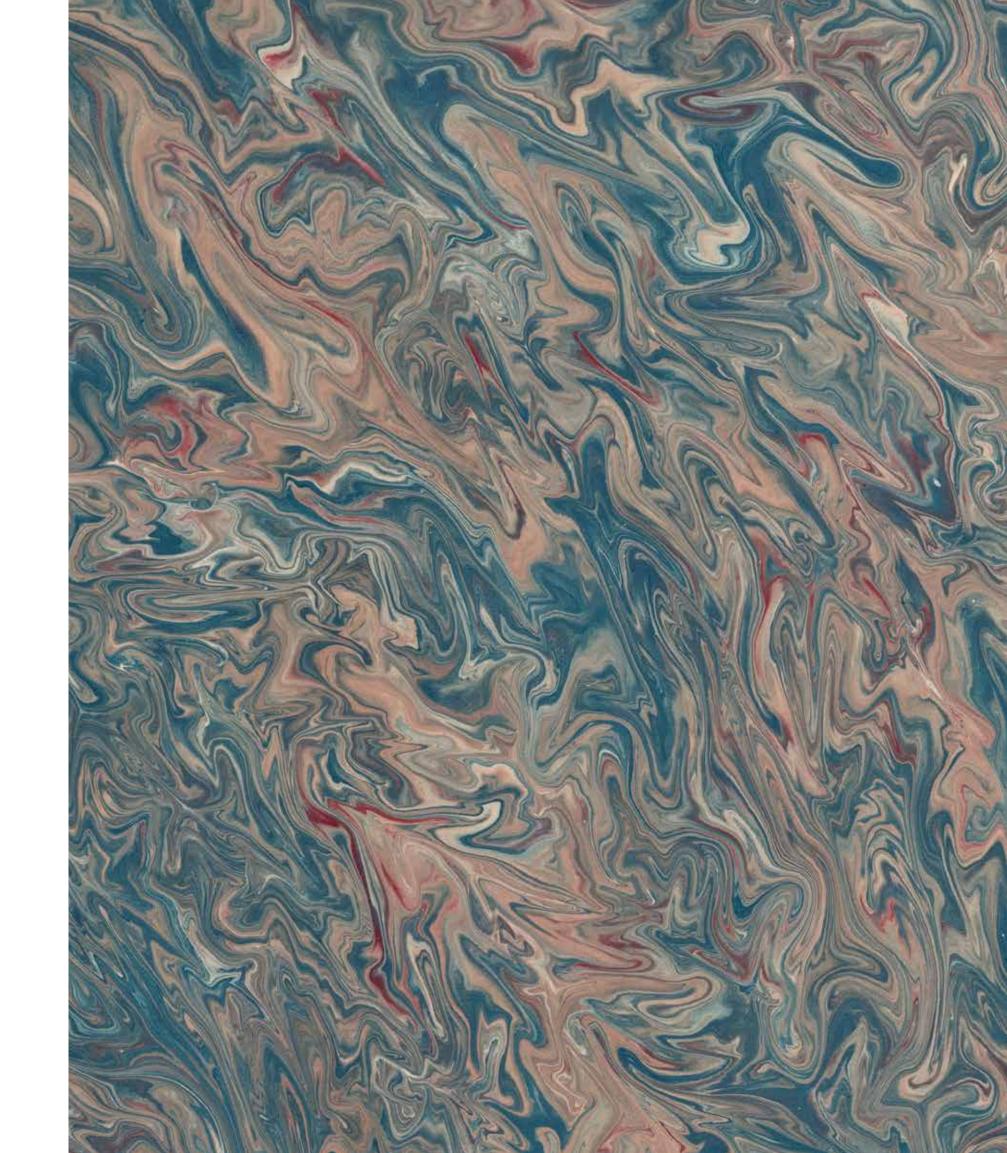
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Queen Elisabeth, Luxor, 1930