

ASTENE

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRAVEL
IN EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST

BULLETIN



NOTES AND QUERIES

Number 84: Spring 2021

Bulletin : Notes and Queries

Number 84 : Spring 2021

Editor: Robert G. Morkot

ASTENE News and Events	1	Articles	
Postgraduate Research Competition	2	Craftsmen, Sufi-Guild Networks and Mobility in the Ottoman Empire. Ines Aščerić-Todd	15
Notes and Queries	6	Souvenirs for Kings and Travellers. Tony Binder(1868-1944) – photographer and pleinairist. Heike C. Schmidt	21
Book Reviews	7	The Bulletin: guidelines	27
<i>Towards a History of Egyptology</i>			
<i>Victorian Literary Culture and Ancient Egypt</i>	9		
<i>Egyptomaniacs: How we became Obsessed with Ancient Egypt</i>	10		
<i>Inspired by the East: how the Islamic World influenced Western Art</i>	12		
<i>Henrietta Liston's Travels... 1812-1820</i>	13		

Cover Illustration:

Excavations in Abu Mena. See article by Heike Schmidt

Bulletin 85 : Summer 2021

We welcome articles, queries, replies and other related matters from members and interested readers. Please send contributions to the Editor Robert Morkot: R.G.Morkot@exeter.ac.uk

Opinions expressed herein are those of the contributors or of the Editor and do not necessarily represent the view of the Association. All items published in the *Bulletin: Notes and Queries* are © 2021 The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East and its contributors.

Membership Enquiries:

membershipastene@gmail.com
cbjcowham@hotmail.com

Subscriptions and Membership

Joint membership for two people sharing the same address and sharing a single copy of the Bulletin: £45 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as e-mailed PDF; £40 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Individual Membership £40 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as e-mailed PDF; £35 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Student membership for all students studying full-time (with evidence of academic status) £20 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as e-mailed PDF; £15 with Bulletin as e-mailed PDF only.

Library membership £35 with hard copy of the Bulletin and Bulletin as e-mailed PDF.

ASTENE NEWS AND EVENTS

ASTENE Online Lectures 2021

Following the spring programme of online lectures, a second series will be arranged for later in the year. They will all last for one hour but it has been suggested that an earlier start time of 5.00 pm (17.00) or 6.00 pm (18.00) pm UK would be more suitable than 8.00 (20.00) pm.

ASTENE Virtual Conference

To replace the Bristol Conference ASTENE will host a shorter online Conference. This will take place in on Saturday 24 and Sunday 25 July (*not* 17-18 July as in the previous *Bulletin*).

Topics to be considered (but not limited to):

- Accounts of travellers to Egypt, the Near East, Iran, North Africa and the historical territories of the Ottoman Empire
- Accounts of travellers from the Middle East to other regions such as Europe, South and East Asia
- Travel writing, including fiction, memoirs, diaries, guidebooks and journalism
- The visual culture of travelling, including painting, sculpture, drawing, photography and other artistic ephemera
- Critical, feminist and post-colonial approaches to Egyptology and Near/Middle Eastern travel studies
- Histories of mobility, migration and diasporas of religious communities and other groups
- Digital and other new media projects for understanding the history of travel

Proposals may be submitted either for individual presentations of 20 minutes or for panels of 3-4 speakers of 20 minutes each. Please include a biography of no more than 200 words, presentation title and a 300-word abstract. Proposals should be submitted to: conference.astene@gmail.com by **30 April 2021**.

This event will be free, but contributors will be expected to join ASTENE if not already members and prior registration will be required; further details will be available in due course.

Robert Hay Seminar Duns Castle

Because of the continuing uncertainties over the Covid-19 situation, it has been decided that it will be necessary to postpone the ASTENE Hay Seminar (currently scheduled for September 2021) for a second time. This is partly because the two keynote speakers are both due to come from the US, and predicting what the travel possibilities might be in September 2021 is quite impossible at this stage, but also because with many libraries and research institutions still closed or restricting access, relevant research has been impossible for some contributors for several months.

The provisional new dates for the Seminar are now 10-12 April 2022. It is anticipated that the arrangements for the Seminar, to be held at Duns Castle and other local venues, will be substantially unaltered.

Further information and booking details will be provided as they become available.

TIOL – Sarajevo Conference

Discussions are continuing about the possibility of arranging a Conference in Sarajevo, in conjunction with the University of Sarajevo, as a follow-up to the successful TIOL (Travellers in Ottoman Lands) Conference held in Edinburgh in 2017. The event (currently being referred to as TIOL2) would in part continue the botanical themes of the Edinburgh Conference, but also include a number of wider themes relevant to travel in the Ottoman Empire. The proposed dates for the Conference are 24-26 August 2022, with an optional excursion to Mostar on 27 August 2022. There is also a possibility of linking the event with an ASTENE tour of the wider area (including Croatia), which would follow on from the proposed Conference. More details to follow as and when they become available.

ASTENE on Social Media: Reminder to be Social!

- Twitter: @ASTENE1997
- Instagram: astene1997
- Facebook: ASTENE1997

Postgraduate Research Competition

Preparations are underway for the inaugural postgraduate research competition which will take place online in May. We received a number of excellent submissions for the competition and have made our selection for the nine finalists who will progress to the competition stage.

We are also delighted to confirm our judging panel for the day who represent some of the leading voices in the fields of Near Eastern and travel studies: Dr Natalya Din-Kariuki (University of Warwick), Dr Rebecca Butler (Nottingham Trent University) and Professor Gerald Maclean (Exeter University).

The event will take place on Saturday 15 May 2021 11:00-16:00 via Zoom. Members will receive further details via the newsletter on how to register for their free ticket.

As a preview for the proceedings, we are publishing the abstracts submitted by our finalists which will give you a flavour of their presentation for the competition stage. Their topics cover large parts of the Near East and North Africa, offer perspectives from the fields of literary studies, history, art history and geography and demonstrate the diverse and exciting research students are conducting in this important field.

Re-Exploring the People of the Eastern Desert in Egypt at the Turn of 20th Century through Photographs

Fatma Mohamed Amin (Helwan University)

The paper will shed light on exploring the people of the eastern desert as part of the Egyptian society through consulting photographs. Very accurate details could be noticed through the photographs. Shalatin, which lies in the most south-eastern part of Egypt, is one of the most peripheral and isolated human settlements in Egypt. There were two main groups shared Shalatin. 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes besides other immigrant nomads. The paper will focus on one of these tribes which is "Bisharin" and the intendency of the photographers to focus only on "Bisharin" in their photos. The southern-eastern part of Egypt along the Red sea was not that

accessible except a ride for tourists or travellers may be taken to the camp of the "Bisharin", however, travellers and photographers photographed and concentrated on "Bisharin" tribe most of the time. These photographs played an important role in directing the public views. As the "Bisharin" played an important role in political disputes threatening Egypt's sovereignty over its land, besides, their stance with Britain. The paper will utilize archival Pictures, documents and travellers accounts.

By the early train for Ephesus": Locating the Railway in Alexander Svoboda's *The Seven Churches of Asia* (1869)

Alexandra Solovyev (Lincoln College, University of Oxford)

Published in London in 1869, photographer Alexander Svoboda's travel book, *The Seven Churches of Asia*, offered its readers a textual and pictorial tour of the Western Anatolian cities of the Seven Churches described in Revelation. Capitalizing on Victorian interest in the Bible and classical civilization, the book was one in a centuries-long line of travel literature dedicated to the Seven Churches.

Among its descriptions of ancient and early Christian sites, *The Seven Churches of Asia* is peppered with references to an entirely modern phenomenon: the railway. The first two railway concessions in the Ottoman Empire had been granted to British firms, both of which had constructed railway lines out from the port city Smyrna (Izmir) by 1869.

My paper considers the role the railway plays in *The Seven Churches of Asia*. I argue that the railway serves as a stand-in for British soft power in the Ottoman Empire, with Svoboda emphasizing the railway and its employees as a source of safety and control against the dangerous and uncomfortable forces of the East. Pandering to broader anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim sentiment, Svoboda fixes the British identity of his readers in a binary against the contemporary inhabitants of Western Anatolia.

However, Svoboda's binary account is inhibited by what I argue is Svoboda's identity as a mobile subject. While offering his readers an itinerary that includes train travel, Svoboda simultaneously laments the destruction of ancient monuments that increased

railway traffic will bring. Svoboda himself, born in Baghdad of Hungarian-Armenian origin and having immigrated to London in 1867 after living in Bombay and Smyrna, writes for a Victorian middle-class audience. Locating the railway in *The Seven Churches of Asia* thereby highlights the tensions between the fixed identity of the market Svoboda was writing for and the mobility of his own experiences and career.

Blondeel Van Ceulebroeck's Abyssinian Expedition (1840-1842), Saint-Simonian in disguise?

Gert Huskens (Ghent University)

Nineteenth-century Egypt did not only have an importance as a country of interest itself, being situated on the crossroads of the Orient it served as a general gateway for Western exploration into the Nile basin in current-day Sudan and South Sudan, and even parts of Eastern Africa. British explorers such as James Bruce and the country's iconic consul general Henry Salt for example made trip towards Abyssinia around the turn of the eighteenth century. From the part of France, the most important contribution to the nineteenth century exploration of Abyssinia was Saint-Simonian Prosper Enfantin's initiative to send Maurice Tamié and Edmond Combes to chart the region.

Belgian diplomatic agents too realised the possibilities of venturing towards the south as well. After all, aside to his symbolic importance as Belgium's first consular representative in Egypt, Edouard Blondeel Van Ceulebroeck is mostly known for his Abyssinian Expedition. Due to the efforts of Albert Duchesne and Richard Pankhurst, the report of Blondeel Van Ceulebroeck's explorations in the Abyssinian highlands has been introduced into the historiography. This contribution however aims to further integrate this expedition into both the history of Belgian diplomatic presence in Egypt as well as the ideological framework of Egyptian Saint-Simonism in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Rather than giving an outline of his itinerary, the contacts Blondeel Van Ceulebroeck had both in preparation as well as during his trip will be at the centre of the narrative. During the expedition of Abyssinia, the consul general acted out his usual

comfort zone and therefore this trip will be used to get an idea of how Blondeel Van Ceulebroeck organised this expedition, at whom he relied and what the relevance of his trip was for Belgium's early expansionist history.

Landscape archaeology's forgotten predecessor: the work of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson

Robert Frost (Nottingham University)

Present-day scholarship has largely assumed that interest into environmental change in Egypt is a late twentieth century phenomenon stimulated by the growth of landscape archaeology, and pioneered by the Egypt Exploration Society's Survey of Memphis, and, more recently, by the Theban Harbours and Waterscapes Survey. Occasionally Joseph Hekekyan (1807-1875) is cited as a mid-19th century pioneer and given the accolade of "the first geo-archaeologist", in recognition of his borehole excavations at Memphis.

While Hekekyan's methodical excavations should not be played down, the elevation of him in the manner described above has marginalised the fact that scholars were interested in environmental change several decades earlier.

This study will focus on the earlier work of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875), a very well-known figure in Egyptological circles, on account of his having written *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), a study into ancient Egyptian society which combined classical and indigenous sources in a novel way, in addition to *Modern Egypt and Thebes* (1843), a guidebook for travellers to Egypt.

What has been given decidedly less attention is his research from as early as 1821 into landscape change in the Nile valley. From this work, conducted at several sites, including Alexandria, Memphis and Thebes, Wilkinson concluded that, far from being static, the historic environment of Egypt had been radically different to that of the early 19th century. It will also be shown that, allowing for the passage of two centuries of refined methodological technique, Wilkinson's work accords surprisingly well with the current understanding of the geological and geomorphological understanding of the Nile valley.

Frederic Leighton's *Temple of Philae* Revisited
Pola Durajska (University of York)

The journey up the Nile undertaken in 1868 by Frederic Leighton (1830-1896), President of the Royal Academy from 1878, stands out from all his extensive annual voyages as it produced not only countless landscape oil studies but also a detailed travel journal. Analysing Leighton's visual records in conjunction with his written descriptions of the scenes offers a new insight as much into his experience of Egypt as into his landscape practice. *The Temple of Philae* is exemplary of Leighton's vision of the famed Egyptian temple sites, which differed dramatically from most depictions produced by other artists sailing up the Nile, from David Roberts to Edward Lear. Painting in oils rather than using the traditional medium of watercolour, Leighton took the perspective of invoking the experience of ancient worshippers, for whom sacred was the river and its surroundings, rather than of recording the landmark architecture largely extrapolated from the environment. The artist's journal entries on the temple complex of Philae present a remarkable story of his initial disappointment with the scenery and eventual fascination with the site.

The work in question is a fascinating case study, for scholarship has tended to interpret its composition as highly conventional, in framing the view with the *repoussoir* of the colonnade, and its style as greatly influenced by the progressive French landscape painter Camille Corot. My examination of Leighton's open-air oeuvre, however, suggests the overlooked importance of the artist's profound interest in modern science and his active engagement with the scientific elites of Victorian London, from T. H. Huxley and John Tyndall, to Lord Kelvin. Ideas of universal flux, geological processes, and the physics of light and colour were not strange to the artist known for an inquisitive mind, who interacted with the intellectual spearheads of his time both in public and private realms.

The urbanism and society of Soltaniyeh on the eve of Tamerlane invasion according to the Narrative of the Embassy of Clavijo (1403- 1406)
Suzan Abed (Fayoum University)

After the Mongol invasions in Iran in the early thirteenth century by Genghis Khan, and his grandson Huluge Khan, some of the Iranian cities declined and destroyed, were others recovered, grew, and flourished again. Moreover, new suburbs and cities have been built. Soltaniyeh was a new city founded in 1304 A.D/704 A.H by Öljaytü. Then, the capital of Ilkhanid transformed to Soltaniyeh, the third capital of Ilkhanid Mongols in Iran (Maragha, Tabriz, and Soltaniyeh). Besides, by the end of the fourteenth century, another destroyed conquest of northern Persia by Tamerlane, and ruled by Miran Shah the eldest grandson of Amir Timur/ Tamerlane.

There was a witness for those transformations of the city and its society and urbanism Who are Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo when he was in his embassy to the court of Amir Timur at Samarkand, it is the oldest Spanish narrative of travels of any value (1403-4106). The importance of Clavijo's narrative about Soltaniyeh is; it is the oldest report from the city after Ilkhanid, the deep details which given, and the route that the embassy had taken to arrive it and departure for their next destination, that is help by using GIS in drawing a map for its roads network.

The methodology of this study considers and gives priority to the reports of the Clavijo. Also, the Geographic maps and architectural monuments to compare between the city during the Ilkhanid Mongols and Timurid, what happened for it? The answer to those points will draw and focus on the relation between architecture, arts, urbanism, and the impact of the changing of the regime on them.

'The true female view' of Mary Wortley Montagu, Elizabeth Craven, and Patricia Highsmith: intersecting queer and colonial gazes
Emer O'Hanlon (Trinity College, Dublin)

Foreign travel has always had suggestive undertones; in 1781, John Moore commented that women travellers 'acquire an intrepidity and a cool minuteness, in examining and criticising naked figures'. The dangers of foreign travel only increased with distance. Women travelling to the Ottoman Empire had the unique opportunity to observe women-only spaces inaccessible to their fellow male travel writers; but also, risked cross-contamination

from the ‘moral dubiousness’ of non-western countries.

Mary Wortley Montagu (1763) and Elizabeth Craven (1789) wrote accounts of their visit to the Turkish baths, and both find it difficult to accurately convey the Turkish women’s customs without falling into the trap of voyeurism. Montagu attempts (and ultimately fails) to de-eroticise the scene through aesthetic philosophy, and inserts herself into the scene, equally objectified as the Turkish women are. By contrast, Craven is a pure observer rather than participant in the scene, reinforcing the colonial narrative of Muslim women as ‘other’. Both writers compare the bathers to statues, appealing to the established language of critical viewing; however, the inevitably charged nature (and queer potential) of the scene is inescapable through the colonialist gaze that both employ.

Finally, Highsmith’s *The Tremor of Forgery* (1969) illustrates the hangover of the intersecting queer and colonial gaze in the 20th century, when protagonist Howard Ingham, provoked by a largely off-screen murder, realises that he cannot marry his fiancée during a period of (asexual) co-habitation with the gay Danish artist Jensen on a trip to Tunisia.

A comparison of the two eighteenth-century travelogues with Highsmith’s novel illustrates the continued fascination of Muslim countries for western women writers. In all three cases, the foreign setting provides a bountiful arena through which to explore a queer gaze; but ultimately, the imbalance of power in the situation renders this gaze inextricable from a colonialist one.

“They Knew No More ... Than if it had Never Been Visited”: Re-Evaluating Literary Authority and Narratives of Discovery in Harriet Martineau’s *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848)

Margaret Gray (Newcastle University)

In her seminal work, *Imperial Eyes* (1991), Mary Pratt framed descriptions of ‘surveying’ and ‘discovery’ in travel writing as an exclusively masculine domain. Her argument has resulted in a wide-scale dismissal of the autonomy and influence of female Victorian travellers in the majority of

present-day critical and popular commentary. My paper will use Harriet Martineau’s *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848) as a case study to argue that Victorian women did write from positions of self-ascribed literary authority that were based on autonomous acts of seeing and discovering.

Before publishing her travelogue on Egypt, Martineau was an established social commentator and novelist, well-known for her incisive style and controversial opinions. Most of the first volume of *Eastern Life* covers popular tourist sites across Egypt, Nubia, and Thebes, and she frequently compares her own impressions to those already published by eminent Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson. In a key passage, however, she critiques the lack of published descriptions of the Nile banks, declaring that British readers ‘knew no more what the Egyptian valley looked like than if it had never been visited’. Martineau then positions herself as the only British traveller, male or female, willing to leave the hired boat to discover the beauty of the Egyptian landscape by ‘mounting eminences’ along the Nile. Similar episodes occur during her tours of the temples and pyramids, where her observations of their construction and aesthetics are used to directly argue with ‘half a dozen’ claims made by Wilkinson, and to quibble with rival travel-author Isabella Romer about the accessibility of the landscape for female travellers. By countering the observations of other travel-writers on the basis of her own sight, Martineau establishes herself as a figure of authority over both the Egyptian landscape and the way it is represented to the British public.

The Cold Case of Orientalism: A Re-opening

Zainab Alqublan (Cardiff University)

A trial case is filed as cold when there is incompatible, paradoxical, or insufficient demonstrative evidence, as with the case of Orientalism. This study aims to open a selection of cold cases involving deceased scholars, artists, artisans, travellers, and even works of art or literature which went into trial with an inconclusive conviction. To do so, the first section of this paper addresses the question of why a book such as Said’s has had such an impact on studies of Orientalism despite its many limitations, paradoxes, methodological and

theoretical inconsistencies, and political and historical anachronisms. The study argues that the critical reception of *Orientalism* is not necessarily related to its intertextuality, but to a collection of significant sociological and political factors, especially within the arena of Eastern and European literary academics. The second part moves on to offer a critical interpretation of Edward Said's stand and evidence, as well as the institutionalization of the eponymy and attack on Orientalism. The study applies Bruno Latour's trajectory of Black Box, which postulates that Said is an intellectual of many paradoxes, and that presentist rather than historicist assumptions dominate most of his propositions. Without re-examining Said's axioms, the evidence of defendants, eyewitness testimonies, and the traces left in archives and co-archives, the case of Orientalism will never be understood, nor justice done.



NOTES AND QUERIES

Nicholas Stanley-Price asks:

Can anyone please identify a Lady Evelyn Maud White who lived in, or visited, the Lebanon and adopted a daughter, named Anne, who was born c. 1865? The daughter, Anne White, died in Cyprus in 1901.

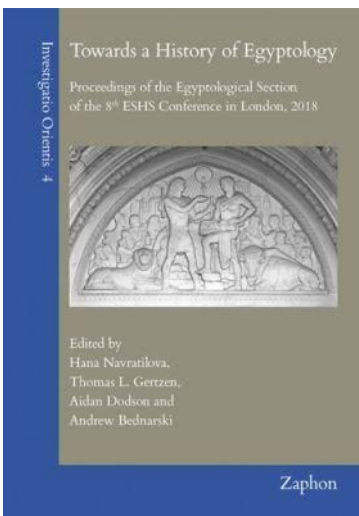


Henrietta Liston (1751-1828) by Gilbert Stuart
National Gallery of Art, Washington DC,
online collection

Henrietta Liston's Turkish Journals 1812-1820 are reviewed on pages 13-14

REVIEWS

Towards a History of Egyptology. Proceedings of the Egyptological Section of the 8th ESHS Conference in London, 2018 by Hana Navratilova, Thomas L. Gertzen, Aidan Dodson & Andrew Bednarski. Zaphon Press, *Investigatio Orientis* 4, 2019, 304 pp, illustrated, €79 (hardback) ISBN 978-3-96327-080-2.



Studies in the historiography of Egyptology are a fast-growing field. In 2015, Jason Thompson published the first book in a series, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology*. The inclusion of ‘A History’ in the title acknowledged that his was just one history of Egyptology that could be written on this subject. Along with Thompson’s *Wonderful Things* series, there are a wide range of books and articles that add to these histories. This new volume of essays, published by Zaphon, adds another voice to this growing tapestry of Egyptology historiography. In their forward, the editor’s note this with an expression of hope that this volume will add ‘something to individual, institutional, national and transnational aspects of the emerging history of Egyptology’ (11) while also addressing Egyptology’s position among histories of humanities and science as well as the diversity of approaches to Egyptological historiography.

This volume, which brings together papers delivered at the ESHS conference, along with contributions

from others, delivers twelve diverse chapters which are organised into five themed sections. The five themed sections are: Concepts, Models and Approaches to the History of Egyptology; The Egyptian Perspective; ‘National’ Histories of Egyptology; Egyptology and Politics and Ancient Egypt on Display. The breadth and variety of the chapters, while organised into neat sections, lacks an overall cohesive narrative arc that draws the collection together. For example, a concluding chapter, or afterword would have been a positive addition.

After a brief foreword, Andrew Bednarski opens with a chapter on ‘Building a Disciplinary History. The Challenge of Egyptology’. This chapter examines the history of Egyptology from the period of Champollion and focuses primarily on the western scholarship based in Britain and France along with a literature review of published historiography works on Egyptology, challenges for the subject and thoughts on how it should move forward.

Bednarski proposes that the lack of a shared methodology and clear social purposes amongst Egyptologists stems from ‘the roots of Egyptology’, which he describes as European Egyptology (16). He asserts that most of the histories of Egyptology, involve in a problematic way the ‘retelling of colourful personalities, acts of daring, and sensational discoveries’ (17) from ancient times, typically Greek, to the present. However, he asserts that these developments leading up to modern Egyptology should not be conflated with its history as it did not come into being until the mid-nineteenth century with the decipherment of hieroglyphs. While the latter can be argued, one could counter this by arguing that every step towards this genesis, in what Bednarski calls ‘chronological-sweeping narratives’ all describe and explain the evolution of the engagement with Egypt that culminated in its creation as a subject.

As an opening chapter to a collection of varied chapters this could have been more expansive and contextual. The example of a history at the core of this chapter is that of the arms (antiquity) race between France and England and therefore a narrative of

colonialism, but this is marginally discussed and touched on.

In 'Life-writing in the history of Egyptology', Hana Navratilova focuses on life writing as a framework to assess the lives of antiquarians and Egyptologists, focusing on Jaroslav Černý. This chapter looks at life-writing and what it has to offer to the discipline of Egyptology. An Egyptologist may be labelled as a 'philologist', Navratilova argues, but they may also, if living through a particular historical period, be labelled, popularly, as a 'colonialist', 'imperialist', or 'communist'. This labelling she argues is 'harmful' and may be 'unfair', used by those who claim them for a cause, trying to dismantle their 'legend', or attempting a character assassination' and this approach by some Egyptology scholars contrasts with Navratilova's own assertion that 'genuine life-writing' does not own the subject (49). Navratilova's text is thought-provoking and will no doubt trigger much debate and discussion.

The section on 'Ancient Egypt in Display' focuses on Egyptology in Egypt. These are welcome chapters in a discipline that too often omits Egypt in the historiography of Egyptology. A chapter by Fayza Haikal and Amr Omar gives a detailed history of two foundational institutions; Cairo's University's Faculty of Archaeology and the Egyptian government's Ministry of Antiquities. Using the story of the foundation and evolution of these institutions the chapter also weaves in their wider societal impacts in shaping Egypt's national identity and history of Egyptology. The second chapter by Maximilian Georg focuses on the relationships between European archaeologists in Egypt and their relations with the local inhabitants from 1798-1898, adding to similar work done by Stephen Quirke in *Hidden Hands. Egyptian workforces in Petrie's excavation archives 1880-1924*. These chapters add valuable content to a book that might otherwise have been dominated by Eurocentric and Global North histories of Egyptology.

The section on 'National Histories of Egyptology' opens with 'Brazilian Egyptology' by Thais Rocha da Silva. This chapter quickly states that 'Egyptology was born as a colonial discipline in the era of colonial expansion, and it developed within these parameters, including the use of ancient Egyptian history in

establishing and perpetuating Eurocentric narratives' (127). The text highlights that national histories of Egyptology differ markedly for several historical reasons and the challenge for the discipline is to 'effectively include new perspectives into the larger debate' (128). This is a fascinating chapter that weaves together post-colonial theory, the use of Egyptology in national identities, the role of ancient history in education in Brazil and demonstrates how far-reaching the subject can be intertwined and explored with other historical disciplines.

Aidan Dodson's chapter presents a history of British Egyptology and discusses how funding mechanisms differed between Britain and Europe by listing British scholars and how their research, both amateur and professional, were dependent on private, not state funding. Edward Hincks, an Irish Assyriologist and Egyptologist is included as an example of a British scholar. While Dodson states Hincks was Irish, he uses Hincks as an example of 'the degree to which British scholarship was dependent on amateur enterprise' (150). More clarity on the complexity of Anglo-Irish identity in this period would be helpful here.

Alexandre A. Loktionov explores Russia's engagement with ancient Egypt from the medieval period by exploring how Egyptology developed from the Soviet period to the twenty first century. The chapter is a fascinating study of how the discipline has been shaped by political ideology and isolation from the global Egyptology community due to the Cold War and an inward-looking academic system which resulted in a lack of global recognition of research being published in Russian.

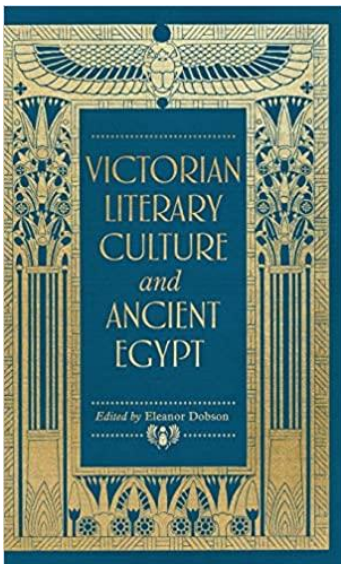
The fourth section, 'Egyptology and Politics' is a continuation of national histories albeit with more political discourse. The chapter on Belgium introduces the multi-institutional research project 'Pyramids and Progress, Belgium Expansions and the Making of Egyptology, 1830-1952'. The project investigates how the development of Egyptology in Belgium was influenced by specific socio-economic and political relations between Egypt and Belgium. Chapters on Hungary and Germany also give in-depth analysis of complicated dynamics of social, political, economic and cultural influences on studies of Ancient Egypt.

The final section opens with a chapter by Rosalind Janssen ‘Conversing with Eugenic Object Stories at UCL’. Starting with the grizzly story of Petrie’s head being removed from his body upon his death, Janssen deftly navigates the story and motivations of Petrie’s relationship with Francis Galton and Karl Pearson’s work and their ties to the subjects of Egyptology, eugenics and UCL.

The final chapter by Navratilova and Podhorný discusses the display of ancient Egypt behind the Iron Curtain (Czechoslovakia 1949-1989). This chapter, like those on Brazil and Russia, demonstrates how political, ideological and educational ideas shaped (or not) Egyptology at the national level.

This volume will be of interest to any scholar invested in the growing field of the historiography of Egyptology. It is a welcome addition to the growing canon of Egyptology history studies with a varied subject matter and can be applauded for attempting to breach the usual Eurocentric commentary with a more global outlook.

Emmet Jackson



Victorian Literary Culture and Ancient Egypt, edited by Eleanor Dobson, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 226 pp. £64.05 (hardback), ISBN 978-1-5261-4188-0

In recent years, an interdisciplinary field that explores the cross-section between the Victorians and ancient Egypt has surfaced, prompting new and engaging research in this area. *Victorian Literary Culture and Ancient Egypt* is an edited collection consisting of papers by speakers and attendees from the Tea with the Sphinx conferences, hosted at the University of Birmingham which looked at the relationship between the Victorians and their perceptions of ancient Egypt within different forms of visual culture:

“[A]cademic scrutiny of how ancient Egypt has been reimagined in the modern world has, only in the past couple of decades, begun to flourish. It is these relatively new and exciting critical conversations that this volume seeks to advance” (3).

The introduction is a useful resource, acting as a literature review for established research in this area, whilst also focusing on new questions this collection intends to explore. The book is interdisciplinary; the theme throughout the chapters looks at the intersection of literature, art and history. However, each paper examines a different field of research which complement each other, forming a pattern which builds upon this multifaceted area.

Jasmine Day’s essay sets the tone for the rest of the book with a detailed study of a specific niche area which contributes to the wider conversations on the Victorian perceptions of ancient Egypt. Day’s analysis of the illustration from the 1852 edition of Poe’s short story, ‘Some Words with a Mummy’ (1845) investigates the history and context between the illustration and the story, scrutinising the Victorian imperialist impression of ancient Egypt. The next essay by Haythem Bastawy takes a different approach. Bastawy revisits George Eliot’s *Adam Bede* (1859) and views it through a different lens, focusing on how Eliot’s religious conflicts and study of ancient Egyptian mythology were incorporated into the novel. The conclusion then invites the next essay to follow on from this theme with a ‘typological reading’ of H. Rider Haggard’s *Cleopatra* (1889) by Sara Woodward. As Woodward explains, “[i]nstead of drawing parallels for the sake of promoting Christianity, Haggard’s writing connects ancient Egypt to Victorian Britain to engage with ideas about atonement, sacrifice and tensions

between traditional Christianity and paganism” (95). Woodward’s focus on Haggard’s text looks at how Egyptomania literature explores religious orientated motivations.

Chapter 4 takes to the stage with Molly Youngkin’s analysis of Cleopatra as a theatrical character and how such fictionalised portrayals impacted the representation of the real Cleopatra (Cleopatra VII Philopator), one of the most infamous female pharaohs of ancient Egypt. This compelling essay focuses on how gender and sexuality were key components within the historical context of this era and significantly contributes to the overall perception of ancient Egypt in Victorian Britain. Youngkin argues that Cleopatra’s fictional portrayal dating back to Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra* (approx.* 1607) and further published fiction and illustrations creates a completely different figure of Cleopatra, as “both the seductive and the nurturing feline” (133) characterisation.

Giles Whiteley’s essay explores ancient Egypt in aesthetic and Decadent imagery and looks at the “competing and seemingly contradictory, discursive deployments of ancient Egypt in literature” (10), focusing predominantly on poetry in this period. This essay is then followed by Dobson’s, the volume’s editor. Dobson steers the book in a different direction towards the conclusion by focusing on the historical context and how literature impacted Victorian views of ancient Egypt. Dobson examines Guy Boothby’s *Pharos the Egyptian* (1898-99) to demonstrate the decadence of ancient Egyptian iconography on perfumes and cigarettes and the how overall story contributes to the exoticism of ancient Egypt.

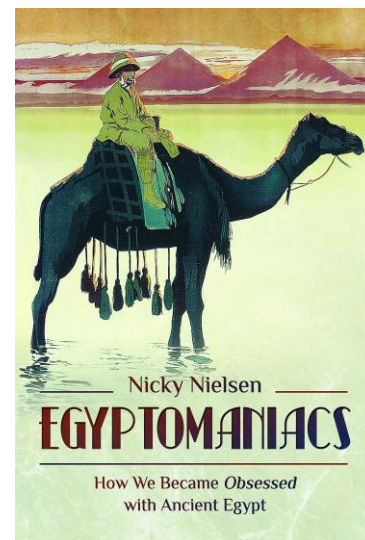
The final essay by Luz Elena Ramirez looks at one of the later texts concerning a ‘Victorian’¹ portrayal of ancient Egypt: Bram Stoker’s *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903). This complements the previous essay by Dobson taking the approach of the literal impact of ‘mummy fiction’ and applying it to the ‘intelligibility of the past’. Stoker’s ‘thriller’ was inspired by recognised figures in the developing discipline of Egyptology including Amelia B. Edwards, Flinders Petrie, and Wallis Budge, of whom Ramirez suggests Stoker himself builds on to “make the past intelligible” (186) in his novel. As Ramirez concludes, “Stoker’s mummy tale bears the weight of a long tradition of Western Engagements with ancient

Egypt” (201), which opens the opportunity for further discussion in future research.

Ultimately, this collection achieves what it set out to do by “add[ing] to the critical conversations in which these aforementioned studies engage” (5). The essays expand the developing interdisciplinary field of ancient Egypt studies by engaging with other disciplines including the study of ancient Egyptian visual culture during the Victorian era. Through critical investigation of literature, art, theatre, and history, this volume contributes to the wider conversation on the popularity of ancient Egypt in Victorian Britain, whilst also acknowledging the westernised lens in which the Victorians perceived ancient Egypt through. This collection prompts further research and signifies the need for continuing interdisciplinary study. *Victorian Literary Culture and Ancient Egypt* is key to those wanting to engage with nineteenth-century views of ancient Egypt and the various forms of culture that manifested due to this obsession with the past.

¹ *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) was published two years outside the timeframe for Queen Victoria (d. 1901), falling short of the ‘Victorian era’, however, it can be regarded as the ‘long-nineteenth century’.

Rebecca Bruce



Egyptomaniacs: How We Became Obsessed with Ancient Egypt, by Nicky Nielsen, Cornwall: Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2020, 207 pp, illustrated, £19.99(hardback), ISBN 1526754010.

Egyptomaniacs is an atypical study of Egyptomania. Most work on this subject presents a chronological analysis of our exposure to, engagement and obsession with ancient Egyptian culture and history through time. This book lacks this anchored, linear narrative and instead, each chapter is treated as a stand-alone case study. This allows the reader to dip into topics which take their fancy. Thus, this book can be picked-up, put down and returned to with ease.

This approach also highlights that not all parts are equally as engaging. The first chapter, for instance, outlines the Classical interest in ancient Egypt during the Ptolemaic-Roman era, yet it predominantly focuses on textual sources. No discussion is given to any archaeological data or the clear evidence of Classical-Egyptian fusion in style at the time—a significant part of the admiration and assimilation of ancient Egyptian culture. However, this introduces us to a common theme: best practice for engaging with available sources. Nielsen points out that typically authors tend to gloss-over or entirely skip the period which directly follows the Classical era when early Arab scholars visited, studied and wrote about Egypt, termed the ‘missing millennium’ by Okasha el-Daly.¹ Yet, after having spent sixteen pages discussing the Classical era of Egyptomania, only two pages are devoted to Arab interest—despite the declaration that early Arab scholars were the ‘torch-bearers of Egyptology’ (18)—thereby succumbing to the same ‘academic laziness’ he is simultaneously criticising. Thankfully, but rather frustratingly, the book returns to discussion of these seminal scholars in Chapter 6. Here, it becomes clear why other books navigate their way through the complex history of subject in a chronological manner.

However, chapter titles are for the most part misleading, often bearing no relevance to their content and falsely advertise discussion which never materialises. Similarly, the images included are also provided out of context (i.e. not referenced in the text) and are mostly without source/provenance. For example, Chapter 3 is titled ‘Death on the Nile’, and whilst it does briefly mention Agatha Christie it presents no further discussion of literature. Instead, it focuses on early travel and tourism in Egypt. For instance, the issue of the distinction between travellers and tourists, which is not always addressed in discussions of early travel, is analysed arguing

travellers are active while tourists are passive. This chapter highlights that a large part of Western obsession with Egypt was due to the tourism industry championed by Thomas Cook.

The book also highlights another important issue which, again, is not always raised by scholars: the notions of us and them, civilised and uncivilised and the exotic Other when European travellers encounter Egyptians during their voyeuristic tours of Egypt. Nielsen explains that the common disdain expressed by travellers towards the locals during their travels, is based upon the theory of the ‘invading race’ (64); there is no relation between past and present. This had important implications concerning our treatment of Egypt’s heritage: the erroneous belief that it was as much ours as theirs. Therefore, we could remove as many antiquities and human remains as we wished. This attitude persists today; in the last section on the ‘enduring orientalist image’, the book raises that much of modern tourism in Egypt ‘retains many of the artifices of colonial experience’ (66). Discussion of various, recent incidences of filming pornographic scenes in front the Giza pyramids, serves to highlight our persistent misuse of Egypt as an exotic arena, a backdrop for a static historical theatre where Westerners still feel they can continue to behave as they please.

Egyptomaniacs reads like a collection of lectures with eye-catching chapter titles. Some sections of chapters may not necessarily relate to one-another and parts of this book are evidently an eclectic mix of interests. If the reader can put aside the lack of cohesive narrative, then it proves an enjoyable and enlightening read. This is largely because Nielsen is undoubtedly a great story-teller and provides the reader with well-researched, in-depth tales concerning the topic at-hand—such as his presentation of the well-covered histories such as deciphering hieroglyphics, the discovery of Tut’s tomb or the Saqqara affair. The book also provides succinct over-views of less familiar subjects, in the context of general histories of our interest in Egypt, such as the way fascist dictatorships utilised artefacts and pseudoscientific ‘pyramidologists’.

What is most significant about this work however, is that throughout it delves into current debates on Egyptology as a discipline and the general public’s

engagement with Egypt's heritage. These shortcomings are crystallised in the final chapter, *Who Owns Egypt*. Which deals with modern concerns over how we treat Egypt and her past today. Here, the book draws attention to the ongoing practice of Europeans maintaining control of Egyptian cultural heritage—which important current projects headed by individuals such as Heba Abd el-Gawad and Fatma Keshk currently combat.²

Egyptomaniacs has something for everyone and contains important points for consideration which concern how we can shift our attitudes towards our passion for Egypt's ancient past by asking how to make modern reception of ancient Egypt both more inclusive and more progressive.

¹ el-Daly, O. (2005) *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium - Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings*. London: University College London.

² Heba Abd el-Gawad heads the innovative 'Egypt's dispersed heritage' project, which works towards 'amplifying the voice, visibility, and validity of Egyptian communities in Western museums'. See: Abd el-Gawad, H. and A. Stevenson (2021) 'Egypt's dispersed heritage: Multi-directional storytelling through comic art' *Journal of Social Archaeology* (online): 1-25.

Fatma Keshk Founded the 'The Place and the People' project which works in the field of heritage outreach through community engagement in Egypt. See: <https://www.facebook.com/The-Place-and-the-People-2315808581791112>.

Tessa Baber

Inspired by the East: how the Islamic world influenced Western art, Ed. by William Greenwood and Lucien de Guise, London: The British Museum Press, 2019, 6 + 256 pp, illustrated, £40 (hardback), ISBN 978 0 7141 1193 3.

A joint venture between the Islamic Art Museum in Kuala Lumpur and the British Museum in London, the exhibition and its catalogue, *Inspired by the East: how the Islamic world influenced Western art* valiantly endeavours to carry Orientalism beyond the traded contemporary criticism of the genre. Unlike most previous exhibitions on Orientalism, this initiative, led by the co-curators and essay authors, significantly reflects diverse perspectives by covering a diverse range of material (188 illustrations) from paintings, manuscripts, photographs, films, travel books, and watercolour illustrations to ceramics,

clothing, artefacts, and music. Multiple settings also come into focus, including the Middle East, North Africa, North America, and Europe. The catalogue showcases a long and intertwined rhetoric of influence over the course of centuries, from the fourteenth century to the present day. The thematic diversity and chronological span of this exhibition signify a shifting attitude in global ideologies, which is much needed today.

Methodologically speaking, a number of art historians and critics allude to or interrogate traditional readings of Orientalism. They stop short of disavowing traditional Saidian readings of the genre, but provide their own, post-Saidian readings. In so doing, they emphasise the plurality and the ever-morphing nature of Orientalism by showcasing that a Saidian reading can be reductive and limiting in relation to the varied and complex facets of the heterogenous Orientalist discourse (MacKenzie 24, Kynan-Wilson 32, Kelly 49, Llewellyn 64, and Behdad 91). The catalogue's images and objects are read within their larger political and cultural context, inseparable from their period of production and circulation. Factors like the works' origin, mobility, adoption, adjustment, and development are contextualized throughout their analysis. The last sections of the exhibition catalogue bring refracted gazes from the depth of the Orient, which fits perfectly with the exhibition's haunting motto: the dialogic cultural exchange between the East and the West and its impact on global discourse.

The catalogue structure follows a systematic thread, arranged chronologically but diversified thematically from early Orientalism, between 1500 and 1800 (with a special focus on costume books), to nineteenth-century Western and Ottoman Orientalism in painting, photographs, and the decorative arts, and finally modern and contemporary art. Along the way, the reader follows a united thread of arguments which flows smoothly from one essay to another, with some writers expanding on, and reinforcing, others' themes. For instance, discussing Orientalism in terms of instrumentality, William Kynan-Wilson shows how early local Orientalism played a significant role in constituting the indigenous populations' national identity and that of others before the world of the Orient was sealed (31). In a similar piece of analysis, Mary Kelly interrogates the role of religious subjects

in nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings of religious scenes. Kelly stresses their position as active agents for bridging the gap between the foreign viewer and the local subject-matter (48). A traditional Saidian reading, on the other hand, would move the Islamic act back to the object position as a decorative prop, a form of 'representations as *representations*, not as 'natural' depictions of the Orient' (Said 2). Ali Behdad revisits the photographic traditions in Qajar Iran and Ottoman Turkey in the nineteenth century. He shows that they actively fashioned a world-wide propaganda for the dynastic power and the grandeurs of their modernised empire, best exemplified in more than 1800 albumen prints, carefully selected and presented to the British Museum and the Library of Congress in Washington in 1893 by the Ottoman sultan, Abdülhamid (86). The diversity of these works in terms of their agency, origin, and development provokes a reconsideration of Said's unidirectional way of reading Orientalism.

One of the most fruitful outputs from the exhibition and its catalogue is that it re-affirms the existence of multifaceted Orientals and Occidentals throughout their cultural dialogue (39). The exhibition venue, catalogue entries and collection of essays not only reflect the diversity of the artists' attitudes toward the Orient, but also the diverse routes they took to deliver these attitudes in textual, material or visual ways. In discussing the act of copying in visual representation of nudes, Kynan-Wilson suggests that it was purely an Oriental iconographic tradition originated by the Ottomans and copied, adapted, and developed later by European counterparts. In another endeavour, Behdad suggests that much of the photographic representations of the locals with exoticising Orientalist iconography were copied by the indigenous artists following the European genre of *scènes et types* (Kynan-Wilson 35, Behdad 89). These ever-shifting dynamics of Orientalism reveal its complexity and profound impact on different disciplines at different times.

In theorizing both responses (the Malaysian and the British) in terms of relationality and moral agency, this exhibition comes as a reparative effort from both sides, Eastern and Western. It has finally opened the case of the beast: interrogating contested topics, such as religion and political relations in controversial histories, testifying the moral significance of both

recipients and doers, and countering Orientalism and classical artefacts away from imperialism and its legacy. However, from a critical curatorial perspective, reclaiming the legacy of Islamic Orientalism and Oriental heritage under the aegis of an imperialist institution, such as the British Museum, while being sponsored by Standard Chartered Bank, one of the largest operators of the British colonial trade throughout Oriental colonies, and reminding the reader constantly that '[t]he names shown and the designations used ... do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the British Museum' (247), is rather confusing to a post- or anti-imperialist audience. Despite these issues, *Inspired by the East* is still a key step towards understanding the other, especially in today's world.

Zainab Alqublan

Henrietta Liston's Travels. The Turkish Journals, 1812-1820. Edited by Patrick Hart, Valerie Kennedy and Dora Petherbridge. Associate Editor: F. Özden Mercan. Edinburgh University Press. 2020, 256 pages, ISBN 9781474467360. £80

This book presents, for the first time, the Turkish journal of Henrietta Liston, wife of Robert Liston, Ambassador to the Sublime Porte . This largely unknown text has been painstakingly transcribed and presented in a scholarly, but very accessible, edition. The book is divided into two main parts. Part one is a critical introduction of Liston's Turkish writings which are then presented in part two. The critical introduction is divided into seven chapters which add critical context to the diaries. These well researched chapters are a valuable addition to the travel narratives and offer a good grounding to those who may not be familiar with the geo-political landscape of the period. A collection of 11 coloured plates between part one and two of the book add much needed visual context.

The opening contextual chapters cover a wide subject matter in just under seventy pages. They open with a brief biographical sketch, and then the journal is framed in relation to the period's diplomatic tensions and to the events and developments within Ottoman society and politics. Then editors take a closer look at the writings in the context of the dominant discourse

of women's travel writing, and British imperialism before ending with an analysis the manuscripts itself.

Henrietta was born Henrietta Merchant on 19 December 1751 and baptised at St Paul's Church in Falmouth, Antigua on 17 March 1752. Her parents, Sarah Nanton and Nathaniel Merchant were both planters on the island who used enslaved African people as labourers on their plantation. Before she was eight years old she was an orphan and sent with her brothers to live with James Jackson, Postmaster of Glasgow and his wife, their maternal aunt, Henrietta Nanton. The authors observe that as a child of a plantocracy she witnessed chattel slavery of colonial plantations and later, in Glasgow, she lived in a city financed by the transatlantic slave trade. She directly profited from slavery and her father's will bequeathed 'to my daughter...£2,000 c at 21 & 4 negros' (11).

In November 1775, Robert Liston returned to Scotland after his first ambassadorship to Constantinople. He was appointed British Minister to the United States. Three months later, in February 1796, he and Henrietta (then 44) signed a marriage contract and the next morning they wed and set off for Philadelphia. In America, she befriended George Washington and was painted by the celebrated portraitist, Gilbert Stuart. From here, they moved to The Hague and Denmark returning to Scotland in 1804. Robert was called out of retirement in 1811 and reappointed as British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte (13).

The Listons set off for Constantinople from London in March 1812. They arrived in Constantinople four months later after stopping along the way at Cádiz, Gibraltar, Palermo, Malta and the Greek Islands and returned to Britain permanently 8 years later.

The editors observe that any printed version of the diaries eschews the materiality of the manuscripts, the paper, the variation in hand and editing and, in part, to combat this, in conjunction with the National Library of Scotland, the manuscripts are available to view on their website (<https://digital.nls.uk/travels-of-henrietta-liston/>). The website is very impressive and allows users to browse the journal, search for keywords, and download sections of the journals.

The book explores the role that the Liston's played in relation to the diplomatic relation of the period and the so-called 'Eastern Question' and power struggles between England, Russia and France across the Ottoman territories. They highlight that Henrietta did not just accompany her husband but was 'a partner with him in representing Britain overseas and in conveying to posterity a range of observations, from a diplomatic perspective, of her experiences in the Ottoman Empire of her era' (22).

Henrietta's journals give important insight into this period and, in particular, the early part of Sultan Mahmud's II reign, a period that has been somewhat neglected in scholarship. This includes the plague epidemic of 1812 when the Listons were housebound for several months (29) and which Henrietta covers in great detail.

These chapters also highlight the importance of Henrietta's journal in relation to other notable female travellers including Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Elisabeth Craven, Julia Pardoe and Annie Jane Harvey. Kennedy summarises, '[Liston's] journal represents a response to the Ottoman Empire at a crucial historical period, towards and after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Liston's acerbic humour, her relative cultural tolerance, her comparative approach to Ottoman culture, and her ability to see herself at times from the Other's perspective create a distinctive voice' (59).

The second half of the book contains the transcribed diaries. They are presented with extensive footnotes with add explanatory and contextual notes. As Hart highlights in the opening chapter, these diaries are important travel writings that give a window into the changing geo-political landscape at the time and describe Liston's journal as 'phlegmatic, sharp-eyed [which] seems to have been intended for the eyes of a few familiar readers' and represents one of the "lost historical voices" of women's travel writing (5). The journals are highly enjoyable and will be an essential read for anyone interested in Ottoman travel narratives, life writing, women's travel writing and nineteenth-century diplomatic history.

Emmet Jackson

ARTICLES

Craftsmen, Sufi-Guild Networks and Mobility in the Ottoman Empire

Paper presented at the ASTENE Conference York 2019

Ines Aščerić-Todd

When thinking about mobility and travel in pre- and early modern times, particularly in the context of the Ottoman Empire – which covered most of the modern-day countries of the Middle East and much of South-East Europe, including the Balkans –, what comes to mind as the most obvious and well-known reasons to travel as far as ordinary people were concerned are pilgrimage and trade. Neither of these two activities were possible without travel, and often the two were combined. For wealthy merchants, travelling long distances to perform the Hajj in Mecca offered many opportunities for trade, both along the way, and at the destination itself. For less well-off pilgrims, goods brought from home and sold along the way or in Mecca helped finance the trip.

By the middle of the 17th century, a major pilgrimage fair had developed in Mina, the suburb of Mecca known for the ritual of the Stoning of the Devil performed on the last day of the Hajj. These days, Mina is famous as the ‘Tent City’ housing over 100,000 tents for accommodating pilgrims. In the 17th century, Mina was a bustling market which would open as soon as the last obligatory Hajj rites were completed, when, according to the intrepid Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (d. ca. 1682), who was there in 1672, the local authorities announced the official start of the trading. Following the announcement, shops – some eight hundred of them, according to Evliya –, coffee houses, and pilgrims’ tents were decorated with rosaries made out of pearls, coral, and amber, while the Sharif of Mecca’s family brought entertainment, music, and even fireworks. The wares brought to Mina from all over the Muslim world included such luxury goods as silks and brocades, perfumes (amber, musk and orange-blossom essence), rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and other

precious stones, and the wealthiest of the traders bought and sold pedigree horses, and even slaves.¹

Although most of the goods sold and bought in Mecca came from within the Ottoman Empire itself, or from other areas of the Muslim world further east, such as Iran, by this time, some would have also come from the west, as the 16th and 17th centuries were a high point of trade contacts with Venice, and hundreds of Ottoman merchants, Jews, Muslims and Christians, regularly visited the city. A major stop on the trade route between Istanbul and the western trading centres such as Venice, Ragusa (today’s Dubrovnik) and Split, was Saray-Bosna (today’s Sarajevo), as attested by a Catholic priest from Split, Athanasio Georgiceo, travelling through the city in 1626:

The city would seem to have more than 15,000 houses, out of which some 12,000 are craft and trade shops. There are a lot of inns for foreign visitors and there is also one place where in the evening all poor travellers are given supper. There are merchants who, apart from goods, have in cash, some 50, some 100, some 200 and some 300 thousand ducats, because all of the goods going from Turkey into Split and those going from Split pass through that city.²

Athanasio’s description of an entire city seemingly geared towards commerce and accommodating merchants indicates the extent of the trade with western European centres taking place at the time. This trend continued, and by the 18th century, Balkan Orthodox Christian merchants also undertook long-distance trade, and regularly visited the Leipzig fair, for instance.³

But, what of those who made the goods being traded and transported from one end of the empire to the other, i.e. the craftsmen? Since their profession did not necessitate it, did they move and travel? We know, for instance, that occasionally large numbers of craftsmen were commissioned to work on building projects sponsored by the Sultans, or sent to rebuild or repair fortresses on borders with enemy states.⁴ But

this was imposed mobility, and the artisans in question would have had little choice in the matter. Indeed, in a strongly centralised state such as the Ottoman Empire, one could be tempted to assume that craftsmen had little or no opportunity to travel without governmental incentive or involvement. However, evidence suggests that as much as it was instrumental in the craftsmen's professional mobility, the Ottoman guild system was also crucial in enabling – and even encouraging – the craftsmen to travel, whether locally or long-distance, and whether for work or for pleasure, or both.

Ottoman guilds, like guilds elsewhere, fulfilled the purpose of protecting the common interests of their members, usually craftsmen and traders, but also workers in other occupations.⁵ The guilds were responsible for negotiating and setting prices of raw materials and finished products, providing quality control of production processes, and ensuring professional and ethical conduct of all of their members. The latter had to follow the guild regulations, and in the case of breach of those regulations or misconduct of any kind, the guilds were responsible for applying a suitable punishment.⁶

As one would join a craft as an apprentice at a very early age, for an individual in an Ottoman urban environment, membership to a guild provided an educational and professional context, and as they progressed on their professional path, completed different stages of their training and acquired the licence to practice their craft, it provided economic stability and financial security. Indeed, many, especially larger and better-off guilds had a common guild fund, which, apart from being used to finance different guild activities, could also be used in case of an emergency need by their members.⁷ Membership to a guild also provided a social network, through the guildsmen's participation in shared activities, ranging from elaborate processions during religious holiday celebrations or state visits, to simple winter gatherings, known as 'halva conversations', during which, apart from preparing and consuming halva, the guild members would recite prayers and religious texts in memory of the Prophet.⁸

Another common guild activity – providing one of the most immediately obvious examples of travel facilitated by guilds – were excursions or picnics held

in order to celebrate promotion of guild members to a higher professional rank. After finishing their required training, apprentices would become journeymen, and journeymen masters, and their new ranks would be confirmed at guild promotions ceremonies, which, albeit with slight variations, were carried out across the breadth of the Ottoman Empire, from Istanbul and Bursa in Anatolia, Baghdad in the east, to Serres in Greece, and Sarajevo in Bosnia, in the west.

Individual guilds regularly organised their excursions and promotions ceremonies on their own, but city-wide outings involving a number of different guilds were not unusual either: in the Greek town of Serres, for example, in addition to the individual guilds' yearly excursions, all twenty-four guilds of the town also held a joint outing once a year, and usually lasting for three days.⁹ There are also many examples of inter-city or inter-regional gatherings, during which guild chapters from different cities, or across different regions, would come together to hold a joint excursion.

The excursions were held in large town gardens, or, more commonly, picnic areas on the outskirts of the city or in the countryside. In Baghdad, for instance, annual inter-regional gatherings of barbers were held in the area housing the tomb of Selmân-ı Pâk, the patron-saint of their trade-guild. In Istanbul, popular locations were the Sufi lodge near Piyale Pasha Mosque in Beyoğlu, and the area of Kağıthane, famous for its Tulip Era (1717-1730) pleasure gardens.¹⁰ Kağıthane was particularly favoured by the goldsmiths. Evliya Çelebi's father was a goldsmith and, with him, Evliya attended several such outings in the area. This is how he describes one of the larger inter-regional events, which, according to him, happened 'once every forty years', in other words, 'occasionally':

... In this meadow of Kağıthane, the guild of goldsmiths assembles and holds parties for twenty days and nights according to the kanun [law] of Süleyman Khan the Goldsmith. Guildsmen from all the Ottoman dominions flock to this festival, 300 purses are spent on it, and 12,000 journeymen graduate to become master goldsmiths. ... In short, in the valley of Kağıthane, five to six thousand tents and pavilions are pitched. It is

*a sea of men for twenty days, and powerful torches turn the nights into bright days, as on the night of the Feast of the Sacrifice.*¹¹

He adds that ‘every twenty years’, so perhaps a little more frequently, the saddle-makers’ guilds held their large excursions there too.¹²

The saddle-makers’ guild was one of the most affluent Ottoman guilds, and in Bosnia, for instance, it held regular regional excursions in and around the Sarajevo Mevlevi lodge, situated in a picnic area by the river just outside of the city. The festivities on these occasions would last for several days, and apart from food and drink, the guests would also be provided with amusements, which included music, dance, canon-fire and fireworks.¹³ Unsurprisingly, Evliya was there too. Touring Bosnia in 1659 he visited the Mevlevi lodge in question, and describes its location as ‘a spot as beautiful as a garden of paradise’.¹⁴

Generally speaking, the Ottoman administration did not encourage movement of its subjects, as that would not have been in the interest of a centralised empire based on agrarian taxation. This was not limited to peasants only and extended to artisans too, as the proliferation in the early 18th century of the so-called ‘slot’ (*gedik*) system seems to confirm. This system ensured that craftsmen were able to practice their craft only if they possessed an often inherited ‘slot’ in that trade. The imposition of this practice on some Istanbul artisans from the start of the 18th century could be seen as evidence to the effect that the Ottoman guild system itself took part in suppressing movement among its members.¹⁵ But the ‘slot’ system was not applied universally and certainly not before the 18th century. Moreover, this view does not take into account the guilds’ supplementary activities, such as the already mentioned excursions, which encouraged travel. It also ignores some characteristics of Ottoman guilds which made them intrinsically supportive of their members’ mobility, both professional and physical.

One such characteristic is the comprehensive care which the guilds offered to their members which naturally attracted migration of skilled workers into larger towns and cities where they could avail of those benefits. The guilds’ wealth and the strength of their

networks meant that they were able to provide for a continual influx of new apprentices, something that the government could not dispute, and therefore had no means or reason to prevent.¹⁶

Another important aspect of the Ottoman guilds was their inter-confessionalism, in other words, their religious diversity, and with it, the specific protection they provided to their non-Muslim members.¹⁷ This was the case to such an extent that, in some parts of the Ottoman Empire, the security guaranteed by the guilds to their non-Muslim members led to an increase in non-Muslim proportion of the guild and artisan population generally. In 17th-century Sofia, for example, migration of Christian craftsmen into the city, encouraged by the opportunities and the protection this provided, caused an increase in the Christian population there (from 238 non-Muslim households in the 16th century to 327 by 1645).¹⁸ Thus, in this example too, the movement of craftsmen was greatly facilitated by the guild organisation.

There is another dimension to Ottoman guilds, one which, evidence suggests, provided for even stronger links between their members, even wider-extending networks, and more mobility. This is because many of the activities that a membership to a guild involved, such as joining an apprenticeship, professional and education on conduct, guild promotions and ceremonies, took place against the back-drop of *futuwwa*, the code of noble conduct associated with Sufism,¹⁹ and inherited by the Ottoman guilds from the 14th-century Akhi fraternities from Anatolia. These latter were part a Sufi order, part a trade-guild: their members were mostly craftsmen, but their organisational structure, practices and ritual were based on those of Sufi orders. One of the principal sources of information on the Akhis is the travelogue of the famous 14th-century Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta (1304-1377). His description of his encounter with the Akhis is compelling. It also abundantly illustrates how much of the character, customs, and practices of the later Ottoman guilds was based on those of the Akhi associations. Ibn Battuta writes:

They exist in all the lands of the Turkmens of Al-Rum, in every district, city and village. Nowhere in the world are there to be found any to compare with them in solicitude for strangers, and in ardour to serve food and satisfy wants, to restrain the hands of the

*tyrannous, and to kill the agents of police and those ruffians who join with them. An Akhi, in their idiom, is a man whom the assembled members of his trade, together with others of the young unmarried men and those who have adopted the celibate life, choose to be their leader. That is [what is called] al-futuwwa also. ... His associates work during the day to gain their livelihood, and after the afternoon prayer they bring him their collective earnings; with this they buy fruit, food, and the other things needed for consumption in the hospice. If, during that day, a traveller alights at the town, they give him lodging with them; what they have purchased serves for their hospitality to him and he remains with them until his departure. ... Nowhere in the world have I seen men more chivalrous in conduct than they are.*²⁰

Thus, the Akhi associations were guilds, with members of each lodge/hospice all belonging to the same trade. Ibn Battuta's remarks about their involvement in protection from rogue police squads hints at their political role, something that later Ottoman guilds didn't shy from either. The collective earnings used for their own needs as well as the needs of others is certainly reminiscent of the later guilds' common funds and their charitable activities, and the use of their lodges as hospices providing accommodation and sustenance to travellers was one of the primary functions of Sufi lodges everywhere. As Ibn Battuta emphasises, their association was based on *futuwwa*, which gave them their religious character and link with Sufism. This conditioned their practices, including the classical *futuwwa* initiation rite of 'the girding of the belt'. Indeed, Ibn Battuta's description of the Akhi disciples' dress hints at that very practice:

*Standing in rows in the chamber were a number of young men wearing long cloaks, and with boots on their feet. Each one of them had a knife about two cubits long attached to a girdle round his waist ...*²¹

'The girding of the belt' ritual is also one of the most conspicuous examples of a *futuwwa* tradition applied by later Ottoman guilds. It was an essential part of the guild promotions ceremonies, carried out at the already-mentioned guild excursions, and was re-

enacted across the Ottoman Empire, in both Asian and European parts of it, in a very similar fashion, illustrating a remarkable capacity for connectivity between the guilds and mobility of their traditions.

These traditions were passed on and transmitted through guild manuals and statutes, which were written, copied and transported from one end of the Ottoman Empire to the other. This process would have been facilitated by the established Sufi-guild networks: through their Akhi heritage, many Ottoman guilds were associated with different Sufi orders, and, as already noted, their festivities often took place in or near Sufi lodges. The latter were also sometimes recorded as the location of the copying of the guild manuals, which suggests that the lodges also served as hosts to visiting guild representatives who brought the manuals' manuscripts. While these manuscripts mostly travelled from Anatolia and Istanbul to the provinces, some evidently came from outside the Ottoman borders too (or were exported there from the Ottoman Empire): a 17th century manual written in Persian for the textile-workers' guild of Isfahan bears remarkable parallels to one written in Ottoman and used by the tailors and textile workers' guild of distant Sarajevo, Bosnia. The latter was re-copied and certified in 1819, but had been in use for some time before that.²²

The Sufi-guild networks and practices common to guilds of different cities and regions provided a shared experience for guildsmen, wherever in the Ottoman Empire they may have been. Some guild manuals even suggest that this enabled guild members to change their place of work. According to one such manual, craftsmen were able to move from one chapter of their guild to another thanks to their association with Sufi orders. Once initiated into one chapter of their guild, they were allowed to move to another chapter if they could demonstrate that they had completed the required training, and, as part of it, had the knowledge of the guild's initiation ritual. Thus, the manual states that if a master or a journeyman moves to a different town and is looking for work, he needs to be interviewed by the elders of the Sufi order associated with their guild (who, in some cases, in practice were also senior members of the guild administration) and has to demonstrate his knowledge of the five special signs taught to him by his master when he joined the guild. If the elders are

satisfied that he knows the sings, and is therefore a fully initiated craftsman, they have to accept him as a member of their chapter. For a master they have to find a senior position in the guild, and for a journeyman, ‘a placement’.²³ There is no evidence as to how universal and wide-spread this practice was, but we can assume that it would have worked on at least a regional level.

The strongest Sufi-guild network within the Ottoman Empire was without the doubt that of the tanners. Tanners’ guilds across the Ottoman lands acknowledged the authority and sought approval of the Akhi-baba, the sheikh of the Kırşehir lodge, the headquarters of the Ottoman tanners traditionally linked to their patron-saint Akhi Evrân.²⁴ The Sufi affiliation of the Kırşehir lodge was, at least from the 17th century onward, to the Qadiri order, and this link was so strong that it resulted in the creation of a completely new network: a Sufi-guild order named the Akhi-Qadiriyya, and considered to be a separate branch of the Qadiri order.²⁵

Ottoman tanners’ statute was distributed and copied, with minor variations, across the different regions of the empire, and, according to the document itself, the Anatolian Akhi-baba claimed authority over all tanners’ lodges in ‘Mecca, Medina, Sham, Baghdad, Gülşehir, Istanbul, and in all other provinces and lands’,²⁶ in other words, in the capital, Anatolia, the Arab provinces, and Ottoman Europe. The tanners’ guild and its network was so influential, that, at least from around the middle of the 17th century, if not earlier, other crafts too began to accept the authority of the Akhi-baba and acknowledge his right to supervise their guilds.²⁷

This Sufi-guild network facilitated movement of both goods and people across large distances: tanners’ guilds from all over the empire sent messengers and gifts, known as ‘green leaf’ (*‘yeşil yaprak’*), to the Kırşehir lodge, and, in turn, the Akhi-baba’s representatives regularly visited the tanners’ guilds in different provinces to review their manuals and work practices, authorise promotions, or appoint the Akhi-baba’s local representatives there. Sometimes, the Kırşehir Akhi-baba himself would tour the empire and personally visit the tanners’ lodges in different regions, even in provinces as distant as Bosnia, with

the last ever Akhi-baba visit there being recorded in 1888.²⁸

Thus, in a highly centralised state, based on taxation of its largely stationary subjects, where most ordinary people had very little reason or resources to travel, the Ottoman guild organisation provided that opportunity to its members in a variety of ways. In some cases, this was migration into cities in order to avail of work opportunities and protection provided by the guild system. In others, craftsmen were encouraged to travel locally, regionally or even long-distance to attend guild excursions with their fellow guildsmen, or, thanks to Sufi-guild networks, visit Sufi lodges in different towns or regions of the Ottoman Empire. In all of these cases, the guild system provided the context, the incentive and the means to travel.

Notes

¹ Evliyâ bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 306 ... Numaralı Yazmaların Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, vol. 9, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 364-366; cited in Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 95-96.

² Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini 1463-1878* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 25.

³ Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, xi.

⁴ One example of such state-sponsored movement of craftsmen is the 1716 building project on the fortress of Hotin (in today’s Ukraine), for which 399 differently skilled artisans were drafted and uplifted from Istanbul. Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, 158-160.

⁵ The list of occupations organised into guilds in the Ottoman Empire is extensive; for some examples see: Ines Aščerić-Todd, “Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume 12: Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 29-41.

⁶ For more detailed information on the structure and organisation of Ottoman guilds, see: Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society*, Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage v. 58 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), chapters 4 and 6.

⁷ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, 87.

⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of the Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 31.

- ⁹ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, 119.
- ¹⁰ Faroqhi, *Artisans*, 73.
- ¹¹ Evliyâ Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, translation and commentary by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (London: Eland, 2011), 23.
- ¹² Evliyâ Çelebi, *Ottoman Traveller*, 23.
- ¹³ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, 121.
- ¹⁴ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Putopis (Seyahat-name) – odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, prevod Hazim Šabanović (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967), 110.
- ¹⁵ Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, xv-xvi.
- ¹⁶ Even those scholars who tend to emphasise the centralised character of the Ottoman administration and ascribe little independent agency to trade-guilds, have recently noted that, in spite of the government's efforts to control the immigration into the capital, even in the 18th century the Istanbul guild system helped facilitate immigration of craftsmen from the provinces in search of better prospects in the city. Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, 154-155.
- ¹⁷ For more on this subject see: Aščerić-Todd, Religious diversity.
- ¹⁸ Aščerić-Todd, Religious diversity, 38-39.
- ¹⁹ *Futuwwa* was first defined as part of Sufism in the 11th century. For more on the subject, see, for example: Lloyd Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi: a Sufi Code of Honour* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2011).
- ²⁰ Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354: Volume II*, edited by Gibb, H.A.R. (Hakluyt Society, Second Series; Routledge, 2017), 419-420.
- ²¹ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, 421.
- ²² Ines Aščerić-Todd, "Fotovvat in Bosnia," in L Ridgeon (ed.), *Jawanmardi: The Ethics and Practice of Persianate Perfection* (London: Gingko Library, 2018), 170-171.
- ²³ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, 99.
- ²⁴ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, 126-35.
- ²⁵ Nathalie Clayer, "Akhī-Qādiriyya," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, 2011. Ines Aščerić-Todd, "A Note on the Ahī-Qādiriyya Order," *Arabica*, 64, no. 2 (2017): 249-52.
- ²⁶ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, 131.
- ²⁷ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, 130-131.
- ²⁸ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, 128.

Bibliography:

Aščerić-Todd, Ines. *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society*. Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage v. 58. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015.

- "A Note on the Ahī-Qādiriyya Order." *Arabica*, 64, no. 2 (2017): 249-52.

– "Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds." In *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume 12: Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, 29-41. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

- "Fotovvat in Bosnia." In *Jawanmardi: The Ethics and Practice of Persianate Perfection*. Edited by Lloyd Ridgeon, 163-181. London: Gingko Library, 2018.

Clayer, Nathalie. "Akhī-Qādiriyya." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*. 2011.

Evliyâ bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 306 ... Numaralı Yazmaların Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*. Vol. 9, edited by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005.

Evliyâ Çelebi. *Putopis (Seyahat-name) – odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*. Prevod Hazim Šabanović. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967.

An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi. Translation and commentary by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim. London: Eland, 2011

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Artisans of the Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

- *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2016.

Ibn Battuta. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354: Volume II*. Edited by Gibb, H.A.R. Hakluyt Society, Second Series; Routledge, 2017.

Kreševljaković, Hamdija. *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini 1463-1878*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991.

Ridgeon, Lloyd. *Jawanmardi: a Sufi Code of Honour*. Edinburgh: EUP, 2011.

Souvenirs for Kings and Travellers Tony Binder (1868–1944) — photographer and pleinairist

Heike C. Schmidt

During the 19th century Egypt became one of the most popular destinations not only for travellers and tourists, but also for artists, who in general are known as orientalist painters. Some of them prospered by executing lavish oil paintings showing more often an imagined Orient than the real one; others excelled in depicting Egypt and its monuments with a swift hand on-site. One of the latter was Anton (Tony) Binder, whose works of art are rarely found in the grander European or American collections, but rather in the families of many of those who travelled to Egypt in the beginning of the 20th century.

Tony Binder was born in Vienna on October 25th 1868 as the illegitimate child of Theresia Binder. His father is unknown, at least not mentioned in the church register. The midwife was a woman called Antonia Aufgebauer, from whom Tony probably got his name.¹ However, Tony was not the only child of Theresia as we know by a short vita written by Tony himself.² In 1890, after having finished secondary school and working for a short while in a drafting office of a Viennese electro technical company, Tony travelled to Egypt to visit his elder brother, who—according to the said vita—lived in Cairo. Egypt's balmy climate might well have been a welcomed side effect, if not the very reason for the trip, as Tony was suffering from asthma.³ However, Egypt soon cast its spell on him. Having had already an inclination to paint, Tony's acquaintance with several orientalist painters in Egypt became an inspiration that changed his life. Among those were the Austro-Hungarian Ferenc Eisenhut, Charles Wilda, and Ludwig Hans Fischer,⁴ as well as the British Robert Talbot Kelly, Alfred East and John Varley; all famous for their watercolours, and watercolours were the subject Tony Binder excelled in.

However, in the 1890s painting was not yet Binders's daily routine. He earned his living as an assistant of Andreas Daniel Reiser, a former citizen of Munich, who ran a photo atelier in Alexandria. After Reiser's death in 1898 Tony married the latter's daughter Marie—with whom he would have three children—

and became a collaborator in the atelier, run now by his brother-in-law Luzian (Lucien) Reiser.⁵ In the short vita it is also mentioned that they founded a publishing house, most probably specialized in postcards. Tony began to travel abundantly up and down the Nile providing his brother-in-law with photographs of the Egyptian monuments and sites.



Fig.1: Postcard published by Atelier Reiser,
private collection

Atelier Reiser was best known—at least considering the number of photographs available today—for their postcards showing native women in an erotic guise, often in combination with monuments and sites (Fig.2).

Probably as a means of payment for transport and accommodation, Binder started to design advertisements, brochures and postcards for the company of Thomas Cook & Son. This was during the same period when John Varley, whom Binder mentioned as an inspiration, was also working for said company.⁶ However, Cook was not Tony's only client. In the years to follow he designed advertisements and postcards for various products and companies, from mouthwash for the German entrepreneur Karl August Lingner, to hotels and other establishments, such as August Dockhorn's *Bierhalle* in Alexandria. It is especially in those advertisements

and later in a whole series of postcards, that his skills as caricaturist can be seen (Fig.3).

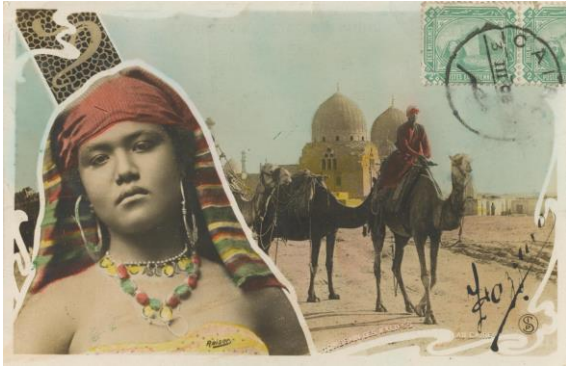


Fig.2: Postcard designed by Atelier Reiser, private collection.

In 1900 a great opportunity opened up for Binder, when he accompanied the newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst on a journey up the Nile from Cairo to Wadi Halfa. The American conducted photographic experiments at several archaeological sites and Tony served as his assistant.⁷

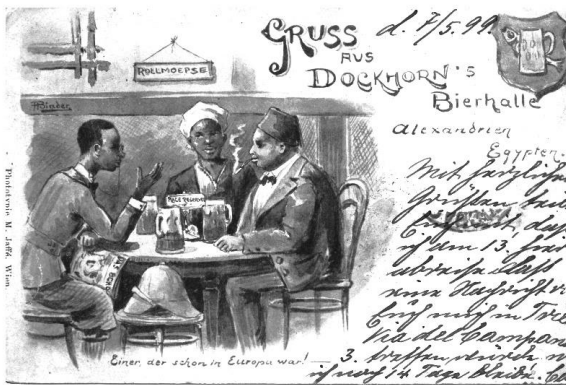


Fig.3: Postcard advertising “Dockhorn’s Bierhalle” in Alexandria designed by Tony Binder, private collection.

In 1906 Binder left the atelier of Luzian Reiser—or the atelier was closed, this is not quite clear yet. Perhaps one of the reasons was that photography became less profitable, since travellers brought their own cameras, and hundreds of photographs were already available of all Egyptian sites and characters.⁸

Whatever might have caused the split, from that time on Binder worked mainly as an artist. His main subject was watercolours, which he preferred to execute “en plein air”, thus his denomination as pleinairist.⁹ Different from oil-paint, watercolours were quick to dry, and thus less susceptible for the omnipresent dust and dirt in Egypt, which can quickly contaminate the canvas. The starting point of his new career might have been a job at the excavation of Carl Maria Kaufmann in Abu Mena, the leading late antique Christian pilgrimage site of Egypt, situated about 45 km southwest of Alexandria.¹⁰ From 1905 until 1907 Binder joined Kaufmann’s crew as photographer and illustrator. Kaufmann’s reminiscences of the excavation, “Ausgräber, Mumienjäger und tote Städte” (Excavators, mummy hunters and dead cities), which was published in 1928, features 28 sketches by the artist.

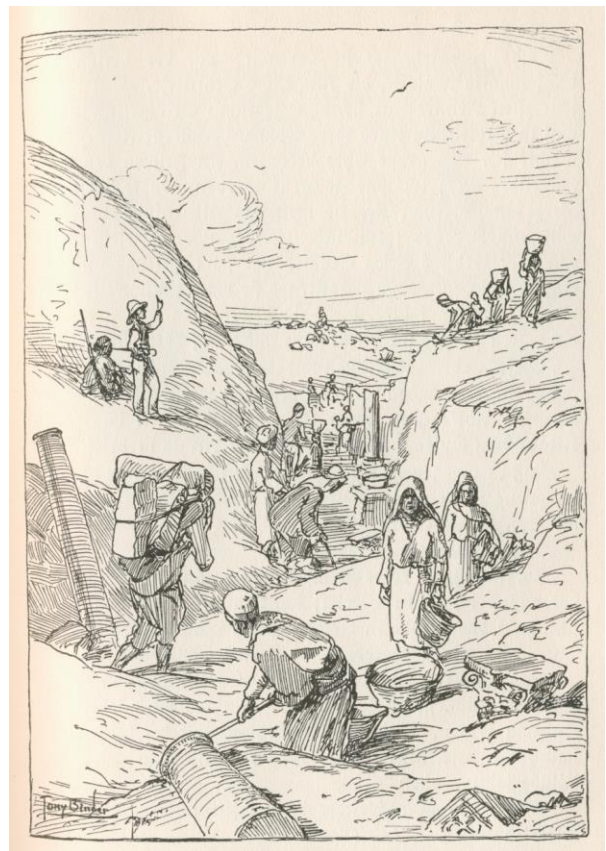


Fig.4: Sketch from the excavations of Kaufmann in Abu Mena, Kaufmann, op.cit. p. 49.

In 1912 Tony Binder was rewarded by the city of Alexandria for his outstanding watercolours,¹¹ and became the court photographer of Khedive Abbas Hilmi II. In the years to follow Tony accompanied him on his yacht trips, such as in April 1912 to Dalaman, where the Khedive had a villa, or on a last trip in late 1931 to Transjordan,¹² when Tony was very disappointed because he did not receive any money for his services. Much to his chagrin Tony was not able to interest the Khedive in his paintings; his Royal Highness enjoyed only the caricatures to a certain extent. Photographs from that period may be in the collection of the University of Durham, but they have not yet been identified.¹³

A trip to England in the summer of 1914 was to change Binder's life again. After having visited the studios of the British painters Hughes Stanton, Sir Frank Bernard Dicksee and William Talbot Kelly,¹⁴ Tony spent the month of August on the Isle of Wight busily painting Egyptian scenes, using his sketchbook as a reference. It was here that news reached him about the outbreak of WW I. As an Austrian citizen he had to report to the police and was subsequently detained in the internment camp at the "Ally Pally", Alexandra Palace in London.¹⁵ Though 530 Prisoners of War (POW) were living in the same room,¹⁶ Tony soon began to paint again; not only the annual Christmas card,¹⁷ but also a portrait of the camp's commander, Col. Frowde-Walker (Fig.5).

What is depicted in the watercolour is very different from the life described by other detainees. In fact, Tony enjoyed many privileges. Soon after his arrival he shifted to one of the towers, where only 30 men were accommodated. Here Tony worked every day from 9 to 1 and from 2 to 4 in a private room with light from above.¹⁸ In June 1917 Tony was transferred to the Isle of Man, which was the second largest settlement of internees in Britain during WW I, where at times more than 27,000 POW were held captive. Again Tony was lucky enough not to end up in Knockaloe, but in Camp Douglas, a former holiday camp, which even sported an "artist's camp". Here he was even able to run an atelier in his room until he was transferred to Spalding in Lincolnshire in May 1918, and some days later repatriated to Germany.

We know from his vita that he headed for Munich, where his family had stayed since the beginning of the war. To make some money Tony fell back to design



Fig.5: Watercolour showing the artist sharing a cup of tea with Col. Frowde-Walker, private collection.

advertisements for the renowned mouthwash Odol, the Bavarian film production company Emelka (which later became famous Bavaria), and Kupferberg Gold, a German producer of sparkling wine. His designs were full of reminiscences of Egypt and its monuments (Fig.6).

In 1919 Tony became a member of the Munich Artists Association, and in 1921 the family shifted to a colony of artists in nearby Dachau. In those years Tony took part in several exhibitions in Munich, and was again busy executing Egyptian caricatures. Many of them were printed in several series of the famous Tuck's postcards, besides other publishing companies.

menu card made by Binder for the Winter Palace Hotel.¹⁹

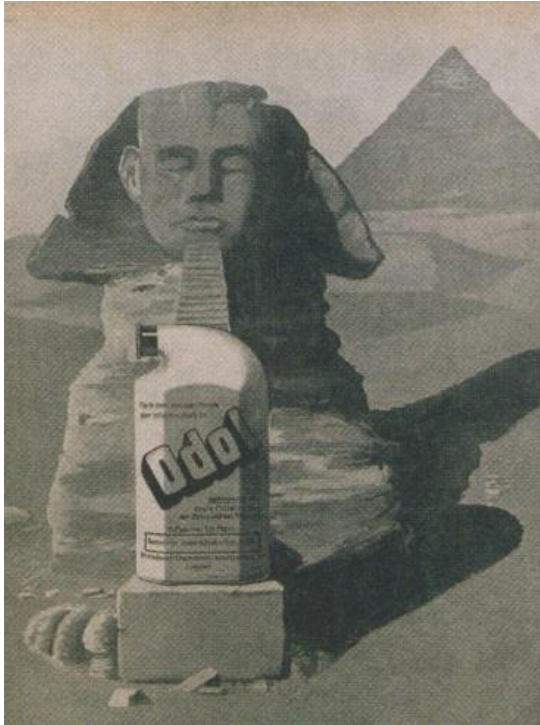


Fig.6: Advertisement for Odol mouthwash designed in all probability by Tony Binder, private collection.

By the end of 1923 Tony returned to Egypt for the first time after the war, where he took up his quarters at the famous Winter Palace Hotel in Luxor. Soon a close relation developed with its Swiss director Anton Badrutt. Binder got free lodging until he had earned a certain amount of money. In return he exhibited his paintings and watercolours in the hotel, and offered his services as portraitist to the guests. Furthermore he designed some advertisements for the Upper Egypt Hotels Co., for example two watercolours used as templates for postcards of the Winter Palace and the Cataract Hotel. As an artist he was able to combine what no photographer could achieve: he almost closed the gap between the Luxor temple and the hotel.

The season of 1923/24 proved to be quite busy. Luxor was thriving with tourists, since Howard Carter was working in the burial chamber of king Tutankhamun. Binder was able to visit the tomb and deeply regretted that he was not allowed to make photographs or sketches. However, the boy king left his mark on a



Fig.7: Postcard of a watercolour of the Winter Palace Hotel in Luxor by Tony Binder, private collection.



Fig.8: Postcard of a watercolour executed by Tony Binder for the Luxor Hotel, private collection.

In the years to follow Tony returned several times to Egypt. Between 1923 and 1933 he created some of his best-known works of art. It was probably his most productive time as an artist, as he executed dozens of larger and many more small-scale watercolours and oil paintings as souvenirs or commissioned works for tourists and travellers. Whenever he stayed at the Winter Palace, he left a sketch in the hotel's guest book.²⁰ At times Tony stayed at the Luxor Hotel, which also belonged to the Upper Egypt Hotels Co., or at the Savoy Hotel; but he always preferred the Winter Palace because of its better clientele.

1933/34 again was a very successful and busy season, Tony being able to sell some of his paintings to crown prince Umberto (II) of Italy. And, like in his first years in Egypt, Tony became associated with an excavation, this time in what he called the “Moonshine-Tomb”, the famous Theban Tomb N° 55 of the vizier Ramose, which was excavated under the direction of Sir Robert Mond.



Fig.9: Watercolour by Tony Binder of a relief from the tomb of Ramose, private collection.

But this season was also to become Tony’s last one in Egypt, not only because the imminent sale of the Upper Egypt Hotels Company meant in his own words: “the end of his Luxor business”,²¹ since it would deprive him from his favourite lodgings and display opportunity, but also because of his own failing health. In the following years Tony travelled little, and only in Europe, respectively Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. From now on more views of Germany, especially from the picturesque town of Rothenburg ob der Tauber are to be found in his oeuvre, where Tony—as in Luxor—designed a postcard for the Hotel Eisenhut, which he chose as his lodging.²² And, again much in the same way as the Winter Palace in Luxor, also the Hotel Eisenhut was considered the best hotel in town.

Meanwhile the Nazis were on the move. Tony had already become interested in the political situation in general, and Adolf Hitler in particular, during his last trip to Egypt. While visiting friends in Alexandria he

heard that his daughters had been introduced to some of the Nazi community leaders in Munich by a long-time acquaintance. Tony considered sending a watercolour as a Christmas gift to Hitler, but it seems the idea did not materialize. If he really would have pursued it, he would have had the ideal mediator, since Hitler’s deputy, Rudolf Hess, was a close friend of the family. The Hess family lived in Alexandria, and Tony was a frequent guest. He had made portraits of Rudolf when he was still a child and according to his worklist another one in 1920.²³ In 1933 he executed portraits of Hess’ father and mother in Alexandria,²⁴ and in 1939, after having been rewarded with the Goethe medal on occasion of his 70th birthday with best wishes from Rudolf Hess and the “Führer”, he made another portrait of Rudolf Hess wearing his Nazi uniform.

However, according to Tony Binder’s descendants, the only real passion in the artist’s life was painting, and although he visited Egypt for the last time in 1934, scenes from the banks of the Nile remained to be one of Tony’s favourite subjects until his death in a hospital in 1944.

Notes

¹ <http://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien/09-rossau/01-18/?pg=194> (last access 16.03.2021).

² Lange 1992, doc.I, pp. 211–212 (not paginated)

³ Lange 1992, p. 34 FN. 17.

⁴ Lange 1992, pp. 45–52.

⁵ Lange 1992, p. 5. Their first child, René was born in 1904, followed by Lili in 1906, and Stephanie in 1909. <https://gw.geneanet.org/leaozinho218?lang=en&p=marie&n=reiser> (last access 16.03.2021).

⁶ Tony’s illustrations were still used by the company for their passengers’ list in 1937. <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/passenger-list-s-s-egypt-cooks-nile-service-1937-1> (last access 16.03.2021). For another example see <http://grandhotelsegypt.com/?tag=nile-steamers> (last access 16.03.2021).

⁷ Lange 1992, pp. 5–6. From his first trip to Egypt in 1893 Hearst brought back 3200 negatives, Procter 1998, p. 70 w. FN. 26. Pizzitola 2002, pp. 23–24.

⁸ Lange 1992, p. 6.

⁹ Lange 1992, p. 4.

¹⁰ Lange 1994, p. 22.

¹¹ Lange 1994, p. 11, Lange 1992, p. 8 FN. 27.

¹² Lange 1992, p. 212, vita of Binder, without pagination.

¹³ <https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/abbashilmi/> (last access 16.03.2021). The collection was deposited in Durham by the Mohamed Ali Foundation in 1980, consisting of 20 metres of documents. It contains material principally in Arabic, English, and French, but also some Ottoman Turkish, German, Italian, and Greek. Digital copies of the Abbas Hilmi II Papers are also deposited at CULTNAT and the American University in Cairo

¹⁴ Lange 1992, p. 54.

¹⁵ http://imuseum.im/search/agent_record/view/260?from=260&id=mnh-agent-180417&tab=all&term=internee+theatre+&size=20&sort=&filter=&view=&images=&ttmgrp=0&rfname=&rlname=&machine=&race=&raceyear=&linked=0&pos=265 (last access 16.03.2021).

¹⁶ Tony Binder in a letter to his wife on August 28th 1915, in the possession of Binder's descendants.

¹⁷ 20,000 were sold in the first year, Binder in a letter to this wife on January 26th 1916, in the possession of Binder's descendants.

¹⁸ In a letter to his wife on January 1st 1916, in the possession of Binder's descendants.

¹⁹ Wiese 1998, p. 251 fig. 6.

²⁰ Wiese 1998, pp. 247 fig. 3, 249 fig. 4, 252 fig. 7, 258 fig. 12.

²¹ Lange 1992, p. 26 w. FN. 134.

²² For the hotel in general see: <https://www.eisenhut.com/ueber-uns/> (last access 16.03.2021). Tony left pictures as well as some entries in the hotel's guest book. At least two of his pictures can be distinguished in a photograph published by Wolf Stegemann, <http://www.rothenburg-unterm-hakenkreuz.de/literaten-und-dichter-entdeckten-rothenburg-immer-wieder-neu-heute-gibt-es-erfreuliche-tabubrueche-der-versuch-eines->

unvollstaendigen-ueberblicks-des-schoengeistigen/ (last access 16.03.2021).

²³ Lange 1992, *Werkliste* 1920, without pagination.

²⁴ Lange 1992, *Werkliste* 1933, pp. 19+22.

Bibliography

Kaufmann 1928

Kaufmann, Carl Maria, *Ausgräber, Mumienjäger und tote Städte*, Berlin 1928.

Lange 1992

Lange, Bärbel, *Orientaler, Pleinairist, Reisekünstler – Leben und Werk des österreichischen 'Kunstmalers' Tony Binder (1868–1944)*, Wuppertal 1992.

Lange 1994

Lange, Bärbel, *Tony Binder (1868–1944) Orientaler – Pleinairist – Reisekünstler, Dachauer Museumsschriften, Band 15*, Dachau 1994.

Pizzitola 2002

Pizzitola, Louis, *Hearst over Hollywood: Power, passion, and propaganda in the movies*, New York 2002.

Procter 1998

Procter, Ben, *William Randolph Hearst: The early years, 1863–1910*, New York/Oxford 1998.

Wiese 1998

André Wiese, Aus dem Gästebuch des Winter Palace in Luxor (1920-1935), in: Brodbeck, Andreas (Ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel, Ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis*, Berlin 1998, pp. 243–264.

All of the images in this article appear in colour and higher quality in the on-line version of the Bulletin.



Fig.10: Small-scale watercolour executed by Tony Binder in 1934, private collection.

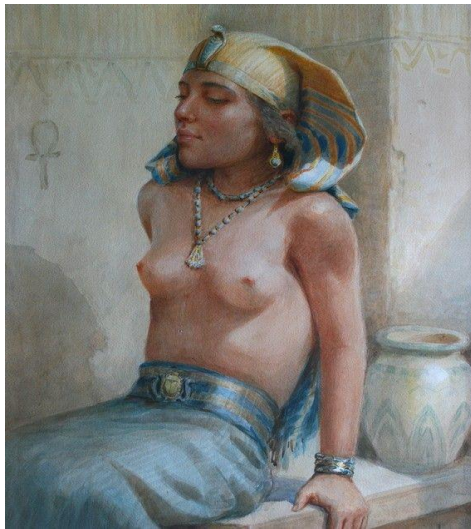


Fig.11: Watercolour of an ancient Egyptian woman executed by Tony Binder in 1940, private collection.

The Bulletin

As members now receive regular Newsletters with upcoming events and current news by e-mail, we will be making some changes to the Bulletin.

The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE) encourages and promotes education and research in all aspects of the history of travel and travellers to, from and within the region. Our area of study has expanded since our early years and now includes Egypt and the Sudan, the Arabian Peninsula and northwards through Iraq to Turkey, Greece and the Balkans, North Africa and Iran from the earliest times to the mid-twentieth century.

A major feature of ASTENE is the interdisciplinary approach to the subject area and the varied expertise of our membership.

The Editors welcome papers on all aspects of travellers and travel history from ancient figures such as Herodotus to the mid-twentieth century in relation to any cultural context. They may be cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural. Current debates and topical issues are welcome.

The ASTENE Bulletin is not a peer-reviewed journal and we warmly encourage contributions from students, academics and informed enthusiasts. We do, however, expect articles to be well-researched with an original take or informed perspective on the subject matter.

Articles should be between 2-4,000 words in length, including any endnotes. Please submit articles in English only. We reserve the right to edit articles once they have been submitted. Please do not take this as a dismissal of your work - we are just trying to keep our articles within a general standard and to make sure your thoughts come across clearly and persuasively!

All text should be double-spaced for editing purposes.

We are happy to include illustrations (a maximum of 5 images is preferred, but consult with the Editor if there are more. These will be reproduced in black and white in the print version, but in colour in the on-line pdf. All images sent to us must have copyright

permission and be well-captioned. ASTENE cannot cover costs for securing image permissions.

We accept all common formats such as TIFF, JPEG, PNG. Please ensure high enough resolution: at least 300 dpi at print size, ideally higher to allow for enlargement. Please include all images within your article at the point of submission. (usually rendered as an Illustrations section at the end of the document).

Please submit articles to Dr Robert Morkot, bulletin.astene@gmail.com. When submitting, you should treat your article as if it is a final proof in order to eliminate errors and inconsistencies as far as possible. This will save time at the proof stage.

Style Guidelines

For general guidance see R. Ritter, *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000. Follow Oxford English usage for spelling e.g. colour, centre, mould, recognize.

Quotations:

- Use single inverted commas
- For quotations within quotations use double inverted commas.
- Quotations of more than six lines long should start on the next line but please do not indent these.
- Ensure that references are provided in the endnotes for all quotations.

Dates:

- 1832–36; 15 July 1998.
- Not ‘20th C’ or ‘20th century’ but ‘twentieth century’.
- Hyphens are not required where e.g. ‘twentieth century’ is used as a noun; they are required where it is adjectival, e.g. ‘a twentieth-century house’
- Not ‘about’ or ‘circa’ but ‘c.’.

Punctuation:

- Leave a single space after a full point: T. S. Eliot; p. 63.
- Close inverted commas inside full point if the quote is not a full sentence and outside if it is.

Hyphenate adjectives: art-historical methodology, nineteenth-century France, middle-class values; do not hyphenate nouns: the nineteenth century, the middle class.

Bold type and underlining should not be used apart from the title and subtitles of your article. In the main text, *italicise* titles of books and journals (please do not use underlining); put titles of articles, doctoral theses and exhibitions in single inverted commas.

References: Notes should be formatted as automatic endnotes, with Arabic numerals. References within the submission to the author’s own work should be in the third person, to enable anonymous peer-review. Ideally references in end notes should follow the Author, publication date, page number style: *op. cit.* and *ibid.* should be avoided.

Books:

One author: M. Remy, *Surrealism in Britain*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1999, 119–21.

Multiple authors: J. Peck and M. Coyle, *The Student's Guide to Writing*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 11.

Chapter in an edited book: S. Copley, ‘The fine arts in eighteenth-century polite culture’, in J. Barrell (ed.), *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700–1850*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1992, 13–37.

Articles: M. Nixon, ‘Eating words’, *Oxford Art Journal*, XXII, 2, 1999, 55–70.

Academic theses: B. Foss, ‘British artists and the Second World War with particular reference to the War Artists’ Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Information’, unpub. PhD thesis, University of London, 1991.

Archival documents: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 7, fols. 277r–321v.

Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East

Honorary President: Dr Jaromir Malek

Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Dr Elizabeth French

Neil Cooke FRGS

Executive Committee 2020-2021

Chairman

Professor Paul Starkey
astenechair@gmail.com

Secretary

Lauren Bruce
enquiries.astene@gmail.com

Treasurer

Dr Gemma Masson
treasurerastene@gmail.com

Membership Secretary

Carey Cowham
membershipastene@gmail.com

Bulletin Editor

Dr Robert Morkot FSA
R.G.Morkot@exeter.ac.uk
bulletin.astene@gmail.com

Book Reviews Editor

Dr Madeline Boden
bookreviews.astene@gmail.com

Webteam and Newsletter Editors

Tessa Baber & Emmet Jackson
web.astene@gmail.com

Committee Members

Rosalind Janssen
Ines Aščerić-Todd
Dr Aidan Dodson
Dr Daniele Salvoldi

Registered with the Charity Commission of
England and Wales, no. 1067157
www.astene.org.uk
enquiries@astene.org.uk

The Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East was founded in 1997 to promote the study of travel and travellers in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean from Greece to the Levant, Arabian Peninsula and Mesopotamian region. Membership is open to all.

Registered with the Charity Commission of England and Wales, no. 1067157

ISSN: 1461-4316